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# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

AND

RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

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VOL. IX.—1907-08.

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EDITED BY

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AND

(FROM PAGE 145)

BY

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43 Patākellā plate of Śivarāja . . . . .	between pages 286 & 287
44 Mundēsvārī inscription of Udayasēna . . . . .	to face page 289
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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

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- Page 4, para. 1, line 7,—for Mahéndrapaladéva read Mahéndrapalādēva.
- ” ” ” ” 10,—for Haddāla read Haḍḍālā.
- ” 7, footnote 17, line 1,—for nstrimss read nistrimṣa.
- ” 9, text-line 46,—for -bhūpālams= read -bhūpālāmś=
- ” 16, line 3 from bottom,—for Śántaras read Śántaraṣa
- ” 17, ” 9,—for Aluva read Āluva.
- ” 48, line 2 from bottom,—for Chēdi read Chēḍi.
- ” 56, line 1,—for Thursday read Friday.
- ” 58, para 2, line 2,—for Godavarī read Kistna
- ” 60, line 13 from the top,—for Jhālrāpātan read Jhālrāpāṭaṇ
- ” 65, footnote 6, line 1,—for actua read actual.
- ” 71, line 4 from the top,—[I think the word *tāmbūlāya* should mean “betel chewe with areca-nut and chunam” which the women spat out of grief This is re and may be compared to rubies (*padmarāga*).—H. K. S.]
- ” 72, last line,—for Jāvalipura read Jāvālpura.
- ” 75, verse 12 —[There is no allusion to any legend here. The poet wants to say the Brahman out of arrogance (*dambhatah*) weighed the king's prowess (*i.e.* the sun) on one side and his fame (*i.e.* the moon) on the other and found the tw balanced so well on the scale of which the rod was the (heavenly) Gaṅgā, the the pin (*kaṅṭaka*) in the middle was *dhruva* (*i.e.* stable) The other meanin intended is the Pole star (Dhruva) which occupies the middle of the heavenl orbit and is almost fixed in space —H. K. S.]
- ” 99, last but one para , line 3,—for Polikesin read Polikēsin.
- ” 100, text-line 2,—for वन read वन.
- ” ” ” 17,—for लक्ष्मी read लक्ष्मी.
- ” 119, footnote 3, line 2,—for Śūdra- read Śūdra-.
- ” 120, text-line 3,—for Mamdōdarivashpa- read Mamdōdarivāshpa-.
- ” 125, line 10,—for Kandika-bandha read Kaudika-bandha.
- ” 143, translation of B ,—for Rātūya read Rājūla.
- ” 156, footnote 5, last line,—for Kushmāṇḍini read Kūshmāṇḍini.
- ” 160, para. 3, line 5,—for Tirathgarh read Tirathgarh
- ” 165, footnote, line 6,—for Dattakamimānsā read Dattakamimāmsā.
- ” ” ” line 8,—for Rudrāmba read Rudrāmbā.
- ” 166, para. 3, line 2,—for 1783 read 1779
- ” 168, line 9 from the top,—for Pādī read Pādī
- ” 169, line 2,—for Lākshmdhara read Lakshmdhara.
- ” 170, text line 6,—for -prasūta sama[sta\*]- read -prasūta-sama[sta\*]-
- ” 170, text-line 8,—for ravidinē read ravidinē
- ” 171, para. 5, last line,—for °chchhrēshṭa read °chchhrēshṭha
- ” 172, line 8,—insert a hyphen at the end of the line.
- ” ” footnote 7, line 2,—for Śāmbilaka read Śāmbilaka
- ” 175, line 4,—insert (Nāgarī) after Sanskrit.
- ” 176, line 16,—for Mēdipōta read Mēdipōta
- ” ” footnote 2,—for Yājñavalkya read Yājñavalkya.
- ” 178, line 13 from bottom,—for Mālavā read Mālava

- Page 179, footnote 1, line 3,—for Sakkara-köttam read Śakkara-köttam  
 „ 180, footnote 5,—for Siyadoni read Siyadōni.  
 „ 181, para. 5, line 4,—[Mudhasēli perhaps stands for the Telugu *mudhasali* which means  
 ‘old, anicient,’ i.e. a headman respected on account of old age, compare *nāṭṭu-*  
*mudumai*, above, p. 21, footnote 3 —H K S ]  
 „ 185, text-line 4,—for तप पयोषि<sup>०</sup> read तप पयोषि<sup>०</sup>.  
 „ „ footnote 1, line 2,—for Devakūta read Dēvakūta  
 „ 205, para. 3, line 4, for Kārtikēya read Kārtakēya.  
 „ „ footnote 7,—for Conjeeverum read Conjeeveram  
 „ 223, No 63, translation, line 2,—for Uttara=Phalguni read Uttara-Phalguni  
 „ 235, para. 3, line 2,—for Ayurūr read Ayurur.  
 „ 236, lines 15 and 17,—for Ayurūr read Ayurur  
 „ „ text-line 9,—for =kkī- read kil-  
 „ 237, text-line 17 and translation, line 7,—for Ayurūr read Ayurur  
 „ 238, lines 3 and 11 and footnote 10,— Ditto  
 „ 257, footnote 4,—[From the Palnādu inscriptions we learn that the Kākatiya king  
 Ganapati was ruling from his capital Orungallu, already in Śaka-Samvat 1173  
 and that his daughter and successor Rudramahādēvi was also ruling from the  
 same city in Śaka 1191 —H K. S.]  
 „ 261, footnote 6, line 7 from bottom,—for Kulōttunga-Chōla I read Kulōttunga-  
 Chōda I.  
 „ 266, line 4,—for Kākati read Kākati.  
 „ 282, para. 5, line 4,—for Khariar read Khariār.  
 „ 283, line 7,—for Tūndrā read Tūndrā.  
 „ 284, translation, line 1,—for Sarabhapura read Śarabhapura.  
 „ „ footnote 6, line 3,—for Jējabhukti read Jējābhukti  
 „ 300, line 9,—[Comparing the symbol for *i* in <sup>०</sup>*pilupati* with the *i*-symbol in <sup>०</sup>*parilīnam*  
 (line 19) and in <sup>०</sup>*nāirgha* (line 24) it appears as if the form Mahāpilupati  
 was also meant here as in the Sāṅkhēdā plate of Śāntilla (*Ep Ind.* Vol II.  
 p. 23) —H. K. S.]  
 „ 307, table, 1st column,—for Gazni read Ghazni.  
 „ „ „ 3rd „ for Ādil Shah Aynā read Ādil Shāh Aynā.  
 „ 313, line 2,—for Halavur read Halavūr and for Banvāsi read Banavāsi.  
 „ 316, para. 3, line 3,—for bhandāri read bhandārī.  
 „ „ line 8 from bottom,—for Brahmājūhāka read Brahmanājūhāka.  
 „ 321, last para., line 6,—for 493 read 793  
 „ 330, footnote 8,—for Amuktamālyada read Āmuktamālyada and for Viṣṇuchittiyam  
 read Viṣṇuchittiyam.  
 „ 331, para. 4, line 7,—for Kuttukkāl read Kuttakkal  
 „ „ „ 8,—for Pāṭṭaikulam read Pāṭṭakkulam.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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## VOLUME IX.

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### No. 1 — TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C I E ; GÖTTINGEN.

IN February 1904 Mr Gaurshankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna most kindly sent me photographs of two Sanskrit inscriptions on copper-plates, which had been found some years before at Ūnā, a town in the southernmost part of the peninsula of Kāthiāvād, in the Junāgadh State<sup>1</sup>. Both inscriptions are of the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Mahēndrapāla* or, as he is called in one of them, *Mahēndrāyudha*, of Kanauj, and record grants to a temple of the Sun by two feudatories of his, *Balavarman* and his son *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, who belonged to a *Chālukya* family. One is dated in the [Gupta-] Valabhī year 574, corresponding roughly to A D 893, the other in the [Vikrama] year 956, corresponding to about A D 899. In March 1904 I gave a short account of the contents of these inscriptions, in *Nachrichten d K Ges d Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, and I have since tried to secure impressions of the originals. Not having succeeded in doing so, I now venture to publish the texts from Mr Ojha's photographs.

#### A.—Plates of Balavarman; Valabhi-samvat 574.

These are two plates, each of which is inscribed on one side only. They contain 36 lines of on the whole well-preserved writing in Nāgarī characters<sup>2</sup>. The language is Sanskrit, it is generally easy to understand, but line 17 contains a revenue term which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain. Lines 7-9 give two verses on the vanity of fortune, *etc.*, and the necessity of works of piety, and lines 22-29 six of the ordinary imprecatory verses, the rest is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahādāmanta Balavarman*, the son of *Avanivarman [I]*, of the *Chālukya* lineage, a feudatory, who had obtained the five *mahāśābdas*, of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāvara Mahēndrāyudhadēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*. From *Nakshisapura*, *Balavarman* informs the various officials and others that, after fasting on the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, he gave the village of *Jayapura*, belonging to the *Nakshisapura* group of eighty-four which

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<sup>1</sup> See *Indian Atlas*, quarter sheet 13, S E, Long 71° 5', Lat 21° 49'

<sup>2</sup> Since no facsimiles can be published, it would be useless to give full particulars regarding the forms of individual letters, but I may mention here that the conjuncts *ry* and *rih* are denoted by (well known) special signs which contain no superscript *r*.

he had acquired by his own arm (*svabhujōpārjita-Nakshasapura-chaturasītīkā*), to (a temple of) the Sun under the name *Tarunādityadēva*, which stood on the banks of the river *Kanavirkā*. The boundaries of the village were— on the east the village of *Sihavāhalaka*, on the south the village of *Rā[jyastha]la*, on the west the village of *Pēdhullaka*, and on the north the village of *Amvullaka* (*Ambullāka*). After the usual admonition to preserve this gift, and six imprecatory verses, lines 29-34 give the names of twelve witnesses— four Brāhmins, four merchants, and four *Mahattaras*. They are followed by the name of the writer, which cannot be read with certainty, and this, again, is followed by the date *śri-Valabhī-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, the numerals of which are ordinary decimal figures. The inscription, in line 36, ends with the signatures *sva-hastō=[tra] śri-Va(ba)lavarmmanah ||* *sva-hastah śri-Dhīka*, where (the second) *sva-hastah* is preceded by a mark which seems to represent the actual sign-manual of Dhīka. Who this Dhīka was, does not appear from the present inscription, but the grant B makes it probable that he was a high official of the king Mahēndrāyudha (*Mahēndrapāla*), whose permission was necessary for the making of the grant.

### B.— Plates of Avamvarman II Yōga; [Vikrama]samvat 956.

These are three plates, the second of which is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third are inscribed on one side only. They contain 68 lines of well-preserved writing in Nāgari characters. The engraving is done carelessly, so that the text contains numerous mistakes, the correction of some of which, especially in two passages where proper names are concerned, is very difficult. The language is Sanskrit. Lines 1-45 contain twenty-four verses which, after glorifying the Sun, treat of the genealogy of the donor and of his and his ancestors' exploits, and two imprecatory verses are cited in lines 65-67, the rest of the text is in prose.

The inscription records a grant of land by the *Mahāsāmanta Avamvarman [II]*, surnamed *Yōga*, of the *Chālukya* race (verse 2). In this race there were two 'great kings' (*mahā-mahī-patī*), the brothers *Kalla* and *Mahalla* (v 3), the former of whom is eulogized in conventional terms (vv 5 and 6). *Kalla* had a son, whose name cannot be made out with confidence (v 7), and this chief had a son whose name ended with *dhavala*, and whose full name perhaps was *Vāhukadhavala* (v 9). This last named chief destroyed (or defeated) in battle a certain *Dharma*, conquered kings who were well-known *rājādhirāja paramēśvaras*, and defeated a *Karpāta* army (vv 10 and 11). His son was *Avamvarman [I]* (v 12), and his son, again, was *Balavarman* (the donor of the grant A, above). *Balavarman* defeated a certain *Vishadha* (v 16) from whom he took away a pair of big drums (*uru-dhakhā*), and, by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings, 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race' (v 17). His son was *Avamvarman [II]*, also called *Yōga* (v 18), who routed the armies of a certain *Yakshadāsa*<sup>1</sup> and other kings whose countries were invaded by him (vv 19 and 20), and put to flight *Dharanivarāha* (v. 21).

In lines 45 ff this *Mahāsāmanta Yōga* (i.e. *Avamvarman II.*), a feudatory of the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahēndrapālādēva* who meditated on the feet of the *P M P Bhōjadēva*, informs his officials and others, as well as future kings, that, with the approval of the illustrious *Dhīka*,<sup>2</sup> he gave the village of *Amvulaka* (*Ambulaka*),<sup>3</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> Verse 19 records that, after destroying the army of *Yakshadāsa*, *Avamvarman* took away from him the musical instrument (*tārya*) called *Sāgarakhāḍḍha*— In my previous account of this inscription I suggested that *Yakshadāsa* may have ruled the *Madra* country; but this is wrong. As the engraver of the grant in several other places has engraved *m* instead of *y*, the actual reading *mudha-bhāmam* in line 36 must undoubtedly be altered to *qudda-bhāmam*, not to *Madra bhāmam*.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription, the text of which is not quite certain here, seems to indicate that *Dhīka* was an *antapāla* or 'frontier-guard' of *Mahēndrapāla's*, and that *Avamvarman II* was a subordinate of him (as his father *Balavarman* had been before him). See the end of the grant A.

<sup>3</sup> This village (*Ambulaka* or *Ambullaka*) is mentioned also in the grant A.

belonged to the *Nakshisapura* eighty-four (*Nakshisapura-chaturāsiti*) in the *Saurāshtra mandala*, to (a temple of) *Tarunādityadēva*, located near the river *Kanavirikā* in the vicinity of the village of *Jayapura*<sup>1</sup>. The boundaries of the village were—on the east the village of *Viyaraka*, on the south the village of *Jayapura*, on the west the villages of *Sēnduvaka* and *Kōrintbaka*, and on the north the village of *Vavulika*. After the usual admonition to preserve this gift and two imprecatory verses, the inscription, in line 68, ends with the date *samvat 956 Māgha-sudā 6*, the numerals of which here also are ordinary decimal figures.

The *Chālukya* chiefs mentioned in the preceding are not known from other inscriptions. The large *Bilhari* inscription, in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 266, mentions a *Chaulukya Avanivarman* whose daughter *Nohalā* was married by the *Kalachuri Chēdi* king *Yuvarāja I Kēytravaraha*. That *Avanivarman* may have been a contemporary<sup>2</sup> of *Avanivarman II Yōga* of our grant B, but—even assuming that the terms *Chālukya* and *Chaulukya* might be used synonymously<sup>3</sup>—he cannot be identical with him, because his father and grandfather were *Sadhanva* and *Simhavarman* (not *Balavarman* and *Avanivarman*).

For *Balavarman*, a feudatory of *Mahēndrāyudha* (*Mahēndrapāla*), the grant A furnishes a date in about A D 893. We therefore may assume that his grandfather *Vāhukadhavala* (?) lived about the middle of the 9th century A D, and was almost certainly a feudatory of *Mahēndrapāla*'s predecessor *Bhōjadēva* (*Mihra*) of *Kanauj*, for whom we possess dates from A D 843 to A D 881. Now in the inscription No 77 of my *Southern List* this *Mihra* (*Bhōjadēva*) is stated to have been defeated by the *Gujarāt Rāshtrakūta Dhruvarāja II*. Thus at any rate would show that he was at war with the *Rāshtrakūtas*, and I believe that such a war is actually referred to in the account of *Vāhukadhavala*'s (?) exploits related in the grant B. In my opinion, the *Karnāta* army which is said to have been defeated by him can only have been an army of the *Rāshtrakūtas*. As regards (the king) *Dharma* who is stated to have been destroyed (or defeated) by the same chief, I know of no king *Dharma* who could have been a contemporary of his, excepting the well-known *Pāla* king *Dharmapāla*, and I see no reason why *Dharma* should not be identified with that *Pāla* king, who at one time or another undoubtedly was at war with the rulers of *Kanauj*.

*Balavarman* himself defeated a certain *Vishadha*, and by slaying *Jajjapa* and other kings 'freed the earth from the *Hūna* race'. Who *Vishadha* was, it is impossible to say. Wars with *Hūna* kings are frequently mentioned in Indian inscriptions of the Middle Ages,<sup>4</sup> and we know of a *Hūna* princess, *Āvalladēvi*, who was married by the *Kalachuri* *Karna* in the 11th century, but in recording the name of *Jajjapa* our grant B for the first time discloses the name of an individual *Hūna* king, who must be placed in about the last quarter of the 9th century.

The kings or chiefs mentioned as opponents of *Avanivarman II. Yōga*, for whom we have a date in about A D 899, are *Yakshadāsa* and *Dharanivarāha*. The former is unknown to us. The latter I do not hesitate to identify with the *Chāpa Mahāśaktamanādhivatsi* *Dharanivarāha*, known to us from his *Haddālā* plates<sup>5</sup> which were issued from *Vardhamāna* (or *Wadhvān*) in

<sup>1</sup> This village was granted to the same temple of the Sun by the grant A.

<sup>2</sup> A daughter of the *Kalachuri Yuvarāja I, Kundakadēvi*, was married by the *Rāshtrakūta Amoghavaraha III Baddiga*, for whom we now possess dates in A D 937 and 939.

<sup>3</sup> In Nos 354 and 856 of my *Northern List* certain chiefs are described as both *Chālukyas* and *Chaulukyas*.

<sup>4</sup> See my note on the grammarians' *ajayaj-Jarib Hūnas* in *Naachrichten d. K. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1903, p. 305 ff. The *Pāla* *Dēvapāla* humbled the pride of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol II p 18, v 18), according to the *Kharḍa* plates of the *Rāshtrakūta Kakkarāja II Amoghavaraha* of A D 972 this king fought battles with the lord (or lords) of the *Hūnas* (*Ind Ant.* Vol XII p 265, l 32); the *Paramāra Utpala* (*Mufjarāja*) took away the life of the *Hūnas* (*ibid* Vol XVI p 28, l 41), his younger brother *Sundharāja* conquered the king of the *Hūnas* (*Ep Ind* Vol I p 235, v 16), etc.

<sup>5</sup> See my *Northern List*, No 353.

Kāthiāvād) in A D 914, and in which he is represented as a feudatory of a *Rājādhrāja* Mahipāladēva whose proper identification, as will be seen below, can no longer offer any difficulty

The place **Nakshisapura**, the nine villages mentioned in connection with the two grants, and the river **Kanavirkā** I have not, I regret to say, been able to identify The main point of general interest connected with these localities is, that the **Nakshisapura group of Aghty-four**, which was held by the two donors, according to the inscription B belonged to the **Saurāshtra maṇḍala** The name **Saurāshtra** we know to denote the southern part of Kāthiāvād, and since the two chiefs Balavarman and Avamvarman II describe themselves as feudatories of the *Mahārājādhrāja* Mahēndrāyudhadēva or Mahēndrapaladēva (of Kanauj), it follows from these inscriptions that towards the end of the 9th century A D the kingdom of Kanauj extended as far south as, and included, the province of Kāthiāvād Moreover, it becomes quite certain now that the *Rājādhrāja* Mahipāladēva, who in the Haddāla plates of A D 914 is mentioned as the overlord of the Chāpa *Mahasāmantādhipat*: Dharanivaraha, must be identified with the *Mahārājādhrāja* Mahipaladēva of Kanauj (whose Asni inscription is dated in about A D 917), the successor of Mahēndrapaladēva, and cannot have been one of the Chūdāsāmās of Gurnār-Junāgadh

In the grant A the king, known to us from the grant B and other inscriptions as Mahēndrapala, is called **Mahēndrāyudha** This name of course at once recalls the names **Indrāyudha** and **Chakrāyudha**, the former denoting a king who according to the *Harivamsa Purāna* was ruling the north in Śaka-samvat 705=A D 763-84, and the latter another king, to whom the sovereignty of Mahōdaya (Kanauj) was given, after the defeat of Indrajāja (i.e., in my opinion, Indrāyudha), by the Pala Dharmapāla, and who was defeated by Nāgabhatta,<sup>1</sup> the grand father of Bhōjadēva of Kanauj It may also be mentioned that in Rājasēkhara's *Karpūramāñjarī*<sup>2</sup> a certain merchant is represented as having gone to 'Kanauj, the capital of **Vajrāyudha**, the king of Pañchāla' That story would seem to show that in the opinion of Rājasēkhara, who was Mahēndrapāla's *guru*, a name with the somewhat unusual ending *āyudha*, such as Vajrāyudha, was a suitable or characteristic name of a Kanauj king Most probably Mahēndrapala himself was known to Rājasēkhara also by the name Mahēndrāyudha

The date of the grant A, *śrī-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6*, is by a long way the earliest date in which we find the technical expression *Valabhi-samvat* In the inscriptions of the Valabhi kings themselves the year of a date is ordinarily preceded by only *sam*, rarely by *samvat*, and hitherto the earliest inscription containing the term *Valabhi-samvat* was the Vērāval inscription of the temple-priest Bhāva-Brihaspati of *Valabhi-samvat* 850 (No 503 of my *Northern List*). In the Mōrbi plate of Jāinka (*ibid* No 502) of the year 585 of the same era the number 585 in line 19 is preceded by simply *samvat*, while in line 17 the year is described as a *Gaupta* (i.e. Gupta) year — It is curious that in Kāthiāvād we should find the Gupta-Valabhi, Vikrama and Śaka eras employed in dates of the same period and in almost the same localities

#### A.—PLATES OF BALAVARMAN, VALABHI-SAMVAT 574.

##### TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

##### First Plate

1 Om<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Jayaś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha || Svasti [||\*] Nakshisapurāt=parama  
bhattāraka-mahārāj[s]dhī-

<sup>1</sup> Of Nagabhata Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has discovered in the Jōdhpur State a stone inscription dated in about A D 815 (*samvatsara sa*[f] 872)

<sup>2</sup> See Dr Sten Konow's edition, pp 74 and 266

<sup>3</sup> From a photograph supplied by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha

<sup>4</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

- 2 rāja-paramésvara śrī-Bhōjadēva-pād[ā\*]nudyāta-paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhirāja-para-  
 3 mēsvara śrī-Mahēndrāyudhadēva-pāda-piasādāksbhata-<sup>1</sup>samadhigata-pañchamahāśa v a d a -  
 (bda)-mahāśāmantas=[Ch]ā-
- 4 lukyānvaya-prasūta śrī-<sup>2</sup>Avanivarman-suta-śrī Va(ba)lavarmmā sarvvān-ēva rāja-  
 rajanya-ījasthānīy-ōpanīk-āmā-
- 5 tyā-[cha]tabhata-bhāta-[da]ndavā(pā)sika-dand[ō]ddharanika-<sup>3</sup>drāmgika-mahattara-chāru-<sup>4</sup>  
 chāra-bhata-bastyasvārōbha(ha)ka-pābhritīh<sup>5</sup>
- 6 yuktaka-myuktakām svān-ā(a)nyām[ś-cha.] yathāsamva(ba)dhymānakān=  
 samanuvo(bō)dhayaty-astu vah samviditam yathā padma-pattē<sup>6</sup>
- 7 sthita-jala[va] taralā sī drishta-nashatāñ-cha jīvitam<sup>7</sup> | <sup>8</sup>Padmapatra-jalavimdu-  
 chamchalam jīvitavyam-akhilās=cha sampadāh |
- 8 ity-avētya jagatah sthiti[m\*] nripāh kum dhanah kuruta dharmmam-animdyah<sup>9</sup>  
 || Pallavāgra-jalavimdu-chamchalē klēsa-
- 9 jāla-parivēshitō bhavē | yō na chintayati kamma-satpatham tasya janma  
 bhavat-īha nibhalam<sup>10</sup> || ēvam sarvvam-adhrva-
- 10 m-ālō[kya] dharmmō math sthāpyatām || Tan-mayā <sup>11</sup>svabhujōpārjita  
 Nakshisapurechaturasitikā-pratīva(ba)ddhō Jayapur-ā-
- 11 bhūdhānō grāmā<sup>12</sup> Māgha-sūklapaksha-shashtyām<sup>13</sup> upōpya(shya) gandha-dhūpa-  
 pushya(spha)-dīpa-snāna-vilēpan-ōpelēpana-[sanmā<sup>14</sup>]<sup>14</sup>
- 12 rjana-khaṇḍasphutita-sudhā-kūrchchak-ādi-śuśi u(sī ū)shā-kritē sva-mātāpitrōr-ātmanas=  
 cha<sup>15</sup> aṅhik-āmushm[ī\*]ka-punya-yasō-
- 13 bhīrīddhayē bhagavatah sarit-Kanavirikā-tat-āvasthita-Sahasradīhētēh śrīmatas=  
 Taru[nā]dītyadēvāya<sup>16</sup> bhakti-bhā-
- 14 vīta-manasī<sup>17</sup> udak[ā\*]tisaggēna dharmmadāyō nīsrīstah pratpādītās=cha || Yasya  
 pūrvtatah Sīhavāhalaka-grāma-
- 15 sīmā maryād[ā\*] [ī\*] dakshīnatah Rā[jyastha]lā-grāma-sīmā maryādā |  
 apaatah Pēdhillaka-grāma-sīmā [m\*]ryādā | utā-
- 16 ratah Amvullaka-<sup>18</sup>grāma-sīmā maryādā | ēvam chaturāghāta(ta)u-ōpalakshitah  
 sa-bhōgabhāgah sa-hīrayā[ā\*]dānah
- 17 sa-daṇḍadāsāparādhaḥ sa-sīmāparyantah s-ōdra[m\*]gah sa-vrikshamālākulah  
 sa-parīkarah chōllakavimvai-
- 18 gīkakōshyadī-sahitah<sup>19</sup> āchātabhatspravēśa-varjītō<sup>20</sup> bhūmīochchidra-nyāyēna  
 dharmmadāyō nīgn(sri)stah ||
- 19 Asya bhūmīatō bhōjāpayatah krīshatah karshāpayatō vā asmad-vamśajair-anyair=  
 vvā bhoktribhīh

<sup>1</sup> Read, probably, -piasādākrita-<sup>2</sup> Read sry-<sup>3</sup> Instead of this word which I do not remember to have met with elsewhere, I should have expected here, next to *dandapāsika*, as in other grants, -*chaurōddharanika*<sup>4</sup> It is just possible that the two *aksharas chāru* were struck out in the original, and that the intended reading here is *chāra bhata*<sup>5</sup> Read -*prabhritim-ānyuktaka nyuktakān-*<sup>6</sup> Read -*pattra-sthita-palatat-taralā śrīr-*<sup>7</sup> Read *jīvitam*<sup>8</sup> Metre of this verse and of the next *Rādhōdhatā* — Read *Padmapattra*<sup>9</sup> This of course cannot be right, but the actual reading does not suggest to me a suitable conjecture<sup>10</sup> Read *nishphālam*<sup>11</sup> Originally *svādhu*<sup>o</sup> was engraved, but the sign for *dh* has been struck out<sup>12</sup> Read *grāmō*<sup>13</sup> Read *shashtyām-*<sup>14</sup> Read *sammārjana*<sup>15</sup> Read =*cha*<sup>16</sup> Read, in accordance with the preceding, <sup>o</sup>*ddiasya*<sup>17</sup> Here and in other places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed<sup>18</sup> Read *Amvullaka*, in line 54 of the grant B the name is spelt *Amvulaka*<sup>19</sup> This term, the reading of which is quite clear in the photograph, I am unable to explain. The word *chōllak* occurs above, Vol III p 267, l 23, and Prof Hultzsch draws my attention to Vol VI p 68, note 9<sup>20</sup> One would have expected here *achātābhataparīvāśah*, and some other term ending with *varjītah* (like, e.g., *vārpadatta dīabrahmadāya-varjītah*)

20 pratishē[dhō] na karaniyah pālayitavyas=cha || yataḥ sām[ā\*]nyam bhūmidna-  
phalam=avēty=āyam=asamad-dā-

*Second Plate*

- 21 yō-numantavyō śmat-prīty-ābhyarthanayā cha pālanīya itī || Tathā ch=ōktam  
[bha]gava-
- 22 tā vyāsē(sē)na<sup>1</sup> Vyāsēna || <sup>2</sup>Yān=īha dattāni purā narēndīyah dānāni dharm-  
ārtha-yāsā-
- 23 s-karāni | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tām kō nāma sādhuḥ punar-ādadita ||
- 24 <sup>3</sup>Shashtar=vvarsha-sahasrāni svarggē tishthati bhūmidah | [ā]chchb[ē]ttā ch=  
ānumantā cha [tāny=ē]-
- 25 va narakē vasēt || Va(ba)hubbu=vvasudhā bhuktā rājanah<sup>4</sup> Sāgai-ādibhiḥ |  
yasya yasya yadā [bhū]-
- 26 mis=taasya tasya tadā phalam || <sup>5</sup>Shashtu=vvarsha-sahasrāni <sup>6</sup>shashtu=vvarsha-  
sātāni [cha] | [gavām kōta-pradānē]-
- 27 na bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || Vimdhy-ātavishv-atōyāsu(su) śushka-kōtara-  
vāsinaḥ | [kṛishṇāhayō hi jā]-
- 28 yantē bhūmi-dāyam harata(ntu) yē || Sva-dattām para-datt[ām\*] vā .ya[tn]ād-  
raksha narādhipa | mahim mahibh[ritām śrēshtha]
- 29 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || ⊙ || Ava(tra) sākshī via(brā)hmana-Dēhada-suta-  
Bhāvaḥ | tathā vrā(brā)hmana-[Kau ?]-
- 30 nara-suta-Nāgēsvarah || tathā vrā(brā)hmana-Jajjaka-suta-Harih || tathā  
vrā(brā)hmana-Bhā[skana]-suta-
- 31 Vāsudēvah || tathā vanik<sup>6</sup> Nōgha-suta-Isuvaḥ | tathā vanik<sup>6</sup> Nāga-suta-  
Pā[ha]lsh || ta-
- 32 thā <sup>7</sup>vanu-Jeulla-suta-Nannakah | tathā vanak<sup>8</sup> Sangama-suta-Dēuthah || tathā  
śa(ma)hattara-Dram[g]iya-
- 33 suta-Sihah | tathā mā(ma)hattara-Gōvāsa-suta-Ajannah | tathā mahattara-Gōvāsa  
suta-Mēha[m]pa[ka]-
- 34 ḥ | tathā mahattara-Dhāra-suta-Kanhakah || Luktam ch=aitan-mi(ma)yā kula-  
putraka-<sup>9</sup>Datta-suta-[Dhā ?]-
- 35 [r]ādī[tyē]n=ētā || ⊙ || Sri-Valabhi-samvat 574 Māgha-suddha 6 || ⊙ ||
- 36 Sva-hastō=[tra] śri-Va(ba)lavarmmanah || ≡<sup>10</sup> sva-hastah śri-Dhūka<sup>11</sup> || ⊙ ||

**B.—PLATES OF AVANIVARMAN II YOGA; [VIKRAMA]-SAMVAT 956**

**TEXT.<sup>12</sup>**

*First Plate*

- 1 Ōm<sup>13</sup> [I\*] Jayaś=ch=ābhy[u\*]dayas=cha || Jayati<sup>14</sup> jagatām prasūtir=visv-ātma  
sahaja-bhūshanam nabhasah | drutaka-
- 2 nakasāpṛisa-dasāsatasamayūkha-māl-ārohataḥ<sup>15</sup> Savitā || [I\*] <sup>16</sup>Āst=īha sārō va(ba)hir-  
amtarā cha chchhidrah pari-

<sup>1</sup> Read, probably, *vādayasna*

<sup>2</sup> Metre Indravajrā

<sup>3</sup> Metre of this verse and the rest Ślōka (Anushtubh) — Read *śhashtim varsha-*

<sup>4</sup> Read *vāyādih Sagar-*

<sup>5</sup> Read *śhashtim varsha-*

<sup>6</sup> Read *vany N\**

<sup>7</sup> Read *vany J\**

<sup>8</sup> Read *vany-Sam\**

<sup>9</sup> The same word occurs e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol. XII. p. 161, line 69

<sup>10</sup> This mark, which does not look like a letter, apparently represents the signature of Dhika

<sup>11</sup> One would have expected *-Dhikasya* See line 52 of the grant B.

<sup>12</sup> From a photograph supplied by Mr Gaurahankar Hrachand Ojha

<sup>13</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>14</sup> Metre Ārya.

<sup>15</sup> Read *-māl-dohata*

<sup>16</sup> Metre Indravajrā



- 3 tò na vipatrasâtah<sup>1</sup> | bhêdyah parau=n-ava mahipatinâm Vâ(châ)lukya-  
nâm=âpara-tunga-[vam]sah |(l) [2\*] <sup>2</sup>Va(ba)bhûva-
- 4 tuti(s=ta)[tra] mahâ-mahipatî mah[â\*]-mati Kalla-Ma[ha]lla-samjûtau | yayôh  
sitâ kirttar-upâgamad-gu-
- 5 nah parâm prasiddh(m) satata[m\*] sunrmalah || [3\*] <sup>3</sup>Saubhâtraû=cha  
yayôr=âsî(sî)d=anyônyam=avibhita(mna)-
- 6 yô[h\*] |(l) kalavappamâmyâtam<sup>4</sup> Râma-Lakshmanay[ô]r=iva || [4\*] Madhyê<sup>5</sup>  
nrîpânâm suvibhûyi[shu]tânâm
- 7 rai sja Kallah kula-kî[r\*]tti-yu[cta]h | kâ[m\*]tyâ mahatyâ sthura-yâ sryâ  
va(châ) kalpadrumânâm=1-
- 8 va pâriyâta[h] || [5\*] Râjya[m]<sup>6</sup> ma[chra ?]<sup>7</sup> mahîpatau gunagan-âlamkârabhâtê  
sati kshînâ[râ]ti-pa-
- 9 râkrâm-ân[v]ita-tansu nrîbhâta<sup>8</sup> sâsatu | lôkânâm=abhavan=manô |ati-yuta[m\*]  
dharma-pra-
- 10 [dh]âna[m] sadâ tushtir=[vva(bba)ndhu]janasya gaunya-janitâ dânañ=cha  
satyâtishâ(P)<sup>9</sup> || [6\*] <sup>10</sup>Tasmân=mahîs[a\*]d=vi-
- 11 tatôkavirtti<sup>11</sup> lakshmi-nidhânâm śaśanam gunânâm |(l) śauryasya bhûmr=  
vvasatur=mmatinâm
- 12 râjyabhâma(?)<sup>12</sup> tanayâ(yô) va(ba)bhûva || [7\*] <sup>13</sup>Valgattyaraggamâtuga-  
mattamâtanga-duggamân | yach-cha-
- 13 ndadandatasrastah śatratô=sisriyan=vana || [8\*] Ajan<sup>14</sup> tatô=pi śrîmâm[ngâ ?]-  
hukadhavalô<sup>15</sup>
- 14 mahâvu(nu)bhâvô yah | dha[r\*]mmam=avann= api nityam ranôtyamô(?) |  
ninasadramam<sup>16</sup> |(l) [9\*] <sup>17</sup>Rajâdhrâ-
- 15 ja-paramêvara-bhûmmâ[th]ân=yas-tân=api svabhujya-vîrya-vasâd=viṅg[y]ô |  
16 nistramsambhrayavilû[ṛi]rîpûttimâgar=a.vjair=ivê kshiti talam

## Second Plate, First Side

- 17 samatê puvinya || [10\*] <sup>18</sup>Kunta[thâ ?]sâsi[ha]si-pa[ch]ura nara-kari-pîjâ(jya)-  
valgat-turangam

<sup>1</sup> Read *vipatrasâkha*, i.e. both *vi-pattra sâkha*, 'without leaves and branches' and *vipatra-sâkha*, 'whose branches protect from misfortune'. A bamboo (*vamsa*) has leaves and branches. But the Châlukya race (*vamsa*) is a different kind (*apara*) of *vamsa*, one that has no leaves and branches, i.e., in the other sense of the adjective, it is a race the branches of which protect from misfortune. Similarly the other epithets in the verse suggest other differences between the two kinds of *vamsa*. The word *apara* of the last Pâda is practically equivalent to *apâra*, which is employed in a similar verse above, Vol III p 298, line 6 of the text. *Apara* is used in the same way (not in the sense 'before which no other excels') in the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 198, line 10.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vamśasā

<sup>3</sup> Read *kuladharmma samâyatāh*

<sup>4</sup> Metre Sârdûlavikridita

<sup>5</sup> Read, probably, *nrîbhâtikam*

<sup>6</sup> Metre Indravajrâ

<sup>7</sup> I am unable to give the name of the chief, concealed in this corrupt passage. The verse would be right if we were to read *Rajâdhrâ-nâmâ*, but I am not sure about this conjecture.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślôka (Anushtubh) — Read the verse *Valgat turangamat= tunga-matta-mâtanga durgamât. yach- chandandatasrastah śatratô=sisriyan=vanam* || For *chandandata* see above, Vol VI p 10, v 2v

<sup>9</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>10</sup> Here again I cannot give confidently the name intended in the original. The right reading may possibly be *śrîmân=Vâhukadhavalô*

<sup>11</sup> Read *ran ôdyatô=śnâsâd=Dharmam*. The name at the end of the verse undoubtedly is *Dharmam*

<sup>12</sup> Metre Vasantślôka — Read the second half of the verse *nistramsambhrayavilûna-rîpûttimâdgayr= abjair=iva kshiti talam samatê pravâhyā* ||

<sup>13</sup> Metre Sragdhârâ — Read *Kuntaprâsâdâhastâ*

- 18 Karnātam śai(sai)nyam=ājō(jau) bhayarahita-manā bhūriśō-bhu(nu)praviśya |  
 ēkīkī khadga-
- 19 yashtyā drutam=atīstayā<sup>1</sup> yō-rimūddhi-pravāha[m] vāh-ārūdhō=vagādham kamala-
- 20 vanam=iva śrattya-khēda<sup>2</sup> lulāva || [11\*] <sup>3</sup>Tasmād=amjāyata sutō śvanivarmma-  
 nāmā śanrya-pratā-
- 21 pa-vinay-ādi-guṇanūpatāb<sup>4</sup> | sannābhavad=bh[r\*]śam=imām=avatā dhanrtrim=  
 anvarthātān=nijanu=
- 22 niyata yēna nāma |(l) [12\*] <sup>5</sup>Avaniva[r\*]mmani ya[tra] sukarmmani  
 vyatbīta-śātravamarmmani vaīmmani(?) [l]
- 23 yuvati-nirmīta-naimmani bhūpatō(tau) na janatābhīr=sā[s\*r\*]mmani śa[m\*]kitam ||  
 [13\*] Tasya<sup>6</sup> sūnur=ajan=īha
- 24 sukarmā mitra-va(ba)ndh[u]janantābira-<sup>7</sup>śa[r]mmā | kirtitō vidita śātravamarmā  
 yō janair=abhi-
- 25 dhayā Va(ba)lavarmmā || [14\*] <sup>8</sup>Satatam=avitath-oktīh snāna-jāpy-ādi-śā(śī)lah  
 pranayīśatasahasru-
- 26 dhīna-vistīrnasampat | bbrijasuru-<sup>9</sup>vibit-śō yah sed=ārabhya vā(bā)lyātvī(t=Tri)-  
 nayana-charan-ā-
- 27 rchchāśīlavān=samprajātam(h) |(l) [15\*] Prathita-karitarāmgam śātanstrīmśa-pāmh<sup>10</sup>  
 Vīshadhām=avaśa-
- 28 m=śīśh sādhu ptvā samikē [1\*] sthīrataram=urudhakā-yugmam=śū dradhīyan<sup>11</sup>  
 śruti-sukha-
- 29 dam=akhinnō yō=grahīn=ma[m\*]dra-nādam || [16\*] Chatura-turaga-durgān=samyati  
 dhvasta-śātru[h\*] sphuta-
- 30 m=īha jagatīśān<sup>12</sup> Jajjap-ādīn=nihatya | prasabham=abhūmanaskō yō vyadhatta  
 [ksh]itīśō
- 31 bhuvanam=udam=abīnō Hūna-vamśēna hīnam || [17\*] Kuvalayadala-nētrah  
 sannat-āmsasthālā-<sup>13</sup>
- 32 kah | prakatam=Ava[v]ivarmmā [n]āma tasy=[ā]tmaj[ō]= bhūt | prithula-  
 katir=udārah kshāma-ma-
- 33 dhyas=tathā yō vidita īha jagatyām Yōga-nāmn=āparēna || [18\*] Saṅgrāmē<sup>14</sup>  
 Yākshadśāsa[m\*] va(ba)la-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 34 m=a[kh]ilam=apī<sup>15</sup> dhvamśaytvā pravīrō yah samjagrāha tūryam patutara-  
 nnadam Śāgarakśōbha-
- 35 nāma | yasy=ālamkāra-bhūtām<sup>16</sup> pta-ripa jagnihuh pattayō=pi pratitāh  
 śamkha-[ch]chha[tra-dhvaj]ādī-<sup>17</sup>
- 36 n=āhamahamīkayā mu(yu)ddha-bhūmmī praviśya || [19\*] Kōdānda-dhvasta-dhārā-  
 śara-kara-nakharē v[kra]m-āva(ba)ddha-
- 37 chitē hīlābhīm(nu)-ānyasē(śē)nā samadagajaghatā-tumbhatumgasthālīkē<sup>18</sup> | yasmīn-  
 ā[kra]mya bhūmmī

<sup>1</sup> Read =atīstayā yō-rimūddhā-<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatīlakā -- Read Tasmād=ajāyata<sup>3</sup> Metre Drutavilambita<sup>4</sup> Metre śvagatā<sup>5</sup> Metre of verses 15-18 Mālinī<sup>6</sup> Read dvyā-guru-<sup>7</sup> Read dradhīyān=<sup>8</sup> Read jagatīśān=<sup>9</sup> Read sannat āmsasthālīkah pra<sup>2</sup><sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 19 and 20 · Sragdarā.<sup>11</sup> The syllable pī was originally omitted and is engraved in the margin<sup>12</sup> Read bhūtān=<sup>13</sup> Read -chchhatra-dhvaj-ādī-<sup>14</sup> Read -tumga-kvābhasthālīkē | yasmīn=<sup>15</sup> Read arasta-khēda<sup>16</sup> Read -guṇair=upēlah<sup>17</sup> Read -bandhūyanat śhīta<sup>18</sup> Read -pānir=

- 38 [sth]tavati hi nija<sup>1</sup> sghavad=Yakshadāsa-[kshō]nīp ādyaiskumragan=iva<sup>2</sup> ripu-  
nivahaih dūratāh sram  
39 prāṇēē || [20\*] <sup>3</sup>Vyōmā yāntam=adhikam mrigay[ā\*] piyō yah satva<sup>4</sup> na  
muñchati sa kum Dhāranīvarāhah [i\*] maty=é-  
40 ti [vō]mpuuhayā<sup>5</sup> sahas(s)=ava yasya dūān=nanāmē<sup>6</sup> matimām Dhāranīvarāhah  
|| [21\*] <sup>7</sup>Khadga-khamdita-dhandāia[m]<sup>8</sup>  
41 unda-mundāigha-<sup>9</sup>manditam | ya<sup>1</sup>=ājibh[ā\*]ji jati[ti] sasapāna<sup>10</sup> ianāmganam ||  
[22\*] <sup>11</sup>Naiapatim=amum muktva  
42 kalē kalau sati sa[m\*]prati tiyagati paritātum saktō na kaśchid=ap=iha  
mām | su[ra]va-niva[hō] ma-  
43 tv=ēti va nmatkamavi[kra]ma<sup>12</sup> satana-manasam ślimamtam yam samāśi ayad=  
u[chchhr]ta[m\*] || [23\*] Tēna<sup>13</sup> piava(cha)ndama[udā]bhra[ ]-  
44 chalā[m\*] vi[bhūtum] <sup>14</sup>[padmāsth] <sup>15</sup>itāmva(bu)kanikā-ta[ra]lātan=āsū[n]<sup>16</sup> |  
vidy[u\*]dvilāsa(va)chalāñ=cha vichī[m\*]tya la-  
45 kshimī prāvai tyate sphutam=ayam kshitdāna-dha[ ]mmah || [24\*] Sa cha  
mahāsāmanta-si-f-Yōga śvam=u[kta] <sup>17</sup>vān pattha<sup>15</sup>  
46 <sup>18</sup>saprānu=ēv=ūbhīsamvadhyaakam svān=anyāmś=[cha] gambbhāvī-bhūpālams=cha  
samanuvō(hō)dhayatya  
47 yah samviditam yath=śmābhīh pratāpāpranata-samastāsāmanta-sō(mau)lmāl-ūi chita-  
chayanayu-  
48 galasya śasādharaka anikai-āmalayaśa[h\*]piavaha-dhavalita-dhāīvalayasya  
samhitābhya-  
49 dhikapadān-ānandita-vamdivrind-ōpagīyamāna-samastagunaganasya paramabhattāi-  
50 ka-mah[a\*]jādhrāja-paiami(mē)śvaia-si-f-Bhōjādī(dē)va-pādānu dh y ā t a p a r a m a-  
51 bhattāraka-mahār[ā\*]jādhrāja-paiamēsvaia-si-f-Mah ē m d r a p ā l a d ē v a p i a s ā-<sup>17</sup>

## Third Plate

- 52 pāda-prasād-āvāpta<sup>18</sup> tantu(nm)yukta-tam[ti]amcha<sup>19</sup>pāla<sup>19</sup>-śrī-Dhīka-pratava(ba)ddhais=  
ta-  
53 d anumatyā cha Śau(sau)rāshtramandal-āntāhpātu-Nakshisapurachaturā(ra)śi ti-  
prati-

<sup>1</sup> Read *nijām simhavat=*<sup>2</sup> Read *ādyaish kuramgasi = iva ripu nivahasi =*<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā — The general meaning of the verse clearly is that a certain Dhāranīvarāha, for whose identification see above, p 3 f, was put to fight by, or fled before, Avānvarman. But I am not sure about every detail of the verse — The first words of the verse perhaps are either *vyōmānāpi yāntam=* or *vyōmāna prayāntam=*<sup>4</sup> Read *sattvam*<sup>5</sup> I cannot correct this<sup>6</sup> Read *nānāsa matimām=*<sup>7</sup> Metre Śōka (Anushubh)<sup>8</sup> Read, probably, *dandāram* (in the sense of 'elephant')<sup>9</sup> Read *mud āgha-*<sup>10</sup> Read *lastra-pānu*<sup>11</sup> Metre Harinī<sup>12</sup> Read *Trivikrama vikramam*<sup>13</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā<sup>14</sup> Read *taralāms=tath=āśūn*<sup>15</sup> Read *yathā* (?), but the words *evam=uktān yathā* would be quite out of place here<sup>16</sup> Read *sarvān=ēv=ūbhīsamvadhīyamānān-śi-ān=anyāmś=ch=āgamidhāv*<sup>17</sup> These two *aksharas* (the first two syllables of the word *prasāda*) are quite out of place here. In agreement with the preceding adjectives one would have expected *Mahēndrapālādēvasya*, but the writer proceeds as if the whole preceding passage, commencing with *pratāpāpranata*, were a single compound, qualifying *Mahēndrapālādēva*<sup>18</sup> Here, in my opinion, some words have been omitted. As the text stands, we do not learn from it what the chief Yōga had received from Mahēndrapāla<sup>19</sup> The two *aksharas* in brackets are quite doubtful. I can only suggest that the intended reading may possibly be *tadantāpā'a-*

- 54 va(ba)ddha<sup>1</sup>-Amvulak-ābhudhāna-grāmah sa-vrikshamālakulaḥ sa-simāparyan[t\*]aḥ  
 55 sa-bhogabhāgah sa-hiranyādānaḥ sa-dandadasāparādhah sābhajamānavēshṭikah  
 56 sakala-rājakyānām=ahastapraکشهpanima(ya) ā-chamdr-ārکش(rk)k-ārnnavā-kahitā-  
 sarit-par[<sup>v</sup>v]ata-sama-  
 57 kālīnāḥ<sup>3</sup> ih=arva Jayapura-grām-ābhyaśē Kanavirikā-sand-upakanthē nvisih[t\*]a<sup>4</sup>-  
 Ta[ru]nā-  
 58 dityadēvāya khandasphutita-suka(dhā)-dugdha-rā[r]ohchaka-svapana-vilēpana-pushpa-  
 dhūpa-dīpa-t[ai]la-nē(nai)vē-  
 59 dya-dārik-ādy-upakritayē m[ā\*]tāpitrōr=ātmanāś=ch=[ai]hik-āmushmika puṇya-yas[ō]-  
 bhivriddhayē bhūmchohhidra-  
 60 nyāy[e\*]na pravī(t)ipādītas=tad-ajam svadha[r\*]mmadāya-nirṭhi(rvvi)śēpra(sha)ḥ  
 pālāya(yi)tavō gūna(ma)ntavyas=cha || yasāya(sya) ch=ā-  
 61 ghātānāni pūr[<sup>v</sup>v]ato Vīyaraka-grāma simā | dakshinatō Jayapura-grāma-  
 sinā(mā) || apānatah Sē-  
 62 ṇḍuvaka-Kōrinthaka-grāma-simē | utānatah Vavulka-grāma-simā | tad=ē[na]m  
 chaturāghātāno(na)-pari-  
 63 kshipta-grāmam bhūmjatō bhōjayatah ksha(kri)shatēh karsha[ya]tāh pratidīśa-  
 tē(tō) rā(vā) na kauscha[n=ā]lp=āpī paripam-  
 64 thanā vyāsē<sup>5</sup> vā kāryah | yatah sāmānyasanapalam=avity=<sup>6</sup>asmat-prityā pālāniyā  
 ita(ta) || Tathā d(ch)=ō-  
 65 kīam Vyāsē(sā)na | <sup>7</sup>Va(ba)hubhuc=vvasudhā bhuktā rājāni(bhī)h Śa(sa)gar-  
 ādibhūh [t\*] yasra<sup>8</sup> yanya yadā bhūmīsūśa tasya ta-  
 66 rā palam || <sup>9</sup>[Y]ān=īha dahā[na]<sup>9</sup> purā narēndrar-dānāni<sup>10</sup> |  
 mmārāgāsāsakarāni | nūmmalyavāna-prah-  
 67 māni tāni kō nāma śā(sā)dhuh punar=ādādīta ||  
 68 Samvat 856 Māgha-sūci 6 [t\*]

No 2 — VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF PURNAPALA,  
 THE VIKRAMA YEAR 1099

By PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C I E , GOTTINGEN

About the year 1840 the stone, which bears this inscription, was taken by Captain T S Burt from a tank at Vasantgadh<sup>11</sup> in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, and the inscription was published in *Journ As Soc. Beng* Vol X p 64 ff, from a very unsatisfactory transcript prepared by Paṇḍit Kamalākānta. For a long time the stone seems to have been lost sight of; but it has lately been rediscovered by my indefatigable friend, Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur, and is now deposited at the town of Sirohi. I re-edit the text from impressions which have been kindly sent to me by Mr Ojha.

<sup>1</sup> Read <sup>o</sup>ddh-Ambulak. In line 16 of the grant A. the name is spelt *Ambullaka*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śtipadyamānavēshṭikah* (or *vēshṭikah*, which occurs often elsewhere).

<sup>3</sup> Read *kālīna*

<sup>4</sup> Read *vyāsēśhē*

<sup>5</sup> Read *sāmānyān dāna-phalam=avity=*

<sup>6</sup> Metre. Ślōka (Anushubh)

<sup>7</sup> Read *yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs=ūśa tasya tadā phalaḥ*

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Indravajrā

<sup>9</sup> Read *dātānāni*

<sup>10</sup> Read *ni dharmm āriha-yasas-karāni | nūmmālya-vēśta-*

<sup>11</sup> Vasantgadh (Basantgadh) apparently is situated to the east of Mount Āḍā, but I do not find it on the map of the Rājputāna Agency. At or near the same place an important inscription of the time of king Varmalāta, of the [Vikrama] year 682, has lately been discovered.

The inscription contains 23 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2' broad by 1' 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ " high. At the upper proper right corner part of the stone is broken away, so that between about 15 and 2 *aksharas* are missing at the commencement of lines 1-9. Otherwise the writing is well preserved and may be read with certainty nearly throughout. The size of the letters, between  $\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters generally differ little from the ordinary Nāgarī, but they include a few signs which are peculiar to the earlier northern inscriptions. The letter *ḅ* everywhere is denoted by a sign of its own, and the secondary *ā* is often written by a superscript line, once (in *Trashtuh=prasāddāt*, l 13) we have the sign of the *upadhimāntya*, and once (in *bhāryām*, l 12) the conjunct *ry* is made up of the full sign for *r* and the secondary form of *y*. Between verses 32 and 33 and at the end of the text a conch-shell has been engraved, and between verses 33 and 34 a circular ornament. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and, excepting the words *asy=ānwayō=pr* and *nagar-ānwayō=pr* in lines 8 and 13, the whole is in verse. Both the language and the verses often are incorrect, and as a piece of literary composition the inscription is worthless. Here, to show how very limited was the author's knowledge of grammar, I need only point out forms such as *nāman*, l 5, *vēsmam*, l 9, *vēsmah*, l 14, and *vyōmē*, l 21 (for *nāma*, *vēśma*, *vēsmabhih*, and *vyōmni*), from passages regarding the reading of which there cannot be any doubt. And what liberties were taken by him, simply for the sake of the metre, in the spelling of words, may be seen from instances like *Pārnāpāla*, l 7, *samdhāt*, l 19, *svapāna*, l 15 (for *Pārnāpāla*, *samdhv*, *sōpāna*), etc.<sup>1</sup>

The object of the inscription is, to record that a queen named Lāhni, a younger sister of the Paramāra Pūrnāpāla and widow of a king Vigharārāja, at Vata<sup>2</sup> (Vata-nagara, Vata-pura) restored an ancient temple of the Sun, and restored or founded a tank (*vāpi*), apparently the very tank where this record has been found. And the inscription is divided into three parts, the first and second of which give the genealogies of Lāhni and Vigharārāja, while the third glorifies the town Vata and the pious work executed there by the widowed queen. The whole is introduced by two verses, in one of which (so far as it is preserved) the author pays homage to Mahēśvara (Śiva), Prachētasa (the poet Vālmiki), and Vāni (the goddess of eloquence), while in the other he invokes the protection of the god Hari (Vishnu).

Verse 3 relates that through the anger of (the sage) Vamsthā there was produced a youth or prince (*kumāra*) from whom the Pramāra (or Paramāra) family took its origin.<sup>3</sup> In his lineage there was Utpalārāja; from him sprang Āranyārāja, and from him Adbhutakrishnarāja. His son (or, if a name should have been lost at the commencement of line 4, his son's son) was Mahipāla, and from him sprang Dhandhuka. To Dhandhuka there was born from his wife Amritadēvi Pūrnāpāla, who ruled the Arbuda territory (*bhū-mandālam=Arbbudāsya*).<sup>4</sup> In his reign, his younger sister Lāhni was married by king Vigharārāja.

Vigharārāja's genealogy, in verse 12, commences with a twice-born named Yōta, who by his bravery acquired the title of king (*bhūpa*). In his lineage there was the king (*nripa*) Bhavagupta, who, after restoring the temple of 'the Sun dwelling at Vata' (*Yajā-vās-bhānu*), reigned at Vata. In his lineage, again, there was Sangamarāja, who ruled Badari in Vamsāratha. From him sprang Durlabharāja; from him, Chacha, and from him, Vigharārāja, who, as stated

<sup>1</sup> The author's mistakes have been more fully pointed out in the notes on the text. The inscription emphatically teaches us that the mistakes which may be found in an inscription need not necessarily be ascribed to the writer or engraver.

<sup>2</sup> In line 9, verse 13, the word is used in the plural (*Vatshu*), and in the inscription of Varmalāta, mentioned above, the place appears to be called *Vatikarasthāna*.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol II p 190, verse 18. In the present inscription we have the name *Prandāra* in verse 8, and *Paramāra* in verse 10. The name is written *Prandāra* also in the unpublished Bhārūnda inscription of Pūrnāpāla of the [Vikrama] year 1102, of which I possess impressions.

<sup>4</sup> In the Bhārūnda inscription mentioned in the preceding note Pūrnāpāla is said to rule the *Arbuda-mandāla*. The inscription actually has *Arbuvudamandālam prasādāt*.





- vijitya lókān || [15\*] <sup>1</sup>Dvijhvarīpavāhano lalanakāntarāmānvitah || kulōchchaya-  
 listonnatā = vvidhritachā ulakshmi-
- 11 vapuh || svapanūshadhritāvanū = balānvishtachakrō ॥ bābhūva nri varōttamah  
 sa nararūpādhi = Madhavah || [16\*] <sup>2</sup>Piōthullastakvama mukhām karatala-  
 sakumū apamukaja-nibhā[ng]im || Śriyam = iva kulajam i. jūi-Lāhinim = ūdha-
- 12 vām<sup>3</sup> sah || [17\*] Bhāiyām<sup>4</sup> sa ch = āvopya gunāh samctam chitt-ēpsitām = var<sup>5</sup>  
 bubhuje cha bhōgam || s = āpi priyam p. apya patā = tu iēmē yadvach = Chhach =  
 Īndrēna samam varēm<sup>6</sup> || [18\*] A = am = mitō bhaittari daiva-yōgād = bhātūr =  
 grīham s = āpi gatō vīyuktā || āvāsit = vai nagarē Vatē = smm = daivāt = pra-
- 13 hinē bahūsah kramēna || [19\*] || Nagai-ānvayō = pi<sup>7</sup> || || Tapta = tapam<sup>8</sup>  
 Vā un = āpi yattra nyagō [dha-sakt-ā] = rama māpavasya<sup>9</sup> || sthānē = rka = Bharggau  
 svanatō<sup>10</sup> Vāsishthō mukti-pradau sthāpitavān = varissthah || [20\*] Tadvad = Vat-  
 ākhyam nagaram vanē = smm<sup>11</sup> Tvashthuh = prasādāt = kaitiv. am<sup>12</sup>
- 14 n = Vāsishthah || prakāra = vapr-ōpavanās = tadā [g] rih prāsādā = vēmā. <sup>13</sup> sughanam  
 sutumgah || [21\*] <sup>14</sup>Śrūtmantr-odam = akshobhyam śhadatagavrita-samkulam ||  
 vēd-ānnavam dvijāh samyag = yatia tirtv = āpy = agarvita [h] || [22\*] <sup>15</sup>Lōkair =  
 dāharima parāih svakarmna-nratāih sadbhūh sad = āvāsitam ||
- 15 vrityantham<sup>16</sup> [cha sa ?] māgatāh pāudisām nityam vaugbun = vitam || [pa] -  
 rūāh<sup>17</sup> pānikajamān = vvyasāmkah sū (sū) rair = jjanāh samkulam || Indriā-sthānam =  
 r = āparam Vata-puram lshōni-talē samsthitam || [23\*] <sup>18</sup>vai = udgatā yattra  
 sarit = Sarasvatī svapāna = pāukt = iva<sup>19</sup> nriām
- 16 nūmajatām || supunyapushpōdakaphēna-vāhni dvij-āstāmōnām ramanevadhshthitā<sup>20</sup> ||  
 [24\*] YC<sup>21</sup> sarvām-pālayantē nagarāhita-ratīh<sup>22</sup> nūmanā. h prasāmīh ||  
 dēvān = viprān = yajantē kanakadhana mahi yastra atnādi-dānāh || khātu = yēshām cha  
 nityam tū (tū) bhāvāna-
- 17 valayē sud-gunan = ēva nitā || tī = smm = paurāh samastāh sakalajam. - hūtā Bhānavē  
 bhaktimantah || [25\*] <sup>23</sup>S = ātr = āgatā Lāhinī-nama-rājūi bhaittū = vvyōgādhi-  
 nipīdātāngi || smm = purē vipra-janāh samētya tūpta [tū] tēsham [va]chanāt =  
 prabaddhā || [26\*] Bhā-
- 18 nōi = grīham daiva-vaśād = vibhagnam Vāsishtha-paurāh sukritam yad = āsit ||  
 vanāsi<sup>24</sup> sarvām saba jivitēna jūātvā grīham kaitam = usū Bhānōh || [27\*]

<sup>1</sup> Metre Prithī

<sup>2</sup> This apparently is intended for an Āryā verse, but it is quite incorrect. Ed omits the whole or it

<sup>3</sup> Read *van-sah*

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 18-21 Indravajrā

<sup>5</sup> Read *ēpsitam vai*, or, perhaps, *ēpsitam vai*

<sup>6</sup> Read *va śna*

<sup>7</sup> Instead of these words and of the first half of the following verse Ed has *Vāsishtharājōpi atrā = āstātōm yam Vāsishtharājōntayōd'pi (jātamātrāpa Tarunādipi) atrā nyagrōdhāsyā = āirānah*

<sup>8</sup> Wrong for *tapō*

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading may be *Mādhavasya*, but I am not sure about the meaning of the verse. Some legend, which is unknown to me, seems to be referred to.

<sup>10</sup> Read *sva-nata*, or, perhaps, *sva matou*

<sup>11</sup> Read *smm = Teā*

<sup>12</sup> Read *= kṛtāvān = Va*

<sup>13</sup> Wrong for *-vēmāhīh*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>14</sup> Metre *Ślōka* (Anushtubh)

<sup>15</sup> Metre *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*

<sup>16</sup> Read *vrittyarīham* — The *sa* in the following brackets seems to be engraved below the line

<sup>17</sup> There is hardly any doubt here about the actual reading, but the text must be incorrect. I cannot suggest

a satisfactory emendation. Ed has *paardnōr = gāgīkōyanar =*

<sup>18</sup> Metre *Vamśastha*

<sup>19</sup> Wrong for *sōpāna pāukt = va*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>20</sup> Read *janam = va nishthitā*

<sup>21</sup> Metre *Sragūharā*.

<sup>22</sup> Read *-ratī*

<sup>23</sup> Metre of verses 26-30 Indravajrā

<sup>24</sup> Wrong for *vindī* (or *vaidīkām*), which would not suit the metre.



- <sup>1</sup>Suslishta-samdham ruohira[m] supadam śail-śishtakam cha sthna-singha-karnnam<sup>2</sup> || yadvad=Dhmādnis=śikharais=cha tadvat=kritvā
- 19 mkētam Vata-vāsi-bhānōh || [28\*] Lōka-prap-aishā sukritā cha vāpi suslishtasamdhi-ghatitōpalā<sup>3</sup> cha || sōpāna-pamktyā susubhē(bhā) subaddhā nisir(erē)ni-bhūt-ēva divaukasasya || [29\*] Dēvaih samastan=11,11)shibhis=cha jushā pāpābhā vyāpya jagat=sthitā yā || jñuō-
- 20 dhritā<sup>4</sup> Lāhri-punyahētōh Śārasvatī śēsha-janasya vāpi || [30\*] Nishpādyā<sup>5</sup> sukritau kritvā<sup>6</sup> artham datvā<sup>7</sup> punah-punah || vaināsikam=idam ch=ānya[\*]= jñātvā lōkasya charppitau<sup>8</sup> || [31\*] <sup>9</sup>Yāvad=gaur=llōka-dh[ā\*]trī pravahat [pa ?]rutō<sup>10</sup> yāvad=arkō=ntarikshē || yāvad=vichyas=sa-
- 21 mudrē pavana-vidhunitāh<sup>11</sup> samtatāh prōchchalantī || yāvad=vyōmē<sup>12</sup> susūghiam piacha[la ?]ta mihra-syamdā(da)nasy=saka-chakram || vāpy-ōkau tāvad=āstām=<sup>13</sup> udukara sadrisau śrēyasē kārakasya || [32\*] || <sup>14</sup>Krit=ēyam Hari-puttrēna Mātrīarmma-dvjanmanā || śastr-ōllōka hītā-
- 22 rthāya Lāhinyās=cha<sup>15</sup> hit-aishnā || [33\*] <sup>16</sup>Āsich=cha Nāgāt=sthapatēs=tu Durggah || Durggākkatō Dēuka-sūttradhārah || asy=āpi sūnuh Śivapāla-nāmā || yēn=ōtkrit=ēyam<sup>17</sup> susubhā prasastih || [34\*] <sup>18</sup>Navanavatr-ih=āsīd-Vikramāditya-kālē || jagati
- 23 dasāsātānām=agratō yatra pūrnā [\*] prabhavatu Nabha-māsē sthānakō Chntrabhānōh || Mrigasīrasī śāsāmkē krishna-pakshē navamyām || [35 \*\*]

## No 3 — ALUPA INSCRIPTIONS AT UDIYAVARA.

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

The ancient royal family of the Ālupas is one of those whose early history is wrapped in obscurity—'carent quia vate sacro' as Horace (*Carm IV 9*) expresses it. All that was until recently known regarding them will be found on page 309 of Dr Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*. A few additional records of them were published by Mr Rice in his *Epigraphia Carnatica*. The Ālupas or Āluvas are referred to in inscriptions of the two Western Chalukya kings Pulakēsīn II<sup>19</sup> and Vinayāditya, of the Rāshtrakūta king Gōvinda III,<sup>20</sup> and of the Kādamba Jayakēsīn I, and the poet Bilhana mentions them in connection with his patron Vikramāditya VI. They are thus proved to have existed as a ruling family in the period from the seventh to the eleventh centuries of the Christian era.

As regards the name Ālupa, Dr Bhandarkar suggested that it 'seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabar coast'<sup>21</sup>. This is very improbable, because Ālūvāy (Alwye) is situated in Travancore, while the inscriptions of the Ālupas are

<sup>1</sup> Ed omits this verse<sup>2</sup> Read *śmshakarnnam* — This word *śmshakarna* apparently is a technical term, relating to architecture<sup>3</sup> Read *-ghatitōpalā*; the preceding *samāhā* for the sake of the metre stands for *samāhā*,<sup>4</sup> Read *dhritā* <sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) |<sup>6</sup> Read *dhritā* <sup>7</sup> Read *ch=arppitau* <sup>8</sup> Observe the hiatus<sup>9</sup> Read *puratā*(?) <sup>10</sup> For the sake of the metre for *vidhānīdā*<sup>11</sup> Wrong for *vyōmē*, which would not have suited the metre<sup>12</sup> Thus *āstām* is wrongly used here for *astām* (from *as*) or *syātām* (from *as*).<sup>13</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) <sup>14</sup> The name of the queen is written here with (the dental) s<sup>15</sup> Metre Indravajra <sup>16</sup> *Vikrīdā* wrong for *utkrīdā*<sup>17</sup> Metre Mālinī — Ed omits the last Pada of the verse and has instead of it *sa 1099*<sup>18</sup> See now above, Vol VI p 10 <sup>19</sup> See below, p 16 and note 7.<sup>20</sup> See now above, Vol VI p 10 <sup>21</sup> See below, p 16 and note 7.<sup>21</sup> *History of the Dekkan*, p 51, note 3

found in South Canara, Kadû and Shimoga. The original meaning of the word *Âlupa* or *Âluva* is probably 'a ruler,' from the *Diavidian* root *al*, 'to rule'

A few individual names of kings are preserved to us. The Sorab plates of *Vinayâditya* were issued at the request of *Gunasâgara-Âlupendra's* son *Chitravâha-Mahârâja*, who was in possession of the district (*urshaya*) of *Edevojal* in the N E of *Banavâsi* in North Canara.<sup>1</sup> According to the *Harihara* plates of *Vinayaditya* which are dated two years after the Sorab plates, another village in the district (*Uhuva*) of *Edevojal* forming part of the *Banavâsi-mandala*, was granted at the request of *Âluvaraja*<sup>2</sup> i.e. perhaps *Chitravâha-Mahârâja*. The same two princes (*Gunasâgara* and *Chitravâha*) may be meant in an inscription at *Kigga* in the *Koppa tâluka* of the *Kadû* district,<sup>3</sup> which states that, when *Âluvarasu*, whose second name was *Gunasâgara*, was ruling the *Kadamba-mandala*,—*Aluarasa*, (his) great queen and (his son) *Chitravâhana* made a grant to a local temple<sup>4</sup>. Another inscription (*Kp 37*), which is on the other face of the same stone, is dated while some *Chitravâhana* was ruling *Ponbuchchu*,<sup>5</sup> the modern *Huncha*<sup>6</sup>. Finally, an inscription at *Mavali* in the Sorab tâluka of the *Shimoga* district states that in the time of *Pibhûtavaiasha Gôindaiasa*, i.e. the *Rashttrakûta* king *Gôvinda III*, a certain *Chitravâhana* ruled the *Âluvakhêda* six-thousand, while *Râjâdityarasa* ruled the *Banavâsi-mandala*.<sup>7</sup>

If the *Chitravâhana* of the first *Kigga* inscription was really the same person as the *Chitravâha* of the Sorab plates, it would follow that the *Âlupa* or *Âluva* prince *Gunasâgara* was governor of the *Kadamba-mandala*, i.e. the *Banavâsi* province, in or immediately before the time of the Western *Chalukya* king *Vinayâditya*, and that *Gunasâgara's* son *Âluvarâja Chitravâha* or *Chitravâhana (I)* granted two villages in the district of *Edevojal*, which formed part of the *Banavâsi* province, during *Vinayâditya's* reign. Consequently *Chitravâhana I* seems to have succeeded his father *Gunasâgara* in the government of *Banavâsi*. In the time of *Gôvinda III*, however, the *Banavâsi-mandala* had been taken from the *Âlupas* and was entrusted to *Râjâditya*, while the *Âluvakhêda* six-thousand was administered by a second *Chitravâhana*, who on the strength of his name may be assumed to have belonged to the *Âlupa* family. To judge from the *Mavali* inscription, he proved troublesome and had to be coerced by the force of arms. That *Chitravâhana*, whom the second *Kigga* inscription mentions as residing at *Huncha*, may or not be identical with this *Chitravâhana II*, but must be distinct from *Chitravâhana I*, whose capital was most probably *Banavâsi*. If this identification is correct, *Ponbuchchu*, the modern *Huncha*, would have been the head-quarters of the *Âluvakhêda* six-thousand, which in a later record is mentioned as *Âlvakhêda* among the boundaries of the *Poyala* kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

Mr *Rice's* volumes contain many records of certain later families which seem to be connected with the ancient *Âlupas*. These are the *Changâlvas*,<sup>9</sup> *Kongâlvas*,<sup>10</sup> *Nâdâlvas*,<sup>11</sup> *Sântaras*,<sup>12</sup> and the rulers of *Kalasa* and *Kârkala*.<sup>13</sup>

In the course of a tour in 1901, Mr *H. Krishna Sastru, B.A.*, discovered a number of archaic *Kanarese* pillar inscriptions of the *Âlupas* at *Udiyavara* near *Udipi* in the South Canara

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 147. A facsimile of the Sorab plates has since appeared in *Ep Carn* Vol VIII, p. 92 of the Translations.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VII p 302, and *Ep Carn* Vol XI Dg 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VI Kp 38.

<sup>4</sup> A further remark on the same inscription will be found below, p 21, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> The *Kanarese* text has *pinduvêdile* for *Ponbuchchê-dile* in the Roman text.

<sup>6</sup> See p 17 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VIII Sb 10, with Plate facing p 3 of the Roman texts.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep Carn* Vol VI Cm 180, line 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Id* Vol IV Introduction, p 16, Vol V p viii, Vol IX p 19.

<sup>10</sup> *Id* Vol V p vii, Vol IX p 18.

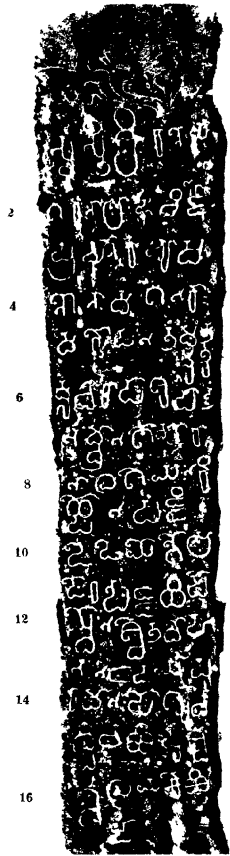
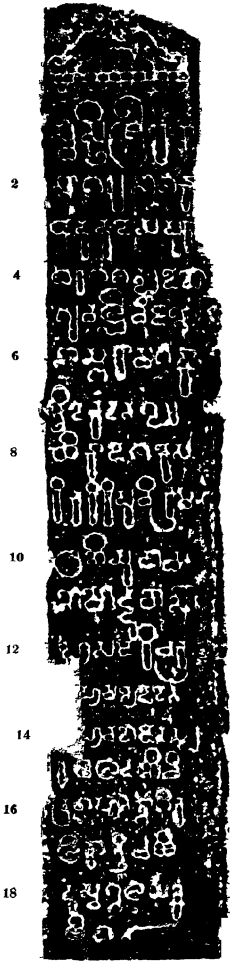
<sup>11</sup> *Id* Vol V p vii.

<sup>12</sup> *Id* Vol VI p 10, Vol VII p 17, Vol VIII p 6. Compare *Dyn Kan Distr.* p 458 and note 2.

<sup>13</sup> *Ep Carn*, Vol. VI p 19. Compare above, Vol. VII p 109 ff and Vol. VIII p 124 ff.

I — Scale one sixth

II — Scale one fifth



district Of these records I now edit the eight most complete and important ones Regarding some difficult points in them I have consulted my old friends Venkayya and Kṛishna Sastrī, whose remarks proved of much assistance in unravelling the meaning of these enigmatical ancient documents

The first five Udiyāvāra inscriptions are on Virakals, *i.e.* stones set up as memorials of deceased heroes, the remaining three refer to grants of tolls The three first inscriptions must all belong to the same period, for Nos I and II mention a certain Ranasāgara, and Nos II and III one Śvētāvāhana. These two names and, in addition to them, Chitravāhana in No I look like those of Āluva princes, among whom we have already found a Gunasāgara and two Chitravāhanas. As the alphabet resembles that of the Māvāli inscription,<sup>1</sup> we may identify the Chitravāhana of No I with Chitravāhana II, who ruled the Āluvakhēda six-thousand in the time of Gōvinda III. Consequently Nos I-III, must be assigned to about A. D. 800. From the first few lines of No I we learn that Chitravāhana II seized Udiyāvāra in the course of a war with Ranasāgara, who seems to have been a rival claimant to the throne Nos II and III refer to the storming of Udiyāvāra by Śvētāvāhana, and No II records the death, on this occasion, of a follower of Ranasāgara. From this it may perhaps be concluded that, after the time of the inscription No I, Ranasāgara succeeded in ousting Chitravāhana II, but that, later on, he was in his turn defeated by Śvētāvāhana, who may have been a near relative of Chitravāhana II

The remaining Udiyāvāra inscriptions date from the reigns of the two Ālupa, Āluva or Ālva kings Ppithivīsāgara (Nos IV-VI) and Vijayāditya (Nos VII and VIII) *alias* Māramma (No VII) It is impossible to say at present how these two princes were connected with Chitravāhana II, Ranasāgara and Śvētāvāhana But, as the alphabet of their inscriptions agrees with that of Nos I-III, they must be assigned to about the same period

In each of the eight subjoined inscriptions Udiyāvāra is referred to by one of its older names Udayāpura (Nos V. and VIII), Udayapura (Nos II, III, VI, VII) or Udeyapura (Nos I and IV) In the three last it is mentioned together with Patu (No VI), Pombuchcha (No VII) or Ponvūchha (No VIII) Patu and Pombuchcha are known to have been ancient names of the modern Humcha in the Nagar tāluka of the Shimoga district<sup>2</sup> This Humcha seems to have been the capital of the Ālupa kings For an inscription at Kigga is dated while Chitravāhana (II) was ruling Pombuchchu<sup>3</sup>

#### I.—Inscription of Chitravāhana (II) and Ranasāgara.

This inscription (No 94 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvāra It records that a follower of Chitravāhana (II) met with his death when the 'lord of the earth' (*viz* Chitravāhana) occupied and entered Udeyapura (Udiyāvāra) 'during the trouble of Ranasāgara,' *i.e.* in the course of a war with the latter

#### TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Rana-
- 2 sāgaranā sam(sam)ka-
- 3 tadul=Udeyapuram
- 4 dhareg[ī]śan=pade-po-
- 5 guvallī Vijana-
- 6 nāygarā magan=Kā-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 16 and note 7

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol VIII p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> See p 16 above

- 7 Itde kadan-aggha-  
 8 li kâlega-kêsa-  
 9 11 kariripu-vikraman  
 10 anyu[1\*] dâva-  
 11 nam=odduv on=sâ-  
 12 hasad=ari-chakra-  
 13 [vyû\*]haman=odedon  
 14 [â\*]havâd=ode[da]n=pa-  
 15 ra-[ba]lad=anî Chî-  
 16 travâhanarggâgi ka-  
 17 h-kânti eri-  
 18 da svarggâlayakk=ê-  
 19 idon [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail 'Prosperity'! When during the trouble of Ranasâgara<sup>1</sup> the lord of the earth<sup>2</sup> occupied and entered Udeyapura,—Vijananâyga's<sup>3</sup> son Kâlîde, (*who was*) eminent in war, a lion in battle, brave as a lion, applying a cattle-rope<sup>4</sup> to the array (*of his enemies*), breaking the body of bold hostile armies, breaking in battle the array of the enemy's forces, ascended to the abode of heaven, having fought<sup>5</sup> (*with*) the splendour of a hero on account of Chitravâhana

## II.—Inscription of Ranasâgara and Śvêtavâhana.

This inscription (No 108 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar lying near a well in the back-yard of Râghavêndrabhatta's house at Udiyâvara and commemorates the death in battle of a follower of Ranasâgara. He fell while Udayapura (Udiyâvara) was entered by Śvêtavâhana, whom I take to have been the victorious opponent of Ranasâgara. The dead warrior is described as a zealous devotee of the 'lord of Paṭṭi,' and he and his two immediate ancestors as adherents of the 'Pâsupata lord' Paṭṭi (or Pombuchcha) is the modern Humcha.<sup>6</sup> It may be concluded from the present inscription that this town was the seat of the head of a Śaiva matha

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Rapa[sâ]-  
 2 garanâ ūlu Viñjan  
 3 Pra[hâ]rabhûsha-  
 4 nanâ magan Kâ-  
 5 makôdan tammuttu-  
 6 mûvarâ Pâsupâ(pa)ṭam  
 7 namvrân g=ôva[do]râ

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* 'the trouble caused by Ranasâgara'

<sup>2</sup> *Vr* probably the Chitravâhana mentioned in l 15 f

<sup>3</sup> *Nâyga* is a *tadbhava* of *adyaka*

<sup>4</sup> With *dâvanam=oddu* compare *dâvanî kattû*, 'to the cattle in a row to a long rope fastened by two pegs,' in Kittel's *Kannada Dictionary*. Compare above, Vol VIII p. 134, and *Ep. Carn.* Vol VI Introduction, p 19, note 1. *Dâvanî* is a *tadbhava* of *dâvantî*, 'a long rope to which calves are tied by means of shorter ropes' (Monier Williams)

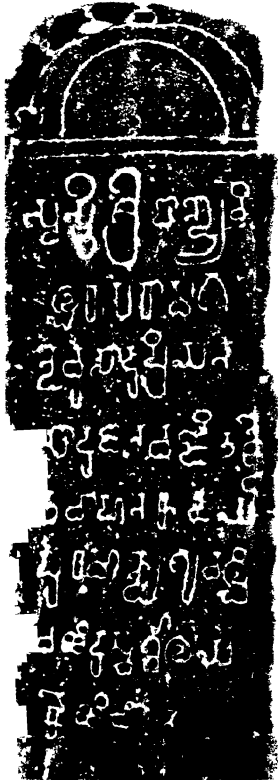
<sup>5</sup> Here and in the four next inscriptions *er* is the same as *er*, 'to strike, to stab'

<sup>6</sup> See p 17 above

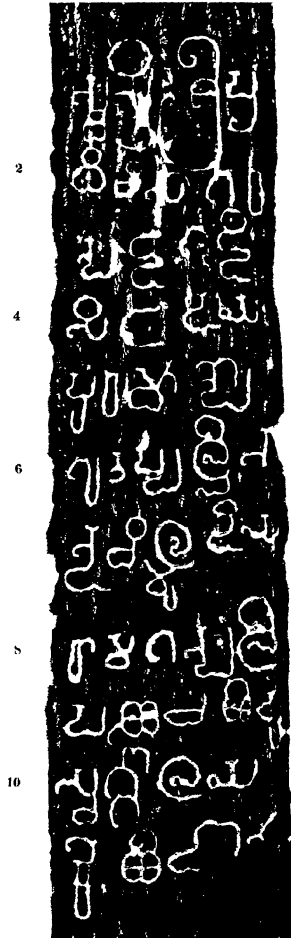
<sup>7</sup> As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *namerdn* is meant for the Tamil *nam/rdg*, 'lord' (literally 'our lord'), read *namôrdâgû*.



III - Scale one third



IV - Scale one fourth



- 8 nálageyan kī(kī)-  
 9 lpon Patta-  
 10 odehyong=<sup>1</sup>óá(va)-  
 11 doran=patt-aḷ-pá-  
 12 yvon Śvétavāha-  
 13 nan Udayapu-  
 14 ramān poguva-  
 15 lli epdu śva(śva)-  
 16 ḷgga(ḷggá)layakk=éri-  
 17 [don] [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétavāhaṅ was entering Udayapura,—Ranasāgara's servant, Viñja Prabhārabhūhana's son Kāmakōda, who pulled out the tongue of those who were not attached to the Paśupati lord of those three persons themselves,<sup>2</sup> (and) who seized, destroyed and assaulted those who were not attached to the lord of Patti, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

## III — Inscription of Śvétavāhana

This inscription (No 105 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in front of the same house as the preceding inscription and commemorates the death of another hero on the same occasion

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pāṇḍyavi-  
 2 llarasarā maga-  
 3 n=Dēvu sādū(dhu)-pṛyan=a  
 4 sādū(dhu)jana-varjitan=Śvé-  
 5 tavāhanar=Udaya-  
 6 puramān=poguvallī  
 7 epdu svarggālaya-  
 8 kk=ēṇḍon [||\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Śvétavāhana was entering Udayapura,—Pāṇḍyavillaras's son Dēvu, (*who was*) beloved by the good (and) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the abode of heaven, having struck down (*his enemies*)

## IV —Inscription of Pṛthivīsāgara

This inscription (No 103 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the south-west corner of the court-yard of the Śambhukallu temple at Udiyāvāra. It forms the memorial of a warrior who was killed when Pṛthivīsāgara stormed Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) after his coronation

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pṛi-  
 2 thivīsāgara-

<sup>1</sup> Read *odeyong* =

<sup>2</sup> *I* = the Paśupati priest whose adherents Kāmakōda, his father Prabhārabhūhana (and his grandfather) Viñja were. I owe this explanation to Dr Fleet. With *tammuttu māvar* compare *tammul-ayvar* and *tammuc-aruvor* in Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, p. 241. Dr Fleet has noted the similit expression *tammutt-irōḍḍor* or *tammutt-irōḍḍor*, above, Vol VI p. 161, note 7.



- 3 n-pattam gatti-
- 4 si Ud[e]ya-
- 5 puramān-po-
- 6 gutappalli Na-
- 7 ndavilmudiya-
- 8 rā magan=Pal-
- 9 paṇe eṇḍu
- 10 vvaiggālaya-
- 11 kk=ēṇḍon [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Prithivisāgara, having had (*himself*) crowned, was entering Udayapura,— Nandavilmudi's son Palpaṇe, having struck down (*his enemies*), ascended to the abode of heaven

## V — Inscription of Prithivisāgara.

This inscription (No 101 of 1901) is engraved on an octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple and records that another follower of the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara fell at the storming of Udayapura (Udayāvara).

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti si [!\*] Pṛithu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupendra duṣṭa-bhaya-
- 3 nkararge iṣṭa bhṛityan=appa Po-
- 4 lokka Pṛiyachelva [U]ds[ya&]-
- 5 puraman pugutappa-
- 6 lh āha[pa](va)-ra[nga]ḍul=uru-
- 7 bhataṛa [e]ṇḍu Pṛiyache-
- 8 lva chelva-śanpanna<sup>1</sup> ka(kha)la-
- 9 [ḷa\*]na-vayjitan dharegi(ḷt)-
- 10 [śa\*]nge ḍavadora pata-
- 11 [t]iya aḷḍu suralō-
- 12 kakke ēṇḍan [!\*] Keleya
- 13 Vā[e]ṇḍeyan nṛpaḍa [!\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! When Polokku Pṛiyachelva, who was the beloved servant of Prithivisāgara, the glorious Ālupendra, the terror of the wicked, was entering Udayapura,— (*this*) Pṛiyachelva, (*who was*) endowed with beauty (*and*) shunned by wicked people, ascended to the world of the gods, having struck down great warriors on the stage of battle (*and*) having destroyed the foot-soldiers<sup>2</sup> of those who were not attached to the lord of the earth<sup>3</sup> (*His*) friend Vāleṇḍa set up (*this memorial stone*)<sup>4</sup>

## VI — Inscription of Pṛithivisāgara

This inscription (No 102 of 1901) is engraved on another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. It opens with the name and *titulus* of the Ālupa or Ālupa king

<sup>1</sup> Read *śanpanna*

<sup>2</sup> As Mr. Krishna Sastru suggests, *pataḷi* is perhaps a *tadbhava*, used collectively, of *padḍi*

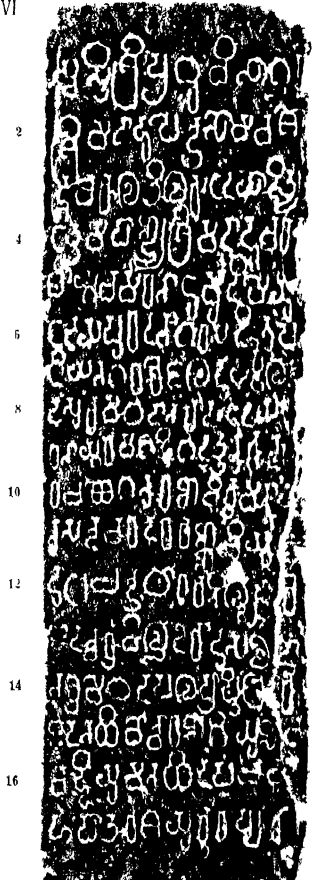
<sup>3</sup> i.e. the Ālupa king Prithivisāgara

<sup>4</sup> Bai Baladur Venkayya would prefer to take *eye* as synonymous with the Tamil *eyā*; and to translate "Keleya set up (this stone representing) a chief (with) a sword (in his hand)"

V



VI



Scale one fourth

Prithivīsāgara, who claimed descent from the lunar race and bore the surnames Udayāditya and Uttama-Pāndya, and records that he confirmed a previous grant of tolls to the two cities (*nagara*) of Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) and Pati. The last is evidently the same as Patu, the modern Humcha<sup>1</sup>. The imprecatory passage at the end of this inscription and of the two next ones (VII and VIII.) mentions two sacred places. Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷi. The former is of course the modern Benares. Regarding the second, Mr Krishna Sastrī contributes the following information —

“The Shivali (Śivali) sect of Brāhmanas in South Canara take their name from this place. In the *Madras Manual of Administration*, Vol III p 610, we are told that the town Oodipy (Udipi), ‘considered the most sacred spot in the Canarese country,’ is ‘formed of parts of Badagabett, Moodandambore, Poollore and Shivally villages’ In the *Madras Postal Directory* Shivali figures as a village served by the Udipi post office”

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [!]\* Pṛidhu(thi)visāgara
- 2 śrīmad-Ālupēndra Sōmavamsō-
- 3 dbhava kulatilakan Udayāditya
- 4 Uttama-Pāndya śrīmad-Āluvara[sa]-
- 5 r-B[ō]ygavarmara nātu-mudimeyu[!]
- 6 Udayapurada nā(na)gara-sahitam Pa-
- 7 ṭiya nagaiakke jaladu[am sthala[du]-
- 8 lam sumkam=ardha-dāna kādara [!]\* Udaya[pu]-
- 9 ranāyagara magan=[S]imgadattan[m] Ku[mā]-
- 10 ra Erganum Ranavikrama[nātha]-
- 11 nu Sandavaradaia Kannachiyu[m] [!]\* [I]-
- 12 du a(ā)chandathā(tā)rakam nilpu[d=a]ke(kke) [!]\*
- 13 Idan=vakram-illāde kādu sah[po]-
- 14 n-aśvamēdbada pa(pha)la prāpti aku(kkum) [!]\*
- 15 Idan-a[ivon]=Vārana(nā)śiyum Si(śi)va-
- 16 valliyuman=ahida pamcha[ma]-
- 17 ha(hā)pātaka-śam(sam)yuktar=appar [!]\*

## TRANSLATION

Hail! Prosperity! During Bōygavarma's headmanship of the district,<sup>3</sup> Prithivīsāgara, the glorious Ālupēndra, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the ornament of (his) family, Jdayāditya Uttama-Pāndya, the glorious Āluvarasa, confirmed the gift of one half (of) the tolls both on water and on land to the city of Pati, together with the city of Udayapura. The recipients of this gift were<sup>4</sup> Udayapurānāyga's<sup>5</sup> son Singadatta; Kumāra Erganu, Ranavikrama[nātha], and Sandavarada's (son) Kannachi. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (To) him who without fraud confirms and grants this, shall be the acquisition of the fruit of a horse sacrifice. He who destroys this, shall be covered with the five great sins (of) he who destroys Vāranāśi and Śivavaḷi.

<sup>1</sup> See p 17 above

<sup>2</sup> See Kittel's *Kannada Grammar*, § 183, 8

<sup>3</sup> As suggested to me by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, *nāḍu mudime* is the equivalent of the Tamil *nāḍu mudumar*, 'the headmanship of a district'. Compare *Ep Caru* Vol VI Kp 88, where *Kundavarmmarasam mudime geze* has the reading of the Text in Kannada characters, p 323) has to be translated by 'while Kundavarmarasa was headman'

<sup>4</sup> The words *idda padedor* may be supplied from VII 1 10, and VIII, 1. 10f

<sup>5</sup> See above, p 18, note 3

## VII.—Inscription of Vijayāditya Māramma.

This inscription (No 98 of 1901) is engraved on two contiguous faces of another octagonal pillar in the court-yard of the same temple. Like the preceding inscription, it confirms a previous grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayapura (Udiyāvāra) and Pombuḷcha (Humcha). The Ālupa or Ālva king who confirmed this grant was called Vijayāditya Māramma. Like the Prithivīśāgara of the preceding inscription, he bore the surname Uttama-Pāndya and traced his descent from the lunar race. Besides, he claimed the sovereign titles *Paramēśvara* and *Adhvājarāja*.

## TEXT.

- 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> svasti śrī [||\*] Vija[y]āditya Ālu-
- 2 pēndra paramēśva(śva)ra ādhir[ā].<sup>2</sup>
- 3 jarājan Uttama-Pāndyan-Śō(śō)mavamśō-
- 4 dbhava śrī-Māramm-Ālvarasar [U]<sup>3</sup>
- 5 Udayapurada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Pombu-
- 6 lēhada naka(ga)rakke sunka kādudu sanku-
- 7 rakke [pu]ttige ondare malavege pa-
- 8 ṭa padmānu palam adakeya pē-
- 9 riṅga(ṅge) mūn[ā]nu velasina pēriṅge
- 10 padina(nā)nu pala[m] [I\*] Idā padedor Su-
- 11 sēnavadiyaya Svarnagōśasi Mutta-
- 12 varara Ādiyasettiyu Mandukara
- 13 Parasēbyan Sēnavadiyara Nagakumāran [I\*]
- 14 Idu a(ā)chandratāraka[m] nilpuḍ-akke [I\*] Ida kādo
- 15 attaguna asva(śva)mēda(dha)da pa(pha)lam=akke [I\*]
- 16 Idan=aḷido B[ā]raṇāsīyu Śivavalliyu-
- 17 ma aḷida pañchamaha(hā)pātakan-ak[u](kkum) [I\*]
- 18 Ranadhāri-lkhita ||<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Ōm Hail! Prosperity! Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhvājarāja Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, the glorious Māramm-Ālvarasa, confirmed the tolls (*due*) to the city of Pombuḷcha together with the city of Udayapura, (*viz*) per double bag (*of grain*),<sup>5</sup> one and a half basket<sup>6</sup> (*of grain*), per *malave*<sup>7</sup> (*of cotton*), sixteen *pala* (*of cotton*), per load of areca-nuts, three hundred (*nuts*), (*and*) per load of pepper,<sup>8</sup> sixteen *pala* (*of pepper*). They who obtained this (*were*) Suśēnavadi's (*son*) Svarnagōśasi,<sup>9</sup> Muttavara's (*son*) Ādiyasetta, Manduka's (*son*) Parasēbya, (*and*) Sēnavadi's (*son*) Nagakumāra. Let this stand as long as the moon and the stars! (*To*) him who confirms this, let there be the eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice! (*To*) him who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys Bāranāsī and Śivavallī. Written by Ranadhāri.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>2</sup> Read *adhvāra*.

<sup>3</sup> Corrected from *a*. The engraver has for the sake of clearness repeated the \* at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>4</sup> In the original the final stop is represented by a four petalled flower.

<sup>5</sup> *Sankuru* is perhaps the same as *sankara* No. 4 in Kirtel's *Kannada Dictionary* 'a double sack for manure and grain to be carried on the back of a bullock'

<sup>6</sup> *Puttige* is the same as *putti*, 'a basket'

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Krishna Sastrī suggests that this may be another form of *manu* or *manuvu*, 'a maund'

<sup>8</sup> Originally I had taken *velasu* for *velasu*, 'corn'. But as the toll was not levied by measure, but by weight, I adopt Mr. Krishna Sastrī's suggestion, who compares *meḷasu*, 'black pepper'

<sup>9</sup> With *gōśasi* compare *gōśāsya* in the inscription VIII 1 11, and Dr. Fleet's remarks, above, Vol. VI. p. 266, note 2

VII

2  
 4  
 6  
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 12  
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 16  
 18

E. Hultzsch

2  
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 14

Scale one fourth

VIII

2

4

6

8

10

12

14

## VIII—Inscription of Vijayāditya.

This inscription (No 97 of 1901) is found on the same pillar as the preceding one (VII) It is engraved on the same two contiguous faces as VII, but begins at the opposite end of the pillar, which must have been placed upside down when the new inscription (VIII) was incised on it. A third face of the pillar bears six lines of writing (15-20) which appear to be connected with VIII. This circumstance enables us to conclude that VIII was engraved at a later date than VII. When the writer of VIII had reached line 14, he was confronted with the end of the inscription VII, and was therefore obliged to finish his copy on another face of the pillar.

The contents of VIII resemble those of VII. The king is the same, only one of his names, Mārama, is omitted here. He is stated to have confirmed the same grant of tolls to the two cities of Udayāpura (Udiyāvāra) and Ponvulcha (Humcha). But the names of the local representatives receiving the grant differ from those in VII. This shows that some time must have elapsed between the incision of both records, although both belong to the same reign.

## TEXT.

*First and Second Faces*

- 1 Svasta śrī [I\*] Vijayādhi(di)tyan
- 2 Ālupēndra paramēsva(śva)ra ā(a)-
- 3 dhi(dhi)rājarājan Uttama-
- 4 Pāndyan-Sōmavansōbhavan<sup>1</sup>
- 5 Ālvarasar Arakellarā
- 6 nātu-mudī(di)meyul Udayā-
- 7 purada naka(ga)ra-sahitam Ponvulcha-
- 8 da naka(ga)rakke sunkadā ardda(rddha)-[dā]na
- 9 kā[daha] avargge attaguna
- 10 asva(śva)mēda(dha)dā pa(pha)lam=akkum [I\*] Idā
- 11 [pa\*]dedor Muttavurera<sup>2</sup> Saruvigōśāsuga
- 12 Kodalsettyarā Madāmmaṇ Vijā[s]e-
- 13 ttigarā Dharmmanāygan=Manugśā-
- 14 ttavar Sarvvavandu Puleyarmān [I\*]

*Third Face*

- 15 Ī okkal=paḍed[u]-
- 16 vu [I\*] Idā aḷivo
- 17 Sivavāḷḷiyu<sup>3</sup> Vā-
- 18 rānāsīyuman
- 19 aḷida pañchama-
- 20 hāpātakan=akkum<sup>4</sup> [I\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Haal! Prosperity! The eightfold fruit of a horse-sacrifice shall be to him— Vijayāditya Ālupēndra Paramēśvara Adhīrājarāja Uttama-Pāndya, who sprang from the race of the Moon, Ālvarasa— who, during Arakella's headmanship, of the district,<sup>5</sup> confirmed the gift of

<sup>1</sup> Read =Sōmavansōbhavan<sup>2</sup> Read Muttavarera, as in VII l 11 f<sup>3</sup> Read Sivavāḷḷiyum<sup>4</sup> The \* of *kkum* is expressed by two different symbols behind and below the *k*<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 21, note 3.

one half of the tolls to the city of **Ponvuḷcha** together with the city of **Udayāpura**. They who obtained this (*were*) **Muttavara's** (*son*) **Saruvigōśānga**, **Kodalsetti's** (*son*) **Madāmma**, **Vijasetti's** (*son*) **Dharmanāyga**,<sup>1</sup> **Manugasāttava**, **Sarvavandu**<sup>2</sup> (*and*) **Puleyarma**. These ryots obtained (*it*). (*To*) **him** who destroys this, shall be the five great sins (*of one*) who destroys **Śivavallī** and **Vārāṅśī**.

No. 4.—TWO GRANTS OF INDRARAJA III,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 836

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A

These two epigraphic documents were first brought to the notice of the students of Indian antiquities by the late H H Dhruva, who published a transcript of them with his remarks in the *Zeitschr. D Morg Ges* Vol XL p 322 ff. They were afterwards edited with lithographs by Dr R G Bhandarkar, with a translation by Mr (now Prof) S R Bhandarkar, in the *Journ Bo Br R As Soc.* Vol XVIII p 253 ff. About three years ago, when Prof Hultzsch first thought of having the inscriptions re-edited in this Journal, no trace whatever of them could be found, and it was on a chance visit to the State Museum at Baroda in 1903 that I saw the plates exhibited there. On my informing Prof Hultzsch of their whereabouts, he asked Rai Bahadur Venkayya to obtain them on loan through the Resident at Baroda from the Curator of the Baroda State Museum, and I re-edited the inscriptions at the suggestion of Prof Hultzsch, and from the excellent ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur Venkayya.

[Along with the two sets of plates, two seals were received from the Resident at Baroda in December 1903. As the seals had been detached from the plates, it was not possible to ascertain which seal belonged to which set. But before returning the plates and seals on the 7th December 1904, I put down some notes about them, of which the following is a copy.

[The plates measure on an average 13" by 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The rings bearing both the seals had been cut before they were received in my office. The larger of the two seals measures about 3" by 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the seal is 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The seal bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, as the principal figure, an image of **Garuḍa**—whose wings are distinctly seen—squatting on a seat which is probably meant to consist of two serpents. These appear to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands, each of which is holding a hood. What looks like his sacred thread is perhaps a third serpent. The **Garuḍa** faces to the full front and has on his proper right a representation of **Ganapati** in the upper corner, lower down a *chaui*, and below it a lamp. On the proper left in the upper corner is a goddess riding on a lion, and below the lion a *śastika* surmounted by a *chaui*. On each side of the head of **Garuḍa** is a circle which may be meant for the sun and moon. Below the squatting **Garuḍa** is an inscription which is not quite distinct, but which seems to be शीनश्रिवत्सर्षद्वस. Along the margin of the seal is a border of various indistinct emblems, among which a *Viṅga* and an elephant-goad are recognisable. The emblems on the smaller seal, which measures about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " by 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ ", are also cut in relief on a countersunk surface, but are not quite distinct. The central figure is **Garuḍa**, squatting, as in the bigger seal, apparently on a couch consisting of two serpents, which seem to entwine his waist and to terminate in his hands. Each of the hands of **Garuḍa** appears to hold a hood. What looks like his sacred thread may be a third serpent. To his proper right at the upper corner is a projection which may stand for **Ganapati**, and below it is a lamp stand. To the proper left at the upper corner is another

<sup>1</sup> See above, p 18, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* Sarvabandhu.

projection, which is perhaps intended to represent a goddess. Below the goddess is a lamp stand above a *svastika*. The ring whose ends are secured at the bottom of the smaller seal measures 3" in diameter and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. Two sets of impressions of each of the two inscriptions were sent to Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar in August 1903.—V V ]

As regards the find-spot of the plates, H. H. Dhruva, who first edited them, says —“ On the 6th of July 1881, as a Dubla servant of Mulji Khushal, Patel of Bagumrā, was furrowing the earth with the plough in his field, the ploughshare drew out of it these plates.” This clearly shows that the plates were found at Bagumrā, and consequently we must, as was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>1</sup> speak of them as Bagumrā, and not as Nausāri, charters of A. D. 915.

Each of the two sets consists of three copper-plates, which are, to judge from the impressions, about 13" long and 9" broad. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates, and on both sides of the second plate. The engraving is clear and well executed. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. For some of the forms of individual letters attention may be drawn to *g* in *gatasya* and *svarggam*, l. 13, to *ñ* in *lāñchhana*, l. 8, and *rājñah*, l. 13, to *m* in *°m=anyat=pu°*, l. 17, *°m=ānandi*, l. 37, and *grāmabūta*, l. 46, to *bh* in *bhūpāh*, l. 28, and to *s* in *santarpānā°*, l. 57, so far as the first record is concerned, and to *k* in *kānt-ēndu*, l. 1, to *kh* in *śamkha*, l. 29, to *ḡ* in *saras-āmbhōjā*, l. 5, and *jagati*, l. 7, and to *bh* in *kaustubha*, l. 2, so far as the second record is concerned. The language is Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noticed. The letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* has been (permissibly) omitted once before the following *sth* in *vaksha-sthala*, l. 2 of both grants, *n* has been substituted for *ñ* in *kāñchh*, l. 11 of No. II, *visarga* followed by *s* has been at least thrice changed to that letter in *Ranavagrahas-samabhava°*, l. 33, *°palakshitas-sōdramgah*, l. 51, and *°lakshitas-sōdadhait*, l. 55 of the second record, *anusūtra* followed by a nasal has been twice changed to that letter in *sammānita*, l. 18 of No. I and l. 20 of No. II, and in *gōp-ānganānān=mayana*, l. 6 of No. I, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusūtra* before *s* in *sansati*, l. 25 of No. I and l. 27 of No. II. Lastly, the same word is spelt *lāñchhana* in No. I. l. 8, but *lāncchana* in No. II. l. 9.

Each of these two records registers the grant of a village to a Brāhmana, made by the Rāshtrakūta king Indra III or, as he is described in lines 43-45 of No. II, 'the P. M. P., the prosperous Nityavarshananarādēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the prosperous Akālavarshadēva,' i. e. his grandfather Kṛṣṇa II. Indra III had, when the grants were made, gone to Kurundaka from his capital Mānyakhēta for the *paṭṭabandha*<sup>3</sup> festival. On that occasion he had himself weighed against gold, and, without coming out from the pan, gave away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, Kurundaka and other villages, granted afresh four hundred villages resumed by previous rulers, and finally bestowed the village of Tonna, according to No. II, on a Brāhmana of the Lakshmana *gōtra*, a student of the Vāṅi-Mādhyandina *śākhā*, and named Siddhapabhata, the son of Śrī-Vennapabhata, originally of Pātāliputra; and the village of Umvarā (or Umbarā), according to No. I, on a Brāhmana of the same *gōtra* and student of the same *śākhā* as the above grantee, but named Prabhākaraabhata, the son of Rānapabhata. The charters are dated, in words, on the 7th tithi of the bright fortnight of Phālguna of the Yuva-samvatsara, the Śaka year 836 (expired), which corresponds to the 24th February A. D. 915.

After the introductory *ōm svasti* and the opening verse invoking the protection of Viṣṇu and Śiva with which almost all the Rāshtrakūta grants begin, we have verse 2 in praise of

<sup>1</sup> See above, Appendix to Vol. VII p. 15, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of this word see above, Vol. VII p. 27, note 2.



the god Krishna. In the verse following we find Indiarājadeva (III), the royal grantor of the charters, compared to the god Upēndra (Vishnu). In verse 4 we are informed that the god Brahman sprang from the water-lily in the navel of Vishnu, from Brahman his son Atri, from Atri the Moon, and from the Moon the dynasty of the Yadus, where Krishna was born. In the next verse we are told that there arose king Dantidurga in the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu dynasty, to whom of herself repaired the goddess of sovereignty of the Chālukya family. This means that Dantidurga was the first Rāshtrakūta king who defeated the Chālukyas and made himself master of their dominions. From verse 6, if we notice the *double entendre* clearly intended, we learn that Dantidurga first reduced the lowermost, i.e. southern, country, then turned his arms against the *Madhyadīpa*, and finally conquered the city of Kāñchi. According to an inscription in the Daśavatara cave at Elurā,<sup>1</sup> Dantidurga subdued the rulers of Kāñchi, Kalinga, Kōsala, Śītsāla, Mālava, Lāta, Tanka, and so forth. If we are right in understanding verse 6 as we have done, Dantidurga first gained victories in the South and conquered the kings of Śītsāla, Kalinga, and so forth, then turned to the central part of India and subjugated the princes of Kōsala, Mālava, Lāta, and so forth, and finally came back again to the South and vanquished the lord of Kāñchi.

Verse 8 tells us that after Dantidurga his paternal uncle Krishnarāja (I) came to the throne. The next verse makes mention of his son Nirupama(-Dhruva), but omits the name of his elder brother Govinda II, probably because the author of the inscription wanted to give a direct genealogy of the royal grantor, with reference to whom Govinda II was a collateral prince, while he mentioned the name of Dantidurga as the latter was the founder of the dynasty. But by no means can this omission be taken as favouring the view that Govinda II did not reign. I have elsewhere adduced reasons for dissenting from this view,<sup>2</sup> and in support of my position may now be stated the incontrovertible fact that the Duhā copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> of Govinda II's nephew and feudatory Suvarnavarsha-Kaaka distinctly refers itself to his reign, and gives the date Śaka 701, when we must consequently suppose Govinda II, to have been alive and wielding supremacy. Verse 10 informs us that Nirupama(-Dhruva) won two white parasols in battle, one from the lord of Kōsala and the other from the king of the North. Who these princes were we have no means to determine. But it looks tempting to identify the king of the North either with the Indrāyudha mentioned in the *Jama Harivamsa*, or with Chakrāyudha, the ruler of Kanauj and contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pala, and of Govinda III. of the Rāshtrakūta, dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

Verse 11 says that from Nirupama(-Dhruva) sprang Jagattunga(-Govinda III), who, in his turn, beget Śrivallabha(-Amoghavarsha I). The next verse tells us that Amoghavarsha

<sup>1</sup> *Arch Surv West Ind* Vol V p 88

<sup>2</sup> *Journ Bo B. R. A. S* Vol XX p 133 f

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 133

<sup>4</sup> In an unpublished grant of Amoghavarsha I in the possession of my brother Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar, two princes of the names of Chakrāyudha and Dharmā are mentioned as having gone to the Himalayas to do homage to Govinda III who had gone thither on an expedition of conquest. It can hardly be seriously doubted that Dharmā is Dharmapāla, the second prince of the Pala dynasty, and that Chakrāyudha is the same as the Chakrāyudha of the Bhāgalpur grant, whom Dharmapāla restored to his lost throne. Prof. Kuelhorn (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, p. 303) has already identified this Chakrāyudha with the Chakrāyudha of the Gwalior inscription, who was conquered by Nāgabhatta. Nāgabhatta again was a contemporary of Govinda III (*Journ Bo B. R. A. S* Vol XXI p 422, note 2). We have thus four princes, viz. Govinda III, Nāgabhatta, Chakrāyudha and Dharmapāla, who were contemporaries. We know from Rāshtrakūta records that Govinda III reigned from A. D. 794 to 813. We must, therefore, suppose Dharmapāla to have flourished about this time. As this synchronism was not known before, it was but right to refer in Dharmapāla to A. D. 861, the date of the Peshāri inscription referring itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta prince Parāśala (*Nachrichten von der K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1901, p. 625 f.). But now we see that this date would be rather too late for Dharmapāla. Besides, there is nothing to show that this Parāśala is, as a matter of fact, identical with Parāśala, the father-in-law of Dharmapāla.

I. raised the glory of the **Batta** sovereignty immersed in the ocean of the **Chalukyas** and thereafter assumed the epithet **Varanārāyana**. If we read between the lines, we cannot fail to notice that the **Rāshtrakūta** sovereignty had been shaken by the **Chalukyas** of **Vēngi** to its very foundations in the early part of **Amōghavaṣa**'s reign. The **Chalukya** contemporary of **Amōghavaṣa** I was **Narēndriamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II**,<sup>1</sup> who, in an **Eastern Chalukya** record, is represented to have fought, during twelve years, by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the **Gangas** and the **Rattas**. The latter can be no other than the **Rāshtrakūtas** of **Mālkhed**, and it thus appears that **Narēndriamrigarāja-Vijayāditya II** was a powerful king. We can, therefore, very well understand that he might have for a time eclipsed the glory of the **Rāshtrakūtas**. **Amōghavaṣa** I, however, was by no means slow to retrieve his lost reputation, and seems to have wreaked a terrible vengeance upon the **Chalukyas**, whom, as verse 13 informs us, he destroyed, just as a man burns chick-pea plants, the stalks of which have been pulled out by the root. That he inflicted a severe defeat on the **Eastern Chalukyas** can also be seen from the **Cambay** and **Sāngli** charters,<sup>2</sup> in which he is said to have gratified the god **Yama** with unprecedented morsels of cakes which were the **Chalukyas**. Verse 13 incidentally gives us the information, if my interpretation is correct, that the **Chalukyas** whom **Amōghavaṣa** I vanquished had devastated **Stambapura**, which is the same as **Tamralipta**, identified with the modern **Tamlūk**, the head-quarters of the subdivision of the same name of the **Midnapur** district, **Bengal**.

From **Śrīvallabha** (-**Amōghavaṣa** I), who was a comet of destruction to the **Chalukya** family (v 14), sprang **Krishnarāja (II)**, whose fights with the **Gūjjaras** used to be still remembered by old men, as we are informed in verse 15. I have elsewhere pointed out that the **Gūjjaras**, with whom the **Rāshtrakūtas** were often at war, ruled over **Northern India** and had their capital at **Mahodaya** or **Kanauj**, and consequently the **Gūjjara** prince defeated by **Krishnarāja II** (A D 888-911) must have been **Mahēndrapāla** (A D 899-907), the patron of the poet **Rājasēkhara**.

**Krishnarāja II**, had a son of the name of **Jagattunga** (v 16), who married **Lakshmi**, the daughter of **Ranavighraha**, the son of **Kokkalla** of the **Hahaya**, i.e. **Kalachuri**, dynasty (vv 17-19). It is worthy of note that **Ranavighraha** is here called *Chēd-īśvara*, i.e. lord of **Chēdi**. The same fact is hinted by a verse in **Jahlana's Sūktamuktāvalī**, quoted by **Dr. Bhandarkar** in his paper on the **Karhād** plates of **Krishna III**,<sup>3</sup> which purports to say that of rivers the **Narmadā**, of kings **Ranavighraha**, and of poets **Sūriānanda** were the ornaments of **Chēdi**. The name **Ranavighraha** does not occur in the list of the names of the **Kalachuris** of **Chēdi**. From a **Ratanpur** inscription,<sup>4</sup> however, we learn that **Kokkalla** had eighteen sons, of whom the first-born was a ruler of **Tripurā**, and the others lords of *mandalas*, i.e. minor chiefs. If this statement deserves any credence, **Ranavighraha**, being a ruler of **Tripurā**, i.e. of **Chēdi**, and not of a *mandala*, was the eldest son, and the successor of **Kokkalla**. But from the **Benares** copper-plate inscription<sup>5</sup> it appears that **Kokkalla** was followed by his son **Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā**. We may, therefore, suppose that **Ranavighraha** and **Mugdhatunga-Prasiddhadhavalā** were one and the same prince.

The issue of the marriage of **Jagattunga** with **Lakshmi** was **Indrarāja (III)**, whose epithets **Ratta-Kandarpadēva** and **Śrī-Kīrti-Nārāyana** are mentioned in verses 20 and 21. The next verse contains a *double entendre*, and so far as its mythological sense goes, it does not present any difficulty. But the historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name of **Upēndra** by the **Rāshtrakūta** prince **Indrarāja III**. But who this **Upēndra** was and how the epithets *kr̥ta-*

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX p. 100<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 43, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII p. 252 f.<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 280<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 33.<sup>5</sup> *Id.* Vol. II, p. 301.

*Góvardhan-śādhāra* and *hēl-śmūlita-Mēru*, used in connection with the kings Upēndra and Indrarāja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upēndra referred to Mahipāla of the Pratihāra dynasty of Mahōdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhāgalpur grant of the Pāla dynasty gave the other name Chakrāyudha<sup>1</sup>. But I have stated above that, beyond all doubt, Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, whom he re-instated on the throne, were contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūta prince Gōvinda III<sup>2</sup>. Chakrāyudha cannot, therefore, be identified with Mahipāla, who was a contemporary of Indra III, the great-great-grandson of Gōvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji,<sup>3</sup> the word *Mēru* in the expression *hēl-śmūlita-Mēru* signifies Mēra or Mēhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mēhra king of North Kāthiāwād by Indrarāja III. Prof Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that *Mēru* probably is Mahōdaya,<sup>4</sup> i. e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indrarāja III, specified in the Singli charter. With regard to the other expression, *va kṛita-Góvardhan-śādhāra*, no interpretation has been proposed, and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.

In the preamble of the prose passage preceding the formal part of the inscription, the *P. M. P. Śrīman-Nityavarshana-rādrādēva*, i. e. Indrarāja III, is spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of the *P. M. P. Śrīmad-Akālavarshadēva*, i. e. his grandfather Krishna II. This indicates that Jagattuṅga, the father of Indrarāja III, did not come to the throne. The same may be concluded from the statement of our inscriptions that the battles of Kṛishnarāja II were remembered and described by old men in Indra III's time. This shows that hardly a generation had passed since the occurrence of that event, and that consequently there was no Rāshtrakūta sovereign intervening between Kṛishna II. and Indra III. The same conclusion is pointed to by the fact that the Khārēpātan grant of Rattarāja,<sup>5</sup> in setting forth the Rāshtrakūta genealogy, takes the succession direct from Kṛishna II to Indra III, and refers to Jagattuṅga only further on as the father of Amoghavarsha-Vaddiga. But our conclusion is placed beyond all doubt by the Dōlī and Karhād plates of Krishna III,<sup>6</sup> which distinctly speak of Jagattuṅga as having died without obtaining the sovereignty.

The composer of our inscriptions was Trivikramabhatta, the son of Nēmāditya. There can hardly be a doubt that he is identical with Trivikramabhatta, the author of the *Nalochampā*, of the Śāndilya *gōtra*, and the son of Nēmāditya (*var leet Dēvāditya*)<sup>7</sup>. Another Śāndilya-kavi-chakrasartin Trivikrama was the sixth ancestor of the astronomer Bhāskarabhatta, a contemporary of king Bhōja of Dhārā. The oldest mention of Trivikrama is in Bhōja's *Sarasvatīkanthābhāraṇa*, while he himself quotes Bāna. The authorship of a *Maddasā-champā* is also attributed to this Trivikrama.

As regards the localities mentioned in the grants, Pāṭaliputra from where the grantee of No. II emigrated is obviously Paṭṇā, the principal town of the district of the same name in Bengal, and Mānyakhēta, the capital of the royal grantor, is Mālkhēd in the Nizam's Dominions. Kurundaka, where Indrarāja III had repaired for his *paṭṭabandha*, was first identified by Mr. A. M. T. Jackson with Kurundwād at the junction of the Krishna and Pañchagangā in the Southern Marāṭha country<sup>8</sup>. In No. I the village granted is Umvarā (or Umbarā) near Kammanijja in the country of Lāta, and the boundaries specified are Tōlējaka to E, Mōgalikā to S., Samki to W., and Javalakṛpaka to N. Umvarā as was first pointed

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 26, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Gujardt*, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I Part I p. 130.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Appendix to Vol. VIII p. 16, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 298.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 283, Vol. V p. 198.

<sup>7</sup> Weber, *Berlin Catalogue*, Vol. II p. 1205.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Gujardt*, p. 130, note 3.

out by Dr Bhandarkar, is the modern Bagumrá, with the prefix *bag*<sup>1</sup> Tólójaka and Mógahká cannot be identified, but Samkí and Javalakúpaka are Sanki, one mile S W of Bagumrá, and Jolwa, one and a half mile N of Bagumrá. In No II the village granted is Tenna near Kammanijja, and the boundaries specified are Váradapalliká (or Bárada) to E, Námhitataka to S, Valísá (or Balísá) to W, and Vavviyana (or Babbuyana) to N. They have been identified with Ten, Bárdoli, Nadída, Wanesa and Baben respectively. Kammanijja, in the vicinity of which lay both the villages granted, is Kámrej. All these villages are to be found in the Nausári division of the Baroda State. The Bagumrá grant of the Gujarát Ráshtrakúta Dhruva II mentions Trenná, both as a village and a territorial division, and speaks of the village of Trenná as having been bestowed upon a certain Bráhmna by his grandfather Dhruva I (A D 834-35). "The explanation of its being given away again by the present record," as Dr Fleet has rightly said, "is, no doubt, to be found in the statement, made in the present record, that Indra III gave away four hundred villages which had been confiscated by previous kings, this was evidently one of them"<sup>2</sup>

TEXT<sup>3</sup> OF No I.*Farsi Plate*

- 1 स्वस्ति<sup>4</sup> [ || ] स<sup>5</sup> वोव्याद्देधसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतम् ॥ [१\*] जयति<sup>5</sup>
- 2 विवुधवन्सुर्विध्विस्तारिवक्षलविमलविलोलकौस्तुभः कंसकेतुः । मुखसरसिज-  
रङ्गे यस्य नृ-
- 3 त्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥ [२\*] स<sup>5</sup> जयति  
भुजदण्डसञ्चयश्रीः समर-
- 4 समुद्रतदुर्द्धारिचक्रः । अपहृतवलिमण्डलो<sup>9</sup> वृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराज-  
देवः ॥ [३\*]
- 5 अस्ति<sup>10</sup> श्रीनाथनाभिस्सुरदु[र]सरसाश्रीजजम्बा स्वयंभू(1)स्तस्मादनिः सु-  
तोभृदमृतकरपरिस्थ-
- 6 न्द<sup>11</sup> इन्दुस्ततोपि । तस्माद्[श्री] यदूनां जगति स ववृधे यस्य तैस्त्रैर्वि-  
लासैः शार्ङ्गिणी गोपङ्गनानान्न-
- 7 यनकुवलयैरर्चमानश्चकार ॥ [४\*] [त]द्वान्वये<sup>12</sup> विततसात्यकिवंशजम्बा श्रीद-  
न्तिदुर्गाष्टप-
- 8 तिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । चालुक्यवंशजलधेः<sup>13</sup> स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यै शंखचक्र[कर]-  
लाञ्छन-

<sup>1</sup> Journ Bo Br R A S Vol XVIII p 256<sup>2</sup> Ind Ant Vol XXXI, p 396<sup>3</sup> From inked estampages supplied to me by Rai Bahadur Venkeyya<sup>4</sup> The \* is not well formed<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)<sup>6</sup> Metre Mālini<sup>7</sup> Read विवुधवन्सु<sup>9</sup>.<sup>8</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā<sup>9</sup> Read °बलि°<sup>10</sup> Metre Sragdharā<sup>11</sup> Read °परिचन्द<sup>12</sup> Metre. Vasantatilakā, and of the next verse.<sup>13</sup> Read °वंश°,

- 9 साजगाम ॥ [५\*] क[त्वा]स्यदं हृदयहारिजघन्यभागे खैरं पुनर्भृदु  
च मध्यदे-
- 10 शं [\*] यस्यासमस्य [सम]रे वसुवाङ्गनायाः कांचीपदे प[द]मकारि  
भृदः । [६\*] आ' सितोः सातुव-
- 11 प्रभवत्कपि[कुलो]सूनफुल[भव]ङ्गादा [कौला]साङ्गवानीचलच[र]णरखा  
त्रादिदान्तात् ।
- 12 यस्याञ्जां भूमिपालाः करमुकुलमिल[म्बो]लिमालायमानमानम्वैरुत्तमाङ्गि-  
तल्लुठञ्जा-
- 13 नवो मानयन्ति ॥ [७\*] जित्वा' जगन्निजभुजे[न पु]नर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं र्  
मिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्रा-
- 14 भवत्परमधान्नि पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजन्टपतिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८\*]  
कुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपच-
- 15 भंगलीलाय[म]ानघनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्त्तः । श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलग्रैलमलंकरिणो  
दभू-
- 16 त्रिरुपमो निरवयुश्रीर्थः ॥ [९\*] कीर्त्तः<sup>4</sup> कुन्दरुचः<sup>5</sup> समस्तभुवनप्रस्थान  
सितो लक्ष्म्याः

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 17 लक्ष्म्याः<sup>6</sup> पाणितले विलासकमल पूर्णैन्दुविम्बद्युति<sup>7</sup> । एकं कपितक्ते  
श्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पु-
- 18 नर्येनीदीच्यनराधिपाद्यग्र इव श्वेतातपव<sup>8</sup> रणे ॥ [१०\*] तस्मात्त्रिभे<sup>9</sup>  
कुगी जम्ब सन्मानि-
- 19 त[द्विज]ः । सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सुलुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥ [११\*] नि-  
[य]श्चलुक्थाब्धौ<sup>10</sup> इटराज्यथि-
- 20 यं पुनः [1\*] पृथ्वीमिवोद्गरन्वीरी<sup>11</sup> वीरनारायणीभवत् ॥ [१२\*] समूलोन्मूर्त्  
स्तम्बान्दण्डेनानी-<sup>12</sup>
- 21 तकण्टकः । <sup>13</sup>योदहदेषिणश्चण्डचलुक्थाद्यणकानिव ॥ [१३\*] <sup>14</sup>[उच्चैश्चलु]क्था  
कन्दलकालके-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Sragdharā <sup>2</sup> Read °प्रवल°

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā; and of the next verse

<sup>4</sup> One of the two circles of the *varsarga* has been omitted

<sup>5</sup> The repetition of this word is superfluous

<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from श्वेतातपव

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śloka (Anuṣṭubh), and of the next two verses.

<sup>8</sup> °वीरी is also possible.

<sup>9</sup> Read °सम्भा°.

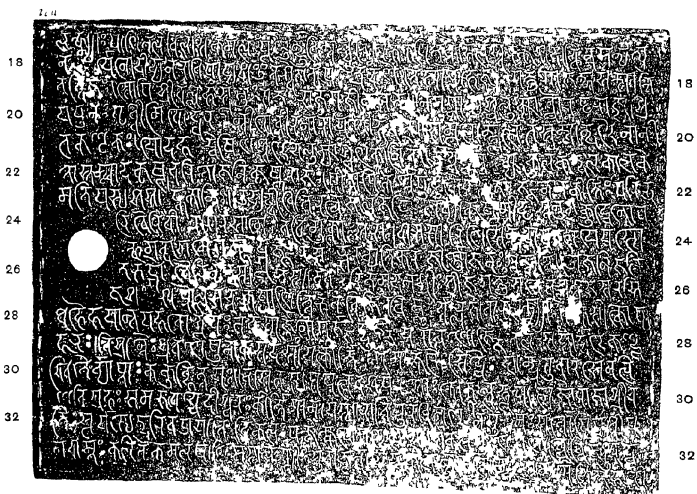
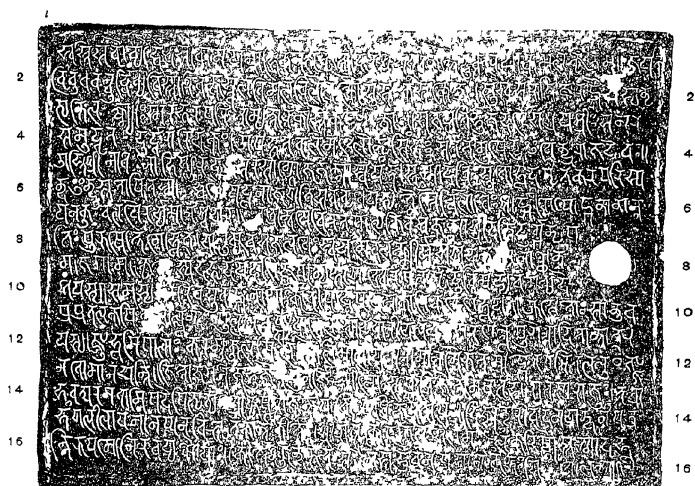
<sup>10</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīṭā.

<sup>7</sup> Read °विष्°.

<sup>10</sup> Read °स्वामी°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °दहदेषि°.



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*[Faded text on a dark background, likely an inscription or manuscript fragment.]*

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*[Faded text on a dark background, likely an inscription or manuscript fragment.]*

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- 22 तोस्तस्मादक्षयचरितीजनि क्षयराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुटकैर[स]क्षन्ने[न]  
कीर्त्तिः परिभ्र-
- 23 मति यस्य शशाङ्कान्तिः ॥ [१४\*] 'उद्यद्दीधितिरन्नजालजटिलं व्याकृष्टमी-  
दृग्धनुः (i) क्रुष्टेनोप-
- 24 रि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः । धारासारिणि से[न्द्र]चापवलये यस्ये-
- 25 ल्य[म]न्दागमे<sup>१</sup> ग[र्ज]द्गुर्ज[र]सङ्करव्यतिकरं जीरणीं जनः श[न्स]ति<sup>२</sup> ॥ [१५\*] 'भ्रा]-  
भजन<sup>३</sup> जनि-
- 26 तभङ्गो वैरिद्व[न्द]स्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः श्रीजगत्सुंग[दे]वः । ध्व]जसरसि-
- 27 जशंखमोक्षसङ्क्रपाणिर्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीर[ल]क्ष्म्याः ॥ [१६\*] 'भ्रा]-  
सील्लोप्य-
- 28 य हैहयान्वयभवो भू[प]ः 'स]हस्राङ्गुनो गर्जद्गु[र्ज]यरावणोर्जितलसद्दोर्हृण्ड-  
कण्डू-
- 29 हरः । विश्रान्तैः श्वणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः सान्द्रसुधा-  
रसेन लि-
- 30 विद्वतैर्व्याप्ताः ककुम्भितयः<sup>४</sup> ॥ [१७\*] वंशे तस्य सपन्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कलभूप-  
त्तजो<sup>५</sup> राजा श्रीर-
- 31 णविग्रहः समभवच्छेदीश्वरः कीर्त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरंभ्रिमण्डनसुपः सर्वोपि  
पृथ्वीप-
- 32 तिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति विकलः पन्नक्षये मण्डलम् ॥ [१८\*] 'सकलगुण-  
गणाञ्चेर्विष्णुरहा-<sup>६</sup>
- 33 मधान्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुक्कलकुसुदेन्दुः  
सुन्दरीचित्तहारी
- Second Plate, Second Side.*
- 34 हरिरिव परिषिन्ये तां जगत्सुंगदेवः ॥ [१९\*] चतुर्दधितटा[न्त]ख्यातश्रीर्थीय  
ताभ्यामभवदरि-
- 35 घरदो रङ्कन्दर्पादेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकल-  
जनशरणः पु-
- 36 ष्यलावण्यराशिः ॥ [२०\*] <sup>११</sup>मदनमन्दतविन्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च विव्वं<sup>१२</sup> नवनलिनमृणालं  
चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां

<sup>१</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.<sup>२</sup> Read वंसति.<sup>३</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, and of the next verse.<sup>४</sup> The first *sa* is not well-formed and looks almost like *sa*.<sup>५</sup> The letter *ṣa* is not well-formed.<sup>६</sup> Read 'गणाञ्चेर्विष्णुरहा'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'सन्दागमे<sup>८</sup> Metre: Mālinī.<sup>९</sup> Read ककुम्भितयः.<sup>१०</sup> Metre: Mālinī; and of the next two verses.<sup>११</sup> Read 'विन्दु'.<sup>१२</sup> Read विव्वं.



- 37 च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्लम्बनिर्म्माणशेषैरणुभिरिव चकार स्पष्ट[म]ान्दि वेषाः  
॥ [२१\*] देवो<sup>1</sup>
- 38 <sup>2</sup>यश्चतुरसुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाक्रामन्निकविक्रमेण सम्भूत्<sup>3</sup> श्रीकीर्त्ति-  
नारा-
- 39 यणः [1\*] श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः स[मं] विद्दिषां दैर्घ्यं  
वक्त्ररुची मनांसि च भ-
- 40 यं सेवाजलिं मौलयः ॥ [२२\*] <sup>4</sup>कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं [६]ल्लोभ्यूलितमेक्षणा ।  
उपिन्द्र-
- 41 मिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२३\*] <sup>5</sup>सकलजननमस्यः सोय  
क[त्वा] नमस्या-
- 42 श्रुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगायहारान् । उपरि पर[शु]रामल्लैककुग्रामदान-
- 43 स्फुरितगुणगरिम्णस्व्यागकीर्त्या बभूव<sup>6</sup> ॥ [२४\*] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-  
धिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 44 रश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंवध्य<sup>7</sup>
- 46 <sup>8</sup>मानात्राद्रूपतिषियपतिग्रामकूटयुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी-
- 47 श्ममादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्धखेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीप-
- 48 द्दवन्धाय<sup>9</sup> कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया सातापित्तोरालनश्चैहिकामुषिकपुख-

*Third Plate.*

- 49 यशोभिद्वये (i) लक्ष्मणगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसत्रह्यचारिणे<sup>10</sup> राणपभट्टसुताय
- 50 प्रभाकरभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गतकम्पणिव्जसमीपे उम्बरानामग्रामः यस्य पृ-
- 51 र्वतः तोलेजकं दक्षिणतो भोगलिका पश्चिमतः संकीग्राम उत्तर[ती]  
जवलकूपकमे-
- 52 वमाघाटचतुष्टयोपलक्षितः सीद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशा[प]राधः सोत्पद्यमान-
- 53 पिष्टिकः<sup>11</sup> सधान्यहिरण्यादेयोभ्यन्तरसि[द्धा] पूर्वदेवन्नदायरहितः<sup>12</sup> शकनृप-  
काला-
- 54 तीत[सं]वत्सरशतेष्वष्टासु<sup>13</sup> षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु [यु]वसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>2</sup> Read °रन्नु°

<sup>3</sup> Read सम्भूच्छी°

<sup>4</sup> Metre Śloka (Anushtubh)

<sup>5</sup> Metre Mālini

<sup>6</sup> Read वभूव.

<sup>7</sup> Read °संवध्य°

<sup>8</sup> This end appears to have been first inadvertently omitted and then engraved quite close to the rim

<sup>9</sup> Read °वन्धाय

<sup>10</sup> Read °सत्रह्य°

<sup>11</sup> Read °पिष्टिकः.

<sup>12</sup> Read °त्रह्य°.

<sup>13</sup> The inner stroke of ४ in ४४०२ is wanting

- 55 श्रीपट्टवन्वीक्ये<sup>1</sup> तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन्यामान्  
 56 अन्यान्यपि<sup>2</sup> पूर्व्वष्ट्वीपालवि[लु]प्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रव्य-  
 लक्षैस्सा-  
 57 ह्यैः सह विप्रेभ्यो विसुच्य <sup>3</sup>वल्लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथि[सं]तर्पणार्थम्(१)-  
 58 द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्थोचितया <sup>4</sup>ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो [भो]जयतः कृपतः  
 59 कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिपथना कार्या [1\*] तथा-  
 गामिभिरस्म-  
 60 <sup>5</sup>हंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्ब्रह्मदायो-  
 नुमन्त-<sup>6</sup>  
 61 व्यः [1\*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति स पंचभिर्माहापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादुक्तं च  
 भगवता व्यासेन ॥ ७-  
 62 टि<sup>7</sup> वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
 तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [२५\*] सा-  
 63 मान्योय<sup>8</sup> धर्मसितुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानिताम्ना-  
 विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्  
 64 भूयो भूयो [य]ाचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६\*] <sup>9</sup>श्रीविविक्रमभट्टेन नेमादित्यस्य  
 स्रुतना कृता प्रग्रस्तेय श्री [॥\*]

## TEXT OF No. II.

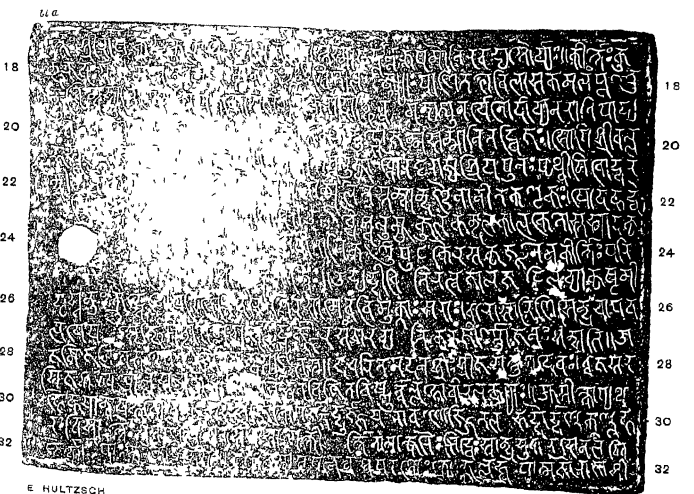
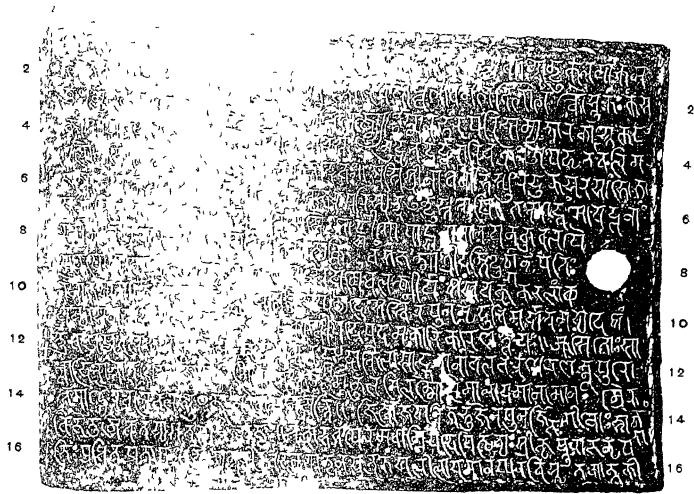
## First Plate.

- 1 श्री स्वस्ति । स वीव्याह्वेषसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं । हरश्च यस्य  
 [का]न्तेन्दुकलयया कम-  
 2 लकृतम् ॥ [१\*] जयति <sup>10</sup>विवुधवन्भुव्विन्व्यविस्तारिवचस्थलविमलविलोलक्वी-  
 स्तुभः कंस-  
 3 तुः<sup>11</sup> । सुखसरसिजरङ्गे यस्य नृत्यंति लक्ष्म्याः सा[र]भरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते  
 काटा-  
 4 साः ॥ [२\*] स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयथीः समरससुदुत्[दु]र्षरारिचक्रः ।  
 अपहृतवल्लिम-<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °वन्वीक्ये<sup>4</sup> Read ब्रह्म°<sup>6</sup> Read °सादब्रह्म°<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh); this verse was left incomplete for want of space<sup>10</sup> Read विवुधवन्भु°<sup>2</sup> Read °मानन्यान्यपि<sup>6</sup> Corrected by the engraver from °हंशैः°.<sup>7</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)<sup>9</sup> Metre. Śālini.<sup>11</sup> Read कसकेतु<sup>3</sup> Read बलि°<sup>12</sup> Read °बलि°.

- 5 षडलो नृसिंहः सततसुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥ [३\*] अस्ति श्रीनाथनाभि-  
स्फुरदुरसरसामीज(१)-
- 6 जन्मा [ख]यभूस्तस्मादक्षिः सुतोभूदस्यतकरपरिस्थन्द<sup>१</sup> इन्दुस्ततोपि । त[आ]-  
हंशो यदूनां
- 7 जगति स वद्वधे यत्र तैस्त्रैस्त्रिंशत्सैः शार्ङ्गी गोपाङ्ग[नानां] नयनकु-  
वलये-
- 8 रर्चमानश्चचार ॥ [४\*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-  
नृपतिः
- 9 पुरुषोत्तमीभूत् । चालुक्यवशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शं[ख]चक्रकरलाङ्क-
- 10 न[म]जगाम ॥ [५\*] कल्पास्पदं हृदयहारिजवन्धदेशे स्वैरं पुनर्हृदु विमर्द्यं  
च मध्यदेश ।
- 11 यस्यासम[स्य] समरे वसुधाङ्गनायाः <sup>२</sup>काचपीपदे पदमकारि करिण भूयः  
॥ [६\*] आ सेतीः सा-
- 12 <sup>३</sup>नुवप्रप्रवलकपिक्कु[लो]ल्लूनफुल्लवङ्गादा <sup>४</sup>कैलासाङ्ग[वा]मीचलचरणरणपुरी-
- 13 द्वादितान्तात् । यस्यान्नां भूमिष्प्राप्ताः करसुकुलमिलसौ[लि]मालायमा-  
नामानसैरु-
- 14 त्साङ्गैरवनितलसुठज्जानवी मानयन्ति ॥ [७\*] जिला जगन्नजभुजेन पुनर्जि-  
गीषोः स्वर्ग
- 15 विजितुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः ।(i) तत्राभवत्परमधात्रि पदे पितृव्यः  
श्रीकृष्णराजनृप-
- 16 तिः प्रथितप्रतापः ॥ [८\*] दिक्सुन्दरोवदनचान्दनपचमंगलीलायमानघनविस्तत-  
[का]न्तकी-
- Second Plate, First Side*
- 17 तैः [१\*] श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिण्योस्तस्मादभून्निरुपमो विह्वलयशौर्यः  
॥ [९\*] कीर्त्तैः कु-
- 18 न्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाषितले विनासकमलं पूर्णै-
- 19 न्दुविम्बयुति<sup>५</sup> । एकं कपितकोसलीश्वरकरादाष्कभमन्यत्पु[न]र्जिगीदीश्वररा-  
धिपाद्य-
- 20 य इव श्वेतातपचं रणे ॥ [१०\*] तस्मात्तैमे जगत्सुज्ञो जन्म सप्तानि-  
तद्विजः । सीपि श्रीवत्त-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'परिस्थन्द'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'इवामी'.<sup>३</sup> Read 'काचपी'.<sup>४</sup> Read 'विम्ब'.<sup>५</sup> Read 'भमन्य'.



E HULTZSCH

SCALE 45

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

- 36 हरिखिव परिणिन्धे तां जगत्कुदेवः ॥ [१८\*] चतुरदधितटान्तख्यातशौर्य्यैथ  
ताभ्याम[भ]व-
- 37 दरिघरद्वो रट्कन्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां 'सवाल-  
जनशरखः पु-
- 38 खलावखरामिः ॥ [२०\*] देवो 'यश्चतुरस्वुराशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वभरामाक्रा-  
मन्निजविक्रमेण स-
- 39 मभूत्<sup>३</sup> श्रीकीर्त्तिनारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां जग्मुः समं  
विहिषां
- 40 दैन्यं वक्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौल्यः ॥ [२१\*] कृतगो-  
वर्षनीहारं हेलो-
- 41 न्यूलितमेरुणा [\*] उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥ [२२\*]  
सकलजनममस्यः<sup>४</sup>
- 42 शोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देवभोगाग्रहाराना<sup>५</sup> उपरि परशुरामस्यैक-
- 43 कुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुणगरिभ्रणरुत्यागकीर्त्या वभूव<sup>६</sup> ॥ [२३\*] स च परमभट्टारक-  
महाराजाधिराज-
- 44 परमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
- 45 श्रीमन्त्रित्यवर्षनरिन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वांनिव 'यथासवध्यमानकाद्रापतिविषयपति-  
ग्राम-
- 46 कूटयुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा  
श्रीमान्य-
- 47 खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्सवाय<sup>७</sup> कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया माता-  
पित्रोरात्म-
- 48 नयैहिकास्तुभिकपुख्ययोभिद्वयै (i) लक्ष्मणरुगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यन्दिनसन्नन्नचा<sup>८</sup>

Thurd Plate.

- 49 रिणे पाटलिपुत्रविनिर्गत[श्रीवेन्न]पभट्टसुताय सिद्धपभट्टाय लाटदेशान्तर्गत-  
कम्यणिज्ज-
- 50 समीपे तेन्ननामग्रामः [\*] यस्य पूर्व्वतो वारडपत्तिका [\*] दक्षिणतो  
नाभ्रीतटकं [\*] पश्चिमतो वली-

<sup>१</sup> Read सकल

<sup>४</sup> Read 'कननमस्य'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'संवध्य'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'रभू'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'हरान्'.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'वन्धो'.

<sup>८</sup> Read समभूजौ.

<sup>९</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'सन्नन्न'.

- 51 शा [1\*] उत्तरतो वक्ष्यणग्रामः [1\*] एवमा[घा]टचतुष्टयोपलक्षितसोद्वंगः  
सपरिकर[ः] सदण्ड-
- 52 दशापाराधः सोत्यद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहि[र]ख्या[हे\*]योभ्यन्तरसिद्धा शकनृप-  
कालातीतसंवत्सर-
- 53 शतेष्वष्टासु षट्त्रिंशदुत्तरेषु युवसंवत्सरफाल्गुनशुद्धसप्तम्यां संपन्ने श्रीपट्टवन्धोत्स-<sup>1</sup>
- 54 वे तुलापुरुषमारुद्ध तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्दकादीन् ग्रामानन्यान्यपि पूर्व-  
दृष्ट्वीपासवि-
- 55 लुप्तानि चत्वारि ग्रामशतानि विंशतिद्रुमलक्षैस्सार्धैः सह विमुच्य 'वलि-  
चरुवैश्वदेवाग्नि-
- 56 हीनातिथिसंतर्पणार्थम(1)द्योदकातिसर्गेण दत्तोस्योचितया 'ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या
- 57 भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि  
परि-
- 58 पयना कार्या [1\*] तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्रहंशैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं  
भूमिदानफल-
- 59 मवेत्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषीयम[स्र]हृद्भद्रदायोनुमन्तव्यः<sup>4</sup> [1\*] यथाज्ञानाज्ञोपयति  
स पंचभिर्भद्रा-
- 60 पातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादु[क्तं] च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसङ्घस्राणि स्वर्गे  
तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आ[च्छे]-
- 61 ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकौ वसेत् ॥ [२४\*] अ[ग्ने]रपत्यं पथम<sup>5</sup>  
सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च [गा]-
- 62 वः [1\*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥  
[२५\*] सामान्यो[यं] धर्मसितुर्दृपाणां
- 63 कालि कालि पासनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानिताम्नाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो  
याचते रामभद्रः ॥ [२६\*]
- 64 श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन [त्रि]मादित्यस्य सनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तयमिन्द्रराजां-  
त्रिसेविना ॥ [२७\*] श्रीः [1\*]

## TRANSLATION OF No. II.

Om. Hail!

(Verse 1) May he (Vishnu), the water-lily (*springing from*) whose navel was made (*his*)  
abode by Vêdhas (Brahman), protect you, and Hara (Śiva) whose head is adorned by the beau-  
tiful crescent of the moon<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °बन्धी°.<sup>4</sup> Read °अरुन्नम°.<sup>2</sup> Read वलि°.<sup>5</sup> Read प्रथमं.<sup>3</sup> Read नृध°

(V 2) **VICTORIOUS** is (Kṛishna) (*who is*) the comet (*of destruction*) to Kamsa (*and is*) the friend of the gods, on whose chest, extensive as the Vindhya (*mountain*), dangles the pure Kaustubha, (*and*) on the stage of whose lotus like face dance the side-glances of Lakshmi, with the pupils (*of her eyes*) languid through excess of love<sup>1</sup>

(V 3) **E** 1 **VICTORIOUS** is the king Indraraja (III), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of Wealth, who has rooted out in battles the circle of (*his*) enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e.* the best) among men, just as Upēndha (Vishnu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her*) support by (*the goddess*) Lakshmi, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bah and (*his*) legions (*to Patāla*), (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*)

(V 4) The self-existent (Brahman) was born of the wide and blooming water-lily springing from the navel of (Vishnu) the lord of **SHI**, of him was born (*his*) son **ATI**, (*and*) of him again (*i.e.* of **ATI**) the Moon that overflows with rays of nectar. From him there grew on earth the lineage of the Yadus, amongst whom (*at one time*) flourished (Vishnu) the wielder of the Śarṅga (*bow*) (*in his eighth incarnation as Kṛishna*), who was worshipped by the lotus-eyes of cowherdesses with every kind of flattery.

(V 5) In that family there arose the illustrious king Dantidurga, born in the great Satyaki branch the best of men, whose hand (*bold*) the (*auspicious*) marks of the conch and discus (*and*) to whom of herself came the goddess of wealth of the Chālukya family, just as (*in that family*) there were Prushōtama (Kṛishna), who prolonged the line of Sātyaki,<sup>1</sup> who (*held*) the conch and discus in (*his*) hands as (*his peculiar*) characteristics, (*and*) to whom of himself came (*the goddess*) Lakshmi from the ocean

(V 6) The hand (*i.e.* the prowess) of this (*prowess*), matchless in battle, having (*first*) established itself on the beautiful lowermost region of the earth, and having again overcome in a gentle manner at its own will the central region (*Madhyaḍśa*), again established itself in the province of **Kaŋcī**, just as the hand (*of a lotus*), after (*first*) establishing itself on the hips of a woman attractive to the heart, and pressing again gently at its will (*her*) waist, again establishes itself on the region (*below the waist*) where the girdle (*is worn*)

(V 7) His orders, forming a wreath on (*their*) crests with which came in contact (*their*) hands (*joined*) like buds (*all*) kings respect with (*their*) heads slightly bent (*and*) with (*their*) knees rolling about on the surface of the earth, from Sētn (Rāmcsvāyam), where the blossoming *lavṅga* (trees) are destroyed on the declivities of mountain-tops by hosts of powerful monkeys, as far as the Kailāsa (*mountain*), the outskirts of which resound with the jingling anklets on the moving feet of Bhavāni

(V 8) When that king, after conquering the world by his own arm, had gone to heaven as if to conquer (*it*), being desirous of a fresh victory,— (*his*) paternal uncle, the illustrious king Krishnarāja (I), of well-known prowess, occupied his position of supreme majesty

(V 9) Nirupama, of spotless valour, sprang from that (*king*), whose fame, solid, extensive and bright, diverted itself in the form of the lines of sandal-painting on the faces of the beauties, (*was*) the quarters, (*and*) who adorned the mountain (*consisting of*) the family of the glorious Rāshtrakūtas,

(V 10) From the hand of the trembling lord of the **Kōśalas** was snatched away by him in battle one white (*regal*) parasol, which was the white (*auspicious*) water-pitcher for the setting out of (*his*) fame, bright as the *kunda* (flower), on a journey over the whole world, (*and*) which

<sup>1</sup> "Patr of Yuyudhāna (a warrior in the Pāṇḍu army who acted as the charioteer of Kṛishna and belonged to the Vṛishni family)."—Monier-Williams' *Dictionary*.

was the toy-lotus, resplendent as the disc of the full moon, on the palm of the hand of Lakshmi, another again (*was snatched away by him*) from the king of the northern (*country*) as if it were (*his*) glory

(V 11) From him obtained birth Jagattunga, who honoured the twice-born, he in his turn begat as son the king of kings Śrivallabha

(V 12) This (*prince*), possessed of fortitude, on raising again the glory of the Ratta kingdom, drowned in the ocean of the Chalukyas, became (*he* assumed the epithet of) Viranārāyana, just as (Vishnu), again uplifting the earth, drowned in the ocean, became Viranārāyana (*he* the heroic Nārāyana)

(V 13) Having, by means of punishment, put down obnoxious persons, he destroyed the fiery Chalukyas, (*his*) enemies, who had completely devastated (*the city of*) Stamba,<sup>1</sup> just as (*a gardenener*), after removing the thorns by means of a stick, burns chick-peas, the stalks of which have been plucked out with the roots

(V 14) From him, who was the comet of destruction to the plantain tree, (*was*) the high family of the Chalukyas, was born Krishnarāja (II), of spotless life, whose fame, bright as the moon, wanders about, though constantly drunk by the people by means of the cavities of (*their*) ears

(V 15) On the advent of clouds, when there is a heavy downpour of rain (*and*) when the circular rainbow (*appears in the sky*), the old men thus describe the event of his fight with the roaring Gūrjara —“Thus did (*he*) in anger draw (*his*) bow, studded with a series of gems darting forth rays, thus did (*he*) discharge arrows at the heads of the warriors of (*his*) enemy”

(V 16) From him was born the illustrious Jagattungadēva, who caused the destruction of the multitude of (*his*) enemies, who surpassed the beauty of Madana, who was the beloved of the goddess of Heroism, (*the palm of each of*) whose hands (*bore the auspicious sign of*) a discus shining by means of (*the marks of*) a banner, a lotus and a conch, (*and*) who (*thus*) by (*his*) greatness excelled Vishnu

(V 17) There was a king (*named*) Sahasrārjuna, sprung from the Haihaya lineage, who relieved the itching sensation<sup>2</sup> of the powerful and shining long arms of the roaring and invincible Rāvana, (*and*) the letters (*setting forth*) whose fame and name, finding a resting-place in the ears of the gods, (*and*) written by the Siddhas with the dense fluid of nectar, covered the walls of the quarters

(V 18) In the dynasty of him who was an axe to the families of (*his*) enemies, there arose the renowned illustrious king Ranavīgraha, the son of king Kokkalla (*and*) the lord of Chēdi, into whose circle (*of feudatory princes*), pilferer as he was of the ornaments of the wives of (*his*) enemies, entered every enfeebled lord of the earth on the destruction of (*his*) partisans, just as the moon, destitute of (*all*) the digits, enters the disc of the sun at the end of the (*dark*) fortnight

(V 19) From him who was the receptacle of a collection of all virtues (*and*) the abode of resplendent majesty, there was born a daughter (*named*) Lakshmi, possessed of lotus like hands, [just as from the ocean, which is the abode (*of the sun*) of intensely gleaming rays, there sprang Lakshmi, possessed of a lotus in (*her*) hand], Jagattungadēva, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) Lakshmi, the daughter of Ranavīgraha, just as Hari, the moon to the night-lotus of the Yadu race (*and*) the ravisher of the hearts of beautiful women, married her (*was*) the goddess Lakshmi

<sup>1</sup> The same as Tāmralipta, *i.e.* Tamik, see p 27 above.

<sup>2</sup> [Compare *Sivapalavaha*, I. 48.]



(V. 20) From these two sprang **Ratta-Kandarpadēva**, whose bravery was known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who was a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who dwelt in the hearts of beautiful women, who was a refuge to all men, (and) who was a store of merit and beauty, [just as from (Hari and Lakshmi) sprang the god Kandarpa (i.e. Cupid), whose prowess is known as far as the shores of the four oceans, who is a grinding-stone to (his) enemies, who abides in the minds of beautiful women, who is a refuge to all persons, (and) who is a store of heavenly beauty]

(V. 21.) This king, overrunning, by means of his own valour, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, became (i.e. was known as) **Śri-Kīrti-Nārāyana**, just as the god (Vishnu), covering, with his stride, the earth shining with the girdle of the four oceans, was known as **Śri-Kīrti-Nārāyana**, on hearing of whose birth, the lustre of the faces, the minds, and the heads of (his) enemies, whose understanding was bewildered, simultaneously experienced dejection, fear, and the cavity of the hands folded (as a mark of) servitude

(V. 22) This **Indrarāja (III)**, having uprooted **Mēru** (Mahōdaya?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) defeating (king) **Upēndra** who had saved **Gōvardhana**, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) **Mēru** with ease, was not puffed up with pride at (his) vanquishing (the god) **Upēndra** (Krishna) who had uplifted the **Gōvardhana** (mountain)<sup>1</sup>

(V. 23) This lord of the earth, entitled to obeisance from all men, on founding many endowments to temples and *agrahāras* (to Brāhmanas), to be respected (by all), became, in point of fame for charity, superior to **Paraśurāma**, the greatness of whose merits shone by the gift of a single insignificant village.<sup>2</sup>

(Lil. 43-56) And he, the *Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara*, the prosperous **Nityavarshanarēndradēva**, who meditates on the feet of the *Paramabhāttāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēvara*, the prosperous **Akṣavarshadēva**, being well, commands all the lords of provinces (*rāshṭra*), lords of districts (*viśhaya*), chiefs of villages, leading persons, officials, employes, functionaries, etc., according as they are concerned —

“Be it known to you that by Me, who resides at the capital of **Mānyakhēta** (and) who has come to **Kurundaka** for the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet,—for the enhancement of the religious merit and fame, in this world and the next, of (My) parents and Myself—with heartfelt devotion—eight centuries of years increased by thirty-six having elapsed since the time of the **Saka** king, on the seventh (tithi) of the bright (fortnight) of **Phālguna** in the **Yuva-samvatsara**—having, on the completion of the glorious festival of the binding of the fillet, ascended the **Tulāpurusha**,<sup>3</sup> and having, without coming down from the pan, given away, together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, **Kurundaka** and other villages, and four hundred villages besides, that had been confiscated by previous kings,—was bestowed to-day, by pouring water from the hand, for the sake of the **Bala**, **Charu**, **Vasvadēva**, **Agnihōtra** and **Atithisantarpana**,—upon **Siddhapabhata**, of the **Lakshmana gōtra**, a student of the **Vāy-Mādhyandina (śākhā)**, (and) the son of **Śri-Vennapabhata** who had come from **Pātaliputra**,—the village of the name of **Tenna** in the vicinity of **Kammanuja** situated in the county of **Lāta**, defined by the four boundaries, viz to the east **Vāraḍapallikā**, to the south **Nāmbhitataksa**, to the west **Valisā**, (and) to the north the village of **Vavviana**,<sup>4</sup> together with the royal share,

<sup>1</sup> There can hardly be a doubt that this verse is intended to yield two meanings, one mythological and the other historical. The first is clear, but the historical sense is by no means evident, see above, p. 27 f

<sup>2</sup> There is here a play on the word *ku*, which means both ‘the earth’ and ‘insignificant’

<sup>3</sup> “Gift of gold, etc., equal to a man’s weight”—Monier-Williams’ *Dictionary*

<sup>4</sup> According to No. I 1 49 ff.—“son of **Prabhākarabhāṭṭa**, of the **Lakshmana gōtra**, a student of the **Vāy-Mādhyandina (śākhā)**, and the son of **Rānapabhāṭṭa**,—the village of the name of **Umvara** in the vicinity of **Kammanuja** situated in the county of **Lāta**, defined by the four boundaries, viz to the east **Tolēyaka**, to the south **Mōgahikā**, to the west the village of **Samki**, (and) to the north **Javalakūpaka**”

with the appurtenances, with (*the proceeds of the punishments for*) faults and the ten offences, with (*the right to*) forced labour as it arises, with the assessment in grain and gold

(Ll 56-59) "No hindrance should in the slightest degree be caused by any one to him while enjoying (*this village*), allowing (*others*) to enjoy (*it*), cultivating (*it*), causing (*it*) to be cultivated, or assigning (*it*) to another, in accordance with the manner of a gift to a Brâhmana. Likewise, this My gift to a Brâhmana should be assented to, just as if it were their own gift, by the good kings of the future, whether My descendants or others, bearing in mind that the fruit of a gift of land is common (*both to the grantor and to the preserver*)"

[L 59 f and vv 24-26 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(V. 27.) This praiseworthy panegyric<sup>1</sup> was composed by the illustrious Trivikramabhata, the son of Nêmaditya (*and*) serving the feet of Indrarâja

## No. 5 — RAGHOLI PLATES OF JAYAVARDHANA II

By HIRA LAL, B A, M.R.A.S., NAGPUR

These plates were kindly sent to me by Mr C E Low, I C S, Deputy Commissioner of the Bâlâghât district, Central Provinces. They were found in the village Ragholi belonging to the Sâletekri Zamîndâi, now under the Court of Wâds and included in the Bahar tahsil of that district, by a cultivator while ploughing the field. There are three copper-plates, of which the second and third bear writing on both sides, the third plate has only two lines on the reverse side. The plates are broader in the middle than at the top or at the bottom. At the broadest part they measure nearly 6½ inches, and the average height is 5½". They are held together by a circular ring, 2½" in diameter, which is somewhat thicker and rugged at the place where the two ends are soldered together. A circular seal with tasselled borders is attached to the ring and was put on it before the ends of the ring were soldered together. The seal has in two lines the legend *Śrî-Jayavardhanadêvasya*, which is enclosed by ornamental circles running round the bottom of the tassels. The ring was cut and resoldered by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, who kindly took for me the impressions which are reproduced on the accompanying Plate. The copper-plates were found when Mr Low was writing the *Gazetteer of the Bâlâghât District*, in which an extract from my translation has already appeared.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, written in characters belonging to the northern class of alphabets. The average size of the letters is about ¼". They are badly formed and somewhat difficult to read. The first 20 lines of the inscription (excepting the opening words *Om svasti Śrîvardhanapurât*) and again lines 35 to 45 are in verse. The rest is Sanskrit prose. Final forms of *t* occur in lines 1 and 38, and one of *m* in line 45. The letter *b* is not distinguished from *v*. A notable orthographical peculiarity occurs in lines 32 f and 40 f, where we find *mv* written for *m* in *tâmva* and *kamva*. On the other hand *b* is omitted in *kufumina* (l 24) for *kufumbina*, but regularly expressed by *v* in *dalâmva* (l 41). The letters with a *vêpha* at the top sometimes assume a very peculiar shape such as in *sarva* (l 25) and *varsha* (l 37). At other places they have the usual form, as in *sarva* (l 29). There is also a tendency to change the final forms of nasals into *anusvâra* in contravention of the accepted grammatical rules, as in *gramukhâm* (l 24) and *purushâm* (l 25). The *ka* of *kamva* in line 40 f has a peculiar form and differs from other *kas* occurring in the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> The word *prastâvâ* is here evidently used in the same sense as *prastâvâ*.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Khaddikā in the Katēra district (l 23) to a temple of the Sun god at Chattulihā (l 29 f) by king Jayavardhana II. It was issued from Śrīvardhanapura (l 1) and is dated in the 3rd year of his reign on the 30th day of the month Kārtika (ll 46 and 31). Judging from the writing it may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., the characters very much resemble those of the Pathan plates of Govinda III dated in the year 794 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Jayavardhana II is described in lines 20-22 as a devotee of Mahēśvara, the lord of the whole Vindhya, and *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. He belonged to the Śailavamśa (verse 1). His grandfather, who bore the same name as himself, killed the former king of the Vindhya and made the Vindhya his residence (v 3). The son of Jayavardhana I and father of the donor was Śrīvardhana II., who styled himself Vindhyeśvara (v 4), and who may have founded Śrīvardhanapura from which the present charter was issued. Five more ancestors of this line are mentioned, the first of whom was Śrīvardhana I. His son was Prithuvardhana, who is stated to have attacked Gujārāt (v. 1). In his family was born Sauvardhana (v 2), one of whose three sons killed the king of Faundra<sup>2</sup> (Bengal and Bihar), while another conquered the king of Kāśī (Benares). Of this latter, whose name is not mentioned, Jayavardhana I. was the son (v 3).

The first verse of this charter opens with an obscure epithet to Śrīvardhana I who is called *Kailās-āchala-tunga-śringa-vipula-ārśāya-vamśa-prabhuh*, which apparently means 'the lord of the family of her who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kailāsa mountain'. It is very difficult to hit at the true import of this expression, and the only conjecture I can hazard is that it may mean the Gāngavamśa, of which the Śailavamśa was probably a branch or a more well known name at that time. Otherwise it is difficult to see why in the same verse the same person should be called the lord or ornament of two families. If my conjecture is correct, the force of *prakhyātō bhuv* (famous or known on the earth) preceding *Śailavamśa-tilakah* would be apparent. The Śailavamśa is very probably identical with the Śailōdbhavas or Śilōdbhavas of Orissa, to which Prof Hultzsch has kindly drawn my attention. In the plates of the time of Śaśānkarāja,<sup>3</sup> a feudatory chief Mādhavarāja II, who issued the charter, is spoken of as belonging to the Śilōdbhava family, which is identical with the Śailōdbhava of the Buguda plates of Mādhavarman<sup>4</sup> as pointed out there. The former is dated in the year 619-20 A.D. and is the older of the two. Both were found in the Ganjam district, and both the charters were issued from Kōngēda or Kaingōda, which is identified by Prof Kielhorn with the Kong-u-t'ō<sup>5</sup> of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang, who visited the place in the year 639 A.D.<sup>6</sup> This principality was included in the Kalinga country or, roughly speaking, Orissa. In fact the village granted by Mādhavarāja II was situated in the district of Krishnagiri, a synonym of Nilagiri which is a name of Jagannātha (Puri) in Orissa.<sup>7</sup> And it is well known that Orissa is the country where the Gāngavamśa originated. King Indravarman of Kalinganagara is spoken of as the 'establisher of the spotless family of the Gāngas,'<sup>8</sup> an epithet which does not occur in other grants of the Gāngas of Kalinga. So he was a perpetuator of a dynasty with a new name, which probably he introduced in preference to an old one which was not very complimentary. The new name is a metronymic, so we may suppose that the one suppressed was a patronymic. The Buguda inscription tells us how one Pulindaśena worshipped Brahmā in order to create a fit ruler for the land, and how the god granted his wish by creating out of a rock the lord Śailōdbhava, who became the founder of the family of that name. However complimentary the story may have been in the beginning, it could not have failed later on to appear somewhat analogous to the alleged origin of low

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 108 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VI p 144.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VI p 188.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol VI p 144.

<sup>5</sup> Wilson's *Vishnu-Purāna*, Vol II p 170, note 5.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol III p 42.

<sup>7</sup> Cunningham's *Ancient Geography*, p 518.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol III p 127.

castes, which trace their origin to some such inanimate objects as scarecrows, dirt from Mahādēva's body, or the sweat of his brow. In fact the aboriginal Gonds aver that their leader Lango liberated the first men of the tribe from a cave in the Iron valley in the Red hill by removing a stone 16 cubits high with which Mahādēva had closed the mouth of the cave, and out came 16 scores of Gonds at once<sup>1</sup>. The Śailōdbhava origin would thus appear something like an improvement on this story. Recognising the tendency, which has always existed and still exists, to adopt eponymous names under the influence of what Sir Alfred Lyall calls the gradual Brāhmanising of castes, it would not be surprising to find a family with a dubious patronymic insinuating a non-Brāhmanical origin, preferring a metronymic connected with so holy a deity as the Ganges, in spite of the Kshatriya mode of calling themselves after the male parent. It will then be asked why in the present grant the Śailavamsā was at all mentioned, to which an answer may be found in the fact that there are always three classes of people the conservatives or those who would stick to the old things only, the moderates who would tolerate both the new and the old, and the extremists who would wholly discard the old, and probably the donor of the present grant belonged to the second class. All this is, however, extremely hypothetical, and I only hazard it in the hope that a better explanation may be forthcoming. By the way I may mention that it was the Gāngavamsā kings of Orissa who revived Sun-worship and built many temples dedicated to that deity,<sup>2</sup> and again most of the officials, such as *samāhārtre* and *samudhātṛe* (l. 24), are those chiefly found in the grants of Orissa kings. These are other items in support of the donor's family connection with Orissa.

With regard to the places mentioned in the grant, I identify Khaddikā with Khadi, a village three miles north-east of Ragholi where the plates were found. It is only a Sanskritised name like Lañpikā<sup>3</sup> for Lanpi, which is also not very far away from this place. Katēraka is probably the present Katera near Katangi, 60 miles west of Ragholi. I cannot identify Chatpuliha, unless it is a mistake for Raghuliha or Ragholi, where the plates have been found. With the elision of a little stroke in the first letter, and giving a slightly slanting position to the second, the word would read as Raghuliha. This may find support from the fact that the engraving of the grant is very defective, and that several other mistakes have been committed in lines 33, 40, 44, etc. I cannot find in the Central Provinces a place answering to Śrīvardhanapura. It could not be Śrīvardhana in the Bombay Presidency, the famous seaport referred to by European travellers as Zuffardan and celebrated as the birth-place of the first Peshwa.<sup>4</sup> From what has been stated above, the family would seem to have come from a seaport in the east rather than from the west. But the place must be searched for nearer home, and it may be that it is now non-existent. The probability is that it was situated somewhere near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur district. Five miles from this place there is a village called Nagardhan which was known as Nandivardhana<sup>5</sup> in olden times, and local traditions assert that the surrounding country was ruled from that place by Kshatriya Rājas.<sup>6</sup> The village contains ancient remains and is mentioned as the name of a district together with Nāgpur in the Dēōli plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. dated in the year 940 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It is plain therefore that

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol IX p 158

<sup>2</sup> See Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol I p. 279 f. Dr Hunter says — "At a remote period, Sun-worship, driven out of Vedic India by materialising superstitions, found shelter on the secluded Eastern coast. Its existence in Orissa in ancient times is proved not only by the fact of a specific division of the country being devoted to it, but also by the rock writings . . . The most exquisite memorial of Sun-worship in India, or I believe in any country, is the temple of Konkrak upon the Orissa shore."

<sup>3</sup> In the Batanpur inscription of Jājalladēva, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 33

<sup>4</sup> *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol. XI, p 467

<sup>5</sup> Mr Craddock's *Settlement Report*, 1895, p 15

<sup>6</sup> It may be borne in mind that this part of the country was for a long time under Gonds and afterwards the Marāṭhas, and as a rule the memory of these only survives.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 196 f.

Nandivardhana must have been a place of great importance before it gave its name to the district. I hold that this was founded by a successor of Jayavardhana II, who removed the capital from Śīvārdhanapura, also named after a king of the same line, to the place to which he gave his own name.<sup>1</sup> The Rāshtrakūtas rose in power on this side in the eighth century, and it is probably they who displaced the Śālavamśa dynasty of the Vindhya mountains. Nandivardhana or Nagardhana is about 100 miles from Raghohi, and both were included in the same district about a century ago. It may also be stated that, so far as I have been able to find, there are no other villages ending in *vardhana* in Bālāghāt or any of the surrounding districts, and the name is so peculiarly different from those of other villages in the locality that it may almost be called unique, for these reasons the location of Śīvārdhanapura round about Nandivardhana or Rāmtek carries at least a certain probability with it.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

## Seal

- 1 श्रीजयव-
- 2 र्दनदेवस्व [॥\*]

## First Plate

- 1 नोँ स्वस्ति श्रीवर्द्धनपुरात् [॥\*] <sup>3</sup>कैलासाचलतुङ्गशृङ्ग-
- 2 विपुलद्रोणोजयेश्वरभुः<sup>4</sup> प्रख्यातो भुवि शैलवं-
- 3 शतिलकः श्री — —<sup>5</sup> वर्द्धनो यो नृपः । तत्पुत्रः पृथ्व-
- 4 र्द्धनो निजभुजव्याकृतखड्गः[.] सुर्या<sup>6</sup> देयं गौर्जरमास-
- 5 साद सद्दसा विक्रान्तिभिर्यस्ततः ॥ [१\*] तदंशप्रभवो
- 6 व्यजीजनदलं सौवर्द्धनो भूपतिर्भूचक्रक्र-
- 7 मलम्बिक्रमयशः<sup>7</sup> पुत्रत्रयं त्वीरसं । ते-
- 8 <sup>8</sup>षासुर्जितवैरिदारणपटु पौण्ड्राधिपं क्षाप-
- 9 ति हर्लको विषय तमेव सकलं जग्राह श्री-
- 10 र्यान्वितः ॥ [२\*] ताभ्यामन्यतमो विह्वल सद्दसा द-
- 11 र्पिहितं दारुणं काशि काशिनराधिपं सित-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 12 गुणो जग्राह जेता द्विषां । तत्पुत्रो जयवर्द्धने-
- 13 ति वचसा ख्यातो वरो भूभृतां विन्ध्ये विन्ध्यनरेशमेव

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that all names of this line end in *vardhana*.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates I am indebted to Pr. & Hultzsch for a few corrections in my readings.

<sup>3</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, also of the two next verses.

<sup>4</sup> Read °जवश°

<sup>5</sup> There are two letters here which appear to have been struck off by the engraver. The metre also shows that they were redundant.

<sup>6</sup> Read पुरा-

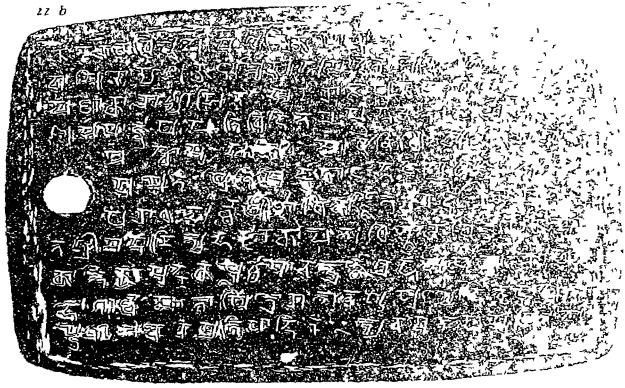
<sup>7</sup> Read °लख°

<sup>8</sup> Read °सुखित°



22 b

24  
26  
28  
30  
32



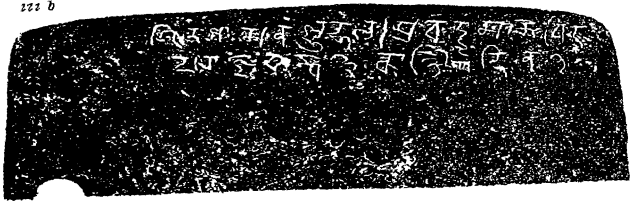
227 a

34  
36  
38  
40  
42  
44



227 b

46



FROM INK-IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI BAHADUR V. VENKAYYA

- 14 सुचिरं हृत्वा चकार स्थितिं ॥ [३\*] <sup>1</sup>मातङ्गदानचतदीनचे-  
 15 ष्टः <sup>2</sup>सवर्षितानेकविशालवशः । विन्ध्येश्वरो विन्ध्य  
 16 इवाचलयीः श्रीवर्द्धनस्तस्य सुतो वभूव<sup>3</sup> ॥ [४\*] <sup>4</sup>तस्या-  
 17 ळजः सकलवैरिविनाशदक्षो जाती महा-  
 18 गुणनिधिर्जयवर्द्धनाख्यः । लक्ष्मीप्रगाढ-  
 19 परिरभणपोडिताङ्गं दृष्ट्वा दिवं यमगमत्यरु-  
 20 षेव कीर्त्तिः ॥ [५\*] परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादा-  
 21 नुध्यातः सकलविध्याधिपतिः महाराजाधिरा-  
 22 जपरमेश्वरश्रीजयवर्द्धनदेवः कुशलो

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 23 कटेरकविषयीयखट्विकायां ब्राह्मणा[नृ\*]<sup>5</sup> सपूज्य प्रति-  
 24 वासिनोन्यांश्च कुटुम्बिन<sup>6</sup> (i) समाहृष्टसन्निधात्प्रसुखा<sup>7</sup>  
 25 यथाकालाध्यासिनः सर्वराजपुरुषां<sup>8</sup> विषयपतीं-  
 26 ष्च समान्नापयति [॥\*] विदितमस्तु भवता<sup>9</sup> यथास्माभिर-  
 27 यं ग्रामः सनिधिः सोपनिधिः सर्वकारादान-  
 28 समेतः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः सदशा-  
 29 पराधः सर्वपीडाविवर्जितः चटुस्त्रिहप्रतिष्ठि-  
 30 तश्रीमदादित्यभट्टारकाय अधिष्ठानविज्ञप्तिकया  
 31 <sup>10</sup>कात्तिकवासुदकपूर्वमाचन्द्राङ्गग्रहसमकालोप-  
 32 भोगार्थं मातापित्रोरामनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये ता-  
 33 <sup>11</sup>म्नशासनेन प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत<sup>12</sup> ससुचितभो-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 34 गभागादिक भक्ता<sup>13</sup> सुख वस्तव्यं ॥ तथा चीकं धर्मी-  
 35 शास्त्रे ॥ <sup>14</sup>वहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-  
 36 मिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [६\*]  
 37 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आ-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrā

<sup>2</sup> Read सवर्षिता<sup>0</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka The simile here is विरञ्जमतिकारिका, compare श्रीनिधीगाहदितुमिव गतेत्यम्बुधि यस्य कीर्ति in the *Śāhityapradīpa*, 7th *ullāsa*, *śloka* 241 For this parallel quotation I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Sastrī, M A

<sup>5</sup> Read ब्राह्मणान्

<sup>6</sup> Read कुटुम्बिन.

<sup>7</sup> Read प्रसुखान्

<sup>8</sup> Read पुरुषान्

<sup>9</sup> Read भवतां

<sup>10</sup> Read कारिण्या

<sup>11</sup> Read ताव<sup>0</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Read इत्यवगत.

<sup>13</sup> Read सुक्ता.

<sup>14</sup> Read बहु<sup>0</sup>.



- 38 ष्छेत्ता चानुतन्ता<sup>1</sup> च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ [७\*] खद-  
 39 तां परदता<sup>2</sup> वा यो हरत वसुधरां । स विष्ठा-  
 40 यां कर्मिभूता<sup>3</sup> पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ [८\*] इति क-  
 41 'खददतावुविदुल्लोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-  
 42 जीवितं च र.कलमिदमुदाहृतं च वुध्वा<sup>4</sup> न हि पुर-  
 43 वैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ [९\*] श्रीश्रीवर्धनदेव-  
 44 स्य पाद[पद्मोप]जीविना<sup>5</sup> । श्रीमहाचच्छपालेन लि-

*Third Plate ; Second Side*

- 45 खितं शासनं यमम् । [१०\*] प्रवर्द्धमानविज-  
 46 यराज्ये सर्व<sup>6</sup> ३ कार्त्तिके ?] दिन ३० [॥\*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om* Hail! From Śrīvardhanapura.

(Verse 1) (*There was*) king Śrīvardhana (I.), the lord of the family of her<sup>9</sup> who was born in the great valley of the lofty peaks of the Kāśāsa mountain, (*and*) famous on (*his*) earth (*as*) the ornament of the Śālavahśā His son Prithuvaradhana, formerly having drawn the sword with his own arm, at once overcame the Gaurjara country by (*his various*) attacks.

(V. 2.) King Sauvardhana, who was born in his family, begat three sons of his own, who in due course acquired the glory of heroism on the circle of the earth. One of them, possessing valour, having killed the Paundra king who was skilled in rending up (*his*) powerful enemies, took the whole of that country.

(V. 3.) The third of them,<sup>10</sup> of white (*i.e.* pure) character, the vanquisher of foes, having forcibly killed the self-conceited (*and*) cruel king of the Kāśis, took Kāśī (*from him*). His son, known by the name of Jayavardhana (I.), the best of kings, having killed the lord of the Vindhya, took up his residence in the Vindhya for a long time

(V. 4) His son was Śrīvardhana (II.), the lord of the Vindhya, who possessed immovable (*permanent*) wealth like the immovable Vindhya mountain itself, who banished poverty by gifts of elephants, (*and*) who augmented the prosperity of various (*other*) big families.

(V. 5) His son, skilled in destroying all (*his*) enemies (*and*) a treasury of great virtues, was called Jayavardhana (II.). The goddess of Wealth so closely embraced him that the goddess of Fame, as if (*jealous of her cowife*), out of anger ascended to the heavens<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read शाहमला.

<sup>2</sup> Read परदता

<sup>3</sup> Read कर्मिभूता.

<sup>4</sup> Read कलमिदवावुविदु.

<sup>5</sup> Read °सुदाहृतं

<sup>6</sup> Read वुध्वा.

<sup>7</sup> The words in brackets are very common in inscriptions, see *e.g.* *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 210, note 3

<sup>8</sup> Read खद

<sup>9</sup> I take *dr̥ṣṭya-vahśā* to stand for *dr̥ṣṭya-vahśā* in accordance with Pāṇi VI. 3. 63, and to mean the *gaṅgā-vahśā*

<sup>10</sup> Literally, 'another than the two'

<sup>11</sup> The idea is that he was very wealthy, and that his fame reached up to the heavens.

(L. 20.) The devout worshipper of Mahêsvara (Śiva), who meditated on the feet of his parents, the lord of the whole Vindhya, the *Mahārājādhrāja Paramêsvara*, the illustrious Jayavardhanadêva, being in good health, having worshipped the Brâhmanas in (the village) Khaddikâ in the district (*vishaya*) of Katêraka, issues a command to the inhabitants and other householders (as well as) revenue collectors, issuers of public property and so forth, as they are appointed from time to time, (and) to all state officers and provincial governors

(L. 26) " Let it be known to you that this village is given by Us, with hidden treasures (and) deposits, together with (the right of) taking all the dues, with the prohibition for the regular or irregular forces to enter (the village), with (the fines levable on) the ten offences,<sup>1</sup> free from all troubles, to (the temple of) the holy Âditya-bhattâraka (i.e. the Sun-god) set up at Chattullha, at the request of the residence (*viz* Śrîvaiḍhanapura, l. 1), on the Kârttiki (*titika*), with libations of water, to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the planets endure, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (Our) parents and of Ourselves, by (this) copper-plate charter. Knowing this, let (all) live happily, enjoying (their) due portion of rights, etc And it is thus enjoined in the *Dharmasûtra* "—

[Here follow four of the customary imprecatory verses ]

(V. 10) (This) auspicious charter was written by the illustrious Mahâchandapâla, who subsisted on the lotus-feet of the illustrious Śrîvardhanadêva.

(L. 45) The year 3 of the augmenting and victorious reign, the 30th day of Kârttika.

## NO 6—MALIYAPUNDI GRANT OF AMMARAJA II

BY PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

This interesting record of the Eastern Châlukya dynasty was first published in 1905 by Messrs A. Butterworth and V Venugopal Chetti in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 164 ff, with seven photographic Plates. The original copper-plates had been "discovered by Mr Venugopal Chetti in the Râmalingêsvarasvâmi temple at Madanûr, a village about 10 miles from Ongole, Nellore district." I re-edit the inscription from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, to whom the original plates were kindly forwarded at my request by Mr Butterworth, and who contributes the following remarks on them —

"These are five copper-plates, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " by about  $4\frac{1}{4}$ ". The first and last plates bear writing only on their inner side and have raised rims about  $\frac{3}{16}$ " high only on their engraved side. The three remaining plates, which bear writing on both sides, have rims of the same height projecting on both sides.<sup>2</sup> Through holes ( $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter), bored on the left margin of each plate, is passed a circular ring, which appears to have been cut and re-soldered before the plates came into my hands. The ring measures  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is a little more than  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. Its ends, which are slightly thinner, are secured in the upper part of an expanded lotus flower of eight petals. To the lower part of the same lotus, which is fashioned into a rim-like projection, is soldered a circular seal, which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is nearly  $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick. It bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrî-Trîbhuvanâhku[śa]* in the centre, in characters similar to those of the inscription. Below

<sup>1</sup> These were probably killing (murder), theft, wrong action (adultery), slander, harsh language, untruthfulness, incoherent conversation, uncivility, atheism and perverse behaviour, enumerated as *dasadhâ pâpâkarma* in the *Sûkrantî, adhâgâya 3, sîḍka 6*

<sup>2</sup> The high rims are responsible for the fact that some symbols at the beginning and the end of lines have not come out well in the ink impressions

the legend is an expanded lotus flower, and above it a running (?) boar facing the pro, left. In front of the boar is an elephant god, and behind its tail a crescent."

The alphabet is of the same Telugu type as in other grants of the same dynasty and period. No distinction is made between secondary *ś* and *au*, and secondary *ī* and *ū* is often written as *i* and *u*. Final *k* occurs in line 32, *t* in ll 8, 30 and 51, *n* in ll 10, 18, 24, 37, 39, 5' and *m* in ll 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 51, 54, 55 and 60. The *j* *ś* *h* *m* *ā* *ī* *y* *a* is used in ll 42, 51, and the *u* *p* *a* *d* *h* *m* *ā* *n* *t* *y* *a* in ll 10, 41, 43, 46 and 51.

The following orthographical irregularities deserve to be noted. Against one of Pāṇini's rules (VIII 4, 49) the *ś* of *varsha* is doubled in ll 8 and 11, but not in ll 13, 15, 25 and 40. Some spellings are due to the Telugu pronunciation. Thus we find *yā* *t* *a* *d* (l 57, for *ś* *t* *a* *d*), *y* *u* *t* *t* *a* *r* *a* (ll 54 f and 57, but not in l. 59) for *u* *t* *t* *a* *r* *a*, *r* *a* *k* *ṣ* *a* *n* *a* *y* *a* *y* *a* (l 47 f) for *r* *a* *k* *ṣ* *a* *n* *a* *n* *a* *y* *a* *y* *a*, *a* *r* *u* *h* *a* (l. 50) for *a* *r* *h* *a*, *k* *r* *i* *ṣ* *h* *a* (l 39) for *k* *r* *i* *ṣ* *h* *a*. Dental *n* is employed instead of lingual *n* in *K* *i* *r* *a* *n* *a* *p* *u* *r* *a* *m* and *k* *r* *i* *ṣ* *h* *a* (l. 43), *p* *u* *n* *y* *a* (ll 49, 50), *a* *b* *h* *a* *r* *a* *n* (ll 49, 53), *g* *a* *n* *ṣ* *a* (l. 50), *y* *u* *t* *t* *a* *r* *a* *y* *a* *m* (l 54 f). The vowel *ri* is replaced by *ri* in *k* *r* *i* *ṣ* *h* *a* (l 43) *s* *a* *d* *r* *i* *ś* (l 52) and *k* *r* *t* *o* *d* (l 56). The palatal sibilant is improperly used in *s* *a* *m* *h* *a* (l. 50) for *s* *a* *m* *h* *a* and *s* *a* *d* *r* *i* *ś* (l 52) for *s* *a* *d* *r* *i* *ś*.

The language is Sanskrit prose, interspersed with 20 Sanskrit verses. In ll 56-60 some names of villages, tanks and fields appear in their Telugu forms. At the end of the record the usual imprecatory verses and the names of the *Ājñapti*, composer and writer are missing.

As the inscription records a grant to a Jaina temple, it opens with an invocation of the Jaina religion (v 1). Ll 3-41 contain the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty down to *S* *a* *m* *a* *s* *t* *a* *b* *h* *v* *a* *n* *a* *ś* *r* *a* *y* *a* *V* *i* *j* *a* *y* *a* *d* *i* *t* *y* *a* (VI) or *A* *m* *m* *a* *r* *a* *j* *a* (II), the date of whose coronation is given in the same two verses (18 f.) as in his *Pa* *d* *a* *n* *k* *a* *l* *ū* *r* *u* *g* *r* *a* *n* *t* *1*. The genealogical portion contains two passages of historical importance, the first (ll 13-16) describing the reign of *V* *i* *j* *a* *y* *a* *d* *i* *t* *y* *a* III, and the second (ll 22-32) the accession of Chālukya-Bhūma II.

The Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva reports that *V* *i* *j* *a* *y* *a* *d* *i* *t* *y* *a* III. slew Mangirāya, burnt Chakrakūta, terrified Sankila, residing in Kiranapura and joined by Krishna, restored his dignity to Vallabhendra, and received elephants as tribute from the king of Kalinga.<sup>3</sup> The slaying of Mangirāya is referred to also in three other inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> The second of them adds the burning of Kiranapura, and the third states that the king, having terrified Krishna and Sankila, completely burnt their city. Hitherto we did not know who Mangirāya and Sankila were. Verse 3 of the Mahyapūṇḍī grant calls the former 'the king of the great Nodamba-rāśhtra' and the second 'the lord of the excellent Dā[h]a'ja'. Thus Mangirāya seems to have been one of the Pallavas of Nolambavādi<sup>5</sup> and Sankila an early chief of Dahala (or Chēḍi). While two of the above-mentioned inscriptions couple the name of Sankila with that of Krishna, the Mahyapūṇḍī grant (v 3) states that Sankila was 'joined by the fierce Vallabha'. The *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p. 169, note 5) correctly conclude from this that Sankila's ally Krishna was a Vallabha, i.e. a Rāshtrakūta. Hence my former identification of this Krishna with the Paramāra king Krishnarājya<sup>6</sup> must be wrong, and he may be identified, as was done by Dr Fleet,<sup>6</sup> with the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna II. The latter is known to have been connected with the Chēḍi family, being the son-in-law of Kōkkalla (I) and the brother-in-law of Śankuka.<sup>7</sup> I feel no hesitation in identifying Sankila of Dahala with Śankuka (or Śankaragana) of Chēḍi, the son of Kōkkalla I, but am unable to identify Kiranapura, where Sankila resided according to the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol VII, p 16. Ll 23-34 of this grant are identical with ll 32-41 of the Mahyapūṇḍī grant.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol IV p 239 f.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol V p 126, verse 5; *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 213, text line 16 f., *South Ind Inscr* Vol I p 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol IV, p 226 and notes 7 and 8).

<sup>4</sup> *Dyn Kan Distr* p 332 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant* Vol. XX p 102.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol IV p 227.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XII p 263.

Pithāpuram inscription and Krishnarāja according to the Malyapūndi grant (v 15) In two grants the burning of this Kiranapura,<sup>1</sup> the residence of Krishna and Sankila,<sup>2</sup> is attributed to Vijayāditya III himself Verse 15 of the Malyapūndi grant informs us that this feat was in reality performed by a military officer named Pāndaranga It is perhaps worth noting that another Rāshtrakūta prince named Krishnarāja is mentioned in a grant of A.D 888,<sup>3</sup> Between the slaying of Mangi and the victory over Sankila the Malyapūndi grant mentions that Vijayāditya III 'defeated the Gangas who took refuge on the peak of Gangakūta' As suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 169, note 3), this statement may or may not be a mere variant of one in the Pithāpuram inscription, according to which the king burnt Chakrakūta<sup>4</sup> He is elsewhere said to have 'defeated the unequalled Gangas'<sup>5</sup> Finally the new grant reports that Vijayāditya III bore the surname Parachakrarāma (l 14)

The Malyapūndi grant gives a vivid description of the struggles that took place after the death of Vikramāditya II Five years passed in continual wars between the rival claimants, among whom Yuddhamalla, Rājamārtanda and Kanthikā-Vijayāditya are mentioned by name Then Rājabhīma (or Chālukya-Bhīma II) succeeded in restoring order by slaying Rājamārtanda, defeating and banishing Kanthikā-Vijayāditya and Yuddhamalla, and killing many other rebels Yuddhamalla (II) is the son of Tāla, to whom one grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II attributes a reign of seven years,<sup>6</sup> while two other grants,<sup>7</sup> like the Malyapūndi grant, take no official notice of his reign Rājamārtanda is perhaps the same as Rājamayya in the Kaluchumbaryu grant,<sup>8</sup> and he is mentioned also in the Kolavennu plates<sup>9</sup> In editing these plates I committed a mistake, which has been endorsed by Dr Fleet<sup>10</sup> and Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>11</sup> in taking Rājamārtanda as a surname of Chālukya-Bhīma II As stated in the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 170, note 4), the Malyapūndi grant now shows that Rājamārtanda was a distinct person Dr Fleet has already noticed that ll 17-19 of the Kolavennu plates contain a verse,<sup>12</sup> the first half of which I would now, with the help of his remarks, correct as follows —

यस्ताविकवनाख्यं धरुदिं मुनिदिवराजमार्त्तुणी [\*]

Thus the verse mentions four enemies of Chālukya-Bhīma II —Tātābikyana, Dhajadi (or Dhajaga), Munmiva and Rājamārtanda Kanthikā-Vijayāditya, whom the king banished along with Yuddhamalla II, is undoubtedly the same as Kanthikā-Bēta or Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma I and the ancestor of the Eastern Chālukyās of Pithāpuram<sup>13</sup>

The subjoined grant was made at a winter solstice (*uttarāyana*, l 54 f) The donee was a temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) in the south of Dharmapuri (v 17), which was in charge of a priest of the Yāpaniya-samgha<sup>14</sup> (v 18) It had been founded by the *Kaṭakarāja* (l 54) *Durgarāja* (v 16) and was named *Kaṭakāśharana-Jinālaya* (v 17 and l 53), evidently after a surname of the founder At his request (l 54) the grant was made, and the grant portion opens with a pedigree of his family His ancestor Pāndaranga is stated to have burnt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja (v 15), and accordingly must have been a military officer of Vijayāditya III.<sup>15</sup> His son Niravadyadhavala was appointed *Kaṭakarāja* (l 44 f) His son was the *Kaṭakādhipati* Vijayāditya (l 45 f), and his son was *Durgarāja* (v 16).

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII. p 213, text line 17

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol I. p 42, verse 10 (compare above, Vol IV p 226 and note 7)

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 66

<sup>4</sup> Compare above, Vol IV p 227

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 42, verse 10

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant* Vol XIII. p 214, text line 31

<sup>7</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 44, above, Vol V p 188, note 3

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII p 181

<sup>9</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 46 and note 1

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 269, and above, Vol. VII p 182

<sup>11</sup> *Lists of Southern Inscr* No. 562

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. VII. p 181 f.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol IV p 227

<sup>14</sup> Compare *ibid* p 333 \*

<sup>15</sup> See notes 1 and 2 above

Pāṇḍarāṅga (the Pāṇḍaranga of γ 15) is mentioned as *Ājñapti* in a grant of Vijayāditya III<sup>1</sup> The title *Kaṭakarāja* or *Kaṭakādhipati*, i.e. 'superintendent of the royal camp,' which was borne by his three lineal descendants, seems to be peculiar to the court of the Eastern Chālukya kings Dr Fleet remarked that the grants of Amma I and Amma II mention *Kaṭakarāja*, *Katakēsa* and *Kaṭakādhipa* as *Ājñapti*, and came to the conclusion that these two words were not proper names, but mere titles<sup>2</sup> The Mahyapūṇḍi grant now shows that in each case they refer to one of the three direct descendants of Pāṇḍaranga, who bore that title, viz. Nuravadyadhavala, Vijayāditya and Durgarāja It seems preferable to take also *Kaṭeyarāja* in the grant of Chālukya-Bhīma I<sup>3</sup> as a vulgar form of *Kaṭakarāja*, the title of Vijayāditya, and not as a proper name

The object of the grant was the small village (*grāmatikū*) of Mahyapūṇḍi (l 55) in the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāṇḍu (l 42) Its boundaries are given in l 56 f The northern boundary, Dharmavuramu, is the Telugu form of Dharmapurī, to the south of which the *Juṇḍalaya* was situated (γ 17) According to the *Nellore District Inscriptions* (p 174, note) both Dharmapuram and the western boundary, Kalvakuru, are now in the Addanki division of the Ongole tāluka Of two inscriptions at Dharmavaram (p 966 ff. of the same work) the first mentions Guṇakenalla (Vijayāditya III.), Pāṇḍaranga, the burning of Kiranapura, and Dharmavuram An inscription at Addanki (p 896 ff. of the same work) also refers to Pāṇḍaranga and Dharmavuram Mahyapūṇḍi itself, the village granted, does not exist any more at present (*ibid* p 167), but its former position is fixed by the identification of two of its boundaries The district of Kamma-nāṇḍu, to which it belonged, is identical with the Kamma-rāshtra or Kammāka-rāshtra of other inscriptions To my former remarks on this geographical name<sup>4</sup> may be added that it occurs as *Kammāka-raṣha* in the Jaggayyapēta inscriptions of Purissadāta<sup>5</sup> This Prākṛit form renders my suggestion that *Kammāka* may be meant for *Kammānka*<sup>6</sup> untenable, for the latter would have become in Prākṛit *Kammanka*, and not *Kammāka*

TEXT.<sup>7</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 ❀ भद्रं स्यान्नजगन्नुताय सततं श्रीमज्जिनेन्द्रप्रभोरुहाभाततशासन[र]-  
 2 य विलसद्दर्मावलबाय च । सामर्थ्यात्खलु यस्य दुष्कलिकता दोषश्च  
 मित्याद्भव[र]<sup>8</sup> (i) दु-  
 3 र्वृत्तानि च भूतस्यै न वितता शान्तिश्च नित्यं चित्[ः\*] ॥ [र\*] ❀ स्वस्ति  
 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसं-<sup>9</sup>  
 4 स्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां चारितपुत्राणां कौशिकिवरप्रसादस्त्वव्यरा-  
 5 ज्ञानाम्नातृ[ण\*]परिपालितानां स्वामिमहासेनपादानुधायिनाम् भगव-  
 6 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलांछनेक्षणक्षणवशिक्रतारातिमण्ड[ला]-<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V p 125, verse 9<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol VII p 184 f.<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol V p 130<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p 238<sup>5</sup> See Bhagnanlal Indrap's transcript in *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*, p 56, and Buhler's transcripts in the *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 253 f and in *Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, p 110 (compare Plate [XII] f.)<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 234<sup>7</sup> From two sets of ink-impressions<sup>8</sup> Read मित्योद्भव<sup>9</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line<sup>10</sup> Read °वशोक्ता°.

- 7 नामश्रमेधावस्यस्नानपवित्रीकृतवपुषाम्<sup>1</sup> चालुक्यानां कुलमलंकरिण्योस्त्वया[श्र]-  
8 यवज्ञभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्ट[र\*]दश वर्षाणि<sup>2</sup> वेगिमण्डलमपालयत् ।  
तदात्म-

*Second Plate , First Side*

- 9 जो <sup>3</sup>जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तस्मू-  
नुर्भागियुवराज-  
10 <पंचविंशतित्त्युत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरज[.\*] कोकिलिष्यमासान् ।  
तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता  
11 विष्णुवर्द्धन[स्त्र]मुञ्जाव्य [स]प्तत्रिंशतम्<sup>4</sup> (I) वर्षाणि [I\*] तत्पुत्रो विजया-  
दित्यभट्ट[र\*]रकोष्टादश । तस्मृतो  
12 विष्णुवर्द्धनषट्त्रिंशतम् । नरेन्द्रमृगराजास्थो मृगराजपराक्रमः [I\*] विजयादित्य-  
13 भूपालः<sup>5</sup> चत्वारिंशत्समाष्टभिः [॥ २\*] तत्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोर्ध्वर्द्धवर्ष । त-  
14 त्युत्रः परचक्रामापरनामधेयः [I\*] हत्वा <sup>6</sup>भूरिनोदंबराष्ट्रनुपतिं मगिमहा-  
संग-  
15 र<sup>7</sup> गंगानाथीवगंगकुटशिखरान्निर्व्वित्य <sup>8</sup>सड्ड[I]लाधीशं संकिलमुश्रवन्नभयुत  
यो भ[I]-  
16 ययित्वा चतुश्चत्वारिंशतमदकांश्च विजयादित्यो ररञ्च क्षितिं । [३\*]  
तदनुजस्य लब्ध-

*Second Plate , Second Side.*

- 17 यौवराज्यस्य विक्रमादित्यस्य सुतश्चालुक्यभिमस्त्रिशत<sup>9</sup> [I\*] तस्याग्रजो  
विजयादित्यः  
18 षण्मासान् [I\*] तदग्रसूनुर्मरामराजस्यस्य वर्षाणि । तत्सूनुमाक्रम्य बाल  
चालुक्यभिमपि-<sup>9</sup>  
19 तुव्ययुद्धमस्य नन्दनस्तालनृपो मासमेकं । नानासामन्तवर्गैरधिकवत्स-  
युतैश्च-<sup>10</sup>  
20 त्तमातंगसेनो<sup>11</sup> हत्वा तं तालराजं विषमरणमुखे सार्धमत्युग्रते-  
21 जाः [I\*] एकाब्दं सम्यग्भोनिधिवलय्यहतामन्वरक्षहरिचि<sup>12</sup> श्रीमाञ्चालुक्य-

<sup>1</sup> Read °वपुषां

<sup>2</sup> Read वर्षाणि.

<sup>3</sup> Read अयसिंह°

<sup>4</sup> Read °विशत वर्षाणि

<sup>5</sup> Read °पालथला°

<sup>6</sup> Read °नोडव°

<sup>7</sup> Read °संनरे गंगानाथितगनकूट°

<sup>8</sup> Read सङ्गाहणा°, in convention of the rules, the first half of the verse ends in the middle of a compound word

<sup>9</sup> Read °भीम°

<sup>10</sup> Read °वसो° and °युतैश्च°

<sup>11</sup> Read °सेनेहत्वा,

<sup>12</sup> Read °हरिचो श्रीमाञ्चालुक्यभीम°.

- 22 भिमक्षितिपतितनयो विक्रमादित्यभूपः । [४\*] पश्चाद्दहमहमिकया विक्र-  
मादित्यास्त-  
23 म[य\*]नि राक्षसा इव प्रजावाधनपरा दायदराजपुत्रा राज्याभिलाषिणी  
युवमञ्जरा-  
24 'जमार्त्तण्डलकण्ठिकाविजयादित्यप्रभृतयो विग्रहभूता<sup>2</sup> आसन् [1\*] विग्र-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 25 हेषैव पंच वर्षाणि गतानि [1\*] ततः [1\*] <sup>3</sup>योवधिद्र[र]जमार्त्तण्डलेष[र]  
येन रणे कृतौ [1\*] क-  
26 ण्डिकाविजयादित्ययुवमञ्जो<sup>4</sup> विदेशगौ । [५\*] अन्वे मान्यमहिभृतोपि<sup>5</sup>  
बहवो<sup>6</sup> दु-  
27 श्टप्रवृत्ताज्ञता(:)<sup>7</sup> देशोपद्रवकारिणः प्रकटिताः कालालय<sup>8</sup> प्रापिताः [1\*]  
<sup>9</sup>दोहृण्डेरि-  
28 तमण्डलाग्रलतया यस्योग्रसंघामकावाज्ञा<sup>10</sup> तत्परभृदृषैश्च<sup>11</sup>  
29 शिरसो मालिव सन्वार्थ्यते । [६\*] नादग्वा<sup>12</sup> विनिवर्त्तते रिपुकुलं कोपाम्बिरा  
मूल-  
30 तः श्भं य[स्य] यशो न लोकमखिलं सन्तिष्ठते न भ्रमत् [1\*] द्वय्या-  
भोधरराशिरप्यनुदिनं<sup>13</sup>  
31 सन्तप्यमाने भृशं दारिद्र्योग्रतरातपेन जनसंसर्से<sup>14</sup> न नो वर्षति । [७\*] स  
चालुक्यभिमनसा<sup>15</sup> वि-  
32 जयादित्यनन्दनः [1\*] द्वादशाव्याख्यमास्यम्यक्<sup>16</sup> राजभिमो धरातलं । [८\*]  
तस्य महेश्वरमू-

*Third Plate, Second Side.*

- 35 <sup>17</sup>सेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [1\*] लोकाभाद्वादिव्याः<sup>18</sup> खलु यस्त्वमभवद्व्य[रा]-  
3६ जाख्यः ॥ [९\*] जलजातपत्रचामरकलशाकुशलक्षणा[क\*]करचरणतलः [1\*]  
लसदाजा-

<sup>1</sup> As remarked in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 1, the ख after मार्त्तण्ड is superfluous, it was perhaps engraved because the writer had in his mind the frequent word मण्डल

<sup>2</sup> Read विग्रहभूता

<sup>3</sup> Read योवधीद्रा<sup>0</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Read 'मञ्जो

<sup>5</sup> Read 'महीथ'.

<sup>6</sup> The aksharas ली and दु are engraved on an erasure.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'वृत्ता

<sup>8</sup> Read 'लय

<sup>9</sup> Read 'दोहृण्डे'.

<sup>10</sup> Read perhaps 'सामिकसाया

<sup>11</sup> Read 'भृदृषैश्च' as proposed in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 6, च is engraved on an erasure

<sup>12</sup> Read नादग्वा

<sup>13</sup> The anusvāra stands at the beginning of the next line

<sup>14</sup> Read जनसासर्से

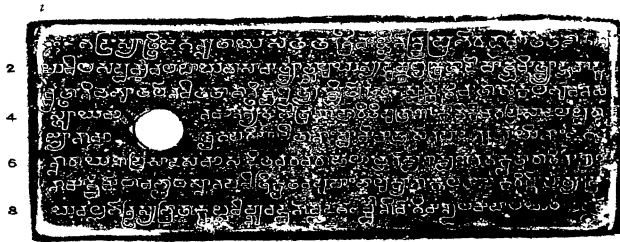
<sup>15</sup> Read 'भिमो

<sup>16</sup> Read द्वादशाव्याख्यमास्यम्यक्

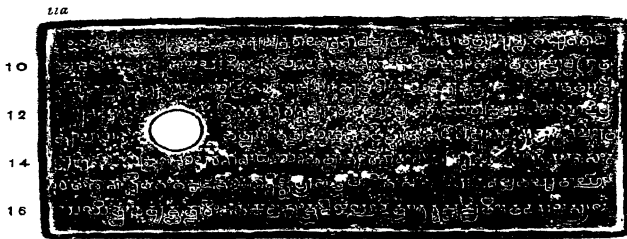
<sup>17</sup> Read 'महा'.

<sup>18</sup> Read 'नशा'

Mahyapundi grant of Ammaraja II

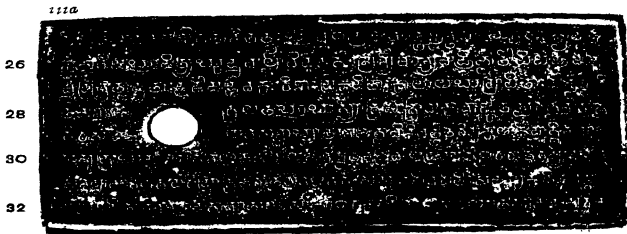
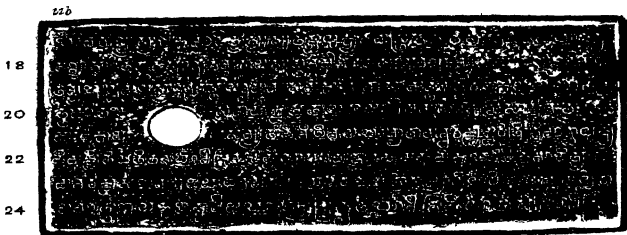


W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH



SCALE 45

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY RAI SAHAJAD V VEIKAYIA

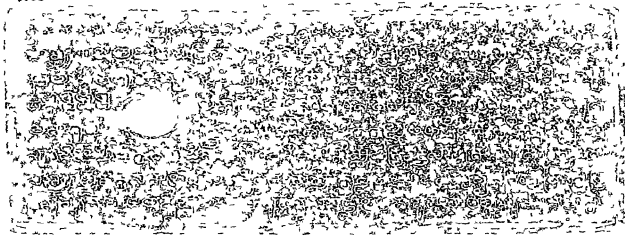


E HULTZSCH



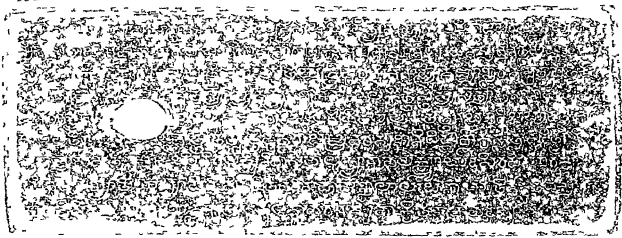
222b

34  
36  
38  
40



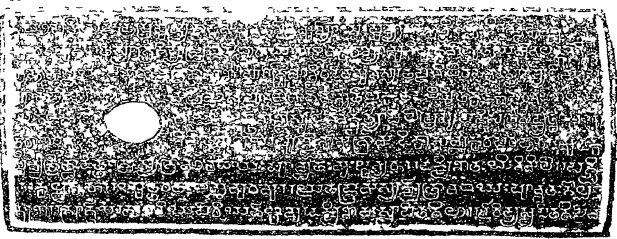
226a

42  
44  
46  
48



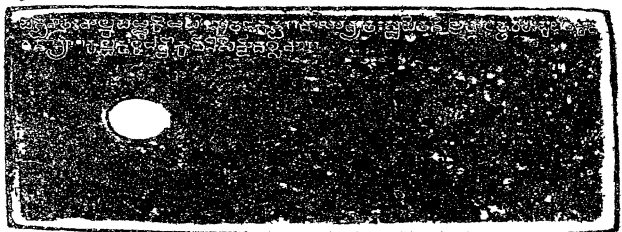
227b

50  
52  
54  
56  
58



27

60



- 35 न्वलंबितभुजयुगपरिघो गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः<sup>1</sup> ॥ [१०\*] विदितधराधिपविद्यो  
विविधायु-
- 36 धकोविदो विलिनारिकुलः [1\*] करितुरगागमकुशलो ह्रचरणांभोजयुग-
- 37 लमधुपश्रीमान् ॥ [११\*] कविगायककल्पतरुर्विजसुनिदिनाश्ववन्सुजन-<sup>3</sup>
- 38 सुरभिः [1\*] याचकगणचिन्तामणिरवनीशमणिर्मीहीशमहसा द्युमणिः ॥  
[१२\*] गिरिरसवसु-
- 39 संख्याद्दे शकसमये मार्गशीर्षमासेस्मिन् [1\*] कृष्टत्रयोदशदिने भृगुवारे  
मैत्रनक्षत्रे [॥ १३\*]
- 40 धनुषि रवौ घटलक्षणे द्वादशवर्षे तु जन्मनः पटं [1\*] योधादुदयगिरिन्द्रो  
रविमिव लोका-

## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 41 नुरागाय ॥ [१४\*] स समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजायदित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-  
परम[धा]-
- 42 भूमिकोमराराजकृष्णनाथुविषयनिवासिनो राद्रकुटप्रसुखान्कुटुविनस्सर्व्व[1\*]नित्यमाज्ञा-  
पयति [1\*]
- 43 आर्या[.]\* । किरनपुरमधाक्षीत्किप्रराजस्थित<sup>9</sup> यस्त्रिपुरमिव <sup>10</sup>महेश[पाण्ड-  
रग[.]\*] प्रतापि<sup>11</sup> [1\*] तदिह [मु]-
- 44 स्वसहायोरन्वितस्याप्यशक्य<sup>13</sup> गणनममलकीतेस्तस्य<sup>14</sup> सत्वाहसानाम<sup>15</sup> ॥ [१५\*]  
तस्य[1\*]त्त-
- 45 जो निरवद्यधवल[.]\* कटकराजपट्टशोभितललाटः<sup>16</sup> [1\*] तत्तनयो विजया-  
दित्यकट-
- 46 काधिपति[.]\* । वृत्त<sup>17</sup> । तयुजो <sup>18</sup>दुमराज[प्रवरगुणनिधिर्वाभिर्भिकस्य-  
त्यवादि<sup>19</sup> त्यागि भो[गी]
- 47 महात्मा समतिषु विजयि<sup>20</sup> विरलच्छिनिवासः<sup>21</sup> [1\*] चालुक्यानां च लक्ष्म्या  
यदसिरपि सदा रक्षणा[य]-<sup>22</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read गिरिन्द्रसानुरस्कः<sup>2</sup> Read विलीना<sup>0</sup><sup>3</sup> Read सुनिदीनास्य<sup>0</sup>.<sup>4</sup> Read कृष्ण<sup>5</sup> Read विजयादित्य<sup>0</sup>.<sup>6</sup> Read धार्मिकी<sup>0</sup><sup>7</sup> Read कुट<sup>0</sup><sup>8</sup> Read किरण<sup>0</sup><sup>9</sup> Read धाक्षीत्कराजस्थितं, as suggested in the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p 178, note 2.<sup>10</sup> Corrected from महाश्व<sup>0</sup><sup>11</sup> Read प्रतापी.<sup>12</sup> Read सह वैर<sup>0</sup>.<sup>13</sup> Read शक्य.<sup>14</sup> Read कौत्ते<sup>0</sup>.<sup>15</sup> Read सामान्.<sup>16</sup> The *visarga* was added subsequently<sup>17</sup> Read वृत्त<sup>0</sup><sup>18</sup> Read वृत्त<sup>0</sup><sup>19</sup> Read दुम्भ<sup>0</sup><sup>20</sup> Read वादी त्यागी.<sup>21</sup> Read विजयौ वीरक्षणी<sup>0</sup><sup>22</sup> The *visarga* was added subsequently<sup>23</sup> Read रक्षयायेव.

- 48 विव वंश[\*] ख्यातो यस्यापि वेंगीगदितवरमहामण्डलालवनाय ।  
[१६\*] तेन कृतो धर्मपु[रीद]-
- 49 क्षिणदिशि सजिनालयश्चात्तरः [\*] कटकाभरनशुभांकितनाम<sup>1</sup> च पुन्यालयो  
वसति ॥ १७\* ]

## Fourth Plate ; Second Side

- 50 <sup>३</sup>[श्री]यापुनियशंहप्रपुञ्जकोटिमडुवगनेशमुख्यो<sup>४</sup> यः [१\*] पुन्यासङ्घनन्दिगच्छो  
जिननन्दिमुनिश्चरो[य]<sup>५</sup> ग-
- 51 [ण]धरसदृशः । [१८\*] तस्याश्रमिण्युप्रथितो ध(र)रायाम्<sup>६</sup> (i) दिव[१\*]-  
कर[१\*]ख्यो सुनिपुंगवोभुत्<sup>७</sup> [१\*] यक्लेवल्ल[१\*]ननिधि-
- 52 मीहात्मा स्वयं जिनानां शद्रिशी<sup>८</sup> गुणौघे ॥ [१९\*] श्रीमाश्रिदेवसुनिष्पु-  
तपोनिधिरभवदस्य शिष्य<sup>९</sup> धीम[१]न् [१\*] य-
- 53 आतिहार्यमहिमा<sup>११</sup> संपन्नमिवाभिमन्यते लोकः<sup>१२</sup> ॥ २०\* ]<sup>१३</sup>तदधिष्ठितकटक[१\*]-  
भरनजिनालय[१]-<sup>१४</sup>
- 54 य कटकराजविज्ञप्तै<sup>१५</sup> खण्डस्फुटनवक्तव्योपिलिप्रपुजादिसत्रसिद्धार्थ्यम्<sup>१६</sup> (i) यु-  
55 त्तरायननिमित्ते मलियपूण्डिनामश्रामटिका सर्वकारपरिहार(म्)सुदक-  
56 पुर्व<sup>१७</sup> क्तिवा दत्ता । अस्य श्राम[स्व\*]वधयः पूर्वतः मुंजुन्यद<sup>१८</sup> ॥ दक्षिणतः  
यिनिमिलि ॥ पश्चि[म]-
- 57 तः कल्बकुब ॥ युत्तरतः[ः]<sup>१९</sup> धर्मपुरसु ॥ <sup>२०</sup>वेतङ्गामस्य चेचावधयः पूर्वतः  
गोल्लनि-
- 58 गुण्ड ॥ आग्नेयतः[ः] रावियपेरियचेत्तुवु । दक्षिणतः स्थापितशिला ॥  
नैरित्य<sup>२१</sup> स्थ[१\*]पितशिलैव [१\*]

## Fifth Plate

- 59 पश्चमतः मरुप<sup>२२</sup> कोत्तुवोयुतट[१]कश्च ॥ वायव्यतः स्थापितशिलैव ।  
उत्तरतः दुव[चे]त्तुवु [१\*]
- 60 ईशान्याम्<sup>२३</sup> (i) कल्बकुरि एव्योकचेनि सिमैव<sup>२४</sup> सीमा ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read 'भरष'. The whole compound seems to be meant for कटकाभरषपुन्यानाश्रम, which would have offended against the metre

<sup>2</sup> Read पुण्या

<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीयापनीयसधप्रपुञ्ज

<sup>4</sup> Read 'यचेर' or perhaps, for the sake of the metre, 'गचेर'

<sup>5</sup> Read पुण्या' and compare below, p 56, note 2

<sup>6</sup> Read 'सुनीय'

<sup>7</sup> Read धरायां

<sup>8</sup> Read 'भूत्

<sup>9</sup> Read सुदुमो दुषौषे.

<sup>10</sup> Read शिष्यो

<sup>11</sup> Read यआतिहार्यमहिमा

<sup>12</sup> Read शीका.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'धिष्ठित'

<sup>14</sup> Read 'भरष'

<sup>15</sup> Read 'विज्ञप्तै.

<sup>16</sup> Read 'नवक्तव्याश्रमिप्रपुजादिसत्रसिद्धार्थ्यमुत्तरायण'

<sup>17</sup> Read उत्तरत .

<sup>18</sup> Read 'युव' कत्वा.

<sup>19</sup> Or possibly मुंजुन्यद

<sup>20</sup> Read उत्तरत .

<sup>21</sup> Read यत'

<sup>22</sup> Read नैर्शब्दा.

<sup>23</sup> Read ऐशान्यां

<sup>24</sup> Read शीमेव.

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION.

Verse 1 invokes the religion (*sāsana*) of the lord Jmēndra.

(Line 7) **Kubja-Vishnuvardhana (I.)**, the brother of **Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndra** who adorned the family of the **Chālukyas**, ruled the **Vēngi** country (*maṇḍala*) for eighteen years, his son **Jayasimha (I.)** for thirty-three; **Vishnuvardhana (II.)**, the son of his younger brother **Indrarāja**, for nine, his son **Mangī-yuvarāja** for twenty-five, his son **Jayasimha (II.)** for thirteen, his younger brother **Kokkili** for six months, his eldest brother **Vishnuvardhana (III.)**, having expelled him, for thirty-seven years, his son **Vijayāditya (I.)-bhaṭṭāraka** for eighteen, his son **Vishnuvardhana (IV.)** for thirty-six

(V. 2) King **Vijayāditya (II.)**, surnamed **Narēndramrigarāja**, who had the courage of a lion, for forty years with eight<sup>1</sup>

(L 13) His son **Kali-Vishnuvardhana (V.)** for one year and a half His son, whose other name was **Parachakrarāma**,

(V 3) (*was*) **Vijayāditya (III.)**, who, having slain in a great battle **Mangī**, the king<sup>2</sup> of the great **Nodamba-rāshtra**, having defeated the **Gangas** who took refuge on the peak of **Gangakūṭa**, and having terrified **Sankila**, the lord of the excellent **Dā[ha]ja**, who was joined by the fierce **Vallabha**, ruled the earth for thirty-four years

(L 16) **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, the son of his younger brother **Vikramāditya (I.)** who had received the dignity of **Yuvarāja**, for thirty His eldest son<sup>3</sup> **Vijayāditya (IV.)** for six months His eldest son **Ammarāja (I.)** for seven years Having overcome his infant son, **Tāla-nripa**, the son of **Yuddhamalla (I.)**, the paternal uncle of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, for one month

(V 4) Having slain at the head of a rough battle thus **Tāla-rāja** together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants, the glorious king **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the son of king **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, of very fierce power, righteously ruled for one year the earth surrounded by the girdle of the oceans

(L 22) Afterwards at the setting (*i.e.* the death) of **Vikramāditya (II.)**, the kinsmen-princes who were desirous of the kingdom, (*viz.*) **Yuddhamalla**, **Rājamārtanda**, **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya**, etc, were fighting for supremacy, oppressing the subjects like **Rākshasas** (*at the setting of the sun*) In mere war five years passed away Then (*succeeded*)—

(V. 5 f) The fierce warrior who slew among those **Rājamārtanda**; who in a battle made **Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya** and **Yuddhamalla** go to a foreign country, the curved sword wielded by whose strong arm dispatched to the abode of Death many others who, though respectable kings, had shown themselves puffed up by evil conduct (*and*) causing distress to the country, (*and whose*) command is carried on the head like a garland by the eager kings of the earth.

(V 8) Thus **Rājabhīma (II.)**, the son of **Vijayāditya (IV.)** (*and*) grandson of **Chālukya-Bhima (I.)**, righteously ruled the surface of the earth for twelve years.

(V 9) **Ammarāja (II.)**, who was born to him by **Lōkamahādēvi**, as **Kumāra** to **Mahāśvara** by **Umā**,

(V 13 f) Who—as the eastern lord of mountains, to redder the world, (*puts on himself*) the sun—put on, to please the world, the fillet in the twelfth year of (*his*) birth, in the year reckoned by the mountains (7), the flavours (6) and the Vasus (8)—(*i.e.* 807)—of the **Śaka** era,

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the text seems to be meant for **अव्यभिचारेणा अदभि.**, which would however be against the metre

<sup>2</sup> The other Eastern Chālukya inscriptions show that *agraja* has to be taken here to mean 'the first born son,' and not, as usually, 'the elder brother' A similar use of the word *agrajanman* is noted by Dr Fleet, above, Vol VII p 181

in this month of Mārgaśīrṣa, on the thirteenth day of the dark (*fortnight*), on Thursday, in the Matra (Anurādhā) *nakṣatra*, while the sun (*was*) in Dhanu, in the Ghata *lagna*,

(L 41) This *Samastabhūvanāśraya*, the glorious Vijayāditya (VI), the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara*, the very pious Ammarāja (II) thus commands all the ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūtas*, inhabiting the district (*vishaya*) of Kamma-nāndu — Lords!

(V 15) Even one possessed of thousands of mouths (*would be*) unable to count the great achievements of that valiant Pāndaranga, of spotless fame, who bunt Kiranapura, the residence of Krishnarāja, as Mahēsa (Śiva) (*burni*) Tīrupa

(L 44) His son (*was*) Niravadyadhavala, whose forehead was decorated with the fillet of *Katakārāja* His son (*was*) the *Kaṭakādhipati* Vijayāditya

Veise (16) His son (*was*) Durgarāja, whose sword always (*served*) only for the protection of the fortune of the Chālukyas, and whose renowned family (*served*) for the support of the excellent great country (*mandala*) called Vēngi.

\* (V 17) There is on the southern side of Dharmapuri a very charming excellent temple of Jina (*Jinālaya*) founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of *Katakābharana*.

(V 18) (*There was*) the lord of ascetics Jinanandin, who resembled the Ganadharas, belonged to the pure and worthy<sup>2</sup> Nandi-gachchha (*and*) was the chief lord of the Kotimaduva(P)-gana, which is to be worshipped (*as belonging to*) the holy Yāpaniya-samgha

(V 19) His first disciple was a chief of ascetics called Div[ā]kara, renowned on earth, a store of highest knowledge (*and*) high-souled, who resembled the Jinas themselves by great virtues

(V 20) His disciple was the wise ascetic Śrīmāndīradēva, a store of great austerities, whom people desire as if he were possessed of the power of *pratyāhārya*<sup>3</sup>

(L 53) To the *Katakābharana-Jinālaya* superintended by him there was given, at the request of the *Kaṭakārāja*, for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship, *etc.*, and of an alms-house (*sattra*), on the occasion of the winter solstice (*uttarāyana*), the small village named Mahyapūndi, with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water

(L 56) The boundaries of this village (*are*) in the east Muñjun[u]ru, in the south Yimūli, in the west Kalvakuru, in the north Dharmavuramu

(L 57) The boundaries of the fields of this village (*are*) in the east the Gollani-guntha (*pond*), in the south-east the Rāviya-periya-cheruvu (*tank*), in the south a demarcation stone, in the south-west also a demarcation stone, in the west Malkapaṟṟu and the Korabōyu-tatāka (*tank*), in the north-west also a demarcation stone, in the north the Duba cheruvu (*tank*), in the north-east the boundary (*is*) also the boundary of the Eyyōka-chēnu (*field*) in Kalvakuru.

## No 7—PLATES OF VIJAYA-DEVAVARMAN

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH. D., HALLE (SAALE)

Two sets of excellent ink-impressions of this grant were sent to me by Rāj Bahadur V Venkayya, who had received the original plates from the Collector of the Kistna district

<sup>1</sup> The word *vamśa* means also 'a cane,' see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 173, note 5

<sup>2</sup> It is not quite impossible that *puṇyārūha* is a mistake for *Punnḍa*, compare the Punnāgavṛkṣaśamūlagāna of the Nandiasamgha, above, Vol. IV p. 338

<sup>3</sup> According to Buddhist works, *pratyāhārya* or *pratyāhārya* means 'jugglery, working miracles,' see the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*.

"The plates belong to the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur, in whose office they have been lying for a long time. The person from whom they were originally obtained is not known."

"The copper-plates are four in number. Their length is  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches, and their height  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches at the ends and  $2\frac{1}{8}$  inches in the middle. Their margins are not raised into rims. The ring was cut by me (viz Mr Venkayya) for the first time. Its diameter is  $2\frac{3}{8}$  inches, and its thickness slightly over  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The ends of the ring are secured at the base of an oval seal, measuring  $2\frac{3}{8}$  by  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inches. The seal is all but obliterated, but a faint trace of some quadruped—perhaps a tiger—can be seen."

The inscription on the plates is carefully engraved and on the whole in a state of very good preservation. The alphabet resembles that of the three grants of Simhavarman<sup>1</sup> and of the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman.<sup>2</sup> But neither *t* nor *n* have a loop at the left. As in the Hīrahadagall plates,<sup>3</sup> the former is distinguished by a slight curve at the right, compare e.g. the *ta* of *etassa* (l 8) with the *na* of *vayanena* (l 7). As first members of a consonant group both look the same, see the *tā* of *āchchhittā* and the *nā* of *ch-ānmentā* (l 17). Final forms of *t* and *m*, followed by a mark of punctuation which looks like a right angle, occur at the end of lines 17 and 19. The numerical symbol 20 occurs in line 11, the symbols 3 and 10 are used in the date (l 15), and the plates *u a, u b, u c, u d* and *iv* are numbered consecutively, like the pages of a modern book,<sup>4</sup> with the symbols 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 on the left margin, on the first plate the sacred syllable *ōm* occupies the place of the figure 1.

The language is Prākṛit prose, with the exception of the last plate which bears two of the customary Sanskrit verses. While in the cave inscriptions every double consonant is expressed by a single letter, the orthography of the prose part of the subjoined plates agrees in this respect with that of the literary Prākṛit and of the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi.<sup>5</sup> In *samvachchhara* (l 14) *v* is doubled after *anusvāra*. The language of the new plates is more archaic than that of the literary Prākṛit in one important point: single consonants between vowels generally remain unchanged.<sup>6</sup> Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāra* (l 3), *kh* in *pamukha* (l 7), *g* in *bnagavato* (l 1), *j* in *vajaya* (ll 1, 6, 14), *yāy* in (l 5) and *mahārāja* (l 6), *t* in *bnagavato* (l 1), *anujjhāta* (l 2 f), *bhānitava* and *eta* (l 8), *pariharitava* (l 13 f), *th* in *ratha* (l 2), *ḍ* in *pāda* (ll 2 and 3) and *padesa* (l 10), *ḍh* in *medha* (l 5). But elision and *ya-sints* have taken place in *ādihya* (l 11) for *ārdhha*, *nyattana* (l 10) for *niartana*, *vayana* (l 7) for *vachana*, and at the beginning of the enclitic *cha* in *dvaggāna ya* (l 12) and *pariharitavo ya* (l 13 f).<sup>7</sup> The word *Pausha* (l 15) appears in its Sanskrit form.<sup>8</sup> Dental *n* occurs in *anujjhāta* (l 2 f), *Silankāyana* (l 4), *yāy* in (l 5), *ghaṭṭhāna* (ll 11 and 12) = Sanskrit *gṛhaṣṭhāna*, and lingual *n* in *bhānitava* (l 8), *Ganasamma* (l 9), *dvaggāna* and *rakhāna* (l 12), *samānatta* (l 13) = Sanskrit *samānjāpta*,<sup>9</sup> and *samvachchharāna* (l 14). Both *n* and *n* appear in *vayanena* (l 7), *nyattanān*[*ā*] (l 10) and *manussānam* (l 11).<sup>10</sup> Among the remaining Prākṛit words may be noted the two numerals *terasa* (l 15) and *visam* (l 11),<sup>11</sup> and of other inflected words the ablatives *Vengipurā* (l 1), the genitives *Devavarmassa* (l 6) and *Ganasammassa* (l 9),<sup>12</sup> the two differently formed locatives *Elāre* (l 7) and *padesamhi* (l 10), and the instrumental *parihārehi* (l 13).

The inscription is dated on the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Pausha in the thirteenth year (in words and figures, l 14 f) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Devavarman* (l 6), who issued

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 160

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 2 ff

<sup>4</sup> Another instance, in which the single pages of a grant are numbered, are the British Museum plates of Chārudēvi, see above, Vol VIII p 144

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 144 and note 5

<sup>6</sup> Compare Prof Fische's Prākṛit grammar, § 189

<sup>7</sup> Compare *ibid* § 184

<sup>8</sup> Compare *ibid* § 61a

<sup>9</sup> Compare *ibid* § 68

<sup>10</sup> Compare *ibid*, § 224.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid* §§ 443 and 445

<sup>12</sup> Compare *ibid* § 402

this grant from Vēngīpura (l 1) and addressed it to the villagers of Ēlūra (l 7) The donee was named Ganaśarman (l 9) and received twenty (in words and figures, l 11) *nvartanas* of land, evidently near Ēlūra, together with a site for his house and a site for the houses of his servants.

The king is described as 'the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālan-kāyana, the fervent Māhāśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (his) father, (and) who meditates at the feet of the holy Chitrarathasvāmin' Nearly the same epithets are applied in another set of plates to the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Nandivarman*,<sup>1</sup> who was the son of the *Mahārāja Chandavarman*, issued his grant likewise from Vēngīpura, and addressed it to the inhabitants of a village in the district of Kudrābhāra.<sup>2</sup> This family may be designated the Śālan-kāyana Mahārājas of Vēngīpura. As Dēvavarman's grant is in Prākṛit, he was presumably an ancestor of Chandavarman's son Nandivarman, whose grant is in Sanskrit.

Vēngīpura, the capital of the Śālan-kāyanas, has been identified with Pedda-Vēgi, a village near Ellore in the Godavari district.<sup>3</sup> The correctness of this identification is confirmed by the existence of a small mound which, on a visit to Pedda-Vēgi in 1902, was shown to me by the villagers as the site of the ancient temple of Chitrarathasvāmin,<sup>4</sup> the family deity of the Śālan-kāyana Mahārājas. Other indications point to the same part of the country. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman were found in the neighbouring Kolleru lake,<sup>5</sup> and Ēlūra, to whose inhabitants the subjoined edict was addressed, is no doubt the modern town of Ēlūru (Ellore), 7 miles from Pedda-Vēgi.

TEXT.<sup>6</sup>*First Plate.*

Om? [\*]

- 1 Sūrī-vijaya-Vēngīpurā [\*] Bhagavato
- 2 Chitrarathasāmi-pādānu-
- 3 jhātassa bappabhāttāraka pādabhāttassa

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 4 paramamāhessarassa Śālan-kāyanassa
- 5 assamedhayājūno
- 6 mahārāja-sūi-Vijaya-Devavammassa

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 7 vayanena Ēlūre muluda-pamukho
- 8 gāmo bhānitavvo [\*] Etassa
- 9 Ba[bhura]-sagottassa Ganassammassa

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 10 sundara-padesamhi bhūmi-miyattanān[1]
- 11 visam 20 gharatthānam addhiya-manussānam
- 12 dvaygāna ya gharatthānam parihāra-rakkhanam

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol V p 175 ff

<sup>2</sup> This is the actual reading of the plates, see above, Vol VI p 316 and note 4

<sup>3</sup> *South-Ind Pal* p 16, note 1, *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 93

<sup>4</sup> Compare the quotation from the *Madras Journal*, Vol XIX (which is at present inaccessible to me), above Vol IV p 143, note 7

<sup>5</sup> *South Ind Pal* p 135, note 1

<sup>6</sup> From two sets of ink impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol, which stands on the left margin of line 2.

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122 a

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

127 b

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

127

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

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 13 samānatiāṃ [1\*] Eyaṃ savva-parihārehi parihari-  
 14 tavvo ya [1\*] Vijaya-samvṣachchharāni  
 15 terasa 10 3 Paṇṣa-kālapakkha-dasamī [10P][1\*]

## Fourth Plate

- 16 Shashtam varsha-sahasrāni svarggē kridati bhūmi-dah [1\*]  
 17 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakā<sup>1</sup> vasēt ||  
 18 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [1\*]  
 19 yasya yasya yadā bhūmih<sup>2</sup> tasya tasya tadā phala[m] ||

## TRANSLATION

Om (Line 1) From the prosperous and victorious Vēngṭpura. The villagers<sup>3</sup> of Ēlūra, headed by the *Muluda*,<sup>4</sup> must be addressed (as follows) by the word of the glorious *Mahārāja Vijaya-Dēvarman*, the performer of horse-sacrifices, the Śālanakāyana, the fervent Māhēśvara, who is devoted to the feet of the lord (*his*) father, (*and*) who meditates at the feet of the holy<sup>5</sup> *Chittarathasvāmin* —

(L 8) "It has been ordered that to this<sup>6</sup> Ganaśarman of the Ba[*bhura*]<sup>7</sup> *gōtra* (there have to be made over) twenty—20—*navartanas* of land in a handsome locality, a house-site (for himself, *and*) a house-site for the men who receive half the crop<sup>8</sup> and for (*his*) door-keepers,<sup>9</sup> (*and*) that the immunities (granted to him) have to be protected. And thus he must be exempted with all immunities (In) the victorious year thirteen—13—(of the reign), (on) the tenth—[10]—*tiṭh* of the dark fortnight of Paṇṣa "

[Ll 16-19 contain two of the usual verses.]

## No 8—BENARES INSCRIPTION OF PANTHA.

By P DATA RAM SAHNI

I edit this inscription from two rubbings kindly supplied to me, one by Dr J Ph Vogel, Superintendent, Archeological Survey, Northern Circle, and the other by Mr G. D Ganguh, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. A transcript of it has been published before in 1886 by Prof Hultzsch in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XL p 55

The slab on which the inscription is engraved is said to have been discovered in the vicinity of the modern city of Benares, and is one of the twenty-four objects which were presented at the instance of Mr J. H Marshall, to the Lucknow Museum by the Principal of Queen's

<sup>1</sup> This word looks almost like *narakā*

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhūmiś*

<sup>3</sup> Literally, 'the village'

<sup>4</sup> This looks like a Dravidian word, which however cannot be traced in the dictionaries. The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman (L 4) seem to read, instead of it, *Munuda*, but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may be in reality an obliterated *su*

<sup>5</sup> The genitive *bhagavato* refers to *Chittarathasvāmin*, the first member of the following compound. This is of course a grammatical blunder of the officer who drafted the inscription

<sup>6</sup> The pronoun 'this' evidently had been uttered by the king in the presence of the donee, just as *ēlūdhm* in the plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman, l 5

<sup>7</sup> Prof Kielhorn suggests to me that this doubtful word may be meant for *Bābhru*

<sup>8</sup> On *ardhika* or *aradhastri* see the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, I 166. The Prakrit form *ardhika* occurs in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 6, text line 39

<sup>9</sup> The Sanskrit original of *dvavga* seems to be *dvārga*, which may be taken in the sense of *dvāṛhika*

College, Benares, in December 1903<sup>1</sup> In discussing these sculptures, Dr. Vogel also noticed this stone, but failed to ascertain its precise find-spot<sup>2</sup>

Judging from the rubbings, the slab which bears the extant portion of the inscription measures 26" by 15" (66 cm by 38 cm) The stone-mason has done his work with great care and neatness, and the letters are deeply cut

The inscription consists of eight lines, but it is far from complete About one-fifth of the entire slab is broken away along the proper left edge, and consequently lines 1-7 have each lost a number of syllables, which varies from nine to fourteen The first three syllables of the first line and the first *akshara* of the second line have also disappeared owing to a small piece of stone having chipped off from the upper right corner The record is further damaged by the surface having more or less peeled off in the marginal portions

The characters of the inscription very closely resemble those of an inscription from Jhālrāpātan<sup>3</sup> and are of the ornamental type current in Northern India about the beginning of the eighth century A D Attention must, however, be drawn to the letters *bh* and *y*<sup>4</sup> The former of these always, and the latter in several cases, exhibit forms which come very close to those of the Maukharī alphabet of the sixth century A D The language is correct Sanskrit and metrical throughout As regards orthography, there are three different points which deserve notice (1) the doubling of the letters *m*, *i*, *p* and *v* in conjunction with a preceding or following *r*, in *-maranayōr=mmōksha-*, l 1, *yattira*, l 2, *attra* and *-mūrtti-*, l 4, *sarppat-sarppa-* and *-uchur=וויליל-*, l 6, (2) the substitution of a single consonant for a double one in *-tata-*, l 3, *-vrityā-*, l 4, *ujvalan-*, l 7, and (3) the use of *v* for *b* in *vrahmahā-*, l 2, and *sandhuvandha-*, l 7

The inscription is not dated, and its object is to record the erection of a shrine of *Bhavani* at Benares There are altogether five verses, the first three in the *Śāgdhara* and the last two in the *Sārdūlavahvīdita* metre The first stanza is devoted to the praise of the city of *Vārānasi* The purport of the second verse is not quite certain, it seems to speak of a particular quarter of the holy city, which was often visited even by the moon when practising her penance The third verse contains an eulogy of the builder of the shrine, named *Pantha*, and the last two speak of the consecration of the *Bhavani* image (P) and the construction of the shrine, respectively

#### TEXT.

- 1 [Om svasti ||\*] [Khyā]tā Vārānas-iyam tribhuvana-bhavan-ābhōga-cham-iti dūrāt-  
sēvantē yām viraktā janana-maranayōr=mmōksha-śakti-aka-[chi]tāh [I] sō —  
— — — — —
- 2 [ta] saganō yattira dēvō vimuktah yām drishtvā vra(bra)hmah-āpi chyuta-kali-  
kalushō jāyatē śuddha-bhāvah || [1\*] Asyām=uttunga-śringa-sphuta-śa[śi]-  
kirana-[svēta-bhāsā sanātham ramy-āyama\*]-
- 3 pratōli-vividha-japada-stri-vilās-ābhurāmam | vidyā-vēdārtha-tatva(tiva)-vrata-japa-  
nyama-vyagra-chandr-ābhjushtam śrīmat-ssthānam [pri]thivvā — — — — —  
— — — — — || [2\*]
- 4 Attr=ābhūt-Pantha-nāmā śūsur=api vinaya-vyāpatō bhadra-mūrttīh tyāgi dhirah  
kritajñāh parlaghu-vibhavō=py-ātma-<sup>5</sup>vrity(tty)=ābhūtu[shatah<sup>6</sup> | Gangā-srōtas-  
suchi-śrī\*]-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report of the Lucknow Provincial Museum for 1908-4, p 2

<sup>2</sup> Archaeological Survey Report for 1903 4, p 212.

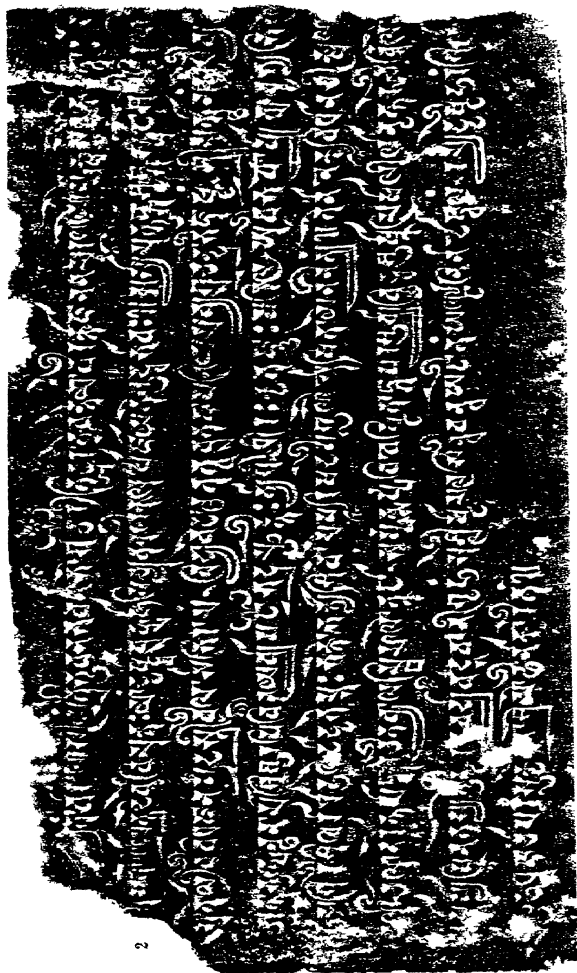
<sup>3</sup> Ind Ant Vol V p 180 and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> Eg in *yattira*, *jāyatē*, l 2, *vinaya*, l 4, and *yāna*, l 5

<sup>5</sup> [In my own transcript this word was misread as *ārya*.—E H.]

<sup>6</sup> This restoration is based on the preceding *adhūta*<sup>5</sup> and *dīma-vrittyā*

Benares inscription of Pantha.



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E Hultzsch

Scale one third

From a rubbing supplied by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel

Collotype by Gebr. Pietner, Halle



(V 5) Not satisfied with the erection (of *the image only*), the pious man, desirous of bliss, caused to be built a shrine of Bhavāni, which was joined with a very adhesive and bright cement, resplendent with the sound of bells, lovely, attractive, . . . . (and decorated) with lofty flags and yak-tails.

## No. 9—THE CHAHAMANAS OF NADDULA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E., GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī we possess two long inscriptions. One of them is the Haraha inscription of Vīgraharāja, edited by me in *Ep. Ind. Vol. II* p. 116 ff. It is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1030, corresponding to about A. D. 973, and gives the genealogy of the Chāhamānas from Gūvaka I, 'who attained to pre-eminence as a hero in the assembly of the glorious Nāgāvalōka,<sup>1</sup> the foremost of kings,' to Vīgraharāja. The other is the difficult Bijoli (Bijach, Bijoha, Bijoh) rock inscription of the reign of Sōmēśvara, which has been uncritically edited in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LV Part I* p. 40 ff. This inscription is dated in the Vikrama year 1226, corresponding to A. D. 1170, and gives a long genealogy, commencing with Sāmānta, the reputed founder of the family, and ending with Sōmēśvara.<sup>2</sup> Between these two longer records, and subsequently to the second, we have a few shorter inscriptions of the same family, notably the Delhi Śiwālik pillar inscriptions of Visaladēva-Vīgraharāja of A. D. 1164, and two short inscriptions on the defeat of the Chandēlla Paramardēva by the Chāhamāna Prithvīrāja II, of the [Vikrama] year 1239=A. D. 1182. The latest available date for this family is the [Vikrama] year 1244=A. D. 1187.<sup>3</sup>

From this Śākambharī family there branched off, some time in the first half of the 10th century A. D., another line of Chāhamānas (or Chāhamānas), which was founded by the Śākambharī prince Lakshmana, and which for a long time had its seat of government at Naddūla,<sup>4</sup> the modern Nadol in the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna. To this branch of the family there is assigned in my *Northern List* only a single inscription, No. 141, the Nadol copper-plate inscription of the Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of A. D. 1161. But there belong to it also other inscriptions of the *List*, inscriptions of chiefs whose connection with the family was not known

<sup>1</sup> I have already stated elsewhere that the true reading in verse 13 of the Haraha inscription is *śrīman Nāgāvalōka pṛacāranṛpa sabbā laḍha(bāha) vīgraharājāka*. In my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have suggested that Nāgāvalōka may be identical with the Pratihāra Nāgabhata; but this appears to be a mistake. A definite date for a king Nāgāvalōka—apparently the Vikrama year 813=A. D. 756—will, so far as I can see now, be furnished by a copper-plate inscription which has been quite recently discovered, and of which I have received a photograph from my friend M. Ozha.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII, Appendix I p. 18 f.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Northern List*, Nos. 144, 175 and 188.

<sup>4</sup> So this name is spelt below, in the inscriptions A., B. and C, and in the inscription of Lantipādēva, treated of under D. We find the name spelt in the same way (with *dd*) in verse 21 of the Bijoli rock inscription, which is quite wrongly given in *Journ. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. LV Part I* p. 42, the actual reading on the stone being: *Jatālipuram jald puram krīśī Pallik=āpī pall=ta | naddala=niyach rōkha=Naddālik gēna an(fo) ryaḡa*. In the inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Ābā, which will be mentioned below, p. 81, the name is *Naddā*. In verse 42 of the Mount Ābā inscription of Samarambha (*Ind. Ant. Vol. XVI* p. 249) it is either *Naddā* or *Naddā* (not *Naddā*), and in Prof. Weber's Catalogue of the MSS. of the Berlin Library, Vol. II, pp. 1003 and 1004, we find *Naddā*, *Naddālapura* and *Naddālapura*. In Mr. Kitthavate's edition of the *Kirikomādi*, II 89, and, copied from it, in *Ep. Ind. Vol. I* p. 26, verse 14, we also have *Naddā*, but this almost certainly is a mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Towards the end of the 12th century A. D. the seat of government was transferred to Jivālipura (Jālor); and at the commencement of the 14th century a branch of the family took Chandkrati with Mount Ābā from the Paramāra.

when I compiled the *List*. My object in writing this paper is, to give the genealogy of these Chāhamānas of Naddūla, so far as the documents which lately have come to my knowledge enable me to do so. For this purpose I shall give the texts of three inscriptions which the kindness of Dr Fleet and Mr Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha allows me to edit, and an account of the contents of some Mount Ābū inscriptions, based on excellent impressions for which we have to thank Mr Cousens.

#### A.—NADOL PLATES OF ĀLHANADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1218

These plates were obtained by Colonel Tod,<sup>1</sup> in October 1819, at Nadol, a town in the Jōdh-pur State of Rājputāna, and presented to the Royal Asiatic Society. An account of their contents was given by him in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 804, and the inscription which they contain was edited, in a rather slovenly manner, by Rao Bahadur H. H. Dhruva, in *Journ. Bombay As Soc* Vol XIX p 26 ff. I re-edit it from an excellent photolithograph,<sup>2</sup> prepared under the superintendence of, and kindly placed at my disposal by, Dr Fleet.

These are two plates, each of which measures about  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker, so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation. Both plates contain a hole for a ring, but the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have not been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the greater part of the text is in verse. In respect of orthography it will suffice to state that the letters *b* and *v* are both denoted by the sign for *v*, and that the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal. The text contains a considerable number of clerical mistakes, most of which can be easily corrected. Other mistakes are shown by the metre to be due to the author himself, who possessed no accurate knowledge of Sanskrit. Of these I would point out here merely the wrong *samāh* in *sprihayan=amaratām*, (for *sprihayann=amaratām*) in line 17, the meaningless *-pragunibhātāpasavyakah pānīh* (for *-pragunibhātāpasavyapānīh*) in line 21, and the omission of some word like *vāstam* before the words *vō=stu* in line 18. In lines 13, 14 and 16 the potential *syāt* is used for *astī* or *bhavatī*.<sup>3</sup>

The inscription records a donation by the *Mahārāja Ālhanadēva of Naddūla*.<sup>4</sup> According to lines 18-23, this chief, on Sunday, the 14th *tithi* (described as *mahāchaturdāsi-parvan*<sup>5</sup>) of the bright half of Śrāvana in the year 1218, after worshipping the Sun and Išāna (Śiva) and making gifts to Brāhmins and gurus, granted to (the Jama temple of) Mahāvīradēva in the Sandēraka *gachchha*,<sup>6</sup> at the holy place<sup>7</sup> (*mahāsthāna*) of Naddūla, a monthly sum of five *drammas*, (to be paid) from the custom-house (*śulka-mandapikā*<sup>8</sup>) in the grounds<sup>9</sup> of Naddūla.

<sup>1</sup> See his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol I p 698, my *Northern List*, No 141.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Inscriptions*, No 10, not yet published.

<sup>3</sup> For instances where the potential is used for the imperfect see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XVII p 135.

<sup>4</sup> So the name is spelt twice in line 22, and the same spelling is required by the metre in line 3. See above, p 62, note 4.

<sup>5</sup> For the similar use of *parvan* in other dates see *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 418, and Vol XXV p 289 f.

<sup>6</sup> In Mount Ābū inscriptions this *gachchha* is also called *Sandra-gachchha* and *Shandēraka gachchha*. The town of *Sandra* (the Sanders of the map of the Rājputāna Agency) is mentioned below in C, line 16.

<sup>7</sup> According to Colonel Tod Naddūla was one of the ancient seats of the Jains.

<sup>8</sup> For passages in which the term *mandapikā* occurs, compare e.g. *Ep Ind* Vol I p 114, l 27, p 173, l 6 (*Śtyādnn-satka-mandapikā*), p 175, l 19, p 177, l 29 and l 80, p 179, l 45, p 262, l 3 (*pattana-mandapikā*), *Ind Ant* Vol XIV p 10, col 2 (*Śrīpatthā-stha-mandapikā*), *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol LV. Part I p 47, iv, and p 48, v, *Bhādnagar Insor* p 205, l 7. *Śulka-mandapikā* occurs e.g. in *Bhādnagar Insor* p 158 f, ll 10, 15 and 18.—The meaning of *mandapikā* is suggested by the Marāṭhī *māndat*, 'a custom-house'.

<sup>9</sup> The word *talapada* (in *śrī Naddūla-talapada-śulkamandapikādyām*) is not found in the dictionaries. I take it to be synonymous with, or similar in meaning to, *svatala*, which occurs in some of the Valabhi inscriptions, and for which see Dr Fleet's note above, Vol. VI. p 166. Compare also *Ind Ant*, Vol XI p 339, note 80.

The inscription, after the words 'Om, adoration to the Omniscient,' opens with a verse in which the holy Mahāvīradēva, 'the youngest of the Jinas,' is desired to bestow welfare. It then (in verses 2-7) gives the following genealogy of the grantor —

In the Chāhumāna race there was first at Naddūla the king Lakshmana. His son was Sōhiya, and his son Balirāja. After him came his paternal uncle Vīgrahapāla. His son was Mahēndra, his son Anahilla, and his son Bālaprasāda. His brother was Jēndrarāja, and his son Prithivipāla. His brother was Jōjalla, and his younger brother Āsārāja, whose son was Ālhanadēva. Nothing of historical importance is said about any of these chiefs.

According to lines 33-38, the *dāta* of this grant was the minister, appointed to the secretaryship (*śrīkarana*),<sup>1</sup> Lakshmidhara, the son of Dharamgga, of the Prāgvāta race, and the grant was composed and written by Śrīdhara, the son of Vāsala (Viśala<sup>2</sup>), who was the son of Manōratha, of the family of the Naigamas. The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (& sign-manual) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Ālhanadēva.'

Naddūla of course is the modern Nadol where the plates were obtained, and where the temple of Mahāvīra to which the grant was made apparently still exists.<sup>3</sup> The date of the grant, for the expired *Chastrādā* Vikrama year 1218, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 6th August A D 1161, when the 14th *tithi* of the bright half of Śrāvana ended 15 h 35 m. after mean sunrise.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> || Om namah Sarvvañāyāḥ<sup>6</sup> | Diśatu<sup>7</sup> Jina-kanshthah karmavam(bam)dha-  
kshayishthah parihṛta-madamārakrōdha-
- 2 lōbhādivārah | duritasīkharī-samvāḥ svō(śvō)vasiyam cha śam vas=  
tribhuvanakṛta-sēvāh |<sup>9</sup> śrī-Mahāvī-
- 3 radevāh || [1\*] Aśi<sup>10</sup> parama ā-jalamdhī jagati-talō<sup>11</sup> Chāhumāna-vamśō hi |  
tav(tr)=āśm=Nadū(ddū)lē bhūpāh
- 4 śrī-Lakshmaṇa ādau<sup>12</sup> || [2\*] Tasmād-va(ba)bhūva pntṛō rājā śrī-  
Sōhiyas<sup>13</sup>-tad-ann sūnuh | śrī-Va(ba)lirājō rā-
- 5 jā Vīgrahapālō-nu cha pitṛivya(vyah) || [3\*] Tasy-āt=<sup>14</sup>tanūjō bhūpālāh |<sup>15</sup>  
śrī-Mahēndradēv-ākhyāḥ | taj-jah śrī-<sup>16</sup>
- 6 Anahillō(ḷlō)<sup>17</sup> nripata varō=bhāt=prithula-tējāh || [4\*] Tat-sūnuh śrī-  
Vā(bā)laprasāda ity=ajanī pārthiva-
- 7 śrēshthah | tad-bhrāt=ābhū[t\*]=kshūtipāh subhatah śrī Jēndrarāj-ākhyāḥ || [5\*]  
Śrī-Prithivipālō=bhū[t\*]-tat-putrah sa-<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Compare above, Vol. VIII p. 209, line 8 of the text. Above, Vol. III p. 317, l. 46, *śrīkarana* by itself is used to denote the official ('a secretary').

<sup>2</sup> See the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. X p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 30, No. 35.

<sup>4</sup> From a photo-lithograph prepared under the superintendence of, and supplied to me by, Dr. Fleet.

<sup>5</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>6</sup> Read *ñādyas*

<sup>7</sup> Metre Māhīf

<sup>8</sup> Read *-samvāh*, 'a thunderbolt'

<sup>9</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 2-9 Āryā.

<sup>11</sup> For the sake of the metre for *jagati-talō*

<sup>12</sup> Read *'nas=ch=ddau*

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Dhruva's text has *Lōhiyas=*, but *Sōhiyas=* is quite clear in the original. The same name, *Sōhiya*, I find above, Vol. VIII p. 221, l. 19, and in another Mount Ābū inscription, No. 1699 of Mr. Cousens's List.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-ābhavati*

<sup>15</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>16</sup> Here and elsewhere the *t* of *śrī* has purposely not been changed to *y* before a vowel; i compare below, lines 9 and 38, *śrī-Ālhanā*, and other passages in B and C and elsewhere.

<sup>17</sup> The name is written *Anahilla* in B, line 7, and C, line 11 and the same spelling is repeated here in the metre.

<sup>18</sup> Read *sauryaṇṇitī-śōbhā-dāhyāḥ*



- 8 ryavritsôbh-âdhyah | tasmâd=abhavad=bhrâtâ śīf-Jôjallô ranaas-âtmâ || [6\*]  
Tad-avarajô=bhûch=chhrîmâ-
- 9 n-Âsâ(sâ)râjah pratâpavara-nlayah | tat-putrah kshônîpah śrî-Âlhanadêva-  
nâm=âbhût || [7\*]
- 10 Yasya pratâpa-psâ(?)lam<sup>1</sup> samkuladîkchakra-prithulavistâram | samchamti  
sva(sû)ditâhîtagana-lalanâ
- 11 nayanasahl aughah || [8\*] Sô-yam mahâ-kshîtîśah sâram=idam vu(bu)ddhimân=  
achuntayata [1\*] iha sam-
- 12 sâra<sup>2</sup> asâiam |<sup>3</sup> sarvvam janm-âdi jantûnâm |(||) [9\*] Yatah [1\*] Garbhah<sup>4</sup>  
strikukshi-madhyê pala-rudhura-vasâ-
- 13 mēdasâ va(ba)ddha-pumdô mâtuh prânâmtakârî<sup>5</sup> prasavana-samayê prânnâm  
syân=nu janmâ<sup>5</sup> dharmm-â-
- 14 dînâm=avēttâ bhavati hi niyatam vâ(bâ)la-bhâvas-tatah svâ(syâ)t-târnyam  
svalpamâtram svajana-pari-
- 15 bhavasthâ(?)natâ<sup>6</sup> vridhdha-bhâvah |(||) [10\*] Khadyôtôdyô(ddyô)ta-tulyâh |<sup>7</sup>  
kshanam=iha sukhadhâ sampâ-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 dô drishta-nashtâh prânitvam chamchalam syâd=dalam-upari yathâ tôya-  
vimdur=nnalinyâh | jûâtiv=avam<sup>8</sup> sva pi-
- 17 trô sprihayan=<sup>9</sup>amaratâm ch-aihkâm<sup>10</sup> dharmma-kirtta dēsântô<sup>11</sup> râjaputrân<sup>12</sup>  
janapada-ganân vò(bô)dhayaty=êva
- 18 vò=stu<sup>13</sup> || [11\*] Sam 1218 varshê | Śrâvapa sudi 14 Ravau | asminn=êva  
mahâchaturdâśi-parvvanî || Snâtivâ<sup>14</sup> dhanta-
- 19 patê nrvēśya(śya)<sup>15</sup> dahanê datv=âhutîn<sup>16</sup> punya(nya)krn=Mâmrtyadasya<sup>17</sup>  
tamahprâpatana-patôh sampûrya ch=âghamjlim<sup>18</sup> [1\*]
- 20 tralôka(kya)śya prabhum oharâchhara-gurum samsnanya pamch-âmritar=îśânâ  
kanak-âna-vastra-dadanaih<sup>19</sup> sampûrya viprâ-
- 21 n gurûn || [12\*] Anu<sup>20</sup> tîlakukshâtôdaka-<sup>21</sup>pragunibhûtâpasavyakah<sup>22</sup> pânh |(||)  
śâsanam=ênam=<sup>23</sup>ayachchata yâ-

<sup>1</sup> Read *yâlam*

<sup>2</sup> Observe the wrong *samdhi* (for *samsârô-sâram*)

<sup>3</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11 Sragdharâ

<sup>5</sup> Read *âkrs* and *janma* |

<sup>6</sup> The *th* of the *akshara sthâ* is not quite clear, but there seems to be no doubt that the above is the actual and intended reading. One would have expected *paribhasthânâam*, but this would not have suited the metre.

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> Here a syllable, perhaps *evâ*, has been omitted.

<sup>9</sup> Here, again, observe the wrong *samdhi* for which the metre shows the author to be responsible; *sprihayann=* would have offended against the metre.

<sup>10</sup> Read *avâhâim dharmma kirttam*, one misses a second *ôa*.

<sup>11</sup> I can only suggest that *dēsântô* may stand for *dēsântâ*, i.e. *dēsântah, dēsântar*, 'in (this) country'.

<sup>12</sup> After this word a short syllable is missing, perhaps the reading should be *trân=va janapada-*.

<sup>13</sup> The words *vò=stu* cannot be construed with the preceding. The author had in his mind the phrase *viditam vò=stu*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre *Śârdûlavikrîdita*.

<sup>15</sup> Mr Dhruba read this *Mastapatê nrvēśya*, which he translated by 'while encamped at Mastapata'. Compare *dhanta vâśat parîdhâya* in line 19 of B, and, e.g., in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 847, l. 7 of the text.

<sup>16</sup> Read *dattu=âhutîh*

<sup>17</sup> Read *Mârtimâśya*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *ârgghânyaim*

<sup>19</sup> *Dadana* in the sense of *dâna*

<sup>20</sup> Metre *Âryâ*

<sup>21</sup> Read *tîlakukshâtôdaka-*. The *ka* of *ôdaka* is treated as a short syllable before *pr*, see *Ind Studien*, Vol VIII p 224.

<sup>22</sup> The metre, in my opinion, shows that the author undoubtedly wrote this, what he intended was *pasavya pânh* (= *dakshina-pânh*).

<sup>23</sup> Wrong for *ênad=*, or, better, *stâd=*

- 22 vach-chamdrārkkapūpālam<sup>1</sup> |(II) [13\*] Śrī Naddūla-mahāsthānē śrī-  
Sandēiaka-gachchhē śrī-Mahāvīradēvāya śrī-Naddūla-
- 23 talapada sūlkamamdapikāyām māsānumāsām dhūpavēlartham<sup>2</sup> śāsānēna dra<sup>3</sup> 5  
pamcha prādāt [1\*] Asya
- 24 dēvarasyanam<sup>4</sup> bhūmjanasya asmadvamsējar-<sup>5</sup>bhāvī-bhōktrībhur-aparais=cha  
peripamthanā na kāryā | yatah [1\*]
- 25 <sup>6</sup>Sāmānyō=yam dharmā-sētūr-nripānām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhīh  
sarvvān=ēvam bhāvīmah pā-
- 26 rihivēmdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatō Rāmachandrah || [14\*] Tasmāt |  
<sup>7</sup>Asmadanva[ya\*]jā bhūpā bhāvī-bhūpatayas=cha yē [1\*]
- 27 tēshām-aham karē lagnah pālanīyam=idam sadā |(II) [15\*] Asmad vamsē  
parikshīnē yah kaschīm<sup>8</sup> nripatur-bhavēt [1\*]
- 28 tasy-āham karē lagnō-smī s(śā)sanam nā(na) vyatikramēt |(II) [16\*]  
Va(ba)hubhur-vasudhā bhuktā rājanyah Sagar-ā-
- 29 dibhīh [1\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalam [(II) 17\*]  
Vvashtī-<sup>9</sup>varsha-sahasrām svarggē tishthati dāna-
- 30 dah [1\*] śchchhātā(Hā) ch=ānumamā<sup>10</sup> cha tāny=ēva natakam<sup>10</sup> vasē[t] [(II) 18\*]  
Sva-dattam para-dattam vā dēva-dāyam harētā yah [1\*] sa
- 31 vishthāyām krumur=bhūtvā putra(tri)bhīh saha majjati || [19\*] Sū(śū)ny-  
ātāvīvy(shv)=atōyāsu sushkakōtara vāsi-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 32 nah | krishnāhayō=bhūjāyamtē dēva-dāyam haranti yē || [20\*] Mangalam  
mahā śrīh ||
- 33 <sup>11</sup>Piāgvāta-vamsē Dharamigga-<sup>12</sup>nāmnaḥ sutō mahāmātya-varah su-karmmā |  
va(ba)bhūva dū-
- 34 tah prā(pra)tibhā-mvāsō Lakshmīdharah śrīkarantē nyōgi || [21\*]  
<sup>13</sup>Āsīt=sva-
- 35 chohha-malā(nā) Manōratha ita prāk<sup>14</sup> Naigamānām kulē s(śā)atra  
jñānasudhārasa-
- 36 plavita-<sup>15</sup>dhīs-taj-jō=bhavat<sup>16</sup> Vāsalah | putras-tasya va(ba)bhūva lōka-  
vasani(ti)h śrī-
- 37 Śrīdharah Śrīdharē sūpāstī rachayāmchakāra hikhē ch=ēdam mahā-sā-  
38 [sa]nam || [22\*] Sva-hastō=yam mahārāja-śrī-Ālhapadēvasya ||

**B — NADOL PLATES OF THE RĀJAPUTRA KĪRTIPĀLA ;  
[VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAṬ 1218.**

Mr Gaurishankar Hirschand Ojha of Udaipur in Rājputāna has informed me that these plates also were obtained, in the course of last year, at Nadol. My account of them is mainly based on two good rubbings, kindly supplied to me by Mr Ojha

<sup>1</sup> Read *dhākdalam*, compare *kehitikdām* in line 26 of B

<sup>2</sup> Read *dāpā-tal-artham*, without the sign of punctuation

<sup>3</sup> I.e. *drammān*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sy-asmadacāstīgavī-*

<sup>4</sup> Read *dēvay-nānam* (for *vasāna*, *astad*)

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śālinī.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 15-20 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>8</sup> Read *kaschīm*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śhashtī-* or *śhashtīm*

<sup>10</sup> Read *navakī*

<sup>11</sup> Metre Upanish.

<sup>12</sup> The name *Dharamiga* occurs above, Vol. VIII p. 220, line 8 of the text; here the letter *g* seems to have been doubled simply for the sake of the metre.

<sup>13</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>14</sup> Read *prāga*.

<sup>15</sup> *Plavita* wrong for *plavita*, which would not have suited the metre.

<sup>16</sup> Read *dhavad*, and, perhaps, *Vāsalaḥ*

These also are two plates, each of which measures about  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the second on both sides<sup>1</sup>. The writing on them is in a state of perfect preservation. Each plate contains a hole for a ring, I do not know whether the ring and any seal that may have been attached to it have been preserved. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The text contains eight verses<sup>2</sup> of chiefly genealogical matter, three of the ordinary imprecatory verses, and one verse giving the writer's name, the rest is in prose, which in one or two places is grammatically incorrect. As regards orthography, the letter *v* is used for both *b* and *v*, except in *-labāhayanmā*, l 3, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *Mahēsvaram*, l 22, and the sign of *avagraha* is once employed, in *śhāgahā*, l 16. In line 29 the gerund *lagitvā* is used in the sense of 'commencing from, beginning with'.

The inscription records a grant by the *Rājaputra* (or king's son) *Kīrtipāla*, a son of *Ālhanadēva* of *Naddūla*. After the words *ōm svasti*, it invokes the blessing of the gods *Brahman*, *Śrīdhara* (*Vishṇu*), and *Śankara* (*Śiva*), 'who, always free from passion, are famous in the world as *Jinas*' (or *Jama Arhats*). It then (in verses 2-8) gives the following genealogy —

In the town of *Śākambhari* there was formerly, in the *Chāhamāna*<sup>3</sup> lineage, the king *Vākpatirāja*. His son was *Lakshmana*, who was king at *Naddūla*, and his son was *Sōbhita*. From him sprang *Balirāja*, and after him there ruled his paternal uncle *Vigrahapāla*. *Vigrahapāla*'s son was *Mahēndra*, his son *Anahula*, and his son *Jēndrarāja*, from whom sprang *Āśarāja*<sup>4</sup>. His son was *Ālhana*, the lord of *Naddūla*, who defeated the *Saurāshtrikas*. This king married *Annaladēvi*,<sup>5</sup> a daughter of *Anahula* of the *Rāshtraudra*<sup>6</sup> race, who bore to him three sons — *Kēlhana*, *Gajasimha*, and *Kīrtipāla*. Of these, *Kēlhana*, the eldest son, was made *kumāra* (or heir-apparent) and given a share in the government.

According to l. 17 ff. the *Rājakula*<sup>7</sup> *Ālhanadēva* and the *Kumāra* *Kēlhanadēva* were pleased to give to the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla* twelve villages appertaining to *Naddūlāi*. And then, on Monday, the 5th of the dark half of *Śrāvana* of the year 1218, the *Rājaputra* *Kīrtipāla*, after bathing *etc* at *Naddūla* and worshipping the Sun and *Mahēsvara* (*Śiva*), granted a yearly sum of two *drammas* from each of the twelve villages of *Naddūlāi* to (the temple of) the *Jina Mahāvira* at the village of *Naddūlāi*, and ordered this money to be paid in the month of *Bhādrapada* of every year, commencing with the year then current. The twelve villages to which this order referred were *Naddūlāigrāma*, *Sūjēra*, *Darjī*, *Kavilāda*, *Sōnāpam*, *Mōrakarā*, *Haravandam*, *Māqāda*, *Kāpasuvam*, *Dēvasūri*, *Nāqāda*, and *Mauvadi*.

So far as I can judge, the village of *Naddūlāi* mentioned in the above is different from (the *mahāsthāna*) *Naddūla*, and the words *Naddūlāi-pratibaddha* in line 18 appear clearly to show that *Naddūlāi* not merely was the name of a village, but also denoted the district to which the twelve villages given to *Kīrtipāla* belonged — On the map of the *Rājputāna* Agency I find,

<sup>1</sup> The second side of the second plate contains three lines of writing. Of these no rubbing, but only Mr Ojha's transcript has been sent to me.

<sup>2</sup> The metre of verse 6 is a mixture of *Upēndravajrā* and *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>3</sup> So the name is spelt here and below in C.

<sup>4</sup> In C the name is *Āśarāja*, while in A, the actual spelling is *Āśardja*. Here we have *Āśarāja*, and in D the actual spelling is *Āśardya*.

<sup>5</sup> The occurrence of this name here induces me to state that the name in the Delhi Siwālik pillar inscription of *Vishaladēva* *Vigraharāja*, A, line 2 (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 218) is *Annaladēva*, not *Acclladēva*, and that therefore *Annaladēva* should be substituted for *Acclladēva* also in my *Northern List*, No. 144, and above, Vol. VIII App. I p. 14, col. 1 (after *Arpōrāja*).

<sup>6</sup> For a *Rāshtrōja* *vanija* see my *Northern List*, No. 278.

<sup>7</sup> On this and similar titles see my remarks above, Vol. IV, p. 312, note 7. *Mahārājakula* occurs below in D, and in other Mount *Ābū* inscriptions.

south-east of Nadol, Desuri, which most probably is the Dévasūi of this inscription, of the other villages I can find no traces on the map

After the imprecatory verses the inscription (in lines 33 and 34) has the words 'this is the own hand (i. e. sign-manual) of the *Mahārājaputra* (or *Mahārāja's* son), the illustrious *Kīrtipāla*,<sup>2</sup> and the statement that this grant was written by Śubhankara, the son of Damōdara and grandson of the *Kāyasīha* Sōdha of the Naigama lineage.

The possible equivalents of the date, for the *pūrnimānta* and *amānta* month Śrāvana, would be —

for the *Chastrādī* Vikrama year 1218 current Saturday, the 25th June A D 1160, and Monday, the 25th July A. D. 1160 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 9 h 8 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Chastrādī* Vikrama year 1218 expired Friday, the 14th July A D 1161, and Sunday, the 13th August A D 1161 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 8 h 16 m after mean sunrise),

for the *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1218 expired Tuesday, the 3rd July A D. 1162 (when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h 58 m after mean sunrise), and Thursday, the 2nd August A D 1162

From this it will be seen that the given date is correct only for the *amānta* month Śrāvana of the *current Chastrādī* Vikrama year 1218, and therefore apparently corresponds to Monday, the 25th July A D 1160. As current Vikrama years are quoted very rarely, this result is not perhaps quite free from suspicion, but I can see no valid reason to question the authenticity of the wording of the original date.<sup>3</sup>

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

#### First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> || Svasti || Śrīyā<sup>4</sup> bhavantu vō dēvā<sup>5</sup> Vra(bra)hma-Śrīdhara-Śamkaśāh  
sadā virāgavam-
- 2 tō yā<sup>6</sup> Jinā jagati vīśrutāh || 1 Śākambhari-nāma purē pur-āśi<sup>7</sup> ś'ch=ohhī-  
Chāha-
- 3 mān-ānvaya-labdhanamā | rājā mahārājanat-āmhryugmah khyātō=vanau Vākpa-  
4 tirāja-nāmā || 2 Naddūlē<sup>8</sup> samabhūt-tadīya-tanayah śrī-Lakshmanō bhūpatih=8 ta-  
5 smāt=sarvavagup-ānvitō nrīpa-varaḥ śrī-Sōbhīt-ākhyā<sup>9</sup> sutah | tasmāch=chh[r\*]i-  
Va(ba)hīrāja-nā-
- 6 ma-nrīpatih paśchāt-tadīyō mahī-khyātō Vīgrahapāla ity-abhūdhayā rājyē  
pūtrīvyō=bhavat || 3
- 7 Tasmāt-tīvramahāpratāpa-taraṇih putrō Mahēndrō=bhavat-tajjāch-śrī-Anahilladēva-  
nrīpatēh śrī-Jēm-
- 8 darārajāḥ sutah | tasmād=ḍurddharavairukumjaravadha-prōttālasūh-ōpamah sat-  
kīrtiyā dhaval[ī]krīt-ā-

<sup>1</sup> With reference to the above I may state that Mr Ojha has sent me a rubbing of a grant (engraved on one side of one plate only) of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Kēlhanadēva, which is dated in line 1: *śarvāt 1238 varshē Jy[ṣ]āsthā vad: 12 Śōmē*. This date also works out satisfactorily only for the *amānta* *Jyāisthā* of the current *Chastrādī* Vikrama year 1238, for which it corresponds to Monday, the 7th June A. D. 1165.

<sup>2</sup> From two rubbings supplied to me by Mr Gauruhanker Hiranand Ojha.

<sup>3</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>5</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>6</sup> Metre Indravajrā.

<sup>7</sup> Metre of verses 3-5 Sārdūlavikrīdita

<sup>8</sup> Read *bhōgapatā*

<sup>9</sup> The inscription C has *Sōbhīta*, but as A has *Sōbhīya*, I do not alter the *Sōbhīta* of the present inscription to *Śōbhīta*

- 9 khle jagach=chri Ásarájô nripah || 4 Tat-putró nijavikramâritam-1  
mahââjyapratâpôdayô
- 10 yô jagráha jaya-śrīyam rana-bharē vyâpâdya Saurâshtrikân | sauchâchâra-  
vichâra-dâna-vasatur=Naddû-
- 11 Ia-nâthô mahân=samkhyôtpâdita-vīravrittur=amalah śrī-Alhanô<sup>2</sup> bhûpatih || 5  
Anêna<sup>3</sup> râjñâ jana-vīśrutê-
- 12 na |<sup>4</sup> Râshtrauda-vamsaja var-Ânahulasya putri | Annalladêvir-iti śīla-vivêka-  
yuktâ |<sup>4</sup> Râmêna vai Janakaj=êva vi-
- 13 vâhut=âsau || 6 Âbhyam<sup>5</sup> jâtâh su-putrâ jagati vara-dhuyô rūpa-saundarya-  
yuktâh |<sup>4</sup> śâstraih śâstraih praga-
- 14 Ibhâh pravala-gunaganâs=tyâgavantaḥ su śīlâh | jyêshthah śrī-Kêlhan-âkhyas=tad-  
anu cha Gajasmhas=tathâ Ki-
- 15 rttipâlô |<sup>4</sup> yadvan=nêtânî Śambhês=tripurushavad=ath=âmî janê vandaniyâh |  
(||) 7 <sup>6</sup>Madhyâd=amishâm pari-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 16 vâra-nâthô shtê(jyê)shthô smgajah kshômi-talê prasiddhaḥ | kṛta[h\*] kumârô  
nijarâjya-dhâri
- 17 śrī-Kêlhana[h\*] sarvva-gunaur=upêtaḥ | (||) [8\*] Âbhyâm râjakula-śi-  
Âlhanadêva- |<sup>7</sup> kumâra śrī-Kêlha-
- 18 nadêvâbhyâm râjaputra-śrī-Kirttipâlasya piasâdê datta-Naddûlâl-pratva(ba)ddha-  
dvâdasâ-grâmânî<sup>9</sup> ||
- 19 Tatô râjaputra-śi-Kirttipâlâh |<sup>9</sup> sam 1218 Śrâvana-vadî 5 Sômê || ady=  
ê[h\*] śi-Naddûlê snâtva dhô(dhan)-
- 20 ta-vâsâsi pandhâya tilâkshatakusa-pransaynam dakshina-karam kritvâ dêvan-  
udakêna samtarpya | va(ba)-
- 21 halatamatmīnapatalâpâtana-pâtīyasô mihêshêpâtakapamka-prakshâlanasya divâkarasya  
22 pûjâm vidhâya | charâchâra gurum Mahêsva(êva)ram namaskṛitya | hutabhujî  
hômadiavy-âhutih=ddatvâ<sup>10</sup> nahni-
- 23 dalagatajalalava-taralam jīvitavyam=âkalayya | ahikam pârach(tri)kam tha(cha)  
phalam=sangikṛitya svapunya-
- 24 yasô-bhuvrddhayê śâsanam prayachchati yathâ || Śrī-Naddûlâigrâmê | śrī-  
Mahâvira-jnâya Naddûlâl-<sup>11</sup>
- 25 dvâdasâ-grâmêshu grâmam prati dra 2 dvau dramman snapana-vilêpana-dîpa-  
dhûp-êpabhôgârtham | śâsanê
- 26 varsham prati Bhâdrapada-mâsê chamdrârkakshiti-kâla[m] yâvat pradatta<sup>12</sup> ..  
Naddûlâigrâma | Sôjêra | Darjî [i\*]
- 27 Kavilâda | Sônênam | Môrakarâ | Haravamdam [i\*] Mâdâda | Kâpasuvam |  
Dêvasûri | Nâdâda [i\*] Mauvadi |
- 28 êvam grâ<sup>13</sup> 12 êtêshu dvâdasâ grâmêshu sarvvad=âpi asmâbhñh śâsanê dattau |  
êbhur=grâmar=adhunâ samvatsa-

<sup>1</sup> Read \*mârgiya-

<sup>2</sup> Read *Alhanô*

<sup>3</sup> Metre a mixture of Upêndravajrâ and Vasantatilakâ

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śigdhârâ The last Pâda does not contain the proper cœuras

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ujyâti

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Wrong for -grâmâh The whole sentence which ends here is ungrammatical

<sup>9</sup> All the signs of punctuation in lines 19-23 are superfluous In some places below the rules of sandhî have not been observed.

Read -ddattâd.

<sup>11</sup> Read 'dât

<sup>13</sup> I e grâmâh

- 29 rālagutvā<sup>1</sup> sarvvaḍ-āpi vaisham piati Bhādrapadē dātavyau | atah ūrdh[<sup>v\*</sup>]am  
kēn-āpi paripamthanā na kartavyā |
- 30 <sup>2</sup>Āsmad-vameś vyatikrāntē yō-nyah kō-pi bhavishyati [<sup>1\*</sup>] tasy-āham karē  
lagu<sup>3</sup> na lōpya[m\*] mama śāsanam || [<sup>9\*</sup>] Shashthi[m]<sup>4</sup> va-
- 31 īsha-sahasī-āpi svarggē tushthati dāyakah | āchchhātt<sup>5</sup> ch-ānuma[m]tā cha  
tāny-ēva narakam<sup>5</sup> vasēt || [<sup>10\*</sup>] Va(ba)hubhur-vasudhā

Second Plate, Second Side <sup>6</sup>

- 32 bhuktā rājabhīh Sagai-ādibhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūms-tasya tasya tadā  
phalam || [<sup>11\*</sup>]
- 33 Sva-hastō-yam mahārājaputra-śrī-Kirtipālasya || Naigamānvaya-kāyastha-Sōdha-  
naptā Śubhamkalah |
- 34 Dāmōdara-sutō-lēkhi<sup>7</sup> śāsanam dharmma-śāsanam || [<sup>12\*</sup>] Mangalam mahā-  
śīh ||

C.—SUNDHĀ HILL INSCRIPTION OF CHĀCHIGADĒVA;  
[VIKRAMA-JSAMVAT 1319.]

This inscription on two stones which were found on the Sundhā Hill, about 10 miles north of Jaswantapura in the Jaswantapura district of the Jōdhpur State of Rājputāna<sup>8</sup> I edit it from rubbings, kindly placed at my disposal by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha

The first stone contains 26 lines of writing which covers a space of 3' 3" broad by 1' 7½" high, the second 24 lines which cover a space of 2' 10" broad by 1' 5" high. The size of the letters is about ½" on the first stone, and between ⅔ and ⅞" on the second. The inscription was carefully written by Nāmvasimha, a son of the physician Vijayapāla, and well engraved by Jisaravi, a son of the *sātradhāra* Jisapāla, and is in a state of perfect preservation. The characters are Nāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. Excepting two prose passages at the bottom of either stone which record the names of the author, the writer and the engraver, the date *samvat* 1319 in line 45, and another prose passage, numbered as a verse, in lines 35 and 36, the text is in verse, the total number of verses (including the prose passage counted as a verse) being 59. As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *śasya*-, l 16, *śravantī*, l 19, *sahasrāmsū*- (for *sahasrāmsū*-), l 22, *śakla*-, l 23, *śtāh*, l 25, and *śūtāmsū*- (for *sūtāmsū*-), l 37, *kh* and *sh* are confounded in *mayūsha*- (for *mayūkha*-), l 10, and *pīyūkha*- (for *pīyūsha*-), l 41, the *i* of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name in *śrī-Asārāja*-, l 21, *śrī-Udayasimha*-, l 35, and *śrī-Aparāyūtā*-, l 43, *chchh* is written for *chh* in *chchhalēna*, l 7, and *chchhūyayā*, l 8, and the sign of *avagaha* is employed in *Samdhē śrka*, l 16, and in four other places. The language is generally correct and plain, but there are one or two passages about the exact meaning of which I am still doubtful. I especially do not understand verse 12, which seems to allude to some legend unknown to me, in which the creator weighs the sun and the moon, apparently using the Ganges as a balance. Moreover, I am not sure about the meanings of the word *śrīkari*, which occurs in verses 19 and 59, and *guppyādguru* in verses 15, 26, and 27. To judge from the context in verse 59 (*śrīkari-saptakavādi*-), the former<sup>9</sup> may denote some kind of musical instrument, and as a *guppyādguru* must be

<sup>1</sup> Read *rālagutvā*, 'commencing from the current year'

<sup>2</sup> Metre of this verse and the rest Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>3</sup> Read *lagu*-*sms*

<sup>4</sup> Read *shashthim*

<sup>5</sup> Read *narakt*.

<sup>6</sup> Of the three lines on this side only a transcript has been sent to me by Mr Ojha.

<sup>7</sup> The passive Aorist is used wrongly here for the active *alēkhāt*.

<sup>8</sup> I owe this information to Mr Ojha

<sup>9</sup> From the St. Petersburg Dictionary I see that *śrīkari* occurs in the *Uttamcharitratikāśāsam*, l. 234 (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akademie*, 1884, Part I p. 282), where Prof. Weber has suggested for it the meaning 'a female nuger'

something on which a golden *kumbha* and a golden *kalāśa* can be placed,<sup>1</sup> the word perhaps denotes a temple generally or a particular temple. Of rare words or words employed in an unusual way we may note *kēśh*, 'the earth,' in verse 6, *bhūśphōṭa*, 'a mushroom,' in verse 16, the feminine *yugālī*, 'a pair,' in verse 18, and *tāmbūliya*, 'an arca-nut,' in verse 21, *bāndhu* and *bāndhava* denote 'a brother' in verses 24, 26, and 20, and a cousin is described as *pitruvyajatai bāndhava*, i.e. 'a brother in consequence of being born from a paternal uncle,' in verse 9.

The inscription in the prose passage at the bottom of the first stone and in verse 59 is styled a *prastāvi*. It was composed by the (Jaina) *sūtri* Jayamangala (Jayamangalachārya), who belonged to the Brihad-gachchha and was a disciple of Rāmachandīa, himself a disciple of Dēvachārya.<sup>2</sup> And its primary object is to glorify the Chāhamāna chief Chāchigadēva, during whose reign it was composed, and for whom it furnishes a date<sup>3</sup> in the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1310, falling in about A.D. 1262. Fortunately, the author has used the occasion to give a eulogistic account of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla generally, which is of considerable interest.

Verses 1-3 pray the moon on Śambhu's (i.e. Śiva's) forehead and (Śiva's consort) Pārvatī or Chandikā to grant continuous good fortune and happiness. Verse 4 then records that formerly there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi Vatsa*.<sup>4</sup> In his lineage there were —

(1) The lord of Naddūla, king Lakshmana, who was a Śākambhari prince<sup>5</sup> (vv. 5 and 6).

(2) His son Sōbhita (v. 7; the Sōhya and Sōbhita of A and B). He took away the glory of the lord (or lords) of the mountain Arbuda.<sup>6</sup>

(3) His son Balirāja (vv. 7 and 8). He defeated an army of Muñjarāja, i.e. the Paramāra Vākrpatirāja II. Amōghavarsha of Mālava, for whom we possess dates from A.D. 974 to 993.

(4) His paternal uncle's son Mahindu (v. 9) — He is the Mahendra of A and B, the son of Vīrahapāla whose name is here omitted. He most probably is identical with the Mahendra or Mahindra (?) mentioned under No. 53 of my *Northern List* as a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikundi, whose inscription is dated in A.D. 997.

(5) His son Aśvapāla (vv. 10 and 11, omitted in A and B).

(6) His son Ahila (vv. 12 and 13, likewise omitted in A and B). He defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Bhīma, i.e. the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I of Anahilpātaka.

(7) His paternal uncle Anahilla (vv. 14-17, in A and B described as the son of Mahendra). He also defeated the king Bhīma (Bhīmadēva I), took Śākambhari, and slew

<sup>1</sup> See verses 26 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> He is described as *śrīkari-saptaka-vādīn* which, as intimated above, appears to mean 'playing the seven *śrīkari*'.

<sup>3</sup> The exact date (in verse 57) is the *akṣaya tṛtīyā* or third *tithi* of the bright half of the month Mādhava (Vaiśākha) of the [Vikrama] year 1319, given both in words and in figures. The date does not admit of verification; its possible equivalents would be the 4th April A.D. 1261, the 23rd April A.D. 1262, and the 12th April A.D. 1263.

<sup>4</sup> According to the inscription of Lantigadēva treated of under D the holy Vachchha (Vatsa) brought about the creation of the Chāhamāna family. And according to verse 12 of the Bijoh rock inscription of Sōmāvara (No. 154 of my *Northern List*) Sāmāuta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa *gōtra* at Ahlochhastrepura.

<sup>5</sup> The original has *Śākambhariandra*. It will be seen below under D that Lakshmana most probably had the epithet *Śākambhari-mānyaka*, 'the jewel of Śākambhari.' Mr. Ojha tells me that a Chāhamāna even now will be addressed as *Sambharirāja*, 'Śākambhari prince.'

<sup>6</sup> I.e. Mount Ābū. With the expression *Himādris bhava* of the original as a name of the mountain Arbuda compare *Himavataś śūnū* in the unpublished Vasantgadhi inscription of Vasmalāta, *Himavati tanayā* in *Ky Ind.* Vol. I. p. 234, v. 5; and *Gaurivaraśaśvara bhūdhara-śūnūbhava* above, Vol. VIII p. 210, l. 17. The lord (or lords) of Arbuda spoken of above probably belonged to the Paramāra family treated of in the Vasantgadhi inscription of Pūrapāla, above, p. 10.

(on defeated) Sádha, a general of the Málava king Bhôja (i.e. the Paramára Bhôjadéva), and the Turushka

(8) His son Bâlaprasâda (vv 18 and 19, omitted in B) He forced the king Bhîma (Bhimadéva I) to release from prison a king named Krishnadéva — This Krishnadéva most probably is the Paramára Krishnarâja (the son of Dhandhuka<sup>1</sup> and grandson of (?) Dévarâja), of whom we have two inscriptions at Bhumâl (Śrimalâ), dated in A D 1060 and 1067 (Nos 689 and 690 of my *Northern List*)

(9) His brother Jindurâja (vv 20 and 21, the Jêndrarâja of A and B) He fought victoriously at Sandêra (the modern Sandeiao in the Jôdhpur State, south-west of Nadol)

(10) His son Prithvipâla (vv 22 and 23, omitted in B) He defeated an army of the Gûrjara king Karna, i.e. Bhîmadéva's son and successor Karna Tradôkyamalla

(11) His brother Yôjaka (vv 24 and 25, the Jôjalla of A, omitted in B) He by force occupied Anahillapura (Anahilapâtaka)

(12) His brother Âsârâja (vv 26-30, in B described as the son of Jêndrarâja) He pleased Siddhâdhurâja, i.e. Karna's son and successor Jayasimha Siddharâja, by the assistance which he rendered to him in the country of Málava, but afterwards apparently was on hostile terms with him

With the account of Âsârâja ends that part of the inscription which is on the first stone. The part on the second stone (after a symbol for *ôm*) begins, as if it were an independent inscription, with a verse (v 31) praying for the blessing of Śambhu (Śiva), 'the crest of the Sugandhâdri,'<sup>2</sup> i.e. the mountain Sugandha, which clearly is the Sundhâ Hill where the inscription was found. The author then continues the genealogy by stating that Âsârâja's son was —

(13) Âhlâdana (vv 32 and 33, the Âlhanadéva of A and B). His assistance was sought by the Gûrjara king, and his army put down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surâshtra (*grava Saurâshtrê*). He built a Śiva temple at Naddûla — We have seen above that the two inscriptions A and B, which are of this chief's reign, are dated in A D 1161 and 1160. Before that time, he is mentioned (together with his son Kêlhana), apparently as a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumârapâla, in the Kerâdu fragmentary inscription of Kumârapâla's reign which is dated in A D 1153 (No 183 of my *Northern List*)

(14) His son Kêlhana (v 34) He defeated the southern king Bhîlma, and after destroying the Turushka erected a golden *tôrana*, 'like a diadem for the abode of the holy Sômêsa' — For the *Mahârâjâdîharâja* Kêlhana I have given above, p 68, note 1, a date in A D 1165. The southern king Bhîlma, whom he is said to have defeated, must have been the Dêvaguni-Yâdava Bhîlma, whose Gadag inscription is dated in A D 1191 (No 334 of my *Southern List*)

(15) His brother Kirtupâla (vv 35 and 36) He defeated a Krâtakûta chief named Âsala, and at Kâsahrada routed an army of the Turushka. As ruler of the kingdom of Naddûla he took up his residence at Jâvâlpura — Of the places here mentioned Krâtakûta is Kerâdu, according to *Bhâvnagar Inser* p 172,<sup>3</sup> 'a small village near Hâthamo under Bâjamera' (Bârmer) in the Jôdhpur State. Jâvâlpura, to which Kirtupâla transferred his residence, is the

<sup>1</sup> He apparently is the Paramára Dhandhu, who according to an inscription at Vimala's temple on Mount Âbâ which will be mentioned below, p. 81, transferred his allegiance from Bhîmadéva I to king Bhôja, the lord of Dhârâ (i.e. Bhôjadéva of Málava)

<sup>2</sup> I understand this epithet to mean that there was a temple of Śiva on the mountain Sugandha

<sup>3</sup> In line 5 of the inscription given there the name appears as *Krâtakûpa*. — According to the *Rajyoddha Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p 285, 'Kherâru' is about 20 miles west of Bârmer



town of Jálor in the same State. A place named Kásahrada has been identified by the late Prof Buhler<sup>1</sup> with Kásandra or Kásandhra, a village with about 400 inhabitants on the road from Dholká to Paltáná, in Long 72° 11', Lat 22° 19', but the Kásahrada of this inscription may be a different place nearer Nadol—According to verse 41 Kirtipála's daughter Rūḍaladēvi built two temples of Śiva at Jávālpura.

(16) His son Samarasimha (vv 37-40). He built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala (or 'gold hill') and founded the town of Samarapura—This town I am unable to identify. *Kanakāchala* according to Mr Ojha is the name of the fort<sup>2</sup> of Jálor which, he informs me, is locally known as 'Sonalgah,' and the *Sauvarna-giri* of Jávālpura I find actually mentioned in an inscription on Mount Ábú<sup>3</sup>. In an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1221, from which Mr Ojha has sent me a quotation, it is called *Kāñchana-gadhā*—Samarasimha clearly is the *Cháhu[mána\*]-rána[ka\*]-Samarasimha*, whose daughter Líládēvi was the (or a) queen of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva II<sup>4</sup>.

(17) His son Udayasimha (vv 42-46). According to the prose passage in lines 35 and 36 he ruled 'the glorious Naddúla, the glorious Jávālpura, Mándavyapura, Vāgbhataméru, Sūrāchanda, Rátahrada, Khéda, Rāmasanya, Śrīmála, Ratnapura, Satyapura, and other places'—With the exception of Mándavyapura and Rátahrada the places here enumerated are easily found on the map of the Rájputána Agency (in Marwar) under the names Nádol, Jálor, Barmer, Suráchand, Kher (between Tilwára and Balotra), Rámsen, Bhímmál, Ratanpura and Sánchor. Mándavyapura is Mandor, according to the *Rájputána Gasetteer* three miles from Jódhpur, Rátahrada I cannot identify—Udayasimha's queen was Prahládanadēvi, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chámundarája. Regarding his exploits, the inscription states in a general way that he curbed the pride of the Turushka, was not to be conquered by the Gúrjara kings, and put an end to the Sindhu king. He was a scholar conversant with the great works of Bhāṣa<sup>5</sup> and others, and built two Śiva temples at Jávālpura—Udayasimha clearly is identical with the *Mahārājādhráya* Udayasimhadēva of whose reign we have three inscriptions at Bhímmál (Nos 697-699 of my *Northern List*) dated in the [Vikrama] years 1262, 1274 and 1305, corresponding to about A D 1205, A D 1218, and about A D 1248, and also with the *Mahārājakula* Udayasimhadēva, for whom I have given a date, falling in A D 1249, in *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 175, No 115. He was succeeded by—

(18) his son<sup>6</sup> Chāchigadēva (vv 47-57). He in verse 50 is described as 'destroying the roaring Gúrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śalya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking (or leaping) Pátuka, depriving of his colour Sanga, and a thunderbolt to the mountain—the furious Nahara.' As will be seen from this translation, the words *śalya*,<sup>7</sup> *pátuka* and *sanga* of the original must in my opinion, like *virama* and *nahara*, be taken as proper names, but of the five persons enumerated I can identify only the first. Being described as 'Gúrjara lord,' Virama appears clearly to be the Vāghelá Viramadēva, the son of Viradhavala and elder brother of Vísaladēva, who is reported to have been the son-in-law of Udayasimha of Jávālpura,<sup>8</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> See his paper on the *Sukritasamkritana* of Arisimha, p 25. For another identification of Kásahrada see above, Vol VIII p 206, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of this fort which is about 800 yards in length by 400 in width, and crowns a rocky hill on an altitude of 1,200 feet above the surrounding plain, see the *Rájputána Gasetteer*, Vol II p 260.

<sup>3</sup> Line 33 of No 1722 of Mr Cousins' List.

<sup>4</sup> See the plates of Bhīmadēva II (of A.D. 1206) in *Ind Ant* Vol. VI, p 195, Plate u line 1.

<sup>5</sup> It is apparently the *Bhāratīya-nātyaśāstra*.

<sup>6</sup> Udayasimha's other son Chámundarája is not further mentioned in the inscription. He may be the Chámundarája whose name occurs under No 708 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>7</sup> *Śalya* probably is a proper name, denoting an enemy of Lavana-prasáda, also in *Ep Ind* Vol. I p 27, verse 19.—In our inscription the name may be *Sairufilya*, compare Prof Eggeling's *Catalogue*, p 1510.

<sup>8</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol VI p 190. Compare also the *Bombay Gasetteer*, Vol I. Part I p 208, where Jávālpura has been taken to be Jabalpur.

would therefore have been the own brother-in-law of Châchugadêva — The following verses treat of the same chief's works of piety. At Śrīmāla he remitted certain taxes, and at Rāmasamya he granted funds for the worship of (the god) Vighrahāditya, and placed a golden cupola (*kumbha*) and a flag-staff (*dhvaja*) on the temple of (the god) Aparājtésa to whom at the same time he gave a silver girdle (*mékhalā*). For the same temple he provided a hall (*śalā*) with a car (*raṭha*) richly decked with precious stones. Châchugadêva visited the Sugandhādri, worshipped there the goddess Chāmundā, known by the name Aghatésvarī, and at her temple established a *mandapa* which was consecrated by the Brāhmins on the *akshaya-tritīyā* of the month Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319.

I have already stated that the inscription thus for the reign of Châchugadêva yields a date in about A D 1262. Two other dates, of the [Vikrama] years 1333 and 1334, falling in about A D 1276 and 1277, are furnished for him by the two Bhummā inscriptions Nos 702 and 703 of my *Northern List*, where he is described as the *Mahārājakula* Châchuga or Châchugadêva.

I may add that Châchugadêva is mentioned, under the name Châcha, in line 8 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Rūpādēvi, published by me above, Vol. IV. p 312 ff. In my text of that inscription I have given the name as *Châcha*, and a renewed examination of the impressions enables me to affirm that either this is the actual reading, or that at any rate the name would be so read in the impressions by any one not acquainted with what we have learnt now from the Sundhā Hill inscription. Knowing what I do now, I have no doubt that the intended reading is *Châcha*. This Châcha is called a Châhūmāna in Rūpādēvi's inscription and described as the son of Udayasimha<sup>1</sup> and grandson of Samarasimha, which exactly fits our Châchugadêva. The inscription supplies the additional information that Châcha's wife was Lakshmidēvi, and that this lady bore to him Rūpādēvi, who became the wife of a king Tējasimha (to whom she bore a son named Kshētrasimha) and founded a well or tank in A D 1284, in the reign of the *Mahārājakula* Sāmyantasimhadēva<sup>2</sup>.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

##### First Stone

- 1 || Ōm<sup>4</sup> || <sup>5</sup>Śvêtāmbhōj-ātapatram kim=ū Gurūduhituh Svastatnyā gavākshah kim vā saukhy-āsanam vā mahamamukhamahāsiddhidēvi-ganasya | trailōkyānamdahētōh kim=uditam=anagham ślāghya-nakshatram=uchohah Śambhōr-bhālasthal-ēnduh sukritakrita-
- 2 nūth pātu vō rājya-lakshmin || 1 <sup>6</sup>Śāsya=ām-k-āvanir=anupamānamdasamdhā-mūlā chamchadvāsōmchaladalamayī bhūshana-praudhapushyā(śhpā) | sallāvanyōdaya-suphalinī Pārsvatīprēma-vallī lakshmin pushnāt= anu-dinam=stivyakta-bhartyā natānām || 2 <sup>7</sup>Vikatanukuta-mādyattēja-
- 3 sâ vyōmni daityān=iva bhuvī mammayā mēkhālyāh kvanēna | ananurajita-lilāhamakais-trāsayamī phanpatibhuvan-āntas=Chandikā vah śryē=stu || 3 <sup>8</sup>Śrīmad-Vatsamaharshi-harshanayanōbhūtāmva(bu)pūraprabha-pūrvvōrvvid h a r a -mauhmukhyaśtkharālamkāra-tgmadyūtih | prithvīm trātu-
- 4 m=apāsta-daityatmraḥ śrī-Chāhamānah purā virah kehīrasamudrasōdara-yasōrāśiprakāśō=bhavat || 4 <sup>10</sup>Ratn-āvalyām=iva nripa-tatan tat-kramē viratāyām

<sup>1</sup> The proper relation to Udayasimha of the Mānavasimha who is mentioned in my account of Rūpādēvi's inscription, above, Vol IV p 318, will be given below, under D.

<sup>2</sup> So the name is spelt in the inscription. The published texts of the inscriptions Nos 704, 706 and 707 (of A D 1282, 1286 and 1289) of my *Northern List* have *Sāmtantasimhadēva*.

<sup>3</sup> From a rubbing supplied to me by Mr Gaurishankar Hiraohand Ojha.

<sup>4</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Śragdharā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā.

<sup>7</sup> Metre Mālinī.

<sup>8</sup> Metre Śārdūlavakrīḍita.

<sup>9</sup> Originally *prabhā* was engraved, but the sign for *ā* has been struck out.

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 5 and 6 : Mandākrāntā.

- dharmasthānaprakarakarana-prātipunyōtsavāyām | śrī-Naddūl-ādhipatir-abhavaḥ =  
Lakshmanō nāma
- 5 rājā Lakshmiḥlāsadanasadrīśākāra- Śākambhar-īmdrah || 5 Ā pātālāt=samara-  
jaladhūm Mamdarō yasya khadgō mushta-vyājād=bhujagapatinā śrīmkhalēn=  
āvava(ba)ddhah | nirmmathy=ōchochah sapadi Kamalām lily=ōddhrittya(iya)  
mattas=chakrē nrittam ranita-katakah kēlikam-
- 6 pa-chohhalēna || 6 <sup>1</sup>Tasmad=Dhimādrībhavanātha-yaśōpahārī śrī-Śōbhītō-jam  
nripō-sya tanūdbhavō=tha | gāmbhīryadharyā-sadanam Va(ba)lūrājādēvō yō  
Munjarājā-va(ba)la-bhangam=achikarat=tam || 7 <sup>2</sup>Sāmrajy-āsākarēnum  
ripunripatigaja-stōmam=ākramya jahre yat-khadgō gam-
- 7 dhahastī samararasa-bharē Vimdhyaśālāyāmānē | muktśaktimdukānt-  
ōjvalaruchishu lasatkīrtā-Rēvātātēshu praudhānamōpachār-ōivanapulakatatā  
pushkarānām chohhalēna<sup>3</sup> || 8 <sup>4</sup>Tatpitriyajatay=ātha vām(bām)dhavah  
śrī-Mahimdur-ajamshta bhūpatih | yat-krpāna-
- 8 latikām-upēyushām chohhāyāś<sup>5</sup> virahitam mukham dvishām || 9 Jajūś<sup>6</sup>  
kāmtas=tad-anu cha bhūvas=tat-tanūjō-śvāpālah kālah krūrē dvishu su-  
charitē pūrnachandrāyāmānah | yah samlagnō na khalu tamasā n-aiva  
dōshākar-ātmā tējō-muktah kvachid=api na yah kancha mītr-ō-
- 9 dayēshu || 10 <sup>7</sup>Kēyūrāgramvishataratnamikara-prōdyatprabhādāmva(ba)ra-vyaktam  
sangararamga-mamdpatalē yam vairi-lakshmih śritā | virēshu prasritēshu  
tēshu rajasā nritēshu durllakshyatām lavdhō(bdhō)pāyava(ba)=āpi  
nirmala-gunair-vasāyā prasasy-ākrtih || 11 Pu-<sup>8</sup>
- 10 tras-tasy-Āhila iti nripas=tanmayūsha(kha)-chohhalēna srashtā yasya vyadhita  
yasāsām tējasām tōlanam nu | Gangātōlē śasī-tapanayōr=dambhataś=  
chāruohēlē madhyasthāyidhrvumisha-lasatkamtakē kautukēna || 12 <sup>9</sup>Gūrjarādhipati-  
Bhīma-bhūbhujah sanyā-pūram-a-
- 11 jayad-ranēshu yah [\*] Sambhuvāt-Tripura-sambhavam va(ba)lam vādavō=  
nala iv=āmvu(bu)dhēr=jalām || 13 <sup>10</sup>Sanyākrānt-ākhlavasumatimandalas=tat-  
pitriyayā śrīmān rāj=ābhavad=atha jī-ārātmallō=naḥillah | Bhīma-kshōnipati-  
gajaghatā yēna bhagnā ran-āgrē hridyārth-āmbhōm-
- 12 dhi-Raghu-krntē ch=ēha pamktā khalānām || 14 Ambhōjānī<sup>11</sup> mukhāny-ahō  
mrīgadrisām chamdr-ōdayānām mudō Lakshmir=yatra narōttamānusaranavyāpāra-  
pārangamā | yānāni prasabham sūbhāni śikhari-śrēn=īva guppyadguru-stōmō<sup>12</sup>  
yasya narēśvarasya tulānām sēn=ām-
- 13 vu(bu)rāśēr=dadhau || 15 Urvvirutī<sup>13</sup> vitapāvalāmva(ba)-sugrīhīharmyēshu datvā<sup>14</sup>  
drīśām dhyāt-ātyamtamanōharākrītmujprasādāvatāyanaḥ | bhōspōtām vanāntarēshu  
vitātāny-ālōkya hāhētū-vāk sasmār=ātapavānanāni śataśō yad-vairirājavraja-
- 14 h || 16 Drishtah kair=na Chaturbhujah sa samarē Śākambharim yō  
va(ba)lāj=jagrāh=ānu jaghāna Mālava-patēr-Bhōjasya Sādih-āhvayam |  
damd-ādhisām=apāra-sanyavibhavam tīvram Turushkam cha yah śāksād=  
Vishnur-asā[dha]nīya-yasasā śringāritā yēna bhūna || 17 Jajūś<sup>15</sup> bhūbhrit=tad-a-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatūlakā<sup>2</sup> Metre Sragdharā<sup>3</sup> Read *chhalēna*.<sup>4</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>5</sup> Read *chhāyayā*<sup>6</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā<sup>7</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīdita<sup>8</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā — I am unable to explain this verse See above, p 70<sup>9</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>10</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā<sup>11</sup> Metre of verses 15 17 Sārdūlavikrīdita<sup>12</sup> The exact meaning of the word *guppyadguru* is unknown to me, it occurs again in verses 26 and 27 See above, p 71<sup>13</sup> Read *urī:krūdvī*<sup>o</sup><sup>14</sup> Read *datvā*.<sup>15</sup> Metre Mandākrāntā

- 15 nu tanayas=tasya Vā(bā)laprasādō Bhima-kshmbābhric-charanayugalmarddana  
vyājatō yah | kurvan pidām-ativa(ba)latayā mēchayamāsa kārāgarāi  
bhūmipatm=apī tathā Krishnadēv-ābhūdhānam || 18 Śrīkaryō<sup>1</sup> jalada-bhramā-  
dadhur=ahō san̄yē=asya sē-
- 16 vārasāyātartu-pratimē samujvala-patā<sup>2</sup> vāsā marāla-śrīyam | kampam vāy-  
vasēna kētu-nivahā śa(sa)sy-ānukāram cha te<sup>3</sup> samgītān cha kōklāra-  
tulām chittē tu tāpam dvīshah || 19 <sup>4</sup>Śrīmāms=tasy=ājani narapat r-  
vām(bām)dhavō Jmdurājō yah Samdērē
- 17 śrka<sup>5</sup> iva tūram vau-vrindam vi(bi)bhēda | yasya jyōtib-prakaram=abhū-  
vidvīshah kausik-ābhā drashtum śaktā na hi guruguhā-madhyam-adhyāśrta-  
tat || 20 Gachohhamtīnam rpu-mrigadrīśām bhushanānam prapātē vāshp-  
śārair=ghanatata-tulām vi(bi)bhratīnām=aranyē | dūrvvā-
- 18 bhramtum marakatamani-erēnyō yat-prayānē tāmvrū(bū)liya-bhramam-iva chra-  
chakrūrē padmarāgāh || 21 Prithvim<sup>6</sup> pālayitum pavitramatmān yat  
karsukānām<sup>7</sup> karam murchan prāpa yasūsi kumda-dhavalāny=ānamdahrīdy-  
ānanah | Prithvipāla ita dhruvam kshiti-
- 19 patas=tasy=āngajam=ābhavat=pratyakshōrumdhū<sup>8</sup> sa Gūrjara-patēh Karnnasya  
san̄y-āpahah || 22 Yat-sēnā kula kāmadhēnu-sadpī kīrtum śra(śra)vamti  
payah svachchhamdam sacharācharē=pi bhuvanē śātrūms-trinikurvati |  
dharmaṃ vatsam=iva svakīyam=anagham vridhim nayamti
- 20 mudā kasy=ānamda-karī va(ba)bhūva na bhuvē=bhīshitam samātanvati || 23 <sup>9</sup>Śrī-  
Yōjakō bhūpatir=asya vam(bam)dhur-vivēkasaudha prava(ba)lapratāpah | svēt-  
ātpatrēpa virāmanāh śakty=Ānahillākhyapurē=pi rēmē || 24 Tyaktvā<sup>10</sup>
- 21 chalē dirghikām palyamā-śrāyanam karēnushu mudām sthānam samantād=apī |  
yasy=ārikahūtpāla-vā(bā)lalalanāh śailē vanē nrjharē sthūlagrāva-śrassu samsmrtum=  
aguh pūrvōpabhukta-śrīyam || 25 <sup>11</sup>Śrī-Āśārāja-nāmā samajani vasudhā-nāyaka=ta-
- 22 sya vam(bam)dhuh sākhyam Mālavānām bhūvi yadasi-krtam vikshya  
Siddhādhirājah | tusthō dhattē sma kumbham kanakamayam=ahō yasya  
guppyādguru-stham tam hartum n=ava śaktah kalushita-hrdiyah śēsbabhūpāla-  
vāgbhīh || 26 <sup>12</sup>Udayagirisrah-stham kim sahasrāmśu-vimvam<sup>13</sup>
- 23 vitata-visadakīrtitēr-mūrdhni kim nu pratāpah | uparī subhagatāyā udgatā  
mamjari kim kanaka-kalāśa ābhād=yasya guppyādguru-sthah || 27 Kanakaruchi-  
śarīrah śailāśr-ābhīrāmaḥ phanipati-mahanīyasy=āvatārah sa Vishnōh |  
śa(sa)hlamādhī-su-
- 24 tāyā mamdirē skandha-dēśē dadhad=avanum-udārām=agumāḥ punya-mūrtih || 25  
<sup>14</sup>Sattāgrāga-tadāga-kānana Haraprasāda-vāpī-prapā-kūp-adim vimrmamē dvīyajān-  
ānamdī kshamā-mamdalē | dharmmsthāna-śātāni yah kila vu(bu)dba-śrēvīshu

<sup>1</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīṭita. — Originally *śrīkaryō* was engraved, but this has clearly been altered to *śrīkaryō*.  
The word occurs again in verse 59. See above, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Read *samujvala*.

<sup>3</sup> Here a sign of punctuation was engraved, but has been struck out.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 20 and 21. Mandakrāntā.

<sup>5</sup> The sign of *avagraha* is engraved at the end of the preceding line.

<sup>6</sup> Metre of verses 22 and 23. Sārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>7</sup> Read *karsukānām* (for the ordinary *karsukānām*).

<sup>8</sup> This word is quite clear in the rubbing, but I am not sure that it is correct. Perhaps the intended reading  
may be *pratyakshō=mbumidāśa*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Upajāti. <sup>10</sup> Metre Sārdūlavikrīṭita.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Sragdhārā.

<sup>12</sup> Metre of verses 27 and 28. Māhīnī.

<sup>13</sup> Read *sahasrāmśu=vimvam*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre of verses 29 and 30. Sārdūlavikrīṭita.

- 25 kalpadrumah kas-tasy=ēmdutushārasāla-dhavalam stōtum yasāh kōvīdāh || 29  
Svôtāny=ēva yasāmsi tungaturaga-stōmah śi(s)taḥ subhrvām ohamchanmauktika-  
bhūshānāni dhavalāny=uchchah samagrāny=apī | prēmālāpa-bhavam smitam  
cha visadam śubhrā-
- 26 ni vāstraukasām vīmdān=īti nripasya yasya pritanā Kailāsa-lakshmīm śrītā || 30  
Prāsastur=iyam Vī(bri)hadgachchhīya-śrī-Jayamamgālāchārya-kṛtīh || Bhushag-  
Vijayapāla-putra-Nāmvasamhēna likhūtā | Sūtra-Jisapāla-putra-Jisaravina<sup>3</sup> utkiṇṇā ||

## Second Stone

- 27 || Ōm<sup>5</sup> || 'Jatā-mūlē Gamgāprava(ba)lalaharipūrakuhānā-samunmilachchhatraprakara<sup>5</sup>  
iva namīeshu nripātāni | pradātum śrī-Sāmbhūh sakalabhuvan-ādhiśvaratayā  
tayā vā dēyād=vah śubham=iha Sugamdhādri-mukutah || 31 <sup>6</sup>Āśārāja-kshatipa-  
tanayah śrī-
- 28 ma-d-Āhlādan-āhvō jajñē bhūbhūd=bhuvana viditās=Chāhamānasya vamsē | śrī-  
Naddūlē Śivabhavana-kṛd-dharmamasarvasa-vētītā yat-sāhīyām pratpadam=ahō  
Gūrjarēśas=chakāmksha || 32 <sup>7</sup>Chamchatkētakahampaka-pravilasattālitamālguru-  
sphūrjyachchamda-
- 29 nanāhikérakadalīdrākshāmra kamrē girau | Saurāshtrē kutlōgrakamtakabud-  
ātyuddāmakirttēs=tadā yasy=ābhūd=abhumāna-bhāsuratayā sēnācharānām ravah || 33  
<sup>8</sup>Śrīmāms=tasy=āmgaja iha nripah Kēlhanō dakshināsādhiś-ōdamchad-Bhūli-
- 30 ma-nripatēr-mānahrit-samyasmdhuh | nrbhūdy=ōchchah prava(ba)la-kalitam yas=  
Turushkam vyadhata śrīSōmēśāpadamukutavat=tōranam kāmchanasya || 34  
<sup>9</sup>Bhrāt=asya prava(ba)lapratāpa-nīlayah śrī-Kirttipālō=bhavad=bhū-nāthah  
pratpakshapārthivachamūdvā-āmvu(bu)vāh-ō-
- 31 pamah | yat-khadgāmvu(bu)mdhau hat-ānikarīnām kumbhasthalbhīyah ksharan=  
muktānām nikarō marāla-lahitam dhattē sma dhār-śśrayah || 35 Yō  
durdhānta-Kīrātākūta-nripatum bhūtvā śaraur=Āsalam tasmin=Kāśhradē<sup>10</sup>  
Turushka-nikaram jtvā rana-prāmganē | śrī-Jāvāli-
- 32 purē sthūtam vyarachayan=Naddūlarājy-ēśvaraś=chumtāratna-nibhah samagra-  
vidushām mhsīmasamy-ādhipah || 36 <sup>11</sup>Śrī-Samarasimhadēvas=tat-tanayah  
kshōnumandal-ādhipatīh | Imdra iva vīva(bu)dhahriday-ānamdī purushōtamō  
Harivat || 37 Prākārah<sup>12</sup> Kanakā-
- 33 chālē vīrachitō yēn=ēha puny-ātmanā nānāyamtramānōjya-kōshāta(shtha)kātatr=  
vidyādharīśirshavān [ | \* ] kim Śēshah phanavīmdamēdura-tanur=vakshahsthalē  
vā bhuvō hārah kim bhramana-śramād=udu-gauah kim v=aisha bhjē  
sthūtam || 38 <sup>13</sup>Kamala-vanam=iv=ēdam vaprasīrshālī-dam-
- 34 bhām=nikhilavipuladēśāśrī-samākarsanāyā | likhūtavīsādavīmdusrēnīvam=mettavauri-  
kshatipativīphalājīstōma-samkhyāmmittam || 39 Tōlayāmāsā<sup>14</sup> yah avarnar-ātmanam  
sōma-parvanī | ārāma-ramyam Samarapuram yah kṛtavān=atīha || 40
- 35 <sup>15</sup>Śrī-Kirttipālābhūpati-putrī Jāvālipuravarē chakrē | śrī-Būdāladēvī Śivamamdira-  
yugalam pavitra-matah || 41 Śrī-Samarasimhadēvasya namdanah prava(ba)-

<sup>1</sup> I e *sātrādhra*, compare the same abbreviation e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 243, l 27, and above, Vol  
II p 304, l 5

<sup>2</sup> Read 'n=ōl'

<sup>3</sup> Read 'chchhatraprakara

<sup>4</sup> Metre Mandākṛntā

<sup>5</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>6</sup> Metre Mandākṛntā

<sup>7</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛdita

<sup>8</sup> Metre Sikharinī

<sup>9</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛdita

<sup>10</sup> Metre of verses 35 and 36

<sup>11</sup> Śārdūlavikṛdita

<sup>12</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>13</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikṛdita.

<sup>14</sup> Metre Mālīnī

<sup>15</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anuśtubh).

<sup>16</sup> Metre of verses 41 and 42 Āryā (*pathyā* and *dā-vspūd*)

Then there came **Lakshmana**, who by his irresistible valour acquired part of the earth. In the mutilated verse 12, which together with verse 11 treats of this chief, the word *Naddūla* is distinctly legible, as well as *Śākambharī*, and it is certain that Lakshmana is described in the verse as king of Naddūla, and highly probable that he is spoken of as Śākambharī-mānkyā, 'the jewel of Śākambharī'.<sup>1</sup> After him, verse 13 mentions 'his son' Balirāja,<sup>2</sup> and Balirāja's 'son,' whose name I read as Sōhi,<sup>3</sup> regarding this to be another form of the name Sōhiya (Sōbhita, Śōbhita) of the preceding inscriptions. According to the latter, Sōhiya was Lakshmana's son, and his son again was Balirāja, the author of the present inscription has erroneously transposed the two names. Verses 14-18 then enumerate Mahindu,<sup>4</sup> Jindurāja,<sup>5</sup> Āsarāja, Āhana, Kirtipāla and Samarasimba. From what we know already from the other inscriptions, this is the line, from father to son, of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla from Mahindu to Samarasimba, except that, between Mahindu and Jindurāja, Anahilla, the son of the former and father of the latter, has been omitted — So far our inscription tells us nothing of importance that is new.

Samarasimba, according to verse 19, had two sons, of whom the one called Udayasimba, who also is already known to us from the inscription C, succeeded him in the government. Udayasimba's elder brother<sup>6</sup> was Mānavasimba (v 20), his son was Pratāpa (v 21), and his son Vijaya, also named Daśasyandana<sup>7</sup> (v 22). This chief married Nāmalladēvi (v 23), who bore to him four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Luntga,<sup>8</sup> Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman (v 24), of whom the eldest became the ruling chief. When Lāvanyakarna died, he was succeeded by the next brother, whose name in verse 26 is clearly Luntigadēva, in verse 28 Luntiga, in verse 30 Luntigāgara, and in the prose passage in line 29 Lūntāgara. Luntiga conquered and ruled 'all countries,' particularly Chandrāvati and the divine territory of Arbuda (*Arbuda-davya-dāsam*, v 27). On the mountain Arbuda he set up images of himself and his queen, and carried out repairs at the temple of Aohalēvara. As a grant to the temple, he moreover gave the village of Hēthunūjī<sup>9</sup> (v 33) for the perpetual worship of the god.

From the prose passage which follows, and which is more or less illegible, we learn that in the year 1377, on Monday, the 8th of the bright half of Vasākhā, in the Kshaya-samvatsara, Luntiga, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūntāgara, resided at [Vū?]hunda which belonged to Chandrāvati.<sup>10</sup> This date regularly corresponds, for the expuned *Kārttikāda*

<sup>1</sup> The Translation, after Lakshmana, mentions "the hero, named Mānkyā, whose distinguished capital was Śākambharī," but this is erroneous.

<sup>2</sup> The Translation has Adhirāja instead.

<sup>3</sup> The second half of the verse, part of which is very indistinct, in my opinion is *Sōhi samyāsa [=ta] [c] camat sōhit bhāmasu hi tat-suta [A]* — The name *Sōhi* occurs above, Vol VIII p 220, l 13.

<sup>4</sup> The original actually has *Mahindu*.

<sup>5</sup> The Translation has Sindhurāja, Kulavarddhana, Prabharūsa Rājā (derived from the actual reading *prabhuru-āsarāja*), Dandana (for Āhana), Kirtipāla and Samarasimba.

<sup>6</sup> According to the Translation Mānavasimba was Udayasimba's son; but this is a mistake. The original text, after mentioning Udayasimba, clearly has *yō va parō dāna-gunasar-garishthas-tasyādyarājō Mānavasimbha-nāmad*.

<sup>7</sup> In Daśaratha. The original text of verse 22 is *Tasya-dimayō Spō[r]vagan dāhivāso [c]st[st]dā-Dasasyam-dana-nāma[āhā(āhē)]?ya[n] [i\*] va(ba)sā(bhā)ra vjān tu Vjādō yō(yā?)shatvārī rājyāya Harth prasādāt* | (1) I shall show below that the chief here spoken of undoubtedly was named *Vjāda*. The name *Daśasyandana* (Daśaratha) may have been given to him because, like Rāma's father Daśaratha, he, according to the account here given, had four sons — Compare above, Vol VIII, p 215, v 18.

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the first syllable of this name is not absolutely certain here.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol VIII p 222, line 28, and in an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription (No 1794 of Mr Consens's List) the name is spelt *Hēthūbhūjī*.

<sup>10</sup> The text has, *samvat 1377 varshē Vas[?]ākha-sud: 8 Sōmē Kshaya-samvatsarē Sdy-ētha Chamdrāvatt-pratosa(ba)dāha [Vū?]hunda-samācāritā mahārājakula ērt Lūntigāra Chamdrāvatt-prabhūrī-dāśasyam-tatthā*.

Vikrama year 1377, to Monday, the 6th April A.D. 1321, when the 8th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha ended 17 h 13 m after mean sunrise, the day did fall in the Jovian year Kshaya, which according to the northern mean-sign system lasted from the 30th May A.D. 1320 to the 26th May A.D. 1321

Of the localities mentioned, in addition to the well-known Arbuda or Mount Ābū, Chandrāvati according to the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. p. 126, is a large place (now in ruins) on the Banās river near the south-east border of the Sirohi State. There can be no doubt that it was taken by Luntga from the Paramāras<sup>1</sup> Hēthuñjī is the small village of 'Hetamp' on Mount Ābū<sup>2</sup> Vūhuncha— if this is really the name— I am unable to identify

On Mount Ābū there are at least two other inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> of no great extent and partly illegible, of the reign of Luntgādēva, described as the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūndha(?) One is dated on Wednesday, the 8th of the dark half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1372, corresponding, so far as I can see, to Wednesday, the 17th March A.D. 1316, the other on some specified day, which I cannot make out with certainty, in the [Vikrama] year 1373 And there is a third, partly effaced inscription,<sup>4</sup> which also mentions the *Mahārājakula*, the glorious Lūndhāka or Lūnhāka, and speaks of the glorious Nāmalādēvi, who clearly is the Nāmallādēvi of the present inscription, the mother of Luntgādēva. I am not at present prepared to give a fuller account of these three inscriptions.

But I may add here that another account of some of the later Chāhamānas is found in an inscription<sup>5</sup> which is on a stone at a temple—the *Vimala-vasāhikā*, ordinarily but wrongly called Vimala Sāh's or Shāh's temple—which was founded on Mount Ābū, according to the inscription itself in the Vikrama year 1088,<sup>6</sup> by a certain Vimala, 'an ornament of the Prāg-vāta race,' after he had been appointed *dandapati* at Arbuda by the (Chaulukya) king Bhimādēva (I.). This inscription in lines 9-15 (verses 14-22) gives the following '*rājvālī*':—

There was a hero, Āsarāja<sup>8</sup> by name, a moon to the lotus-flower—the Chāhuvāma<sup>9</sup> family, who was king of the town of Nadūla<sup>10</sup> (v. 14). Then there came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratāpamalla; and of him was born Vijāda, who ruled the Marusthāl-mandala (v. 16) He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūnga (v. 17) After him the text mentions Lūndha (v. 18) and Lumbha (v. 19), without distinctly saying that they were his younger brothers It then records the conquest of Arbuda (v. 20), says further that Lūnga's son was Tējasimha (v. 21), and after him eulogizes Tihunāka, to whom it wishes long life (v. 22)

The mutilated verse 23 appears to say that the glorious Lumbhaka, together with Tējasimha and Tihupa, in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda;

<sup>1</sup> See my *Northern List*, Nos 198, 209 and 210 (now above, Vol. VIII. p. 201).

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII. p. 207, and the *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, Vol. III. pp. 187 and 144.

<sup>3</sup> Nos 1907 and 1909 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>4</sup> No 1908 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> No 1790 of Mr. Cousens' List I hope soon to give the text of this inscription, which is ready for publication

<sup>6</sup> *Vimala sūtra* seems to occur first in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI. p. 311, note. It owes its origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasāhikā*, 'Vimala's temple,' which we find e.g. in line 8 of No 1774 of Mr. Cousens' List — I may add that in line 10 of the same inscription we have the similar term *Tējapāla-vasāhikā*, 'Tējapāla's temple'

<sup>7</sup> The date is given in verse 11: *Śrī-Vikramāditya-nripād-uyatīś Śahāsi-yatī taradāh sahaś(ś)arē* | *Śrī Ādinītham śikhar-ārbudasya nreśi(ś)tam śrī-Vimalāna vāśāś* ||

<sup>8</sup> I give all names here exactly as they are written in the original.

<sup>9</sup> This may be a mis-take for *Chāhuvāna* or *Chāhuvāna*.

<sup>10</sup> This is the actual spelling of the name, and is required by the metre. The same may be said of the name *Tējasimha*, which occurs below.

and the rest of the inscription treats of a private family, two members of which made repairs of the temple. The date given in verse 41 is Monday, the 9th of the dark half of Jyēshtha of the [Vikrama] year 1378. It corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A.D. 1322.

As regards the genealogy given in this inscription, it is curious, but of no historical importance, that it commences with Āsarāja<sup>1</sup> (Āsarāja, Āśārāja), who was neither the founder of the family nor the father of Samarasinha who is here mentioned immediately after him. Instead of the name Mānavasinha of Luntigadēva's inscription this account has Mahapasinha which must be regarded as another name of the same person, and while according to the former Vjāda had four sons, according to this genealogy he had only three—Lūṅga, Luṅḍha and Lumbha. Of these, Lūṅga undoubtedly is identical with the Lāvayakarpa of the other inscription,<sup>2</sup> and Luṅḍha with Luntaga (Lundha), while Lumbha (Lumbhaka) most probably is another name of Lūṅgavarman. What is new to us and of some importance, is, that by the account here given Tējasinha, who is known to us from other inscriptions, was a son of Lūṅga. According to No. 261 of my *Northern List* Tējasinha<sup>3</sup> was ruling in the [Vikrama] year 1387, corresponding to A.D. 1331, and there is an unpublished Mount Ābū inscription<sup>4</sup> of his of the [Vikrama] year 1393, corresponding to A.D. 1336. What was the exact relation of Tihunāka (Tihūpa) to Tējasinha, does not appear from the Vimala temple inscription; but the matter very probably is cleared up by a statement in an inscription (No. 265 of my *Northern List*)<sup>5</sup> of Tējasinha's son Kānhadadēva, who was reigning at Chandrāvati in the Vikrama year 1394, corresponding to A.D. 1338. That inscription in lines 11-14 records four separate grants of villages by the *Chāhūmānājā* (Tējasinha), the *dēvājā śrī-Tihunāka*, the *rāja-srī-Kānhadadēva*, and the *Chāhūmānājā* (Tējasinha's son) *rāja-srī-Sāmatasinha*. Here Tihunāka is placed between Tējasinha and his son Kānhadadēva, who both are distinguished from him by their title of *rājan*. Thus and the order in which Tihunāka is mentioned in the Vimala temple inscription render it probable that he was Tējasinha's younger brother. And this may possibly be the meaning of the word *dēvājā* prefixed to his name, a word which seems to be etymologically connected with the Sanskrit *dēvī*, *dēvara*, used in the specific sense of 'a husband's younger brother.'

In the Table on page 83 I have placed all the chiefs mentioned in the above in their genealogical order, and have given the dates known from inscriptions either for themselves or for the kings and chiefs with whom they are said to have come in contact. The Table will show that Lakshmana, the founder of the family, must be placed in about A.D. 925-950, and that therefore he very probably was a son of that Vākpatūjya of Śākambhād, who was the grandfather of the Vīrahārāja of the Harsha inscription who lived in A.D. 973. My genealogical Table of the family is not quite complete. I do not know yet how to place exactly the *Mahārājakula Sāmyatasinha* or *Sāmyantasinha*, who is mentioned in Nos. 704-707 of my *Northern List* with dates from about A.D. 1282 to A.D. 1289, and— if this should be a different chief—the *Rājā Sāmatasinha*, mentioned in Kānhadadēva's inscription of A.D. 1338.

<sup>1</sup> If it were not for the other inscriptions, this name might of course be taken to stand for *Asarāja*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Lūṅgadēva for Lāvayakarpa in No. 246 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>3</sup> Is the original of No. 261 (No. 1346 of Mr. Cousens' List) the name is spelt *Tējasinha*.

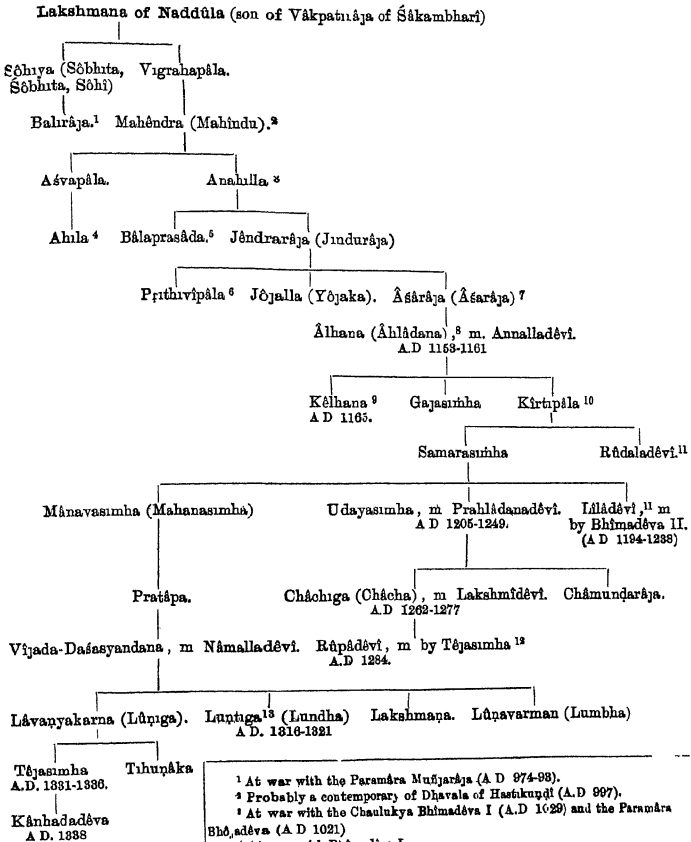
<sup>4</sup> No. 1047 of Mr. Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> No. 1919 of Mr. Cousens' List. The inscription has been roughly edited in *Ind. Ant. Vol. II*, p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> In No. 1958 of Mr. Cousens' List a *Dēvājā-sinhā* is mentioned. According to *Ind. Ant. Vol. IV*, p. 146, 'the Bhoji chieftains, . . . though Chohāns, are universally known by the name of their estates, the Dorrā.'

<sup>7</sup> The foundation of the separate kingdom of Naddāla was perhaps connected with the disturbances which preceded Vīrahārāja's reign.





<sup>1</sup> At war with the Paramāra Muñjarāja (A.D. 974-98).

<sup>2</sup> Probably a contemporary of Dhavala of Hastinapur (A.D. 997).

<sup>3</sup> At war with the Chalukya Bhīmadēva I (A.D. 1029) and the Paramāra Bhīmadēva (A.D. 1021)

<sup>4</sup> At war with Bhīmadēva I

<sup>5</sup> Probably a contemporary of the Paramāra Kṛṣṇadēva (A.D. 1060-67)

<sup>6</sup> At war with the Chalukya Karka (A.D. 1091).

<sup>7</sup> Contemporary of the Chalukya Siddharāja (A.D. 1138, 1139)

<sup>8</sup> Contemporary of the Chalukya Kumārāpāla (A.D. 1145-69).

<sup>9</sup> At war with the Dévagiri-Yādava Bhīllama (A.D. 1191)

<sup>10</sup> Transferred the seat of government to Jāvālipura

<sup>11</sup> It is impossible to say whether these were younger daughters

<sup>12</sup> This Tējasimha had a son named Kālīétrasimha

<sup>13</sup> Took Chandravati with Mount Ābū from the Paramāras.

No 10.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION  
OF VARAGUNA-PANDYA

By V VENKAYTA, M A, RAI BAHADUR

Ambásamudram is situated on the northern bank of the Tâmrappari river and is the headquarters of the talúka of the same name in the Tinnevely district. The town has a long reputation for the manufacture of cloths largely in demand on the western coast. On the southern bank of the river is the big and flourishing village of Kallidaikkunchi, which gives its name to the cloths manufactured at the sister town on the other bank, because the trade there is carried on mostly by the Bráhmans of the former place, who temporarily visit Malabar and are frequently met with on the west coast.

The site of Ambásamudram seems to have been altered in comparatively recent times. A greater portion of the town is now situated at some distance from the river, while the more important temple, now called Erichcha-Udayár, is quite close to it, and is separated from the town by a pretty large extent of rice fields. The heavy floods in the Tâmrappari at certain seasons of the year might be one of the causes which led to the removal of the town to a more distant locality. Besides, in ancient times, Ambásamudram seems to have been a big place including some of the adjacent villages such as Tiruválisvaram<sup>1</sup> and Mannárkôyil.<sup>2</sup> In an inscription of [Jatávarman Sundara-]Chôla-Pândya<sup>3</sup> the temple of Erichcha-Udayár is said to be situated in the southern hamlet of Râjarâja-chaturvêdamangalam. During the period of Pândya supremacy the town was called Ilangôkkudi or Ilangôykkudi,<sup>4</sup> which was altered into Râjarâja-chaturvêdamangalam after the Chôla conquest.<sup>5</sup> The latter name has probably to be traced to the Chôla king Râjarâja I, after whom the Pândya country was itself called Râjarâja-mangalam.<sup>6</sup>

During the field season of 1904-05 I copied eight inscriptions in the temple of Erichcha Udayár, of which two belong to the early Pândyas,<sup>7</sup> two to the Chôlas,<sup>8</sup> one to the Chôla Pândyas<sup>9</sup> and two to the later Pândyas,<sup>10</sup> while the eighth does not mention any king.<sup>11</sup> One of the early Pândya records<sup>12</sup> seems to belong to the reign of Vira-Pândya, 'who took the head of the Chôla'. The Chôla king with whom he fought must be Âditya (II.) Karikâla,<sup>13</sup> who, according to the large Leiden plates, fought in his youth against Vira Pândya.<sup>14</sup> The newly discovered Tiruvâlangâdu plates of Râjendra-Chôla I, do not mention the name of the Pândya king against whom Âditya II. fought, but report that the latter "killed the Pândya king in battle and set up his lofty head as a pillar of victory in his city."<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, Vira-Pândya reigned in the

<sup>1</sup> The temple at Tiruválisvaram is said to have been situated in Râjarâja chaturvêdamangalam, which was the name of Ambásamudram in Chôla times; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1904-5, p. 43, Nos 115 and 119 of 1906.

<sup>2</sup> The Vishnu temple at this village, called Râjendra Chôla-vinnagar in ancient times, was also situated in Râjarâja-chaturvêdamangalam, No 112 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>3</sup> No. 102 of the same collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 104 of the same, and lines 2, 6 f. and 10 f. of the subjoined inscription.

<sup>5</sup> The name occurs already in an inscription of the 11th year of Râjarâja I, No 119 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>6</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 146.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 101 and 105 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>8</sup> Nos. 98 and 99 of the same collection.

<sup>9</sup> No. 102 of the same.

<sup>10</sup> No. 104 of the same.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 100 and 108 of the same.

<sup>12</sup> No. 101 of the same.

<sup>13</sup> He was the elder brother of Râjarâja I (A D 985 to at least 1018).

<sup>14</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. I, p. 112.

<sup>15</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905 6, Part I, paragraph 8.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* Part II, paragraph 16.

period prior to the conquest and occupation of the Pāndya country by the Chōlas at the end of the 10th century A D

The subjoined inscription is engraved on a slab built into the floor of the first circuit in the Erōchcha-Udayār temple, which is comparatively dark The record was found and copied with the help of a lamp At my request the Collector of Tinnevely has removed the slab to the Government Central Museum at Madras The plate issued with this paper is based on fresh impressions prepared by my Assistant Mr K. V Subrahmanya Aiyar, B A, after the removal of the stone to Madras<sup>1</sup>—The alphabet of the document is Vatteluttu and the language Tamīl prose intermixed with a few Sanskrit words in the Grantha alphabet The preservation is good, though a few syllables are mutilated at the end of lines 3 to 13 and 81 The slab was ruled before the writing, which is crowded into three sides of it, was engraved The number of Sanskrit words written in Grantha is comparatively few, *viz* *svasti* (1 1), *śrī* (ll 1 and 3), *anugraha* (1 1), *bhaṭṭāra* (ll 1, 3 and 10), *maharaja* (1 5), *mahārāja* (ll 12 and 81) and *ājyavasha* (1 12)

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve to be noted The horizontal stroke of *ka* is very often small and indistinct But the letter has not yet assumed the slanting form found in the Tirunelli<sup>2</sup> and Cochin plates<sup>3</sup> of Bhāskara-Ravivarman The variant of the letter *ya* noticed by Prof Hultzsch in the Kōttayam plates of Sthānu-Ravi and in certain Chōla inscriptions<sup>4</sup> does not occur here Two slightly different forms of *i* are used, of which one (the first *t* of *śelutiu* in ll 5 and 14) resembles, to a certain extent, the form in an ancient Vatteluttu record from Tirunādarkunru in the South Arcot district<sup>5</sup> The vowel *ai* occurs thrice in the inscription (ll 9, 22 and 75) As in other Tamīl inscriptions, hardly any distinction is made between the short *i* and the long *ī* when they occur in combination with consonants Double *kk* is occasionally written as a group, *e g* in *mahārājarkku* and *nāyāvaduḱku* in line 12, *poḷudavḱku* in line 15, *kumvāyattavḱku* in line 16, *ḱakku* and *ḱkaruvāḱar* in line 18 The *v*-symbol is added in some cases over the top of the consonant to which it belongs, instead of by the side as in later Vatteluttu epigraphs, see *e g* *vi* of *virrvundu* (1 6), *vi* of *poli* (1 9), *ḱi* of *kuḱi* (1 11), *mi* of *vamvūdu* (1 14), and *ḱi* of *nā=ndūi* (1 16) The syllable *pō* is written as in the Madras Museum plates of Jatilavarman<sup>6</sup> without the addition of the *ā*-symbol (on the right) found in the Chōla Vatteluttu inscriptions<sup>7</sup> published by Prof Hultzsch The Tirunelli plates<sup>8</sup> distinguish by a similar addition the long *pō* from the short *po*, and only a single instance of the former occurs in the Cochin Jews' grant<sup>9</sup> Thus the distinction between *po* and *pō* appears to be a later innovation, and evidently belongs to a period subsequent to the Jatilavarman plates and to the subjoined inscription If this conclusion be correct, the Cochin and the Tirunelli plates of Bhāskara-Ravivarman must be later than Varaguna-Pāndya And as Prof Hultzsch has remarked that the alphabet employed in both of them agrees with that of the Chōla inscriptions from South Travancore published by him,<sup>10</sup> Bhāskara-Ravivarman may have to be assigned to the 10th or 11th century A D

The language of the subjoined record calls for a few remarks The vulgar form *mahārāja* occurs twice instead of the Sanskrit *mahārāja* (ll 12 and 81), while *maharaja* in line 5 is

<sup>1</sup> The stone has evidently been slightly damaged in transit According to portions of the last letters in ll 4 to 9, which are missing on the Plate, are found on my original impression prepared at Ambāsamudram in 1905 before the stone was removed to Madras.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX Plate facing p 290

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III Plate facing p 72

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol V p 42

<sup>5</sup> No 289 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 and *Annual Report* for 1908 4, paragraph 30

<sup>6</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXII, Plates facing p 70, ll 32 and 43

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol V Plate facing p 46, E, line 1; and H, ll 5, 8 and 9

<sup>8</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XX Plate facing p 290, compare *poḷ* in ll 13, 19 and 84 with *pōm* in 1 31

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol III Plate facing p 72, compare *pōlāḱ* in line 27 with *pōm* of the preceding note.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol V p 42

evidently a mistake *Amidu* (l. 14) and *amirdu*<sup>1</sup> (l. 19 f), both of which correspond to the modern Tamil *amudu*, are *tadbhavas* of the Sanskrit *amṛita*. The word *poli* (l. 9) is used both here and in the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya<sup>2</sup> instead of the more common *polisai*, which occurs in the Tanjore inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and survives in the Malayālam *palisa*.<sup>4</sup> The word *nāru* (ll. 27 and 69) is still current in Malayālam, while its modern Tamil equivalent is *nīru*. The root from which they are both derived is *nāru*, which has acquired a figurative sense in Tamil,<sup>5</sup> while the original meaning seems to be preserved in Telugu.<sup>6</sup> The measure known as *seṭṭu* occurs four times in the form *seṭṭu* (ll. 25, 27, 54 and 70). The word *niyādi* is used in line 27 as well as in line 13 apparently in the same sense as *niśādi*, of which *niyādi* (l. 77) is a variant. *Vēna* in line 75 is a vulgar form of the word *vēndiya*. The form *kuni*, which occurs twice (ll. 58 and 73), is perhaps a simple mistake for *kuruni*.

The subjoined inscription belongs to the time of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, whose name occurs thrice (ll. 5, 11 f and 81), and is dated in the 12th opposite to the fourth year of his reign. From his camp at *Araśār* on the bank of the Pennar river in *Tondai-nādu*, the king granted 290 *kāṣu* to the temple of *Tiruppōttudaiyār*<sup>7</sup> (the ancient name of *Eriḥoha-Udayār*) at *Iṅgōkkuṭu* in *Muḷli-nādu*.<sup>8</sup> The assembly of the village received the money. The committee of the assembly<sup>9</sup> and the temple servants had jointly to provide for offerings to the god, according to a fixed scale, out of the interest from those 290 *kāṣu*.

The inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya in the Upper Cave at Trichinopoly is dated on the 2501st day (and) in the 4th year or the 11th year of his reign.<sup>10</sup> No reasonable doubt can at present be entertained as regards the identity of this king with the donor of the subjoined record. On the occasion of making the former donation Varaguṇa was at *Niyamam* in the Tanjore district, after having destroyed the fortifications of a town named *Vēmbi*. At *Rāmanāthapuram* near *Dindigul* in the Madras district is a Tamil inscription which refers to the expedition (*yāttirai*) of *Māraṇḍajaiyaṅ* against *Iḍavai* in the *Chōḷa* country.<sup>11</sup> The Trichinopoly epigraph implies that *Māraṇḍajaiyaṅ*<sup>12</sup> was a surname of Varaguṇa,<sup>13</sup> and this inference is borne out by a

<sup>1</sup> *Amirdu* occurs also in the Tanjore inscriptions; see e.g. *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 3. *Amurdu* is another form of the same word; see above, Vol. VII, p. 184, text line 8.

<sup>2</sup> See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-4, p. 275, text line 16.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. *South-Ind Inscr.* Vol. II, p. 69, text line 8. The form *palisai* also occurs in epigraphical records, see *ibid.* p. 123, text line 27.

<sup>4</sup> According to Dr. Gundert *palisa* means 'interest on money'.

<sup>5</sup> According to Wmslow *nāru* means 'to destroy, to kill.'

<sup>6</sup> According to Brown's *Telugu Dictionary*, *nāru* means 'to grind or sharpen' and 'to reduce to powder.'

<sup>7</sup> This name means 'the blessed lord of the bull,' i.e. *Śiva*.

<sup>8</sup> According to an inscription of the *Chōḷa* king *Rājendra-Chōḷa I* (above, Vol. V, p. 47) *Shērmādevi* in the *Tinnevely* district was included in *Muḷli-nādu*. *Muḷli-nādu* belonged to the *Tiruvāṇṭy*, i.e. *Travancore*, in the 17th century A.D. (*ibid.* Vol. III, p. 240).

<sup>9</sup> The expression *śaśai-vāryaṅ* seems to imply that the system of village administration prevalent in the *Chōḷa* country in the 10th century A.D. was also in operation in the *Pāṇḍya* kingdom in the 9th century A.D.; see the *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, paragraphs 58 to 78.

<sup>10</sup> See the Director General's *Annual* for 1908-4, p. 276.

<sup>11</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-6*, Part II, paragraph 26. This is the inscription mentioned by Mr. Sewall (*Liste of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 289) as being engraved on the "Pāṇḍya Book" in very old Tamil characters.

<sup>12</sup> *Māraṇḍajaiyaṅ* seems to have been a formal name of Varaguṇa, just as *Rājendravarmaṇ* and *Parakéśari varmaṇ* were of *Chōḷa* kings. *Kōcēriṅgaikōṇḍu* was a similar name assumed originally by *Chōḷa* kings and subsequently by the *Pāṇḍya* too. Among the later *Pāṇḍyas*, *Māravarmaṇ* and *Jaiśvarmaṇ* were similar formal names derived, evidently, from the Tamil words *Māra* and *Śaśaiyaṅ*. The former denotes in Sanskrit 'Cupid,' but has been so often applied to the *Pāṇḍya* king that it has become one of the synonyms of 'the *Pāṇḍya* king.'

<sup>13</sup> No. 277 of 1896 in the *Tiruvandur Museum* belongs to the 27th year of *Māraṇḍajaiyaṅ*. It may be a record of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya, though this is not absolutely certain. It mentions a hero named *Rajakirti*, the army of the *Chōḷa* king, and *Vijūṣam*.

record at Tillasthānam in the Tanjore district, which is dated during the reign of Mārañjadāyaṇ and records a gift for the merit of Varaguna-Mahārāja.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, it may be concluded that Varaguna *alias* Mārañjadāyaṇ led the expedition against Idavaṇ in the Chōla country. Idavaṇ is evidently identical with the village of the same name<sup>2</sup> in Manṇi-nādu, a subdivision of Rājēndrasīmha-valanādu situated on the northern bank of the river Kāvēri.<sup>3</sup> The village of Vēmbarrūr situated in the same subdivision<sup>4</sup> might be identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. The destruction of Vēmbul probably followed soon after the expedition against Idavaṇ. In the same locality is Tiruppirambiyam,<sup>5</sup> where a battle was fought between the Pāndya king Varaguna and the Western Ganga Prithivipati I.<sup>6</sup> The expedition against Idavaṇ in the Chōla country and the attack of Vēmbul were apparently acts of aggression<sup>7</sup> on the part of the Pāndya king, which eventually led to the battle of Śrīpurambiya (in Tamil Tiruppirambiyam). The part which Prithivipati I played in this battle was hitherto inexplicable. In editing the Trichinopoly cave inscription of Varaguna-Pāndya, I remarked<sup>8</sup>—"How it was that the Gangas of Gangavādi in the Mysore State managed to get so far south as Kumbhakōnam in the Tanjore district, and why the Pāndya king Varaguna had to fight against them, are points on which no information is at present forthcoming." The verse in the Udayēnduram plates which describes the battle runs as follows, with Prof Hultzsch's corrections<sup>9</sup>—

यः श्रीयुद्धम्वियमहाह्वमूर्ध्नि धीरः पाण्ड्येश्वरं वरगुणं सहसा विजित्व [I\*]  
 क्त्वात्युक्तमपराजितशब्दमालप्राणव्ययेन सुहृदस्त्रिदिवस्त्रगाम [II\*]

With the approval of Prof Hultzsch, whose translation of the verse is slightly different, I render it as follows—"Having defeated by force the Pāndya king Varaguna at the head of the great battle of Śrīpurambiya, and having made (his) friend's title Aparājita (i.e. the unconquered) significant, this hero entered heaven by sacrificing his own life." Thus we get a king whose name or surname was Aparājita, and who with his ally Prithivipati I fought against the Pāndya king Varaguna. The existence of a king named Aparājita might be concluded already from one of the Ukkal inscriptions, where the other name of that village is Aparājita-chaturvēdmangalam.<sup>10</sup> From the Āmbū inscriptions of the Ganga-Pallava king Nripatunga it may be supposed that Prithivipati I was his feudatory.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, Aparājita, the friend of the latter, was probably also a Ganga-Pallava. Indisputable evidence of the existence of a Ganga-Pallava king of that name is furnished by an inscription of Vijaya-Aparājita-vikramavarman, discovered by my Assistant Mr K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar at Tiruttam in the North Arcot district.<sup>12</sup> Aparājita-vikramavarman was apparently the successor of Nripatunga, and we may at present suppose that during the reign of the latter (or after his

<sup>1</sup> No 51 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895

<sup>2</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 325 and 336    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p 53

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 325, paragraph 88, and p 336, paragraph 77

<sup>5</sup> Tiruppirambiyam near Kumbhakōnam is the modern Tamil name of Śrīpurambiya mentioned in the Udayēnduram plates of Prithivipati II, see also the following note

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 337 Vaimbalgūḥ, where another battle was fought by Prithivipati I according to the Udayēnduram plates, may have to be looked for in the same locality. It is not impossible that the place is identical with Vēmbul, whose fortifications Varaguna destroyed. But the name of Prithivipati's enemy in the battle of Vaimbalgūḥ is not mentioned. Consequently this identification remains doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> That the Pāndyas were strong and powerful about this time, is proved by their invasion of Ceylon recorded in Chapter I of the Sinhalese Chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, see Mr L. C. Wijesinha's *Translation*. The invasion seems to have been unprovoked and falls into the period A.D. 846-866

<sup>8</sup> Director General's *Annual* for 1903-04, p 273

<sup>9</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 384, verse 18

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid* Vol III p 2

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol IV p 132

<sup>12</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II, paragraph 8

death) there was a Pāṇḍya invasion headed by Varaguna. The invader probably did not meet with any effective resistance at first, and therefore advanced as far north as Arasūr on the Southern Pennar river, where he was encamped at the time of making the grant registered in the subjoined Ambāsamudram inscription. Subsequently, Aparājita, who was perhaps the heir-apparent at the time,<sup>1</sup> appears to have been sent with the Western Ganga Prithivipati I to repel the invasion. The decisive battle was fought at Śrīpurāmbiya, and the invader was driven back. But the Ganga king lost his life in it.<sup>2</sup>

The Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates of the Chōla king Rājendra-Chōla I. help us to trace the fortunes of the Ganga-Pallavas to the very end. Verse 49 of the Sanskrit portion of this grant, which describes the achievements of the Chōla king Āditya I, runs as follows —

अपराजितमप्यसौ रथे जितवान् पञ्चवसुसत्त्वलम् ।[\*]  
दयितामपि तस्य मेदिनीं स्वयमीक्षण्य [त\*]यायभृत् क्षती ॥

“Having conquered in battle the Pallava who had brilliant troops, though (he was) Aparājita, (i. e. the unconquered), he (viz. the Chōla king Āditya) also took possession of his queen, (viz.) the earth, (and) thus accomplished his object.”<sup>3</sup> In other words, the Chōla king Āditya I conquered the Pallava Aparājita<sup>4</sup> and annexed his dominions. The Pallava Aparājita<sup>5</sup> may now be identified with the Ganga-Pallava king Aparājavikramavarman of the Tiruttam inscription, and with that Aparājita who defeated Varaguna-Pāṇḍya. And, evidently, Ukkal in the North Arcot district was called Aparājita-chaturvēdimangalam after this Ganga-Pallava king. He was apparently the last member of his family. Though successful against the Pāṇḍyas, he could not offer any effective resistance to the rising Chōlas, who, under Āditya I, not only conquered him in battle, but also annexed his dominions.

In a Vattejuttu inscription at Aivarmalai in the Madura district,<sup>7</sup> copied during the last field season by my assistant Mr. G. Venkoba Rao, I found a Śaka date for Varaguna. His 8th year is coupled with Saka-saivat 792. Thus his accession took place in A. D. 862-63. If the facts and inferences set forth in the preceding paragraphs be confirmed by future researches, and if there was only one Pāṇḍya king named Varaguna, the invasion of Idāvai in the Chōla country and the destruction of the fortifications of Vēmbil must have taken place in or before A. D. 872-73.<sup>8</sup> Varaguna was at Arasūr on the southern Pennar in A. D. 877-8. The battle of Śrīpurāmbiya might have taken place towards the close of the same year or in the next year. If the surmise made by me, that Aparājita was probably heir-apparent when that battle took place, be true, his accession may be placed about A. D. 880. His defeat by the Chōla king Āditya evidently occurred after the Tiruttam inscription of the 18th year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Aparājita is called the friend (*suhrid*) of Prithivipati I, who was a Ganga-Pallava feudatory. If the former had been the reigning king, it is perhaps not likely that he would be referred to as the ‘friend’ of Prithivipati I.

<sup>2</sup> Soon after the conquest and occupation of the Pallava dominions by the Chōlas, the Gāṅgas, who had been feudatories of the Ganga-Pallavas, seem to have acknowledged the Chōlas as their overlords. In an inscription of Rājāśarivarman which has to be attributed to Āditya I, Pindipati, son of Māraṁsiyar (i. e. perhaps Prithivipati II, son of Māraṁraha), is mentioned, apparently, as a Chōla feudatory; *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1896-97, paragraph 7.

<sup>3</sup> Read ‘सुखसत्त्वलम्’.

<sup>4</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II paragraph 10.

<sup>5</sup> The place at which this battle was fought is not mentioned here. According to tradition the battle which crushed the Pallava power was fought near Sholinghur in the North Arcot district; see the *History of the North Arcot District*, Vol. I p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> That Aparājita is called a Pallava, is no bar to the proposed identification. In the *Śāhūr* plates (above, Vol. IV p. 181), the Gāṅga Pallava Nṛpatuṅgavikramavarman and his ancestors were called Pallavas, and their legendary ancestors are the same as those of the Pallavas of Cojjeeveram.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1905-06, Part II paragraph 26.

<sup>8</sup> The latter event is mentioned in the Trinopoly inscription, dated in the 11th year of the king’s reign.

Accordingly, the event may be supposed to have taken place at the end of the 9th century A D<sup>1</sup>

The great Śaiva saint Mānikkavāsagar mentions the Pāndya king Varaguna twice<sup>2</sup> in his *Tvuchchirrambalakkōvayār*. The time of Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār, who probably flourished in the 8th century A D, is the upper limit of the date of Mānikkavāsagar, who is conspicuous by his omission from the *Tvutōndattogai*, i.e. the list of Śaiva saints composed by the former. The lower limit may be taken as the reign of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman Rājēndradēva (A D 1052 to 1053),<sup>3</sup> because in an inscription of the 5th year of his reign (= A D 1056-57) reference is made to the poem [Tiru]vembāvai composed by Mānikkavāsagar<sup>4</sup>. It may, therefore, be concluded that this Śaiva saint was a contemporary of the Pāndya king Varaguna. And if there was only one king of that name, the Śaiva saint must have flourished in the second half of the 9th century A D.

It is worthy of note that the calculation of the annual requirements of the temple provided for in the subjoined inscription implies that the measure of paddy known as *kalam* consisted of 90 *nāli*, instead of 12 *kurumi* or 96 *nāli*, which we find, for instance, in the Tanjore inscriptions, and which is the prevailing equivalent in the Tamil country. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kurumi*, and a *kurumi* equal to 6 *nāli*. The rate of interest, according to the subjoined inscription, is 2 *kalam* of paddy for each *kāsu*, while in the Tanjore inscriptions it is 3 *kurumi* for one *kāsu*. Thus the rate in the Pāndya country at the time of Varaguna would be nearly eight times higher<sup>5</sup> than that prevailing in Tanjore during the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja I (A D 985 to at least 1013), in case there was no difference in the value of the *kāsu*. The variations at the same two places and periods in the price of some of the important articles of daily consumption are recorded in the foot-notes. It is interesting to note that common salt and firewood, which are included among the daily requirements in the Tanjore inscriptions, are conspicuous by their omission in the subjoined document. This is a significant fact, though we may not be warranted in concluding from it that these two articles had not to be paid for in the Pāndya country during the reign of Varaguna.

#### TEXT

##### *First Side of the Stone*

- 1 Svasti [||\*] Śrī-Bhatārar-anugra[ha]tta[nā]-  
2 <sup>k</sup> Mulli-nātt-Iṅgōykkudī T[ri]-

<sup>1</sup> The conquest of the Pallavas is attributed by tradition to Āṇḍai, an illegitimate son of Kulōttunga of Tanjore. The first battle, said to have been fought at Purulūr, ended in favour of the Pallavas. Āṇḍai was then forced to retreat to Sholinghur. "Encouraged there by a dream, he renewed the contest and defeated the enemy with great slaughter. The Pallava king was taken prisoner, and the hazen gates of the Purulūr fort were carried to the temple (!) of Tanjore," see the *Manual of the North Arcot District*, Vol I p 89. If there be any truth in this tradition, Kulōttunga must have been a surname of Vijayalaya, and Āṇḍai of his son Āṇḍitya I. But there is not even the slightest hint in epigraphical records that Āṇḍitya was the illegitimate son of Vijayalaya. Another tradition has it that the mythical Chōla king Kōkkili had an illegitimate son named Āṇḍai by a Nāga woman, and that the province conferred on the latter by his father was called Tondai-nādu or Tondai mandalam. It looks as if this Āṇḍai is mixed up with the conqueror of the Pallavas in the former story.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 806 in illustration of *Maruvudaluratāṭṭai*, and verse 327 in illustration of *Vanaṁvayamṁnāṭṭai*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol VII p 7.

<sup>4</sup> No 12 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905 from the Virāṭṭānēśvara temple at Kīḷṅkūr near Trukoilūr.

<sup>5</sup> In ancient times the rate of interest seems to have been more or less arbitrary. It looks as if the ordinary laws of Political Economy were not allowed full play, and it is therefore unsafe to draw any conclusions from the rate of interest. At Conjeevaram the rate of interest during the reign of a Chōla king named Parakēsarivarman was 15 per cent. About a century earlier the rate was 5 per cent in the same place. Again the interest on 250 *kalaṅṅu* of gold was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy, and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kalaṅṅu*, G O No 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, p 5.

<sup>6</sup> Read *nāli*, the *ha* of *anugraha* is slightly different from *ha* in ll 5, 12 and 81.

- 3 ruppóttudaiyār śrīkōyīl-Bhatāra[r\*]kku mu[da]l[\*]  
 4 [ke]dāmai poli kondu<sup>1</sup> nā[ṅ]gu kālamun=d[ruv-amu\*]-  
 5 du selu[t]tuvadā[ga] Varaguna-Maharajar Tōṇḍai-nāt[tu-P\*]-  
 6 pennai-kkaraī Araiśūr viṅṅirundu ila[n]gōkku\*]-  
 7 di=chchavaiyār kaiyiyīr=kndutta kāsū iru-nūṅ[ru-to\*]-  
 8 nnūṅu [i\*] ivayīrāy=kāsinvāy=iru-galamāga ān[ḍu\*]-  
 9 varai śavaiyār=alakkum poli-nel ai-nūṅ[re[nba]](d[\*]-  
 10 n kalam [i\*] ivai kondu Bhatārar pani-makkalum ila[n\*]-  
 11 gōkkudī=chchavai-vāriyarum uḍa=ṅṅṅṅu Varagu[nā\*]-  
 12 Mahar[ā]jarkku rājya-va[r\*]śham nāṅgāvadukku eḍ[ir\*]  
 13 pannirandā[m\*] yāndu Tulā-śāyīṅu mudalāga mḡa[dī\*]-  
 14 yāga nāngu kālam[u]n=druv-amdu seluttum [pa]-  
 15 di [i\*] oru-pōḷudaiḱku vēṇḍuvāga arisi senn[e]r=   
 16 ṅittal nā=ṅāḷi kummāyattukku pa[ya]ṅṅu=  
 17 pparupp=urī mvēdikka paśuvīn=ṅaṅu-ney[y]=u-  
 18 laḱku=ppasuvīṅ=ṅōy-tayir=urī=kkaruvāḷai-  
 19 ppaḷa-nāngu śarkkaraī oru-palam kaṅi-am[ī]-  
 20 rdu kāyka[ka]ṅi oṅṅu pūṅgaṅi iranḍu pūḷu-  
 21 [k]kukkaṅi oṅṅu porikkaṅi oṅṅu ēṅṅi=kkāṅi  
 22 aiṅṅukkuṅ=gaṅi paḍiṅ-pala[m]  
 23 [ka]ṅi tumkkavum porikkavum paśuvī=ṅaṅu-ne-  
 24 y āḷakku=k[kūṅ]tukku paśuvīṅ [t]ō[y]-tai-  
 25 r=urī=kkāyam iru-śevittu ilai-amirḍa  
 26 vellilai ir-aḍukku adaikkāy pattu  
 27 nūṅu oru-śevittu [i\*] āga mḡadi nāngu  
 28 pōḷudaiḱku vēṇḍuvāga arisi śe-  
 29 nneṅ-ṅittal paḍiṅ-aṅu-nāḷi

*Second Side of the Stone*

- 30 āga ōr=āttai[k]ku arisi śen[ne]-  
 31 [r]=ṅittal aḷuba[t]tu-nāṅ=  
 32 [ka]lam [i\*] ivai [ka]lav-arisiḱku mu=[kkala]-  
 33 nellāga nūṅṅu-tton[nū]ṅṅu-iru gala-  
 34 m [i\*] payaṅṅu=pparupp=iru-  
 35 nāḷi ivai nāḷi=pparuppa-  
 36 kku mu=nnāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]t-  
 37 taikku nel irubattu-nāṅ=kalam [i\*]  
 38 paśuvīn=ṅaṅu-ney nāḷi-y-urī i-  
 39 vai nāḷi[i] ne[y\*]kku muppadi=ṅāḷi ne-  
 40 ḷlāga ōr=ā[t\*]taikku nel nūṅṅu-ḅba-  
 41 diṅ kalam [i\*] paśuvīṅ=ṅōy-[tai]-  
 42 r nā=ṅāḷi ivai nāḷi=t[ta]yirḱku  
 43 mu=nnāḷi nell[ā]ga ōr=āttaikku ne-  
 44 l nā[r]patt-en-galam [i\*] karuvāḷappa-  
 45 lam paḍiṅ-aṅu ivai iranḍu[kku]  
 46 nāḷi nellāga ōr=āttaikku ne[l]

<sup>1</sup> The phrase *mudal keḍmai poli kondu* corresponds to *mudā=ṅāṅka poli kōṇḍu* of the Truhinopoly inscription; Director-General's *Annual* for 1908-04, p. 275, text line 15 f.

<sup>2</sup> At the beginning of this line is a symbol which looks like *ra*, but which is probably a mere crack on the stone



- 47 muppatt-iru-galam [i\*] śarkkarai 'nāṛṅga[p]ḥ  
 48 [la]m i[du] oru-palattukku nāḷi-  
 49 y-uri nellāga ōr=āṭṭaikkū nel  
 50 irubattu-nāṅ-kkalam [i\*] kaṇṇi nāṅpa-  
 51 diṇ palam ivai paṅ-pa[la]-  
 52 ttukku nāḷi nellāga ōr=ā[ṭ]-  
 53 ṭaikkū nel pa[di\*]n-aṅu-kalam [i\*] kāyam  
 54 āḷakkē mu=chchevittu idu  
 55 uḷakku kāyattukk-aṅu-nā-

*Third Side of the Stone*

- 56 [h] nell[ā]ga ōr=āṭ[ta]-  
 57 kku nel patt[o]ṇ[ba]-  
 58 [di]n kalaṅṅē mu=kku[ṛu\*]nī [i\*]  
 59 ḷai-amrdu vel-  
 60 [h]ḷai irandu paṅṅu  
 61 [i]vai oru-paṅṅuk[k=i]-  
 62 [ru]-nāḷi nellāga ōr=[ā]-  
 63 ṭaikkū nel pa[di]-  
 64 [n-a]ru-galam adai[kkā]-  
 65 y nāṅpadu ivai [i]-  
 66 rubad=adaikkāy[kku] mu=n-  
 67 [nā]ḷy-uri nellāga  
 68 ōr=āṭṭaikkū nell=[i]-  
 69 r[ū]ba[tt]-en-galam [i\*] nūṛ[ū]  
 70 n[ā]ḷ=chevittu idu  
 71 nāḷikk=iru-nāḷy[āga]  
 72 ōr=āṭṭaikkū nel  
 73 pann-uru-ku[ṛu\*]nī [i\*] el-  
 74 l[ā]m ēṅṅi ōr=ā[ṭ]-  
 75 ṭaikkū vēna nel [ai-n]-  
 76 nūṅṅ-[e]ṇbadin kala[m] [i\*]  
 77 i=ppaiṣu niyadi-  
 78 [p]padu mutt[ā]mai  
 79 n[e]ḍun=gālamuṅ=ṅe-  
 80 lu[t]tuv[adā]ga vai[t\*][t]ā-  
 81 r śri-Varaguna-Maharāja[r\*] [i\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 8) Hail ! By the grace of the blessed lord (*bhaṭārar*) <sup>1</sup> Varaguna-Maharāja, being encamped<sup>2</sup> at Arasiūr on the bank of the (*river*) Peṅṅai in Tondai-nādu, gave into the hands<sup>3</sup> of the members of the assembly of Iṅgōkkudī two hundred and ninety *kāṣu*, from the interest of which— the capital remaining unspent<sup>4</sup>— offerings had to be provided for four times

<sup>1</sup> Read *nāṅ-palam*

<sup>2</sup> *Vīṅṅirundu* means literally 'being seated majestically'

<sup>3</sup> This is the literal translation. The money must have been sent by a messenger to be made over to the village assembly

<sup>4</sup> Literally 'taking interest (in such a way) that the capital is not destroyed,' see note 1 on page 90 above

(a *day*) to the lord of the glorious temple<sup>1</sup> of Tiruppôttudayâr at Ilangôkkudi in Mullinâdu

(Ll 8 to 10) For this (*amount*) the members of the assembly have to measure out five hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy per year (*as*) interest, at the rate of two *kalam* for each *kâtu*

(Ll 10 to 14) Out of this (*income*) the servants of the lord (*bhâṭṭar*) and the committee of the assembly of Ilangôkkudi shall jointly pay for offerings four times a day,<sup>2</sup> commencing from the month of Tuḷa in the twelfth year opposite to the fourth year of the reign of Varaguna-Mahârâja, (*according to the following*) scale —

(Ll 15 to 27) (*The following*) are the requirements for a single offering<sup>3</sup> — four *nâḷi* of clean superior rice,<sup>4</sup> (one) *ur* of split green gram for the *kumḍayam*,<sup>5</sup> (one) *uḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality to be offered<sup>6</sup> (*by itself*), (one) *ur* of cows' curds, four black plantain fruits, one *palam* of sugar, ten *palam* of vegetables (*for*) the vegetable offering (*karu-amurdu*), (*viz*) one *kâykkâr*,<sup>7</sup> two *pulingar*,<sup>8</sup> one *puḷukkukkâr*<sup>9</sup> (and) one *porikkâr* — in all, five (*kumḍi* of) curry, (one) *uḷakku* of cows' ghee of the best quality for seasoning<sup>10</sup> and frying vegetables, (one) *ur* of cows' curds for the compound curry (*kâttu*),<sup>11</sup> two *seviṭṭu* of asafoetida; two bundles of betel-leaves,<sup>12</sup> ten areca-nuts (and) one *seviṭṭu* of lime (*nâru*) for the leaves offering

(Ll 27 to 73) The aggregate requirements for (*the offerings*) four times a day<sup>13</sup> (*are*) — At the rate of sixteen *nâḷi* of clean superior rice (*a day*), sixty-four *kalam* of clean superior rice

<sup>1</sup> The word *irikkôḷ* means 'the sanctuary of a temple' according to Dr Gundert. It is used here in the same sense as the Tamil *irukkôḷi*, 'a temple, a place of worship, a sacred shrine.' In the Tanjore inscriptions *irikkôḷ* is used to designate the orthodox Hindû temple as opposed to the temples of the Dravidian village deities and to the Jaina temples (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 48, note 8, and p 69)

<sup>2</sup> The word *siyaḍi* occurs again in line 27. <sup>3</sup> Literally 'the offering at one time'

<sup>4</sup> With *tennel* compare *iruḷchennadai nel* in a Chôla inscription from Conjeevaram, *South-Ind Inscr* Vol I p 117

<sup>5</sup> This word occurs in a similar context in an inscription of Rājāśarivarman found at Tiruvellaṭṭi near Trichinopoly (No 518 of 1905) In an unpublished record of the Chôla king Rājāśarivarman from Gudimallan in the North Arcot district, split green gram (*iru-payarru-paruppu*) is provided for *kumḍaya amudu* (No 223 of 1908) The modern meaning of the word *kumḍayam*, *viz* 'mortar,' will not do here In Malayâlam and in Kanarese the root *kummu* means 'to beat with a pestle,' and *kumḍayam* might therefore denote something pounded, if the word is derived from that root

<sup>6</sup> The verb *uḷakkâka* in line 17 may also have to be taken with the words *taṅṅ* (L 18), *karuḍalappalam* (L 18 f) and *ṣarkkarai* (L 19), if not with all the items mentioned in ll 19 to 27

<sup>7</sup> According to one of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājāśarivarman I (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II, No 26) pepper, mustard, and perhaps also salt were required for this preparation. Some vegetable must also have been added, though the fact is not specifically mentioned. Old rice, pulse, pepper, mustard, cummin, sugar and ghee were required for a similar preparation called *appakkâykkâr*

<sup>8</sup> Pepper, mustard, cummin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horse-gram and plantain fruits were required for it according to the inscription quoted in the preceding note. *Puḷiṣṣāṭṭungar* (consisting of pepper, cummin, tamarind, and perhaps some vegetable) was a similar preparation.

<sup>9</sup> *Puḷukkukkâr*, 'boiled curry,' is perhaps so called in order to distinguish it from *porikkâr*, 'fried curry.' The former is not mentioned (at any rate under this name) in the Tanjore inscription quoted above, while ghee is provided for the latter. Evidently *porikkâr* consisted of a vegetable fried in ghee.

<sup>10</sup> The verb *ṣeṣ* means 'to sprinkle.' Condiment powder is even now sprinkled over boiled curry and the whole, seasoned with boiling ghee, in which a small quantity of mustard is frying. The preparation is called *poḍiṣṣoḷ*, 'powder sprinkling,' and the same is apparently indicated by the use of the verb *ṣeṣ* here. A story is told in connection with the Tamil poet Kamban, which shows that the noun *ṣeṣ* was not in common use during his time

<sup>11</sup> *Kâttu* is a liquid preparation still in use and consists of (1) a vegetable cooked either with Bengal gram or beans, (2) two or more vegetables boiled together, or (3) specially made powder dissolved in curds. (1) and (2) do not generally, require any curds

<sup>12</sup> The word for betel-leaves both here as well as in the Tanjore inscriptions is *veḷḷai*, 'white leaf,' while the modern Tamil form is *veḷḷai*, 'empty leaf.'

<sup>13</sup> Worship at six periods of the day is the rule at present in big temples. In the case of a minor shrine, in the Tanjore temple, provision was made for offerings only three times (morning, midday and night, *South Ind Inscr*, Vol. II, p 146) and twice in the case of two other shrines (*ibid* pp. 70 and 71).

for a year At three *kalam* of paddy for one *kalam* of rice,<sup>1</sup> this (comes to) one hundred and ninety-two *kalam* (of paddy) The split green gram (required for a day) is two *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of split (green gram),<sup>2</sup> twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (have to be allotted) for this (item) Cows' ghee of the best quality (required for a day) is (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* At the rate of thirty *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of ghee,<sup>3</sup> this (comes to) one hundred and eighty *kalam* of paddy for a year (The quantity of) cows' curds (required for a day) is four *nāḷi* At the rate of three *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *nāḷi* of curds,<sup>4</sup> this (amounts to) forty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually (The number of) black plantain fruits (required for a day) is sixteen. At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for two (fruits),<sup>5</sup> these (cost) thirty-two *kalam* of paddy annually The sugar (required for a day is) four *palam* At the rate of (one) *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for every *palam*,<sup>6</sup> this (item costs) twenty-four *kalam* of paddy per year (The daily consumption of) vegetables being forty *palam*, sixteen *kalam* of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) every year—at the rate of (one) *nāḷi* of paddy for ten *palam* <sup>7</sup> (One) *āḷakku* and three *śevittu* of asafotida (being required daily), nineteen *kalam* and three *kuruni*<sup>8</sup> of paddy (have to be allotted) for this (item) annually—at the rate of six *nāḷi* of paddy for (one) *ūḷakku* of asafotida <sup>9</sup> (For) the leaves offering (as required) two bundles<sup>10</sup> of betel-leaves (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* of paddy for one bundle, (come to) sixteen *kalam* of paddy for a year, forty areca-nuts (daily), which, at the rate of three *nāḷi* and (one) *uri* of paddy for 20 areca-nuts, (cost) twenty-eight *kalam* of paddy annually,<sup>11</sup> (and) four *śevittu* of lime (daily), which, at the rate of two *nāḷi* (of paddy) for (one) *nāḷi* (of lime), (cost) twelve *kuruni*<sup>12</sup> of paddy per year

(Ll 73 to 81) Altogether, the (quantity of) paddy required annually is five hundred and eighty *kalam*.<sup>13</sup> The glorious Varaguna-Mahārāja thus deposited (this money), in order that

<sup>1</sup> In Tanjore 5 *kalam* of paddy were required for 2 *kalam* of rice during the time of Rājārāja I

<sup>2</sup> Pulse was exchanged at this rate during the time of Rājārāja I at Tanjore

<sup>3</sup> In Tanjore ghee and paddy were exchanged in the proportion of 1 to 32 at the time of Rājārāja I

<sup>4</sup> The same rate obtained in Tanjore during the reign of Rājārāja I

<sup>5</sup> There seem to have been three varieties of plantain fruits available in Tanjore and its vicinity about the beginning of the 11th century A D Two fruits of the first kind could be had for one *nāḷi* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75 and 77), five *nāḷi* of paddy had to be given in exchange for 18 fruits of the second variety (*ibid* p 127), the third was sold at the rate of 1200 for each *kāṣu* (*ibid* p 151)

<sup>6</sup> Two kinds of sugar were apparently available about the beginning of the 11th century A D in the Chōṭa capital and the country surrounding it Of the cheaper kind 3½ *palam* could be purchased for 2 *nāḷi*, 1 *uri*, 1 *alakku* and 4 *śevittu* of paddy (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 127), while the more costly variety exchanged at the rate of 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for ½ *palam* (*ibid* pp 70 and 71)

<sup>7</sup> In one of the Tanjore inscriptions quoted in the preceding foot-notes, the daily allotment for purchasing vegetables is 6 *nāḷi* of paddy The quantity of vegetables is not mentioned

<sup>8</sup> If this calculation is correct, a *kalam* must be equal to 15 instead of 12 *kuruni*, and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāḷi*

<sup>9</sup> Asafotida and lime are not mentioned in any of the Tanjore inscriptions, where common salt and firewood are specially provided for (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II pp 75, 77 and 180) The two latter are conspicuous by their omission in the Ambasamudram record Perhaps they had no exchange value in the Pāndya country during the time of Varaguna It may also be that temples could obtain both common salt and firewood without any payment

<sup>10</sup> From lines 26 and 60 of the text it may be concluded that one bundle (*parru*) was equal to 4 *adukku* of betel leaves

<sup>11</sup> Provision is made for the supply of areca-nuts and betel leaves in three of the Tanjore inscriptions, where only the aggregate cost of both is given (Nos 6, 26 and 35 of *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II) 1 *nāḷi* of paddy for 8 areca-nuts and 32 betel-leaves (No 6), 4 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 80 areca nuts and 60 betel leaves (No 26), and 1 *nāḷi* and 1 *uri* of paddy for 12 areca nuts and 24 betel leaves (No 35)

<sup>12</sup> The actual calculation yields 36 *nāḷi* of lime annually, costing 72 *nāḷi* of paddy, i.e. 18 *nāḷi* less than a *kalam* (= 90 *nāḷi* according to this inscription) or 12 *kuruni* But it has been pointed out that a *kalam* was made up of 15 *kuruni* (note 8 above) Thus the *kuruni* was equal to 6 *nāḷi* instead of the more common 8 *nāḷi* With this equivalent of the *kuruni* the calculation in the text would be correct

<sup>13</sup> This calculation would be correct only on the assumption that a *kalam* was equal to 1½ *kuruni* and a *kuruni* equal to 6 *nāḷi*; see the preceding note

(the members of the village assembly) might provide (the requirements) day by day<sup>1</sup> for a long time<sup>2</sup> without (any) obstruction

NO. 11 — MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 984

By STEEN KONOW, PH.D., CHRISTIANIA

The inscription is found on a set of copper-plates which have been deposited in the Madras Museum. I do not know where they have been originally found. I publish the inscription from excellent ink-impressions<sup>3</sup> supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, M.A., who describes the plates as follows —

The plates are five in number. The first bears writing on the inner side only. The last is completely blank, it was evidently put in to protect the single line of writing on the second side of the fourth plate. The plates have slightly raised rims (though in certain places they are either beaten down or worn away) and are strung on a ring, the ends of which are soldered into the lower part of a round seal. About the middle of the seal is a seated Nandin, whose tail extends to the bottom of the seal. From either side of the hind part of the Nandin proceed what may be taken for lotus buds. On the proper left of the Nandin are two flag-staffs placed one by the side of the other, with a bowl above them, and on the proper right of it are a conch, a lampstand and a dagger. The ring was cut by me. It is not quite circular. The diameter varies between 5" and 1½". The thickness of the ring is ½". The seal is roughly 2½" in diameter. The following measurements of the plates show that, as regards breadth, they are slightly bigger in the middle than at the ends, while, as regards height, the reverse is the case —

Average breadth of plates	.	.	.	9½"	9½"	9½"
Average height of plates	.	.	.	4½"	4"	4½"

The fourth plate is comparatively small in height, measuring 4½" at the ends and almost 4" in the middle."

The inscription consists of 54 lines. The greater part is in a good state of preservation. The fourth plate, however, is rather corroded, and some passages of it can only be read with difficulty.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same kind as in the Nadagām plates of Vajrahasta of Śaka-Samvat 979.<sup>4</sup> The class nasal, and not the *Anusvāra*, is used before class mutes. Exceptions from this rule are °ब्रह्म in l. 9, and °वत् in l. 48. Consonants are doubled after *r*, except in °निर्जित°, l. 26. व is written for व throughout. स has been substituted for स in °ब्रह्म, l. 25, and °वत्, l. 49. On the other hand, we find स for स in °ब्रह्म, l. 21, °ब्रह्म, l. 39, and °वत्, l. 54. A nasal with a following guttural or palatal is written in the same way as in the Nadagām plates. Note further such writings as °समुद्र, ll. 7 and 24, °प्रसाहित instead of °प्रसाहित, l. 3, and °प्रयोद्धद् instead of °प्रयोद्धद्, l. 19.

<sup>1</sup> The word *nigadati* is apparently synonymous with *śiṣṭam* which occurs frequently in the Tanjore inscriptions, and with *śiṣṭam* in the Trichinopoly cave epigraph of Varaguna (Director General's *Annual* for 1903, p. 275, text line 19).

<sup>2</sup> In later inscriptions the phrase *śiṣṭam-gālamam* is replaced by the Sanskrit *śiṣṭam-gālamam*, 'as long as the moon sees the sun (endure)'

<sup>3</sup> Since the above was written, I have had an opportunity of inspecting the original plates together with Mr. Venkayya.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 183 ff.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It contains the same twelve verses as the Nadagám plates of Śaka-Samvat 979. The remainder of the inscription is in prose. The first 41 lines are almost identical with the corresponding portion of the Nadagám plates. They are, however, more carefully engraved and give several passages in a more correct form.

The inscription is one of king Vajrahasta (III), the son of Kāmārnava (II) of the Gānga lineage, and of Vinayamahādēvi of the Vaidumba family. His genealogy is given in the same words as in the Nadagám plates, from Gunamahārnavā downwards, including the date of Vajrahasta's coronation<sup>1</sup>. The inscription then goes on to state (l. 40 ff.) that 'the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja, the lord of the three Kalingas, the glorious Anantavarman Vajrahastadēva, being in good health, issues the following order from Kalinganagara, having called together all the subjects, headed by the ministers'—“Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother, father, and Ourselves, the village named Tāmaracheru in Varāhavartani, combined with the Chikhali hamlet (*vāṭaka*), circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, as an *Agrahāra*, to five hundred learned Brāhmanas who delight in the six acts of sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, [giving] and accepting, (and) who are well versed in sacred lore, in the Śaka year of the dice (4), the Vasus (8) and the treasures (8), on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. Therefore (Our gift) should be preserved by future kings in compliance with the law proclaimed by Manu. Moreover, land with the produce of two hundred *Murakas* of grain has been given, to last as long as the moon and the sun, free from hindrances, to the god Kōtīśvara<sup>2</sup> for (the maintenance of the rites of) *Bali*, *Oharu*, *Navādyā*, *Dīpapūjā*, and so on. And the repairs of what is broken and torn in this (temple) should without fail be effected by the Brāhmaṇas living there”

The inscription does not add anything to our knowledge of the history of king Vajrahasta III. We only learn that he also had the name Anantavarman, like his grandson Chōdagangadēva.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kalinganagara has been identified by Mr. Ramamurti<sup>3</sup> with the villages Mukhalangam and Nagarakatakam in the Ganjam district. Varāhavartani occurs in several Gānga grants<sup>4</sup>. The village of Tāmaracheru is also known from Gānga inscriptions. Its boundaries are given in the Chicacole plates of the Mahārāja Dēvēndravarmān,<sup>5</sup> in which the village Tāmaracheru is granted to three hundred Brāhmanas on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. The Chicacole plates of the Gānga Mahārāja Indravarmān, issued from Kalinganagara in Gāngyā-Samvat 128,<sup>6</sup> further state that the village of Tāmaracheruva was granted to certain Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Mārgaśira. The latter inscription mentions *Tāmaracheruva-grāmaṁ bā(vā)śakā(kā)-śahāta[m]* (l. 8 ff.). This *vāṭaka* is perhaps identical with the Chikhali-vāṭaka of our inscription. The village of Tāmaracheru has not as yet been identified. It should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.

The date of the grant is found in a part of the inscription which has not been so well preserved as the rest. The first word is scarcely legible in the ink-impression. After a careful examination of the original, however, Mr. Venkayya and myself find that the reading *kṛta* is certain. The date of the inscription is accordingly the Śaka year 984. If we take this to be

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 185, Vol. V Appendix, p. 50, No. 355

<sup>2</sup> This was evidently the name of the temple of Śiva at Tāmaracheru.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 187 f.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 127, note 5, Vol. V. p. 185, note 5, etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 273 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 119 ff.

the current Śaka year, the date would correspond to A D 1061-62 Professor Kielhorn has been good enough to inform Professor Hultzsch that the only eclipse of the sun which was (slightly) visible in Ganjam between the Śaka years 980—989 took place on the 20th June A.D 1061. This would therefore be the date of our inscription

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> स्वस्त्य<sup>3</sup> श्रीमतामखिलभुवनविनुतनय[विनयद]यादान[दा]क्षिण्यसत्य[शो]-
- 2 चश्रीर्थैर्व्यादिगुणरत्नपवित्रकाशामात्रेयगोत्राणां विमलविचारा-
- 3 चारपुण्यसलिलप्रचयालितकलिकालिकल्पमधीणां<sup>4</sup> [महाम]हेन्द्राचल-
- 4 शिखरप्रतिष्ठितस्य सचराचरगुरोः सकलभुवननि-
- 5 श्रायैकसूत्रधारस्य<sup>5</sup> शशाङ्क[चू]डांसयेभर्मगवतो गो-
- 6 कर्णस्वामिनः प्रसादात्समासादितैकशङ्कभेरीप-
- 7 श्रमाहाशब्दधवलच्छत्रहेमच[र\*]मरवरत्नपभलाञ्जनसमुज्वल-
- 8 सत्यस्ताम्नाज्यमाहिन्नामनेकसमरसङ्घट्टसमुपलब्धविजयलमी-
- 9 समालिङ्गितो[त्तु]ग[भु]जदण्डम[ण्ड]तानां त्रिकलिङ्गम[हो]भुजां [गा-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 [डा]नामन्वयमलङ्कारि[ण्योर्विष्णोरि]व<sup>6</sup> विक्र(र)माक्रान्धरामण्डल-
- 11 स्व गुणमहाहर्णवमहाराजस्य पुत्रः ॥०॥ पूर्व<sup>7</sup> भूपतिमर्विभक्त्य
- 12 वसुधा या पञ्चभिः[\*]<sup>8</sup> पञ्चधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो<sup>9</sup> भुजवलाल[र\*]मि-
- 13 क एव स्वयं [र\*] एकीकृत<sup>10</sup> विजित्य मत्तनिवहान्<sup>11</sup> श्रीव-
- 14 जहस्तश्चतुचात्वारिशतमत्युदार(र)[स्त्र]रित्व[\*] सर्वा-
- 15 भरक्षीत्समाः ॥ [र\*] तस्य तनयो गुण्डमराज<sup>12</sup> [व]धत्रयं-
- 16 मप[र\*]लयधर्षी ॥ तदनुजः कामार्णवदे[व]ः पञ्चत्रि[श]तम-
- 17 [न्द]कान<sup>13</sup> ॥ तस्यानुजे विनयादित्य[\*] समाससः<sup>14</sup> ॥ ततः<sup>15</sup> कामार्णवा-
- 18 जातो जगतीकल्पभू[रु]हः [र\*] योराजद्राजितः<sup>16</sup> अयो वक्त्रह(र)-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

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

<sup>3</sup> Read स्वस्ति

<sup>4</sup> Read °प्रचालितकलिकाच°

<sup>5</sup> Read °ब्रह्मसणेर्भ°. The 4 stroke is not visible in the ink-impression

<sup>6</sup> Read °महाशब्द°, °च्छत्र°, °समुज्वल°

<sup>7</sup> Read समस°, °महिम्ना°, °समुपलब्ध°, °लक्ष्मी°

<sup>8</sup> This looks like °श्रीश्रीश्रीश्रीव.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read भूपतिभि°

<sup>10</sup> Before पञ्चधा the engraver began to write च, but subsequently cancelled it

<sup>11</sup> Read °वला°

<sup>12</sup> Read °जल°

<sup>13</sup> Read शत्रुनिवहान्को°

<sup>14</sup> Read °इत्यश्नुयला°, °रचिरत°

<sup>15</sup> Read °राजी वर्षचय-

<sup>16</sup> Read °सन्दकान्°

<sup>17</sup> Read समासिचयः,

<sup>18</sup> Metre ślōka, read °वाञ्जारी.

<sup>19</sup> Read °द्राजितश्चायो.

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8

11 a

10  
 11  
 12  
 13  
 14  
 15  
 16  
 17  
 18  
 19

11 b

20  
 21  
 22  
 23  
 24  
 25  
 26

Scale 6





## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 स्तोवनीपतिः ॥ [२\*] <sup>1</sup>प्रचोदन्मदगन्धलुक्मधुपव्यालीढगण्डा[न्ग]जान्नाखि<sup>2</sup>  
 20 भ्यस्त्रमदात्सहस्रमतुलो य[स्त्र्य]ागिनामग्रणीः [१\*] सः(ः) [श्रीम]ाननिय-  
 21 ह्वभीमनृपातिगाङ्गान्वयोतेशकः<sup>3</sup> (ः) पञ्चत्रिंशतमव्यकाम्म-<sup>4</sup>  
 22 भुनक्तिपथी<sup>5</sup> [स्तु]तः पार्थिवैः ॥ [३\*] तदग्रस्तुः<sup>6</sup> सुरराजस्तुना  
 23 समस्तमस्तां [श\*]मितारिमण्डलः [१\*] स्म पाति कामार्णवभूपतिर्भुव<sup>7</sup>  
 24 सवृद्धिमानर्षसमा<sup>8</sup> समुज्ज्वलः ॥ [४\*] तदनु<sup>9</sup> तदनुजन्मो<sup>10</sup> चित्तजन्मो(प)-  
 25 पमानो गुणनिधिरनवद्यो गुण्डमाख्यो महीसः<sup>11</sup> [१\*] [स\*]कलमिदमरचत्रीणि<sup>12</sup>  
 26 वर्षाणि धात्रीवलयमलघुतेजोनिर्जितारातिचक्रः ॥ [५\*] ततो<sup>13</sup> हेमातुरस्तस्य म-  
 27 धुकामार्णवो नृपः । अवति स्मावनीमेताम[व्य]ामिकार्णविंशति<sup>14</sup> ॥ [६\*] ॥

## Third Plate, First Side

- 28 अथ<sup>15</sup> वञ्चस्तनृपतेरग्रसुतादखिलगुणिजनाग्रणः [१\*] कामा[र्णवा]-  
 29 <sup>16</sup>क्वन्दप्रगीयमानावदातशुभकीर्तिः ॥ [७\*] श्रीय<sup>17</sup> इव <sup>18</sup>वेदुम्बान्वय[प]-  
 30 यःपयोनिधिससुहृवायाश्च [१\*] य(ः) समजनि <sup>19</sup>विनयम[हा\*]देव्याः श्रीवज्रह-  
 31 स्त इति त[न\*]यः ॥ [८\*] <sup>20</sup>वियदृतुनिधिसंख्या<sup>21</sup> याति <sup>22</sup>शाकाव्यसङ्घे दिन[क्त]-  
 32 [ति] वृहषभस्त<sup>23</sup> रोहिणीमे सुलग्ने [१\*] धनुषि च सितपये<sup>24</sup> सूर्य[वा]रे ष-  
 33 तीयांयुजि<sup>25</sup> सकलवरिची रक्षितुं योभिषिक्तः ॥ [९\*] न्यायेन<sup>26</sup> यत्र  
 34 सममाचरितुं चिवर्ग<sup>27</sup> मार्गेण रक्षति महीस<sup>28</sup> महितप्रतापे [१\*] नि-  
 [व्या]धय-  
 35 च निरसाश्च<sup>29</sup> निरापदश्च शश्वत्पजा<sup>30</sup> भुवि भवन्ति विभूतिमयः ॥ [१०\*] व्या-<sup>31</sup>  
 36 भे <sup>32</sup>गङ्गकुलोत्तमस्य स्यशसा<sup>33</sup> दि[क्त]क्रवाले शशिप्रद्योतामलिनेन य-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 स्य भुवनः(ः)प्र[क्त]ादसम्पादिना [१\*] सिन्दूरैरतिसान्द्रपङ्क[प\*]टलैः[१\*] [कुम्भ]स्थली  
 38 पट्टके[ष्व]ास्त्रिम्यन्ति पुनः पुनश्च हरितामाधोरणा वारणान<sup>34</sup> ॥ [११\*] <sup>35</sup>अनुरारी-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita, read प्रद्योतं, °लुम्बं

<sup>2</sup> Read °नृपतिर्गाङ्गान्वयीत्सक .

<sup>3</sup> Metre Vamsastha

<sup>4</sup> Metre Mālinī

<sup>5</sup> Read °रचत्रीणि

<sup>6</sup> Metre Gīti

<sup>7</sup> Read वेदुम्बा°

<sup>8</sup> Read °सस्ता

<sup>9</sup> Read हषभस्ते

<sup>10</sup> Read शितपवे

<sup>11</sup> Read चिवर्गं

<sup>12</sup> Read शश्वत्पजा

<sup>13</sup> Read यशसु

<sup>4</sup> Read °सव्यकाम्म-

<sup>7</sup> Read °भुव

<sup>10</sup> Read °जन्मा

<sup>12</sup> Metre Ślōka, read हेमा°

<sup>13</sup> Read रक्षवीन्द°

<sup>19</sup> Read विनयमहा°

<sup>22</sup> Read शाकाव्य°

<sup>2</sup> Read °गजानलिं-

<sup>5</sup> Read सुनृप पृथ्वी

<sup>6</sup> Read °समा समुज्ज्वल

<sup>11</sup> Read महीश

<sup>14</sup> Read °मन्दानेकाप्रविशतिं

<sup>17</sup> Metre Gīti, read द्विय

<sup>20</sup> Metre Mālinī

The second वृ °ooms to have been cancelled by the engraver

<sup>25</sup> Read °ययुजि सकलधरित्री

<sup>28</sup> Read महीस

<sup>31</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>34</sup> Read °णान्

<sup>28</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>29</sup> Read निरवाश्च

<sup>33</sup> Read गाङ्ग°

<sup>35</sup> Metre Ślōka.

- 39 ण गुपीनी<sup>1</sup> यस्य वक्षीसुखावयोः<sup>2</sup> [\*] आशीनि<sup>3</sup> श्रीसरस्वत्यावनुकूलि  
 40 विराजतः ॥ [१२\*] ॥ <sup>4</sup>कलिङ्गनगरातारममाहेश्वरपरमभद्रा-  
 41 रक[म\*]हाराजाधिराजचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमदनन्तवर्मा व-  
 42 ष्वहस्तदेव[\*] कुशखी <sup>5</sup>समस्तामाच्यप्रसुखजनपदान्धमा[ङ्ग]य [स]-  
 43 माज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां ॥ वराहव[र्त्त]न्यां । तामरचे-  
 44 रुग्रामी नाम (1) चिखलीवाटकेन<sup>6</sup> सममेकीकृत्य ॥ चतुखीमा-  
 45 <sup>7</sup>वच्छिन्नस्रजलस्रखलस्रर्वपीडाविहर्जितमाचन्द्रार्कचितिस-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 46 मकालं यावन्मातापित्रोरात्मनः पुण्ययशोभि[द्वद्वय क्त]व-  
 47 सुनिधिशाकाब्दे<sup>8</sup> । सूर्यग्रहोपरागे । विद्वद्गो य[ज]नया[ज]ना[ध्यय]-  
 48 नाध्यापन[दान\*]प्रतिग्रहपद्मनिरतेभ्यो <sup>9</sup>वद्भव[र्त्त]मङ्गाः ॥ पंच-  
 49 <sup>10</sup>सत[ब्राह्मणे]भ्य उदकपूर्वकं कृत्वाग्रहारोष्माभिः  
 50 प्रदत्तस्वस्माङ्गाविभि[भूर्]मि[पा]लेर्मुनुनोधर्मागौ-<sup>11</sup>  
 51 रवात्वरिपालनीयमिति<sup>12</sup> ॥ अपर च । कोटीश्वर-  
 52 देवाय भाचन्द्रार्कपर्यन्तं निर्विरोधा । <sup>13</sup>वलिचक्रनैविद्यदीपपू-  
 53 जायत्यै धान्यसुरकप्रतद्वयोत्पत्या<sup>14</sup> भूमिर्दत्ता । तत्र च । खण्डस्तु-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 54 टितभग्नघटनं <sup>15</sup>तत्रस्थवाङ्गाशेरवस्यं कर्त्तव्यमिति ॥

No. 12 — TALAMANCHI PLATES OF VIKRAMADITYA I, A. D. 660.

BY PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH. D., HALLE (SAALE)

This inscription was first published by Messrs A. Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty in *Nellore District Inscriptions*, p. 189 ff. According to p. 192 of the same work, the plates were "discovered about 12 years ago by a servant of Adapali Venkata Reddi of Parli

<sup>1</sup> Read गुपीनी.

<sup>2</sup> Read <sup>3</sup>खालयोः.

<sup>3</sup> Read आशीने.

<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>5</sup>नगरापरम<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Read <sup>6</sup>माय<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The engraver had originally written <sup>7</sup>वाटकेन.

<sup>7</sup> The engraver originally wrote <sup>8</sup>जस्रखस्रख<sup>9</sup>, but cancelled the first स्र. Read <sup>10</sup>विहर्जित<sup>11</sup>; after the स्र has been cancelled.

<sup>8</sup> Read <sup>9</sup>शाकाब्दे.

<sup>9</sup> The reading of this word is very uncertain, read perhaps <sup>10</sup>ब्रह्मवर्त्त<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Read <sup>11</sup>शतब्राह्म<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Read <sup>12</sup>मिपाशैर्मुनुनोधर्मागौ.

<sup>12</sup> Read <sup>13</sup>पालनीय इति.

<sup>13</sup> Read वलि<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Read <sup>15</sup>त्पत्या.

<sup>15</sup> The engraver seems to have begun to write <sup>16</sup>तत्र, but the *d* stroke has been left unfinished; <sup>17</sup>तत्रस्थैरवस्य.

while ploughing some land known as Talamanchipádu in Talamanchi of Nellore taluk<sup>1</sup> where a flourishing village is said to have once stood " They "have been sent to the Madras Museum at the request of the owner " I re-edit the inscription from three sets of ink-impressions, kindly prepared at my request by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, M A, who describes the original as follows —

" Three copper-plates, of which the first and last are engraved on their inner side only they measure  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth The height of the plates is not uniform Generally they are higher in the margins than in the middle

	Height in the margins	Height in the middle
1st plate	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "	$3\frac{1}{8}$ "
2nd plate	$3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{4}$ "
3rd plate	$3\frac{1}{2}$ " & $3\frac{3}{8}$ "	$3\frac{1}{2}$ "

Through circular holes bored on the left margin of each plate passes an oval ring measuring  $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ " It is nearly  $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a seal, which is also oval and measures 1" by  $\frac{3}{8}$ " The emblems on the seal, which appear to have been engraved on a countersunk surface, are much worn, but show a lump in the middle—perhaps meant to represent a boar The total weight of the plates with ring and seal is 80 tolas "

The writing on the plates is well preserved, excepting a few letters near the margins of plate 1 and plate 3. The alphabet resembles that of two other grants of Vikramaditya I<sup>2</sup> the *upadhānīya* is used once (l 24), a final form of *m* twice (ll 24, 27), and one of *n* once

17) The three Dravidian letters *l*, *ḷ* and *r*, the second of which has the same shape as the *padhānīya*, occur in the two village names *Elasatti* (l 23) and *Koichumko[nra]* (l 22) the language is Sanskrit There are four well-known Anushtubh verses one at the beginning and three near the end, the remainder of the inscription is in prose

The document was issued in the sixth year of the reign (l 20) of the (Western) *halikya* (l 5) Vikramāditya (I), the son of Satyāsīya (i.e. Pulakésin II), grandson of *irtivarman* (I) and great-grandson of *Polikésin* (I) Each of these four kings receives the same laudatory epithets as in other published grants of the same period The new inscription records the grant of the village of *Elasatti*,<sup>3</sup> north of *Koichumko[nra]*, to Śrīmēghāchārya (l 22 and 31 f), the preceptor (*guru*) of Vikramāditya I, and was written by *Vajravarma* of a *Vaidya* family

The historical importance of the plates lies chiefly in the date of the grant (l 20 f), regarding which Prof Kielhorn kindly contributes the Postscript on p 102 below On the strength of the latter I have added the date " A D 680 " to the title of this article and to the heading of the accompanying Plate

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

##### First Plate

1 जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णो]र्वाराहं क्षोभितावर्ण[वं] [!\*] दक्षि[णो]न्नतदंष्ट्रग्र-  
विश्रान्तभु-

<sup>1</sup> On the map prefixed to the *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Talamanchi is marked by the figure '32' on the north of Nellore town

<sup>2</sup> *Journ Bombay Br E A S* Vol XVI pp 235 and 238

<sup>3</sup> Messrs Butterworth and Venugopal Chetti are unable to identify this village, see *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Preface, p. vi

<sup>4</sup> From three sets of ink-impressions

- 2 वन वपुः [॥ १\*] श्रीमतां सत्कलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां हारितिपुत्रा-  
 3 णां सप्तशोकमातृभिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्त्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तक-  
 4 ष्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्भारयश्चप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाब्धनेत्र-  
 5 षण्णवशीकृताशेषमहीश्रुतां चलिक्खानां कुलमलंकरिण्योरश्रमे-  
 6 धावश्रयज्ञानपवित्रीकृतमात्रस्य श्रीपोलिकेशिवल्लभमहाराज-  
 7 स्य प्रपौत्रः पराक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरतृपतिमण्डलप्रशिवहविशुद्ध-  
 8 ः [वि]शुद्धकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तेश्रीकीर्त्तियश्वपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्य पौत्रः समर-  
 9 [स]सत्सकलोत्तराप[थे]श्वरश्री[हर्षवर्धनपरा]ज[योप]ल[स्य]परमेश्वरा-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 10 [पर]नामधेयस्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर]-  
 11 [स्य] प्रियतनयः<sup>१</sup> चित्रकण्ठास्थप्रवरतुरंगमेशैकेनैव प्रतीतानेकस-  
 12 मरसुखेषु रिपुतृपतिरुधिरजलासादनरनायव्वलदमलनिशितनिस्त्रियं-<sup>२</sup>  
 13 धारया च धृतधरशीभरभुजगभोगसदृग्रनिजभुजविजितविजिगीषुः<sup>३</sup>  
 14 भ्रामकवचावमग्नानेकप्रहारस्वगु[री]श्रिय)मवनिपतित्रितया-  
 15 ंतरितांभामसात्कृत्य ऋतैकाधिष्ठितागे[धरा]ज्यभरस्दाभिज्ञाज्य-  
 16 त्रये विनष्टानि देवस्रज्जदेयानि धर्मयशोभिवृद्धये स्वसुखेन स्वा-  
 17 पितवान् रथशिरसि रिपुनरेन्द्रान्दिशि दिशि जित्वा स्ववंशजां लक्ष्मी  
 18 प्राप्य च  
 19 परमेश्वरतामनिवारितविक्रमादित्यः<sup>४</sup> विक्रमादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपु-  
 20 [थि]वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमे[श्वरस्वर्वा]ना[ज्ञा]प[यति] [१\*] विधित-<sup>५</sup>

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 20 [म]नु<sup>१०</sup>भोष्मभिः प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यषट्पद्वत्सरतमे<sup>११</sup> आ-  
 21 णमाससूर्यग्रहणे<sup>१२</sup> उदकपूर्वं साङ्गोपाङ्गवेदविदुषे वासिष्ठ-  
 22 सगोत्राय श्रीमेघाचार्याय स्वकीयगुरवे को०७७कुंजो[७७]ग्राम-  
 23 स्वोत्तरपाश्वे<sup>१३</sup> एरुसत्तिर्नाम ग्रामः<sup>१४</sup> मातापिचोरात्मन-  
 24 >पुण्यश्रीवातये सर्व्वोषापरिहारं<sup>१५</sup> दत्तम् [१\*] आचन्द्रार्कं-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'ज्ञान'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'तनयविष'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'पुरास'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'कृतैकाधिष्ठिताशेष'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'सो'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'पाश्व'.

<sup>७</sup> Cancel the second 'विषय' and the second 'श्रीशैली'; read 'श्रीशिवशै'.

<sup>८</sup> Instead of 'रनाय' read 'रसनासनाम'.

<sup>९</sup> Cancel the *anuvāra* of 'त' and read 'सारास'.

<sup>१०</sup> Read 'दिल्ली'.

<sup>११</sup> Read 'षट्सप्तद्व'.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'शमी'.

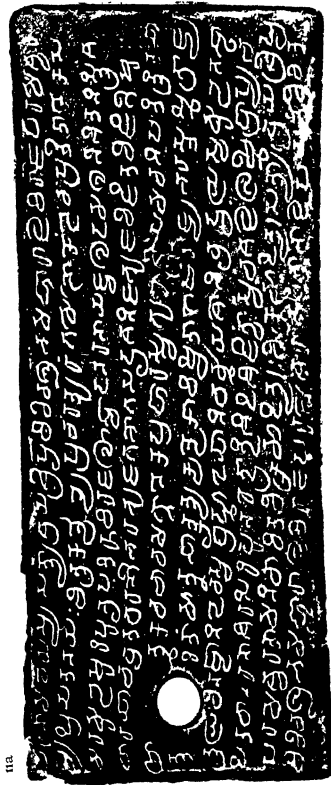
<sup>१३</sup> Read 'विधित'.

<sup>१४</sup> Read 'कुंज'.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'सर्व्वोषापरिहारी यः'.



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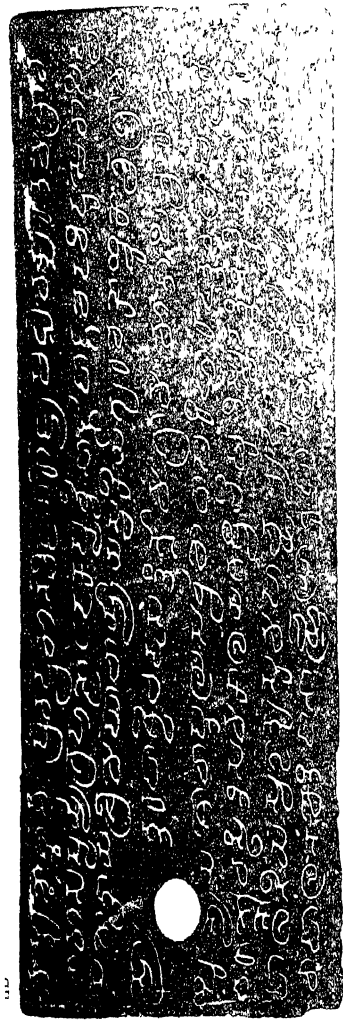
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Collotype by Ochr. Pletiner, Halle-Saale

Scale 9

E. Hultzsch

111



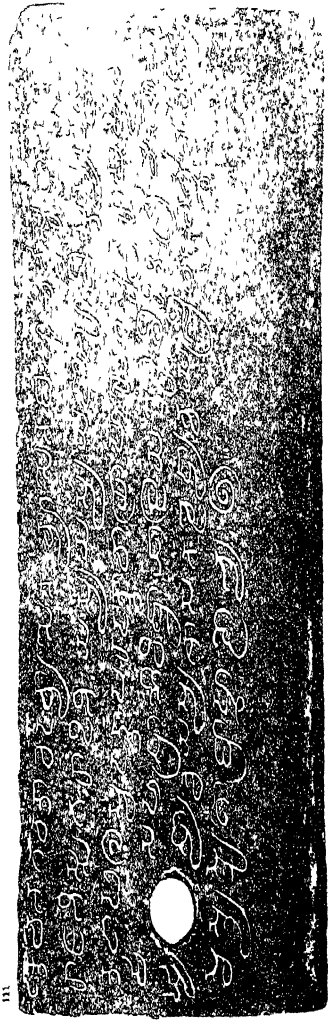
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- 25 धराश्व्वस्थितिसमकालं यशसिषुभिस्त्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परि-  
 26 पालनीयं [1\*] स्वन्दातु सुमहच्छब्दं दुःखमन्यस्य पालनं [1\*] दानं  
 27 वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छेयोनुपालनमिम् [1 २\*]

## Third Plate.

- 28 उक्तं च भवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन<sup>2</sup> [1\*] बहुभिर्बहुषुषा मुक्ता  
 29 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 30 तदा फलं [1 ३\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा[म् 1\*] षट्ठिं-  
 31 षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्षिभिरिति । [४\*] श्रीमेघाचा-  
 32 ख्यंस्त्वान्यस्य शासनं वेदान्वयश्रीवत्त्ववर्षणा लिखितं [1\*]  
 33 स्वस्त्यस्तु गीत्राङ्गणेभ्यः [1\*] श्री<sup>3</sup> ॥—

## TRANSLATION.

[ Verse 1 contains an invocation of the boar-incarnation of Vishnu ]

(Lane 2) The great-grandson of the glorious Polikéśi-Vallabha-Mahārāja, whose body was purified by bathing at the end of a horse-sacrifice, (and) who adorned the family of the glorious Chalikyās,<sup>4</sup>

(L 7) The grandson of the glorious Kirtavarma-Prithivīvallabha-Mahārāja, whose pure fame was established in the territories of hostile kings, such as Vanavāsī, which had been subdued by (his) valour,

(L 8.) The dear son of Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,<sup>5</sup> who acquired the surname of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara) by defeating the glorious Harshavardhana, the lord of the whole northern country, who had encountered (him) in battle,

(L 11) He who, at the head of many famous battles, (assisted) by none but (his) noble steed named Chitrakantha and by the edge of (his) glittering, spotless and sharp sword which behaved like a tongue in licking the blood of hostile kings, conquered would-be conquerors by his own arms which resembled the coils of the serpent who carries the burden of the earth, into whose own armour many blows had plunged, who, having gained for himself the royalty of his father, which had been concealed by the triad of kings,<sup>6</sup> caused the burden of the whole kingdom to be governed by (himself) alone, who, for the increase of (his) merit and fame, by his own mouth confirmed the property of temples and the grants to Brāhmanas which had lapsed in that triad of kingdoms, the sun of whose valour (became) irresistible after he had recovered at the head of battles the royalty belonging to his family from the hostile kings of every quarter, and after he had acquired the title of 'supreme lord' (paramēśvara), Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-Śrīprithivīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara commands all people (as follows) —

(L 19.) "Be it known to you (that), in the sixth year of (Our) reign of growing victory, at an eclipse of the sun in the month of Śrāvana, the village named Hāsatti on

<sup>1</sup> Read ० नमिति.

<sup>2</sup> The *ś* of व्या is expressed twice.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The usual epithets of this family (ll. 2-5) are omitted in the translation.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Pulakāśin II.

<sup>6</sup> I.e. the Chōja, Pāṇḍya and Kēraja. Compare one of the epithets applied to Vikramāditya I. in the grants at his son Vinayāditya, above, Vol. V p. 202, note 16.

the northern side of the village of Kolohumko[nra] has been given by Us, with libations of water, with exemption from all molestation, to Our own preceptor (*guru*) Śrimeghāchārya of the Vāsishṭha *gōṭra*, who knows the Vēdas with (their) *Angas* and *Upāngas* in order that (Our) mother and father and Ourself might obtain merit and fame As long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the oceans shall exist, (*this grant*) should be protected without distinction from their own gifts by those who desire to accumulate fame "

[Verses 2-4 contain the usual admonitions to future rulers.]

(L 31) (*This*) edict (*in favour*) of the family of Śrimeghāchārya was written by the illustrious **Vajrarman** of the **Vaidya** family Let there be welfare to cows and Brāhmanas!  
Om

#### POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KILLHOLM, CIE, GOTTINGEN

The inscription edited above by Prof. Hultzsch is dated in the 6th year of the reign of the W Chalukya Vikramāditya I, at the time of a solar eclipse in the month Śrāvana. From page 2 of Appendix II to Vol. VIII of this Journal it will be seen that this date must necessarily fall between A. D. 635 and 685, and from what we know to be the general rule regarding eclipses that are quoted in dates, we may conclude that the eclipse here referred to most probably was one that was visible at Bādāmi, the capital of the W Chalukyas, situated in about Long 76° and Lat 16°

Now it so happens that during the fifty years from A. D. 635 to 685 there was, in both the *pūrṇimānta* and the *amānta* month Śrāvana, only a single solar eclipse that could have been at all visible at Bādāmi, viz the eclipse which took place 3 h 5 m after mean sunrise of Monday, the 13th July A. D. 660. That eclipse, an annular one, was fully visible at Bādāmi, and the 13th July A. D. 660 was the 15th of the dark half of the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana. We may compare especially the solar eclipse in the date of the Pattadakal duplicate pillar inscription of the reign of the W Chalukya Kirtivarman II (No. 48 of my *Southern List*), of the 25th June A. D. 754, which likewise took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Śrāvana, and to show that in early times the *pūrṇimānta* scheme of the months was prevalent in Southern India, we may also cite the solar eclipse in the date of No. 9 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Bhādrapada, and the solar eclipse in the date of No. 551 of the *List*, which took place in the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna.

Monday, the 13th July A. D. 660 (in Śaka-samvat 582) would thus be in every way a suitable equivalent of our date, that it is its true equivalent is rendered more than probable by the date of the Neir plates of the queen Vijayabhadrakā (No. 23 of my *Southern List*). That date corresponds to the 23rd September A. D. 659, and is of the 5th year of a reign of which hitherto it appeared doubtful whether it was the reign of Vikramāditya's eldest brother Chandraditya or of Vikramāditya himself. Since we now have a date in A. D. 660 which would be a most proper equivalent for a date of the 6th year of the reign of Vikramāditya I, the date in A. D. 659 must surely be definitely assigned to the 5th year of the same reign, and the two dates in my opinion must be taken to prove that Vikramāditya I. commenced to reign between some time in September A. D. 654 and July A. D. 655.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties*, p. 363, arrived at the conclusion that "we shall probably be very close to the mark, if we place the formal commencement of his reign somewhere in the autumn of . . . A. D. 655."



No 13.—MANDHATA PLATES OF DEVAPALA AND JAYAVARMAN II.  
OF MALAVA.

By PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE ; GÖTTINGEN.

Of the Paramāra kings, who ruled over Mālava for more than three hundred years, there have been published hitherto the texts of twelve copper-plate and three stone inscriptions, besides short notices of about half a dozen other stone inscriptions, generally of small importance. Of the copper-plate inscriptions, three were first edited by Colebrooke in 1804, two by L. Wilkinson in 1836 and 1838, one by Rajendralal Mitra in 1850, and three by Edward Hall in 1860 and 1861. Of the stone inscriptions, the largest was first edited by Gangadhar Shastri in 1843, and another by FitzEdward Hall in 1859. And from these inscriptions the genealogy of the Paramāras of Mālava, with most of their dates, might have been drawn up, about fifty years ago, very nearly as I have given it above, Vol. VIII. p. 14 and 15. Moreover, of so important a king as Udayāditya we even to-day hardly possess more than that 'wretched scrawl,' made known in 1840, of a person 'who knew nothing of Mālava, from its own records, for half a century, and to indicate what chances are open to officials of the Archæological Survey of India to enrich our knowledge of the history of that country. For, in my opinion, a systematic search for inscriptions in the ancient Mālava country will be sure to bring to light numerous documents of importance. Even now such a search has been well inaugurated.

In 1903 there were discovered at Dhār the inscriptions published above, Vol. VIII. p. 96 ff. p. 241 ff., highly interesting from a literary point of view. And in 1904 and 1905 were discovered, at or near Māndhātā, the two copper-plate inscriptions now here edited. These plates of some value inasmuch as they show how Dēvapāla, one of the later kings of Mālava who was already known to us, was related to preceding rulers, and as they give us the names of two of his, Jaitugidēva and Jayavarman [II.], who, one after the other, succeeded him.

A.—MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF DĒVAPĀLA ; [VIKRAMA]-SĀMVAṬ 1222.

These plates were found, in May 1905, near the temple of Siddhēsvāra at Māndhātā, an island in the Narmadā (Narbadā, Nerbudda) river attached to the Nimār district of the Central Provinces.<sup>1</sup> They were discovered enclosed in a chest made of two stones, 1' 8½" long by 1" broad. They are now in the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, to which they have been presented by Rao Jaswant Singh of Māndhātā. The first account of them was given by an old friend of mine, Mr. Lele, Director of Education in the Dhār State,<sup>2</sup> and a transcript of the inscription engraved on them, with a translation and notes, was afterwards furnished to the Government by Mr. Pyari Lal Ganguli, pleader of Nimār. The text and a translation, with an introduction, have also been sent to the Government Epigraphist by Pandit Hiranand Shastri, Director of the Nāgpur Museum. At Prof. Hultzsch's request, I edit the inscription which is on the plates from impressions kindly supplied by Mr. Cousens.

The inscription is on three plates, which are stated to measure about 1' 5½" broad by 1" high, and of which the second is inscribed on both sides, while the first and third plates are

<sup>1</sup> See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p. 257 ff.; Constable's *Home Atlas of India*, Plate 27, C d; and Vol. III p. 46. On the temple of Siddhēsvāra see also *Archæol. Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04.

Mr. Lele at the time most kindly offered to send me impressions of the plates, but was somehow or other prevented from doing so. I take the opportunity of thanking him here also publicly for the generosity with which he made over to me his valuable impressions of the Dhār inscriptions published in Vol. VIII. of this Journal.

inscribed on one side only. The writing on the several sides covers a space between 1' 4" and 1' 4½" broad by between 10½" and 11¼" high. In the lower proper right corner of the first side of the third plate a space about 2" broad by 3" high is marked off by double lines, which enclose an engraving of the mythical bird Garuda, the exact shape of which may be seen from the accompanying photo-lithograph<sup>1</sup>. The plates are held together by two rings for which there are two holes in each plate, these rings, I am informed, are open and were apparently never soldered together.

The three plates contain 80 lines of well-engraved writing, which is in so perfect a state of preservation that, with the exception of not more than three *aksharas*, every letter may be read with absolute certainty. In line 40 a vacant space is left for four *aksharas* which may have been illegible in the original from which the inscription was copied, and there is a similar vacant space for two *aksharas* in line 54. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the inscription belongs, and the language is Sanskrit. The forms of individual letters hardly call for any remarks. Attention may be drawn to the initial *ṣ* and *ṣ* (e.g. in *śva*, l. 4, and *Udat*<sup>2</sup>, l. 50), and to the initial *ś* (in *śha*, l. 17) and *au* (e.g. in *Audalya*, l. 27, and *Aurva*, l. 40), perhaps also to the forms of *th* (e.g. in *purushārtha*, l. 1), and *ksh* (e.g. in *sūkshāt*, l. 1). It may also be stated that the signs for *i* and *hi*, and those for *dh* and *dhv*, often are so much alike that it is very difficult to distinguish between them. As the 22 verses in lines 1-17 are all numbered, the inscription offers specimens of all numeral figures; and in lines 28, 34, 49 and 50, it gives the fraction  $\frac{1}{2}$ , denoted by two vertical lines, placed, as the case may be, after a numeral or the sign for nought.<sup>3</sup> In line 79, before the word *rachitam*, the text contains a peculiar symbol (perhaps a monogram), the meaning of which I am unable to explain. — As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *ḅ* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used instead of the palatal about 30 times, and the palatal instead of the dental about 25 times (even in such ordinary words as *śatah* for *śataḥ*, l. 9, *Sāmaveda* for *Sāmavedā*, l. 29, etc.), *ṛ* is used for *ṛ* in *Rishi*, l. 60, and *ṛ* for *ṛ* in *ṛṣ*<sup>4</sup> for *ṛṣ* (e.g. *ṛṣveda*), l. 29 and elsewhere, and in *Śaktri* for *Śaktri*, ll. 23 and 71; *j* is employed instead of *y* in *yaśo* for *yaśo*, l. 73, and in the names *Jaśodhara*, l. 29, and *Jaśodēva* (for *Yasōdēva*), l. 64, and *ksh* for *khy* in *Sūkshāt*, l. 1. The occasional employment of *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* for *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* need perhaps hardly be mentioned, but I may add that the word *tāmratām* is written *tāmvratām* in line 2, and that the sign of *avagraha* is employed three times, in *sōśabhuta*<sup>5</sup>, l. 15, *dyādyōsym*, l. 75, and *vudhvōsymad*<sup>6</sup>, l. 75. There are a few clerical errors not referred to in the above, that can all be easily corrected. — The inscription, in lines 1-17, has 22 verses which chiefly contain genealogical matter, and of which verses 1-19 were already known to us from the three grants of King Arjunavarman.<sup>7</sup> In addition to them, we have in lines 20-22 the well-known verse commencing with *Vāṭābhira-vbhramam-īdam vusādh-dhīpatayam* which, with a single exception,<sup>8</sup> occurs in all Paramāra plates, and in lines 75-79 four benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which, commencing with *Iti kamaladāśubhvindu-lōlām*, is common to all Paramāra plates. The rest of the text is in prose. In the poetical portion we find in line 6 the (as far as I can see, perfectly correct) adjective *uddāman*,<sup>9</sup> instead of *uśāḍāma* which alone is given by the dictionaries. And in the prose part there occurs, in lines 72 and

<sup>1</sup> Similar representations of Garuda are found on all complete plates of the Paramāras of Mālava, of which facsimiles have been published, compare e.g. above, Vol. III Plate opposite p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. VII p. 85.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 195, 197 and 198 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>4</sup> For the Ujain plates of Vākpatirāja, published in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIV, p. 160.

<sup>5</sup> I know of no grammatical rule by which a compound formed of *ud* and *dāmas* (in the sense of *dāmas udgatah*) would become *uddāma*, and most of the passages, which in the dictionaries are quoted under *uddāma*, might just as well be placed under *uddāman*. In his commentary on *Rajasekhara* I. 78, Mallinatha actually explains *uddāma-diggajāḥ* by *uddāmad dāmas udgata diggajā yasvina*.

73, the strange revenue term *shamhalātama*[*la*]-*samanvita*, which I have not met with elsewhere and am unable to explain.

The inscription records a grant of land by the Paramāra (or Pramāra) king — *Mahārāja*, as he is styled in line 80—*Dēvapāla* of *Mālava*. A full translation of the introductory verses will be given below. As has been already stated, up to the end of verse 19 (in line 15) the text is identical with the introductory part of the three published grants of the Paramāra *Arjunavarman*, and so far contains little more than a list of kings who were ruling over *Mālava*: *Bhōjadeva*, *Udayāditya*, his son *Naravarman*, his son *Yaśōvarman*, his son *Ajayavarman*, his son *Vindhavarman*, his son *Subhatavarman*, and his son *Arjuna* (*Arjunavarman*). *Vindhavarman* and *Subhatavarman* were at war with the *Gūrjaras*, and the first of them recovered *Dhārā*, which must have been taken possession of by the enemy<sup>1</sup>. *Arjuna* in his youth put to flight *Jayasamba*, of whom it is elsewhere said that he was a king of *Gūrjara* and belonged to the *Chaulukya* family (of *Aṇahlapātaka*)<sup>2</sup>. To the nineteen verses of *Arjunavarman's* grants only three new verses (vv 20-22) are added here, which tell us that on *Arjuna's* death he was succeeded in the government of *Mālava* by *Dēvapāla* and record the name of this king's father. When I published the *Harsaudā* inscription of *Dēvapāla*, I had to point out<sup>3</sup> that by certain epithets in that inscription *Dēvapāla* was clearly connected with the *Mahākumāras* *Lakṣmivarmanadēva*, his son *Hariśchandraadēva*, and his son *Udayavarmanadēva* of *Dhārā*. Verse 21 of our inscription now informs us that *Dēvapāla* actually was a son of *Hariśchandra* (and therefore a brother of the *Mahākumāra* *Udayavarman*, whose plates are dated in A D 1200). In the *Harsaudā* inscription, which is dated in A D 1218, only three years after the date of the latest known grant of *Arjunavarman*, *Dēvapāla*, unlike his brother and his father and grandfather, is styled *Mahārājādityāja*. This, together with the fact that he succeeded *Arjunavarman*, would indicate that in him the two branches of the *Paramāra* family which till then had separately held sway over *Mālava* became reunited, or that one of them ceased to exist<sup>4</sup>. Besides the *Harsaudā* stone and the present plates, the date of which will be considered below, we know of two inscriptions of *Dēvapāla's* reign, dated in about A.D 1229 and probably 1232<sup>5</sup>.

In lines 17 ff *Dēvapāla* informs all king's officers, *Brāhmins* and others, and the *Paṭṭakila* and other people dwelling at the village of *Satājūnā* in the *Mahuada pratyāgaranaka*, that, while staying at *Māhishmatī*, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon<sup>6</sup> on the full-moon *tithi* in the month *Bhādrapada* in the year 1282 (given in words), after bathing in the *Bēvā* (i.e. *Naimadā*) and worshipping *Śiva* (at the temple) in the neighbourhood of (the temple of *Vishnu*) *Dairyaśūdana*, he granted the village of *Satājūnā*, (as stated in lines 72 and 73) well defined as to its four boundaries (*kañkaṭa*), etc., to certain *Brāhmins* enumerated in lines 22-71, and (in line 74) he orders the resident *Paṭṭakila* and others to give to these *Brāhmins* the customary share of the produce and money-rent, etc., excepting what was already enjoyed

<sup>1</sup> The context would indicate that *Dhārā* had been taken by the *Gūrjaras*.

<sup>2</sup> See now above, Vol VIII p 99, compare also below, p 118, note 2 — In *Mērutunga's Prabandhaśeṣāntamāna*, p 240 f., we are told that the *Mālava* king *Sōhada* (i.e. *Subhatavarman*), when about to invade the *Gūrjara* country, turned back from its frontier on hearing the verse. *Pratīpṣṭ rājasmārtānda pūrvasyām-śēa rājāt | sa śēa evayam yāt pashchimsādvāmbānāh ||*, but that afterwards the *Gūrjara* country was 'broken' by his son *Arjunadēva*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Ind Ant* Vol XX, p 311

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid* Vol XIX p 348

<sup>5</sup> Nos 207 and 214 of my *Northern List*

<sup>6</sup> The text has *sōma-parvati* instead of the fuller and ordinary *sōmagrahāṇa-parvati*, similarly *sūrya-parvati* is used instead of *sūryagrahāṇa-parvati*, e.g. in the dates of No 356 of my *Northern List* and of Nos 339 and 380 of my *Southern List* — I may add that, excepting the *Mādhātā* plates of *Jayasamba*, published above, Vol III p 48, the word *parvati* occurs in the dates of all fully preserved *Paramāra* plates that have been hitherto published. We have *pavitṛaka-parvati* in No 46 of my *Northern List*, *sōmagrahāṇa-parvati* in Nos 49 and 121, *udāyana-parvati* in No 57, *sainyāta-sūrya-parvati* in No 173, *Mahā-Pavātkhyām parvati* in No 189, *adhishṭka-parvati* in No 195, *sūryagrahāṇa-parvati* in No, 197, and *chandrōparāṇa-parvati* in No. 198.

by gods (i.e. temples) and Brāhmins. After the usual appeal to future kings to preserve this grant and the imprecatory verses, the date (in line 79) is repeated in figures, with the additional remark that the day was a Thursday.

I may state here at once that, so far as the week-day is concerned, the date is incorrect. The full-moon *tithi* of Bhādrapada ended—

in the current *Chaitrādī* Vikrama year 1282 10 h 50 m. after mean sunrise of Friday, the 30th August A D 1224,

in the expired *Chaitrādī* Vikrama year 1282 on Tuesday, the 19th August A D 1225, and

in the expired *Kārtikādī* Vikrama year 1282 on Monday, the 7th September A.D. 1226.

None of the possible equivalents of the date therefore was a Thursday. On the other hand, there was an eclipse of the moon—a partial one—from 17 h 45 m. to 20 h 13 m after mean sunrise, and therefore visible in India, on the second of the three possible days, and I have no doubt that that day, Tuesday, the 19th August A D. 1225, is really the day on which the grant was made, and that in line 79 'Thursday' has been erroneously put down instead of 'Tuesday'

Of the localities mentioned above, Māhishmati, from where the grant was made, is Maheswar, a town in the Indore State, Central India Agency, situated in Long 75° 37' and Lat 22° 11', on the northern bank of the Narmadā (Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27, B d). The village of Satājūnā exists still under the same name—the *Indian Atlas* has 'Satājana'—about 13 miles south-west of Māndhātā in Long 76° 3' and Lat 22° 8' (*Indian Atlas*, sheet 54). Mahuśa, after which the *pratyāgaranaka* or district was called, probably is the village of 'Mohod,' about 25 miles south of 'Satājana,' in Long 76° and Lat 21° 48'. Below, in line 23 of the inscription B., we have *Mahuśa-pathakē*, clearly equivalent to *Mahuśa-pratyāgaranakē*. Among other Paramāra grants, the word for 'district' is *pathaka* also in No. 57 of my *Northern List*, and *pratyāgaranaka* in Nos 172, 189, 195 and 198. The latter term long ago has been identified with the modern *parganā*, 'a district or tract of country including a number of villages'

An abstract list of the donees will be given below, p. 115 f. From that list it will be seen that their number was 32, and that the proceeds of the village granted to them were divided into 32½ shares (*vanśaka*),<sup>1</sup> in such a manner that 26 donees received one share each, 3 half a share each, 2 one share and a half each, and 1 (the *mahārāja-panḍita* or 'king's Panḍit' Gōśa<sup>2</sup>) two shares. The original in each case gives the *gōtra* and *pravara*s of the donee, the names of his father and grandfather, and his place (or country) of origin, also, with two exceptions, the Vēdic *sākhā* or Vēda studied by him. The *gōtras*, *sākhās* and localities so mentioned may be seen from the list, the names of the donees' fathers and grandfathers are given in a separate, alphabetical list, below, p. 116 f. The two lists will show that, with a single exception, the people referred to in the preceding are distinguished by certain epithets which are prefixed to their names, and which generally refer to their religious occupation and are mostly given in abbreviated forms. In alphabetical order, these epithets are *agnis*, i.e. *agnihōtrin*; *dua* or *dvāsāhika*, *upā*, i.e. *upādāhyā*; *cha* or *chaturvēda*, *śha*, i.e. *śhakkura*, *tri* (for *tri*), i.e. *trivēda*, *āi*, i.e. *āikāhita*, *āvi*, i.e. *āvēda*, *pan* or *panḍit*, i.e. *panḍita*, *pāṣha*, i.e. *pāṣhaka*, *yājñi*, i.e. *yājñika*, *śu* or *śukla*, *śrōtri*, i.e. *śrōtriya*. In addition to these, we have *paśāha* in line 71, *rājan* in line 37, and *mahārājapanḍita* in line 39. About the meaning of *paśāha* I am somewhat doubtful. The meaning that first suggested itself to me was *paśāhakula*; but as most of the other epithets refer to religious occupations, I would rather

<sup>1</sup> The inscription B. (in lines 82, 84, 86 and 87) shows that the word *vanśaka* is synonymous with *paśā*, 'a share.'

<sup>2</sup> He probably is the Gōśēka, mentioned in line 51 of the inscription B.

take *pañcha*<sup>o</sup> to be equivalent to *pañchakalpm* (*pañchôlit*) which occurs as an epithet of two persons (father and son) in Prof Weber's Catalogue of the Berlin MSS, Vol II p 96 In the case of 20 donces the same epithet is borne by grandfather, father and son, in 7 cases the grandfather and father have the same epithet, and the son has a different one, and in one case the epithet of father and son is the same, while that of the grandfather differs In the four remaining cases we have the sequences *dikshita*, *avasathika*, *śukla*, *upādhyāya*, *agnihōtrm*, *dikshita*, *agnihōtrm*, *dikshita*, *avasathika*, and *agnihōtrm*, *upādhyāya*, *avasathika*. Speaking from personal experience, I remember that many of my Indian pupils had one or the other of the above mentioned terms as surnames — Dikshit, Padhye, Pañhak, Pandit, Shukle, etc — which they probably have handed down unchanged to their children and children's children

Of the places with which the donces are connected, I take Mahāvāna-sthāna to be Mahāban, a town in the Muttra district of the United Provinces (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, C b), Tripuri-sthāna is Towar, a village in the Jabalpur district of the Central Provinces, about six miles west of Jabalpur, Akōlā-sthāna probably is Akola in Berar (*ibid* Plate 31, D a), and Mathurā-sthāna is Muttra in the United Provinces (*ibid* Plate 27, C b) Dīndvānaka-sthāna apparently is the Dēndvānaka, mentioned above, Vol V p. 210, now the town of Didwāna<sup>1</sup> in Jōdhpur, Rājputāna (*ibid* Plate 27, B b). Regarding the remaining places I cannot offer any definite suggestions Mutāvathū-sthāna is the same place which is mentioned as Muktāvasthū-sthāna in the three grants of Arjunavarman<sup>2</sup> and Hastināpura may be the village of Hathnāvata (on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the Pagārā *pratyāgaranaka*), which was granted by Arjunavarman's grant published in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 27 With Takārī-sthāna compare 'Takārī,' above, Vol III p 350, and note 13 The names Āsrama-sthāna and Sarasvatī-sthāna I have not found elsewhere. On the other hand, Madhyadēśa is too well known to call for any remark here

After the date in line 79, the text of our inscription has the three aksharas *śrī mu*, followed by the numeral 3 and a peculiar mark the exact shape of which may be seen from the photograph The first akshara of course stands for *dātakah* or *dātah*, and should be followed by a name to which the word *śrī* would have been prefixed, but I do not know whether any or what name may be intended to be denoted by *mu 3* and the following symbol We find the same *mu 3* (probably followed by the same mark which we have here) also in the two grants of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 29 and 33

The inscription then has the statement that 'this was composed by the king's preceptor (*rāja guru*) Madana, with the approbation of the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (or great minister of peace and war), the learned Bilhana' — a statement which occurs also in Arjunavarman's grant in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 33, and (with *mahāpandita* instead of *mahāsāndhivigrahika-pandita*) in the same king's grant in *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379. On Madana, who may reasonably be taken to have composed merely the introductory verses of the inscription, see now above, Vol VIII p 99 As regards Bilhana, in verse 7 of the *prastāvi* at the end of Āśādharā's *Dharmāmṛta*<sup>3</sup> 'the learned Bilhana, the lord of poets,' is described as 'the *mahāsāndhivigrahika* of the glorious king Vindhya (*Vindhya-bhūpati*)' Since this king Vindhya can be no other than Arjunavarman's grandfather Vindhavarman,<sup>4</sup> it might seem as if his *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Bilhana could not be the Bilhana of Arjunavarman's grant and of the present inscription But in my opinion there are not for the present any valid reasons why the

<sup>1</sup> In Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App I p 335, the town is called *Dīndvādanaganara*

<sup>2</sup> See *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII pp 27 and 32, and *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 379 (where the published text has *Muktāvastu-sthāna*)

<sup>3</sup> See Dr Bhandarkar's *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS* during 1883-84, p 391.

<sup>4</sup> *Vindhya bhūpati* has been taken to mean 'king of the Vindhyas or Mālava'; but as *Arjuna-bhūpati* in the same *prastāvi* denotes Arjunavarman, the former can only denote Vindhavarman

two should not be considered to be identical. Of the length of the reign of Arjunavarman's father we know nothing, and all we know in this respect about Arjunavarman is, that he reigned during the five years from A. D. 1211 to A. D. 1215. Besides, it should be borne in mind that Āśādhara himself, from whose work the above statement is taken, was a contemporary of no less than five successive kings of Mālava, from Vindhya-varman to Dēvapāla's son Jantugidēva.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription ends with the words 'this is the own hand (i. e. the sign-manual) of the Mahāśāha, the glorious Dēvapāladēva,' followed by the usual *mangalāh mahā-srīh*.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> || Ōm namah puushārtha-chūdāmanayē dharmmāya || \*Prativimva-<sup>4</sup>nubhād= bhūmēh kṛtvā sākshāt=pratiḡāham | jagad=āhlādāyan=dīśy[ā\*]=divjōm-  
 2 drō man galāni vah |(II) 1 |(II) Jiyāt=Prasnu=mo=sau kshatrīh kshunnam rau-ābatah | samdhyā:kka-vimvam=<sup>5</sup>0v=orvī-datu=jasy=ē(a)riti tamvatān<sup>6</sup> |(II) 2 ||  
 3 Yēna Mamdōdai-vāshpa-vāribhūh sa(sa)mitō mridhē | prānēva(śva)ri-vi-yog-guḥ sa Rāmaḥ śrēyasē=stu vah |(II) 3 |(II) Bhīmēn=āpi dhṛtā mū[1\*]=ddhūm yat-pādāp  
 4 sa Yuchshthirah | vams(ś)-ādyēn=ēmdunā jiyāt=su-tulya<sup>7</sup> iva nirmutah |(II) 4 |(II) Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajin-mahimā nripah | śi-Bhōjadēva ity=ā-  
 5 sin=nāsūkūānta-bhūtalah |(II) 5 |(II) Yad-yasaschandrīk ōdyōt<sup>8</sup> digutsamga-taramgītō | dvishannripa-yasāhpumjaramdārīka[1\*]=mmilitam |(II) 6 |(II) Tatō= bhū-  
 6 d=Udayādityō mtyōtśāh-akakantukī | aśādhāra-vraśrīr=asrī-hētū=vinōdhmān |(II) 7 |(II) Mahākālahā-kalpāntō yasy=ōddāmabhu=āsu(śu)-  
 7 gaib | kata n=ōnmūltās=tungā bhūbhṛtāh katak-ōlvānāp |(II) 8 |(II) Tasmāch=ohhūna=dvishanmarmā Naravarmā narādhipah | dharmō(īm-a)- bhyuddharapē dhīmān=abhūt-simā  
 8 mahābhujām |(II) 9 |(II) Prati-prabhātam viprēbhyō datat[r]=grāma-pādāh svāyam | anēkapadātām ninyē dharmmō yēn=āka-pād=api |(II) 10 |(II) Taty(śy)=ajam Yāśōvarmmā  
 9 putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajaya-varm=ābhūj=jayaśrī-vīrutah śu(su)tah |(II) 11 |(II) Tat-sūtur=vvira-mūrdhanyō dhany-ōtpatā(ta)v=ajayata | Gūrjarō-  
 10 nrvvamdhī<sup>10</sup> Vindhyavarmā mahā-bhujah |(II) 12 |(II) Dhāray=ōddhūitayā sārddham dadhāt sma tridhātātū | sēmyugnasya yasy=āns=trātum lōka-  
 11 trayīm=iva |(II) 13 |(II) Tasy=āmushyāyanah putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśīshat | bhūpah Subhatavarmm=ēti dharmmē tishthan=mahī-talam |(II) 14 |(II) Yasya vlatī dig-jētūh pratapas-  
 12 tēh | dāvāgn-ohchhadman=ādy=āpi <sup>11</sup>garjad-Gūrjara-patiānē |(II) 15 |(II) Dōva-  
 bhūyam gatō tasmn=namdanō=rjuna-bhūpātā(ti)h | dōshpā dhattē=di unā dhātri-valayam valayam

<sup>1</sup> See the inscription B, below<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read *pratiśimba-*<sup>4</sup> Read *idmratāh*<sup>5</sup> Read *ōdyōt*<sup>6</sup> Read *ōdyōt*<sup>7</sup> The editions of the plates of Arjunavarman have *garyas*; but *garjad* is the reading also of B, below, p 121, line 14.<sup>8</sup> From an impression supplied by Mr. Cousens.<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 1-22: Śloka (Anuśtubh).<sup>10</sup> Read *ōmōm*<sup>11</sup> Read *sva-tulya*<sup>12</sup> Read *nirbhāshāt*

- 13 yathā |(II) 16 |(I) Vā(bā)lālī-āhavē yasya Jayasimhē palāyitē | dīkṣālahāsa-  
vyājēna yasō dīkshu vijimbhitam |(II) 17 |(II) Kāvya-gāndharvva-sarvvasva-  
nādhmā
- 14 yēna<sup>1</sup> sāmpratam | bhāi-āvataranam<sup>2</sup> dēvyās=chakrē pustaka-vīnayōh |(II) 18  
|(II) Yēna trividha-virēna tridhā pallavitam yasāḥ | dhavalatvam dadhu-  
trīn ja-
- 15 gamti katham=amya(nya)thā |(II) 19 |(I) Ath=ārthnām=apunyēna puṇyēna  
svaigga-subhruvām | sō sdbhutatyaśāśilās=cha śrīmgārī cha divam gataḥ |(II)  
20 |(II) Ta-
- 16 tah Pramāra-chamdrasya Hariśchamdrasya namdanāḥ | raraksha Mālava-  
kshōnim Dēvapālah pratāpavān |(II) 21 |(II) Pavitra-karapadmaśya(sya)  
dānavari-vijim-
- 17 bhataḥ | na vidmō Dēvapālasya dēvapālasya ch=āntaram |(II) 22 |(II) Sa  
ēsha nara-nāyakah sarv-ābhyudayī ||<sup>3</sup> Mahuada-pratīyāgaranakē Satā-
- 18 juṇā-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vṛā(brā)hman-ōttai:ān=pratinivāsi(ān)-pattakīla-jana-  
pad-ādīms=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ samvidi-
- 19 tam yathā ||<sup>3</sup> śrī-Māhishmati-stūtar=asmābhīr=<sup>4</sup>dvyasītyadhika-dvādasāsata-  
samvatsarē Bhādrapadē māse purnnamāsyām sō-

Second Plate, First Side

- 20 ma-parvvanī Rēvāyām snātvā śrī Daityasūdana-sannidhau bhagavantam  
Bhavānī-patim samabhyarchchya samsāisy=āsaratām dīshvā | tathā hi ||  
Vā.<sup>5</sup>
- 1 tābha-vibhramam=idam vaśu(su)dh-ādhipatyam=āpātāmātra-madhurō viśhay-  
ōpabhōgah | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā nurōnām dha-
- 2 rmmah sakhā param=śhō paralōka-yānē || ita sarvām vimrisy=ādrishta-  
phalam=amgikṛitya ||<sup>7</sup> Āśramasthāna-vimrggatāya Vājūnādhyamdnasā-
- 3 kh-ādhyāyīnē Parāśa[ra\*]-gōtrāya Parāśa-Śakti-Vasishth-ētī<sup>8</sup> tri-pravarāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup>  
Dāmōdara-pautrāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup> Vra(bra)hma-putrāya śrōtri<sup>9</sup> Gamgādha-
- 4 rasa(śa)rmmanē vṛā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-  
vimrggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ētī tri-pravarāya Āsva-  
lāyacasākḥ-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Gamgādharma-pautrāya āvasa(sa)thika-Mahāditya-putrāya  
śukla-Bhadrésva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmanē vṛā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
- kam 1 Mahāvanasthāna-vimrggatāya Pavitra-gōtrāya Gārggya-Gaurivī-Āmgiras-ētī  
tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanasākḥ-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Śim(śim)ha-  
kamtha-pautrāya su<sup>11</sup> Madhukamtha-putrāya su<sup>10</sup> Chandrakamthasa(śa)rmmanē  
vṛā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mahāvanasthā[na\*]-vimrggatāya Andalya-  
gōtrāya<sup>12</sup> Mā-
- dhyamdnasākḥ-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>10</sup> Padmasvāmi-pautrāya di<sup>10</sup> Trilōchana-putrāya di<sup>10</sup>  
Nārāyanasa(śa)rmmanē vṛā(brā)hmanāya sārḥam vamtakam=ēkam 1½ Ma-

Originally yēna was engraved

The edition of the grant of Arjuna-varman in Journ Am Or Soc Vol VII p 26, has bhādravāidranam

These signs of punctuation are superfluous

Read =asmābhīrva

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

Instead of the akshara dhā originally dhau seems to have been engraved

This sign of punctuation is superfluous Here and in other places below the rules of samās have not been

ed

Originally Parādī-Śa<sup>9</sup> was engraved Read Parādīara-Śakti-Vasishth ēti, where the name Śakti,

3v would stand for the more correct Śakti See below, line 71

1 here and below, śrōtrīya-

<sup>10</sup> I e, here and below, dīkshita-

1 here and below, sukla

<sup>12</sup> Here the pravaras are omitted

- 29 hāvanasthāna-vinirgatāya Kātyāyana-gōtrāya<sup>1</sup> Śā(sā)maṅgēd-ādhyāyīnē tr<sup>2</sup>  
Rāmēsva(śva)ra-pautrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Jāsōdhara-<sup>3</sup>putrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Śūrasarmanā<sup>4</sup>  
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ē-
- 30 kam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-<sup>5</sup>gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Ānggrasa-  
Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-pravarāya Kanthumasākh-ādhyāyī-
- 31 nē tri<sup>2</sup> Dālana-pautrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Āśādharma-putrāya tri<sup>2</sup> Visvēsvaśarmanā<sup>4</sup>  
vra(bā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Takāristhāna-vinirgatāya Bhāradvā-
- 32 ja-gōtāya Bhāradvāj-Ānggrasa-Vā(bā)rhasya(spa)ty-ēti tri-pravarāya Mādhyamda-  
sākh-ādhyāyīnē di<sup>6</sup> Kōlhana-pautrāya di<sup>6</sup> Madhu-putrāya di<sup>6</sup> Rā-
- 33 masa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanā[y]a vamtakam=ēkam 1 Tripurīsthāna-  
vinirgatāya Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Bhāradvāj-Ānggrasa-Vā(bā)rhaspaty-ēti tri-  
prava-
- 34 rāya pam |<sup>7</sup> Haridhara-pautrāya pam | Mahīdhara-putrāya pam<sup>8</sup> Bhṛgu-  
śarmanā<sup>8</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya sārddham vamtakam=ēkam 1<sup>2</sup> Mutavathūsthāna<sup>9</sup>  
vinirgatāya
- 35 Kāśyapa-gōtāya Kāśyapa(p-Ā)vatsāra-Naidhrav-ēti tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanaśākh  
ādhyāyīnē cha<sup>10</sup> Prthivīdhara-pautrāya cha<sup>10</sup> Āśā(sā)dhara-pu-
- 36 trāya agni<sup>11</sup> Nārāyanaśarmanā<sup>4</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1  
Akōlāsthāna-vinirgatāya Parāvāsu(su)-gōtrāya Parāvāsu(su)-Kāmākāya-
- 37 na-Kaikaśya<sup>12</sup> tri-pravarāya tha |<sup>13</sup> Bharatapāla-pautrāya tha | Dallāpa-putrāya  
rāja-Gōśa(sa)śarmanā<sup>14</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthā-
- 38 na-vinirgatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Vāsī(s)sthā-gōtāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra  
Vāsī(s)sth-ēti tri-pravarāya chaturvēda-Janārdana-pautā-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 39 ya chaturvēda-Dharauīdhara-putrāya mahārājapamditā-srī-Gōśēśarmanā<sup>4</sup>  
vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka-dvayam 2 Mathurāsthāna-vinirgatāya Ā-
- 40 śvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āpnuvānī<sup>15</sup>  
Aturva-Jāmadagny-ēti pamcha-pravarāya cha<sup>16</sup> . . .<sup>16</sup>-pautrāya cha<sup>16</sup>
- 41 Vahnū-putrāya cha<sup>16</sup> Rāmēsva(śva)rasa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirgatāya Āśvalā[yā\*]nasākh-ādhyāyīnē Kāśyapa  
gōtrā-
- 42 ya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrav-ēti tri-pravarāya cha<sup>16</sup> Samuddhara-pautrāya cha<sup>16</sup>  
Dēvadhara-putrāya cha<sup>16</sup> Gadādharaśa(śa)rmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam=  
ēkam 1 Ma-
- 43 thurāsthāna-vinirgatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Bhārggava-gōtrāya Bhārggava  
Vatahavya-Sāvētas-ēti tri-pravarāya cha<sup>16</sup> Pavitra-pautrā-
- 44 ya cha<sup>16</sup> Dharanīdhara-putrāya cha<sup>16</sup> Garbhēsva(śva)śarmanā<sup>4</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya  
vamtakam=ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vinirgatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyī-

<sup>1</sup> *Kātyāyana-gōtrāya* was originally omitted, and is engraved above the line. Here, again, the *pravara* is omitted.

<sup>2</sup> Here and below for *tri*, i.e. *trivēda*.

<sup>3</sup> For *Yatōdhara*.

<sup>4</sup> For *Śūrasarmanā*.

<sup>5</sup> In the place of the *akshara ra* originally *dea* was engraved.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Vivēśvara*.

<sup>7</sup> *Tha*, or *pam*, here and below, = *pamditā*.

<sup>8</sup> The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

<sup>9</sup> Below, in lines 47 and 49, the name is *Mutavathā*.

<sup>10</sup> *Cha*, here and below, *chaturvēda*.

<sup>11</sup> *Cha*, here and below, *agnīśtri*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Kaikaśya*.

<sup>13</sup> *Cha*, here and below, *śākhā*.

<sup>14</sup> The *śākhā* of this man is omitted.

<sup>15</sup> Read *Āpnuvāna*, see below, lines 52 and 66.

<sup>16</sup> Here an open space is left for a name of four syllables which has been omitted.



2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायाः अष्टाध्याय्याः अष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 ४ ॥ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ६ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ८ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 १० ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 १२ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 १४ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 १६ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 १८ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥

15a

२० ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 २२ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 २४ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 २६ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 २८ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ३० ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ३२ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ३४ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ३६ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥  
 ३८ ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥ अहो भूयः पश्य मामन्तर्द्वारं ॥

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY MR H COUSENS

40

42

44

46

48

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52

54

56

58

Fragmentary text in Devanagari script, lines 40-58. The text is mostly illegible due to severe damage and fading.

60

62

64

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Fragmentary text in Devanagari script, lines 60-80. The text is mostly illegible due to severe damage and fading.



- 45 né Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Samuddhara-  
pautrāya cha° Dēvadhara-putrāya cha° Lōhataśarmanā viā(bṛā)hmanā-
- 46 ya vamtakam-ēkam l Dmḍvānakasthāna-vimrggatāya 1<sup>1</sup>Śamkshāyanasākḥ-  
ādhyaīnē Gautama-gōtīāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti<sup>2</sup> tri-prava-
- 47 rāya cha° Dhānidhāna-pautrāya cha° Vra(bṛa)hma-putīāya cha° Puushōttama-  
śarmanā vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkām l Mutāvathūsthāna-vimrggatāya  
Mādhyam-
- 48 dmasakh-ādhyaīnē Kāśyapa-gōtīāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya  
dvi<sup>3</sup> Gōvinda-pautīāya dvi° Vāsadhara-putrāya dvi° Gada-
- 49 dharaśarmanā vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdḍham ½ Mutāvathūsthāna-  
vimrggatāya Mādhyamśasakh-ādhyaīnē Kāśyapa-gōtīāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-  
Naidhu-
- 50 v-ēti tri-pravarāya di° 4Gamgdhara-pautīāya di° Kēsava-putīāya Udaśar-  
manā viā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtaka(k-ā)rdḍham ½ Mahāvanasthā[na\*]-  
vimrggatāya Kau-
- 51 thumaśakh-ādhyaīnē Gautama-gōtrāya Gautam-Āmgrasa-Autatthy-ēti tri-  
pravarāya pam° Madana-pautīāya pam° Kāhna(nha)da-putīāya pam°  
Kuladharaśa(śa)śarmanā
- 52 vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Takārīsthāna-vimrggatāya<sup>5</sup> Kauthumaśākḥ-  
ādhyaīnē Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhāggava-Chyavana-Āpnvān° Aurvya-Jāmadagny-ē
- 3 ti pamcha-pravarāya tri° Janāiddana-pautīāya tri° Naraśim(sim)ha-putrāya āva<sup>7</sup>  
Abhinandaśarmanā viā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-  
vimrggatā-
- 54 ya Mādhyamdi[na\*]śākḥ-ādhyaīnē Mudgala-gōtrāya Āmgrasa(sa)-Bhara sa-<sup>8</sup>  
Mudgal-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Chohhitū-pautrāya agni° Dhānidhāna-putīā-
- 55 ya agni° Anantaśarmanā vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Madhyadēśa-  
vimrggatāya Mādhyamśasakh-ādhyaīnē Śāmdilya-gōtrāya Śāmdilya-Āsi(sa)ta-
- 56 Dēval-ēti tri-pravarāya yājñi<sup>9</sup> Nāgadēva-pautrāya yājñi° Kriśna-putrāya agni°  
Sthānēśva(śva)raśarmanā vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-  
vimi-
- 57 rggatāya Āśvalāyanasākḥ-ādhyaīnē Dhaumya-gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-[Nai\*]dhrv-  
ēti<sup>10</sup> tri-pravarāya cha° Viśnu-pautīāya cha° Sādhārana-putrā-
- 58 ya cha° Ūdha[ra]śarmanā<sup>11</sup> vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam l Mathurāsthāna-  
vimrggatāya 12Rāpāyiniśākḥ-ādhyaīnē Bhāradvāja-gōtīāya Āmgi-
- 59 rasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Mādhyama-pautrāya<sup>13</sup> tri°  
Sōmēśva(śva)ra-putīāya tri° Kuladharaśarmanā vrā(bṛā)hmanāya vamtakam-  
ēkam l

## Third Plate

- 60 Mathurāsthāna-vimrggatāya Rānāyiniśākḥ-ādhyaīnē Bhāradvāja-gōtīāya Āmgrasa-  
Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya tri° Ru(ri)shi-pautrāya tri°

<sup>1</sup> Read *Śamkshāyana*° or, more correctly, *Śamkshāyana*°

<sup>2</sup> *Autatthy* - *Auchatthy*, see below, B, line 33

<sup>3</sup> *I e*, here and below, *dvi* & *di*.

<sup>4</sup> Originally *Gāmgā*° was engraved, but the first *g* has been struck out

<sup>5</sup> Originally °*sthānā*° was engraved

<sup>6</sup> Read -*Āpnvāna*°

<sup>7</sup> *I e*, here and below, *avasathika*°

<sup>8</sup> In this name an open space is left for two syllables The name which one would have expected is *Bhārmayata*

<sup>9</sup> *I e*, here and below, *yājñika*°

<sup>10</sup> The *akḥara* *vē* is engraved above the line

<sup>11</sup> Originally *Ūdhapa*° was engraved

<sup>12</sup> Read, here and below, *Rānāyiniśākḥ*°

<sup>13</sup> The *akḥara* *dha* is engraved above the line

- 61 Mārkaṇḍa-putrāya tri° Madhusūdanaśarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1 Sarasvatīsthāna-vimrggatāya Kathasākh-ādhyāyīnē [Har]ita-Kuta-
- 62 gōtrāya Āngirāsa(sa)-Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanasv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Vijayī-pautraya cha° Ajayī-putrāya cha° Alīśarmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1
- 63 Madhyadēsa-vimrggatāya Mādhyamdnasākh-ādhyāyīnē Kāśyapa gōtrāya Kāśyap-Āvatsāra-Naidhrv-ēti tri-pravarāya upa°<sup>2</sup> Nārāyana-pautrāya agni°<sup>3</sup>
- 64 Īasadōva-putrāya di° Lāhadāśarmanē<sup>4</sup> vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1 Madhyadēsa-vimrggatāya Mādhyamdnasākh-ādhyāyīnē Śamḍhya-gōtrāya A-
- 65 śi(si)ta-Dēvala-Sām(sām)ḍily-ēti tri-pravarāya agni° Katuka-pautraya di° Puru-shōttama-putrāya āva° Narasiṃhasarmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1 Ma-
- 66 dhyadēsa-vimrggatāya Mādhyamdnasākh-ādhyāyīnē Mārkaṇḍeya-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chjavana-Āpnuvān<sup>5</sup> Aurvva-Jāmadagny-ēti paṃcha pravarāya agni° Chchhitā-pau-
- 67 trāya upā° - Dāmōdara-putrāya āva° Mārkaṇḍeyasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1 Madhyadēsa-vimrggatāya Mādhyamdnasākh-ādhyāyīnē Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 68 trāya Āngirāsa(sa)-<sup>7</sup>Vā(bā)haspatya-Bhāradvāj-ēti tri-pravarāya dvi° Nārāyana-pautrāya dvi° Padmaśūbha-putrāya pātha°<sup>8</sup> Vāyudēvasarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtaka-
- 69 m-ēkam 1 Mathurāsthāna-vimrggatāya Āśvalāyanaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Kautsa-gōtrāya Āngirāsa(sa)-Amva(ba)riṣha-Yauvanasv(sv)-ēti tri-pravarāya cha° Hari-pau-
- 70 trāya cha° Jamarḍdana-putrāya cha° Rājēśarmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-arddham ½ Hastinēpura-vimrggatāya Kanthumaśākh-ādhyāyīnē Pārāsa(sa)ra-gōtrā-
- 71 ya Pārāsa(sa)ra-Śakti-<sup>9</sup>Vasī(sī)stth-ēti tri-pravarāya paṃcha°<sup>10</sup> Kāhna(nha)da-pautrāya paṃcha° Kumāra-putrāya paṃdi°<sup>11</sup> Kusumapālāsarmmanē vrā(brā)hmanāya vamtakam-ēkam 1
- 72 samastō-pi grāmāś-chaṭṭhakaṃkata-<sup>12</sup>visu(su)ddhah sa-vrikshamālākulah sa-hiranyabhāghabhōgah s-ōparikarah saivvādāya-samētah sa-mḍhnikshēpah sha-
- 73 mhalatama[ka]-<sup>13</sup>samanavitō mātēpitror-ātmanas-cha punyajasō-<sup>14</sup>bhivriddhayō chamdrārkānnavakshita-samakālam yāvat-paraya(yā) bhaktyā śās(sa)nen-ōdaka-pūrvvam pradattah [I\*] tan-ma-
- 74 tvā tanuvāśi(si)-pa[ttā]kilajanapadar=yathādīyamāna-bhāghabhōgakaihiraṇyādīkath dēvavrā(brā)hmanabhukta-vaijṇam-āyūś-vidhēyaur=bhātvtā saivvam-ēbhayō vrā(brā)hmanēbhayō dātavyam [I\*]
- 75 sāmānyam ch=aitō-punya-phalam vudhvā<sup>15</sup> smadvamējar=anyar-apī bhāvi-bhōktrbhīr=asmatpradatta-dhāmmādāyō<sup>16</sup> syam-anumantavyah pālaniyas=cha<sup>17</sup> || Uktam cha || <sup>18</sup>Va(ba)hnbhīr=vasū(su)dhā

<sup>1</sup> Originally *Āngirāsa* was engraved

<sup>2</sup> *I e*, here and below, *upādhyāya*-

<sup>3</sup> This sign of abbreviation is engraved at the commencement of the next line

<sup>4</sup> For *Yasiddhva*

<sup>5</sup> Originally *Lādhadā* was engraved

<sup>6</sup> Read *Apnavādna*

<sup>7</sup> Originally *Āngirāsa* was engraved

<sup>8</sup> *I e pāthaka*

<sup>9</sup> Read *Śakti*, and see above, p 109, note 8

<sup>10</sup> *I e*, here and below, *pañchakalpi*(?)

<sup>11</sup> *I e paṃdi*

<sup>12</sup> Read *chaṭṭhakaṃkata*

<sup>13</sup> The *akshara* in brackets might possibly be read *chha* As will be seen from the facsimile, the space between *lā* and *ta* at the commencement of line 73 is larger than it generally is between two *aksharas*

<sup>14</sup> Read *punyaajasō*

<sup>15</sup> Read *udhvā*

<sup>16</sup> One would have expected *dharmaḍḍyō*; but *dharmaḍḍyō* is the reading of most of the Paramāra copper-plates

<sup>17</sup> Originally *śāchāś* was engraved.

<sup>18</sup> Metre of this verse and the next Ślōka (Anushṭubh)

- 76 bhuktā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā  
phalam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō haṛēta vasundharām | sa  
vshthāyām kpmur-bhūtvā pūtribhīḥ saha
- 77 majjati || 'Sarvvān-ēvam bhāvino bhūmpālān-bhūtyō bhūtyō yāchatē  
Rāmabhadraḥ [1\*] sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētur-ṇipānām kālē kālē pālani-
- 78 yō bhavadbhīḥ || Iti<sup>2</sup> kamaladalānvu(bu)vindu-lōlām śrīyam-anuchmtya  
manushya-jīvatam oha | sakalam-idam-udāhritam oha vudhvā<sup>3</sup> na hi pu-
- 79 rusaah para-kūttayō vilōpyā iti || Samvat 1282 varshē Bhādra-sudi 15 Gurau ||  
Dā<sup>4</sup> śīmu 3||<sup>5</sup> Rachitam-ida[m\*] mahāsāndhi-
- 80 vīrahika-pandita-śrī-Vī(bu)lhana-sammātēna<sup>6</sup> rāja-gurunā Madanēna | Sva-hastō-  
yam mahārāja-śrī-Dēvapālādēvasya || Mangalam mahā-śrīḥ [1\*]

## TRANSLATION OF VERSES 1-22.

Om ! Om ! Obeisance to *dharma*,<sup>7</sup> the crest-jewel of the aims of man !

(Verse 1) May (the Moon), the Lord of the twice-born, gladdener of the world, after having openly accepted the earth in the guise of its reflection,<sup>8</sup> bestow blessings on you !

(V 2) May that Paraśurāma be victorious, for whom, when he granted the earth (to the *Brāhmins*), the very orb of the twilight-sun, pierced by the Kshatriyas slain (by him) in fight, became the copper-plate<sup>9</sup>

(V 3) May Rāma minister to your welfare, he who in battle quenched the fire of separation from his life's mistress by the water of Mandōdari's<sup>10</sup> tears !

(V 4) May Yudhishtira be victorious, whose feet even Bhīma placed on his head, (as I) whom the Moon, the progenitor of his race, framed as it were equal unto himself !

(V 5) There was a king, great like Kamsa's conqueror,<sup>11</sup> an ornament of the Paramāra family, the glorious Bhōjadēva, who occupied the surface of the earth by the van of his army<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śālinī

<sup>2</sup> Metre Pūshpitāgrā

<sup>3</sup> Read *buddhad*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. *dātakah* or *dātah* (as in the inscription B)

<sup>5</sup> For the exact shape of this mark, which is not a sign of punctuation, see the accompanying photo lithograph.

<sup>6</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous

<sup>7</sup> I find no English word by which I could fully express all the meanings of the Sanskrit *dharma*, in the present case 'religious merit' would perhaps best convey some idea of what is intended. The four aims of man are *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mōksha*

<sup>8</sup> The spot (*kalanka*) in the moon is by poets taken to be the reflected image of the earth. Prof. Jacoby, who first drew my attention to this notion, quotes *Agastya* XIV 40, and especially *Haravyaya* XLI 64, and I find that the idea is clearly expressed in verse 1982 of the *Subbhāktīśālī*, according to which 'others have said' that the spot in the moon is 'the reflected image of the earth' (*dhāms-cha bimbam parē*), compare also *ibid* v 2584, *śalakeśmanah parvatā pūtrih kalankēyatē*. With *pratibimba-mūhāt* compare *pratibimba mūhāt* in the *Pāryātamāñjart*, above, Vol VIII p 110, line 50; and with *jagad-dhāddayan*, as applied to the moon, *dhlādāyan-vīśam* in *Ind Ant* Vol XVI p 208, line 1 — The Moon being a *devya* (or *Brāhman*), one of his privileges is to receive gifts (*pratyakha*), just as it is his duty to make them (*dāna*)

<sup>9</sup> The verse has been called awkward, because it has not been understood. Since warriors slain in battle enter heaven through the sun, this luminary, covered with their blood, assumes the reddish hue of copper. In this state it appears in the twilight sky, and is thus represented to be the very copper-plate charter (*tāmra*) by which Paraśurāma granted the earth to the *Brāhmins*. For the idea of warriors who are slain in battle splitting the sun compare, e.g., *Ind Vol II* p 192, v. 88, *Subbhāktīśālī*, v 2274, and the pretty verse, given to illustrate the figure of speech, in *Ēkāvatī*, Bombay ed., p 825 *Navāhu kāntāhu kṛtābhūlādāhā svargānganāh prākāhya* *nu* *irha bhūpāla tar-dhāśāhu kampākūlan darsayati svabimbam* ||, afraid of being split, the

<sup>10</sup> Mandōdari is Rāvana's favourite wife

<sup>11</sup> I.e. the god Kṛṣṇa

<sup>12</sup> *J* *Ind Ant* p 287, *śāstra* (i.e. *śāśā-mukha*) occurs in the *Pāryātamāñjart*, above, Vol VIII p 116, l 78, also

*Ind Ant* p 287, *śāstra* (i.e. *śāśā-mukha*) occurs in the *Pāryātamāñjart*, above, Vol VIII p 116, l 78, also

(V 6) When the lustre of the moonlight of his glory overflowed the lap of the regions, there closed the day-lotuses of the glory accumulated by hostile kings

(V 7) Then came Uḍṣāḍitya, whose one desire was constant enterprise, who, of unequalled glory as a hero, made inglorious his adversaries

(V 8) As lofty mountains, abounding in ridges, at the end of a mundane period are uprooted by impetuous winds, so in fierce contest how many rulers of the earth, abounding in armies, were not uprooted by his irresistible arrows!

(V 9) From him sprang king Naravarman, who cleft the vital parts of adversaries, the acme of kings, wise in upholding religion

(V 10) At every dawn freely granting shares of villages to Brāhmins, he made religion, one-footed though it is (*in this Kālī age*), possessed of several feet<sup>1</sup>

(V 11) His son was Yaśōvarman, the chaplet of Kshatriyas, (*and*) from him sprang his son Ajayavarman, renowned for the glory of victory

(V 12) His son, of auspicious birth, the foremost of heroes, was Vindhavarman, long of arm, eager to extirpate the Gūrjaras,

(V 13) The sword of this (*king*) skilled in war, with Dhārā rescued by it, assumed three edges,<sup>2</sup> to protect as it were the three worlds

(V 14) Then the son of that illustrious one, king Subhatavarman, abiding by religion, ruled the surface of the earth, glorious like India

(V 15) The fire of prowess of that conqueror of the quarters, whose splendour was like the sun's, in the guise of a forest-fire even to-day blazes in the town<sup>3</sup> of the blustering Gūrjara.<sup>1</sup>

(V 16) Now<sup>5</sup> that he has attained unto godhead, his son king Arjuna supports with his arm the circle of the earth like a bracelet

(V 17) When in the battle which was his childhood's frolic Jayasimha took to flight, his fame spread in the quarters in the guise of the laughter of the quarters' guardians

(V 18) A treasure-house of the stores of poetry and song, he now has relieved the goddess (Sarasvatī) of the burden of her books and lyre

(V 19) This triple hero<sup>6</sup> made his fame triply sprout How otherwise did the three worlds acquire their whiteness?

<sup>1</sup> I: the golden age *dharma* had four feet, of which it lost one in each subsequent age (*Pañcāraṃbhī*, ed. by V. B. Sastri, *Śāntipurāṇa*, Vol I P I p 82) The word for 'share' in the original being *pada*, *te* 'foot,' the king by granting shares of villages increased the number of *dharma's* feet and so brought back as it were the golden age. Compare *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 218, l 19 *mahādāndīy-ātibhānī kusuvan=parīcāny=ānukasaḥ | dharmamvay=atīrīdhād=yō=śhīrīṣa*, see also *ibid* Vol XII p 159, l 7

<sup>2</sup> By itself the sword had two edges (*dhārā*), the town of Dhārā, retaken by it, became its third edge (*dhārā*) and purifies, heaven, earth, and the lower regions

<sup>3</sup> The word *pattana* may also be taken as a proper name of the well known Pattana (see *eg* above, Vol VIII p 224, No XII, and p 220, No XXXII)

<sup>4</sup> *Gaṇṇad Gūrjara* occurs also above, p 85 l 27, compare also *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 217, l 11 *m=amam G[ūrjara] g[urjara]*

<sup>5</sup> This 'now' is really inappropriate in inscriptions of Arjunavarman's successors, but the verses 16-19 have been taken over unchanged from that king's own grants

<sup>6</sup> *Te* a hero in fight, in compassion (like Jīmatādhana), and in bounty (like Bali)—*yuddha-vra, dayd-vra, and dāna-vra*, compare Vāmanaśhārya in his edition of the *Kāṭyākrandī*, p 113, *Śringarītilaka*, III, 14 (*trivādhō nḍyakaḥ*), and similar works. In the *Pārsvātamaṅgarī*, above, Vol VIII p 102, l 7, and p 103, l 18, Arjunavarman is styled *trivādhavra-chūddaman*: The same epithet I find applied to a person named Uḍṣaya, in three Mount Āṇā inscriptions of the Vikrama years 1245 and 1291 (Mr. Cousens's List, Nos 1725, 1726 and 1840). With the whole verse one may compare *Śhāpīṭī*, p 258 *Narasimha mahāpāla kīrti=trīpathad tava | āa kasya dhāsvīḍ ślāghyā pūṣṇāḍ dhuvanātrayam I.*

(V 20) Then, through the want of merit of suppliants and through the merit of the lovely-browed damsels of paradise, he who was both marvellously bountiful and amorous went to heaven

(V 21) Then Dēvapāla, full of prowess—the son of Hariśchandra, the moon of the Pramāras—came to rule the Mālava county

(V 22) Because of the pouring out of the water of donations by him who holds *kuśa* grass in his lotus-hand, we know no difference between Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods [whom the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas caused to take the *argha* in his lotus-hand (to make a respectful offering)]<sup>1</sup>

## LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gōtra	Śākha or Vēda	Place of origin	Shates
1	Gangādihara <sup>2</sup>	śrōtriya	Parāśe[ra]	Vāpamādhyamdnas	Āśrama <sup>3</sup>	1
2	Bhadrésvara	śukla	Pavitra	Āśvalāyana	Mahāvana	1
3	Chandrakaptha	"	"	"	"	1
4	Nārāyana	dīkshita	Audalya	Mādhyamdina	"	1†
5	Śura	trivēda	Kātīyana	Sāmvēda	"	1
6	Viśvēsvara	"	Bhāradvāja	Kaunthuma	Ṭskārī	1
7	Rāma	dīkshita	"	Mādhyamdina	"	1
8	Bhrigu	pañcīta	"	omitted	Tripurī	1†
9	Nārāyana	agnihōtrin	Kāśyapa	Āśvalāyana	Mutāvasthū	1
					Carried over	10

<sup>1</sup> The king Dēvapāla and the guardian of the gods (*dēvapāla*, i.e. the god Indra) are alike because either of them is *dānavāri vyrimbhītaś pavitrakarapadmāś*. About the exact meanings of the first of these two words there can be no doubt, it means both 'the pouring forth of the water of donations' (*dāna-āri*), and 'the exploits of the enemy of the Dānavas' (*Dānava-āri*, i.e. the god Vishnu Kṛṣṇa). I am not so sure about the two meanings of the second word. Referred to the king, it means 'holding *pavitra* (i.e. *kuśa* or *darbhā* grass, which is taken up by the person who is about to make a donation) in his lotus hand'. Applied to Indra, I take it to mean that Indra, pleased with the exploits of the conqueror of the Dānavas, took up the *pavitra* (i.e. the *argha* vessel) to make a respectful offering to Vishnu. In support of this explanation I would quote *Ep Ind* Vol. I, p. 124, v. 2, where Brahman offers to Vishnu the *argha-śalīla*, when he sees how the latter has cheated Balī. But I am myself not quite satisfied with this explanation, because I suspect the word *padma* to have been used in two different senses in the compound. — From inscriptions we may compare with our verse especially the verse in *Ind Ant* Vol. XVIII p. 218, ll 19 and 20 *Śryam bahāra vidhavad-dānavārātīśhītaś | Mahāśāradavad-dēvyārāhītha-earggas-tat saṅgam-dgataś* ||, where *dānavārātīśhītaś* means both 'excessively pleased by the water of donations' and 'pleased by the enemy of the Dānavas'. *Dānavāri* also has a third meaning, 'the rutting juice of elephants' (*mada-jala*), and in that sense as well as in the sense of 'the enemy of the Dānavas' the word is used in the *Nāśhadhīyacharita*, XIII vv 3 and 28, the first of which, in so far as it is applicable to Indra, seems to have suggested the *śryam bahāra dānavārātīśhītaś Mahāśāra*[h] of the verse quoted above from an inscription. (Incidentally I may mention that *Pañchanaitya* is not 'the title of a work,' but a name of the 18th *sarga* of the *Nāśhadhīyacharita*). In *Āśvāvalī*, p. 200, the hand of a king is compared with the ocean, because both hold the *dānavāri*.

<sup>2</sup> All these names have the word *śarma* attached to them.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of *Mādhyamdina* and *Pañchānārya*, these names have the word *śāśna* attached to them.

LIST OF THE DONEES IN LINES 22-71—*contd*

Number	Name of donee	Description	Gotra	Sikhā or Vēda	Place or origin	Shares
					Brought forward	10
10	Gōsala	rājau	Parāvasu	<i>omitted</i>	Akōlā	1
11	Gōsū	muhārājapandita	Vasultha	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	2
12	Rāmēśvara	chaturvēda	Dhargava	"	"	1
13	Gadādihara	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
14	Garbhēśvara	"	Bhārgava	"	"	1
15	Lōhata	"	Kāśyapa	"	"	1
16	Purushōttama	"	Gautama	Śāṅkhāyana	Diḍvānaka	1
17	Gadādihara	divēda	Kāśyapa	Mādhyandina	Mutāvathū	†
18	Udai (Uday?)	<i>omitted</i>	"	"	"	†
19	Kuladhara	paṇḍita	Gautama	Kauthuma	Mahāvana	1
20	Abhinanda	śvasathika	Vatsa	"	Takārī	1
21	Ananta	agnihōtrin	Mudgala	Mādhyandina	Madhyadēśa	1
22	Sthanēśvara	"	Śāṅḍilya	"	"	1
23	Ūlha[ra]	chaturvēda	Dhaumya	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	1
24	Kuladhara	trivēda	Bhāradvāja	Rāśyuni	"	1
25	Madhusūdana	"	"	"	"	1
26	Alli	chaturvēda	Harta-Kutsa	Katha	Sarasvatī	1
27	Lālaḍa	dikshita	Kāśyapa	Mādhyandina	Madhyadēśa	1
28	Narasimha	śvasathika	Śāṅḍilya	"	"	1
29	Mākaṇḍēya	"	Mārkaṇḍēya	"	"	1
30	Vāyudeva	pāthaka	Bhāradvāja	"	"	1
31	Rājē	chaturvēda	Kautsa	Āśvalāyana	Mathurā	†
32	Kusumapāla	paṇḍita	Pārāsara	Kauthuma	Haṭṭakpura	1
					TOTAL	82†

## NAMES OF THE FATHERS AND GRANDFATHERS OF THE DONEES.

Ajayi, chaturvēda, l. 62

Āśādihara, trivēda, l. 31, chaturvēda, l. 35.

Bharatapāla, thakkura, l. 37

Brahman, śrōtrīya, l. 23, chaturvēda, l. 47

Chhittū, agnihōtrin, ll. 54, 66

Dālapa, trivēda, l. 31

Dālapa, thakkura, l. 37.

Dāmōdara, śrōtrīya, l. 23; upādhyāya, l. 67.

Dēvadihara, chaturvēda, ll. 42, 45.

Dharaṅkdhara, chaturvēda, ll. 39, 44, 47, agnihōtrin, l. 54.



Gangādhara, dikshita, II 25, 50	Mahādhara, paṇḍita, I, 34.
Gōvmda, dvivēda, I 48.	Markanda, trivēda, I 61
Hari, chaturvēda, I 69	Nāgādēva, yājñika, I 56
Haradhara, paṇḍita, I 34	Narasimha, trivēda, I 53.
Janārdana, chatuṣvēda, II 38, 70, trivēda, I 53	Nārāyana, upādhyāya, I 63, dvivēda, I 68
Jasadēva, agnihōtrīn, I 64	Padmanābha, dvivēda, I 68
Jasōdhara, trivēda, I 29	Padmasvāmin, dikshita, I 28
Kānhada, paṇḍita, I 51, pañchakalpin(?), I 71	Pavitra, chaturvēda, I 43
Katuka, agnihōtrīn, I 65	Prthivīdhara, chaturvēda, I 35
Kēlhana, dikshita, I 32.	Purushōttama, dikshita, I 65
Kēsava, dikshita, I 50	Ramésvara, trivēda, I 29
Krishna, yājñika, I 56	Rishi, trivēda, I 60.
Kumara, pañchakalpin(?), I 71	Sādhātana, chaturvēda, I 57,
Madana, paṇḍita, I 51	Samuddhara, chaturvēda, II 42, 45
Mādhava, trivēda, I 59	Simhakantha, dikshita, I 26.
Madhu, dikshita, I 32	Sōmésvara, trivēda, I 59
Madhukantha, śukia, I 27	Trilōchana, dikshita, I 28
Mahāditya, āvasathika, I 25	Vāsadhara, dvivēda, I 48
	Vijayi, chaturvēda, I 62
	Vishnu, chaturvēda, II. 41, 57

#### B — MĀNDHĀTĀ PLATES OF JAYAVARMAN II, [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1317

These are two plates which were found by Mr Lele,<sup>1</sup> some time in 1904, at the village of Godaipura opposite the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the Narmadā in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces. They were sent by the Deputy Commissioner of Nimār to the Provincial Museum at Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. They measure about 1' 5½" broad by 10¼" high, and are held together by two rings, now cut, for which there are two holes in either plate. I edit the inscription which they contain from impressions sent to me by the Government Epigraphist.

The first plate is inscribed on one side, and the second on both sides. The writing both on the first plate and on the first side of the second plate covers a space about 1' 4" broad by between 9½" and 10" high, that on the second side of the second plate 1' 4½" broad by 8" high. The three sides together contain 53 lines of well engraved writing which throughout is in a perfect state of preservation. On the proper right of the second side of the second plate, between lines 42 and 50, a vertical line marks off a space 3" broad by 4" high, which contains an engraving of Garuda, with, below it, the words *sva-hastō-yam mahārājasya* ||, in smaller characters than those in the body of the inscription. The bird is represented in human form, kneeling towards the left, but with the head turned towards the right, and with four hands, the two inner ones of which are joined over the breast, while the two others are lifted up on either side, the one on the left holding a snake, the head of which looks like a bird's head. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the inscription A, and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is so carefully written that in respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. The sign for *v* denotes both *b* and *v*, the dental sibilant is used for the palatal only in *sata*, I 25, as is often the case elsewhere, *dy*, *dv* and *dhv* are employed instead of *ddy*, *ddv* and *dāhv*, *Janārādāna*- is written *Janārājāna*- in line 34, and *śaḍbhīr*- as *śaḥbhīr*- in line 37. The sign of *avagraha* is employed seven times, and, excepting in *sāmpratam*, I 16, *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse

<sup>1</sup> The plates were first mentioned by Mr Lele in a Report of his on the progress of Archaeological work in the Dhār State, dated the 24th August 1904.

is denoted by the sign for *m*, not by that of *anusvāra* — In lines 1-23 the inscription has 23 verses, chiefly containing genealogical matter, 21 of which are already known to us from the inscription A, and in lines 25-27 we again find the verse commencing with *Vātābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasulh-ādhipatyam*, and in lines 42-48 five benedictive and imprecatory verses, the last of which here too is the verse commencing with *Iti kamaladalāmbuvamāu-lōlām*. There are besides two verses in lines 50-52, which record the names of persons who had to do with the writing of the grant. In the prose part of the text, attention may be drawn to the peculiar construction in lines 25-28, *asmābhīh . . . Gāngadēva-pārsvāt . . . grāmō=yam trābhīyō brāhmanābhīyō dāpitaḥ*, 'we have caused Gāngadēva to give this village to three Brāhmins'<sup>1</sup>

The inscription records an order by the Paramāra *Mahārājādēvirāja Jayavarman* [II] of *Mālava*, dated, as will be shown below, in A D 1260 and 1261. Of the 23 verses with which it opens, verses 1-21 are identical (except for two various readings<sup>2</sup>) with the same verses of the inscription A, and contain therefore the same list of kings from *Bhōjadēva* to *Dēvapāla*. The two new verses, 22 and 23, may be rendered thus —

"When<sup>3</sup> that king, the glorious *Dēvapāla*, had joyfully resorted to Indra's abode, his son, a death-dealing god to enemies (*while*) ever pleasing the people by his good qualities, the wise king *Jatugidēva*, the glorious *Mālava* chief, ruled this land, by his noble exploits a young *Nārāyaṇa*"<sup>4</sup>

"Now that he, after enjoying the delights of royalty, has gone to the habitation of the gods, his younger brother, king *Jayavarman*, rules the land"

*Dēvapāla*, therefore, was succeeded by his son *Jatugidēva*, and he by his younger brother *Jayavarman* [II] — *Jatugidēva* was known already from the *prastāva* in *Āśādharā's Dharmāmṛta*, referred to above,<sup>5</sup> according to which the commentary on that work was completed during the reign of the Paramāra *Dēvapāla's* son *Jatugidēva*, on a date which corresponds to Monday, the 19th October A D 1243. In my *Northern List*, No 223, I have assumed that *Jatugidēva* is identical with a king who is mentioned in a *Rāhatgadh* inscription of the 28th August A D 1256, noticed by me in *Ind Ant* Vol XX p 84, where I have given the king's name as *Jaya[simha]dēva*. But with what we now know from the present inscription, I am not sure whether Sir A. Cunningham<sup>6</sup> was not right in reading the same name as *Jaya[varmma]dēva*, and would therefore suspend my judgment on the matter till we possess proper impressions of an inscription at *Udaypur* in *Gwālor*,<sup>7</sup> which seems to be of the reign of a king *Jayasinghadēva* and to be dated in the [*Vikrama*] year 1311 (in Jan-

<sup>1</sup> Exactly the same construction occurs in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS.*, Bombay, 1881, p 11 *tāsa lēkhaka Sōhāda-pārsvāt=īkhāpātā*, 'he caused the writer Sōhāda to write (a certain MS)'. With the use of *pārsvāt* we may compare that of *hastāt* in Prof. Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p 29: *Udayachandragana Jinaśāstralēkhaka-hastāt=Vimalachandragana-hastāch=cha Oghanvryuktīśāstram lēkhātām*.

<sup>2</sup> In verse 17 this inscription has *Jastrasimh* instead of *Jayasimh*, and in verse 21 *prastāva* instead of *parākha* — For the reading *Jastrasimh* see above, Vol VIII p 203, where a certain person is called both *Jaya[simha]* and *Jastrasimha*. If any importance could be attached to the new reading, it was in my opinion show that the *Jayasimha*, who was defeated by *Arjunavarman*, undoubtedly was the *Chalukya Jayasimha* (*Jayasimha*) *Abhinavāsiddharāja*.

<sup>3</sup> The text actually has "Now that *Dēvapāla* has resorted to Indra's abode, his son *Jatugidēva* rules this land". The verse undoubtedly was taken over unchanged from an inscription of *Jatugidēva* himself.

<sup>4</sup> *Bāla-Nārāyaṇa*' most probably was an epithet of the king. Compare *Kumdra-Nārāyaṇa*, as an epithet of the Paramāra *Sindhurāja*, in the *Navasahasānukacharita*, I 59.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p 107.

<sup>6</sup> See *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol X p 31. Judging from Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription which I have again examined, the two *aksharas* between *Jaya* and *dēva* are almost completely broken away.

<sup>7</sup> I am writing this with Sir A. Cunningham's rubbing of the inscription before me.

uary 1255) For the present, what is certain is, that Jaitugadéva<sup>1</sup> was reigning in A D 1243 and his younger brother Jayavarman in A D 1260-61

In lines 23 ff of our inscription Jayavarman informs all king's officers, Brāhman and others, and the *Pañchakla* and other people dwelling at the village of Vadauda in the Mahuada *pathaka*, that, while staying at Mandapadurga, in the year 1317 (given in words), he caused the *Pratihāra*<sup>2</sup> Gāngadéva to give the village of Vadauda to three Brāhman

And, according to lines 28 ff, the *Pratihāra* Gāngadéva, on Sunday, the third *tithi* of the bright half of Āgrahāyana (Mārgasīrsha) of the year 1317, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādha and the *yōga* Śūla, at Amarēśvara-kshētra on the southern bank of the Rēvā (Narmadā), after bathing at the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā and worshipping the holy Amarēśvaradéva (Siva) with the five offerings,<sup>3</sup> gave the village of Vadauda, divided into six shares (*vanṣaka*) so that—

four shares (*padā*) were assigned to the *agnihōtrin*<sup>4</sup> Mūlhasarman—a son of the *pāthaka* Harisarman and grandson of the *divēda* Vēda—a Brāhman of the Bhārgava *gōtra*<sup>5</sup> and student of the Mādhyamdina *sākhā*, who had come from Navagāmva,<sup>6</sup>

one share (*padā*) to the *chaturvēda* Janārdana—a son of the *divēda* Lāmadéva and grandson of the *divēda* Lāshū—a Brāhman of the Gautama *gōtra* and student of the Āśvalāyana *sākhā*, who had come from Takāri, and

one share (*padā*) to the *divēda* Dhāmadévasarman—a son of the *dikshita* Divākara and grandson of the *dikshita* Kékū—a Brāhman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and student of the Mādhyamdina *sākhā*, who had come from Ghatśushari

From line 37 to line 48 the text contains so well-known phrases that it may be passed over here. The remaining part of the inscription yields the following information—

On Thursday, the 11th of the bright half of Jyēshtha of the year 1317, this king's order (*rāja śāsana*) was written 'here, at Mandapadurga,' by Harshadéva, a son of the learned Javisā, with the approbation of the *sāndhivigrahaka* (or minister of peace and war), the *pañdita* Māladhara, an official of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the glorious Jayavarmadéva, and the king's document was corrected by the grammarian (*sābdhika*) Āmadéva, a disciple of the learned Hōśeka (Hose)<sup>7</sup> who knew the boundless essence of legal science' The grant was engraved by the *rāpālāra* Kānhaḍa. The *dāta* was the great minister (*mahāpradhāna*), Rājā Ajayadéva.

The words 'this is the own hand (i.e. the sign-manual) of the *Mahārāja*' are engraved, as has been already stated, under the engraving of Garuda on the second side of the second plate.

The dates contained in this inscription are both correct. The first date, in lines 28 and 29, for the expired (*Chastrādī* or *Kārttikādi*) Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Sunday, the 7th November A D 1260. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 18 m, the *nakshatra* was Pūrvāshādha, by the Brahma-suddhānta for 17 h 4 m, according

<sup>1</sup> In the first half of the 13th century A D we find the name *Jaitugi* twice in the family of the Yādavas of Dhavāni, and there was a [Śīlāra] *Konkanachakravartin Jaitugādēva*, an unpublished mention (below, in the Bombay As Soc) of whom apparently is dated in A D 1207.

<sup>2</sup> Given in the abbreviated form *prati*<sup>o</sup>. The word *pratihāra* means 'a door keeper', but denotes a royal official.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *pañchōpachāra pāya*, e.g. in *Ind Ant* Vol XVIII p 347, l 10, and above, Vol III p 215, l 5, nd p 300, l 42. The five articles presented are *gandha*, *pushpa*, *dhāpa*, *akṣa* and *navēdya*; compare *Sūdra amāḍkara*, p 140 f, where *pañchōpachāra*, *āśōpachāra* and similar terms are explained.

<sup>4</sup> These epithets here too are given in the abbreviated forms *agni*<sup>o</sup>, *pa*<sup>o</sup>, *div*<sup>o</sup>, *śha*<sup>o</sup>, and *dī*<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> In the original the *pravara*s also are given.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the places of origin here also have the word *sthāna* attached to them.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p 106.

to Garga for 22 h 20 m, and by the equal space system from 10 h 30 m, and the *yōga* was Śūla for 20 h 46 m, after mean sunrise. And the second date, in lines 48 and 49, for the expired *Kārttikādī* Vikrama year 1317 corresponds to Thursday, the 12th May A D 1301, when the 11th *tithi* of the bright half ended 10 h 46 m after mean sunrise. The dates show that the year 1317 of the inscription was a *Kārttikādī* year.

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Mandapadurga, from where the king's order was issued, is Mandogari (Māndā), a deserted town in the Dhār State, in Long 75° 23' and Lat 22° 21' (Constable's *Hand Atlas*, Plate 27, B d). From the same place was issued the order in the Piplānagar plates of king Arjunavarman<sup>1</sup>. On Mahuada, see above, p 105. Vadauda perhaps is the village of 'Burud' which according to the *Indian Atlas* is about three miles north-east of 'Satjana,' the village granted by the inscription. A. I have already pointed out that *Mahuada-pathakā* of this inscription is equivalent to *Mahuada-pratyāgaravakā* of the inscription A, and I may state that a (or the ?) village of Vadauda is mentioned also in the plate of the Paramāras Yaśōvarman and Lakshmi-varman, in *Ind Ant* Vol XIX. p. 352, ll. 5 and 13. Amarēśvara-kshētra is the Amarēśvara-tīrtha from which the grant of Arjunavarman in *Journ Am Or Soc* Vol VII p 27 was issued, and the Amarēśvara mentioned in the plates of Jayasinha, above, Vol III p 47, is near the island of Māndhātā, on the southern bank of the river Narmadā. The grant in *Journ Am Or. Soc* quoted just now also mentions the confluence of the Rēvā and Kapilā, which is now called 'Kapla Sangam, where a small stream joins the Narmadā'<sup>2</sup>. Of the places of origin of the donors, Takāri-sthāna is one of the places mentioned in A, Navagāmva-sthāna may be the town of Nawgāon in the Chāndā district, mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 370, but there is at least one other place of the same name in the Central Provinces, Ghatāushari-sthāna I am unable to identify.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 || Ōm namah purushārtha-chūdāmanayē dharmāyā ||<sup>4</sup> Prativimva-<sup>5</sup>mbhād-bhūmāh  
krityā sākshīt-pratigrabam | jagad-ā-  
2 hlādayan-dīśyā[d\*]=divyēndrō<sup>6</sup> mangalāni vah || 1 [||\*] Jiyāt-Parasurāmō-sau  
kshatrah kshannam ran-āhatah |<sup>7</sup> samdhyākka-vimvam-<sup>8</sup>-  
3 v-<sup>9</sup>dvvi-dātur-yasya=aiti tāmratām || 2 [||\*] Yēna Mamōdāriyashpa-vāmbhūh  
samtō mrdhē [||\*] pānēśvari-viyōgānih sa  
4 Rāmāh śīśyasē sstu vah || 3 [||\*] Bhimēn-āpi dhritā mārddhni  
yat-pādāh sa Yudhishthrah | vanś-ādyēn-ēmdunā jiyāt-sva-tulya 1-  
5 va nirmmtah || 4 [||\*] Paramārakul-ōttamsah Kamsajin-mahumā nripah |  
śī-Bhōjadēva ity-āśin-nāśīrakrānta-bhūtalah<sup>9</sup>  
6 || 5 [||\*] Yad-yaśāschandrak-ōdyōtō<sup>10</sup> digutsamga-taramgītō | dvishampipa-  
yaśahpunjapumdarīkair-nmmiltam || 6 [||\*] Tatō śbhūd-U-  
7 dayādityō nityōśāh-akakantukā | asādharana-vīrāsīrī-asrī-hētur-vvrōdhinām ||  
7 [||\*] Mahākālahā-kalpā-

<sup>1</sup> See *Journ As Soc Beng* Vol V p 370 — The town is called *Mandapapura* in line 16 of the *Dēgāqāh* inscription published *ibid* Vol LII P 1 p 70

<sup>2</sup> See *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, p 258

<sup>3</sup> From an impression supplied by Dr. Stan Kenow.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 1-21. Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>5</sup> Read *prativimba*

<sup>6</sup> After *drō* another vertical stroke was engraved, but has been struck out.

<sup>7</sup> This sign of punctuation was originally omitted.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-bimbom-*

<sup>9</sup> In the place of *ta* originally *ta* was engraved

<sup>10</sup> Read *ōdyōtō* — Between the *aksharas tā* and *śoham* a vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out

- 8 ntē yasy-ōddāmabhir-āśugah | katī n=ōnmūlitās=tungā bhūbhritah katak-ōlvānāh  
 (||) 8 [||\*] Tasmāch=chhinna-dvishanmarmmā Nārava-  
 9 rmmā narādhupah | dharmm-ābhyuddharanē dhīmān=abhūt=simā mahībhujaṃ ||  
 9 [||\*] Prati-prabhātam viprēbhyō dattair-grāma-padaḥ svaya-  
 0 m | anēkapatatām ninyē dharmmō yēn=aika-pād=apī || 10 [||\*] Tasy-ājanī  
 Yaśōvarmmā putrah kshatriya-sēkharah | tasmād=Ajaya-  
 1 rmm-ābhūj=jayaśrī-vīsrutah sutah || 11 [||\*] Tat-sūnur=vvira-mūrdhanyō  
 dhany-ōtpatir=ajāyata | Gūrjjarōchchhēda-nrvvamdhī<sup>1</sup> Vimdhayavarmmā  
 mah[ā]-  
 2 bhujah || 12 [||\*] Dhāray=ōddhritayā sārddham dadhātu sma tridhātām |  
 sāmyuginasya yasy=āsīs-trātum lōka-trayīm=iva || 13 [||\*] Tasy-ā-  
 3 mshāyānah putrah Sutrāma-śrīr=ath=āśīshat | bhūpah Subhāṭavarmm-ēti  
 dharmmē tsāthan=mahī-talam || 14 [||\*] Yasya jvalati da(di)g-jē-  
 4 tuh pratāpas=tapana-dyutēh | dāvāgni-chchhadmā(dma)n=ādy=āpī | garjjad-  
 Gūrjjarā-pattanē || 15 [||\*] Dēva-bhūyam gatē tasmin=nandanō-rjuna-  
 bhūpati[h\*]  
 5 | dōsbnā dhattē sḍhunā dhātri-<sup>2</sup>valayam valayam yathā || 16 [||\*]  
 Vā(bā)lālī-āhavē yasya Jaitrasimhē<sup>3</sup> palāyitē | dikpālāhā-  
 6 sa-vyājēna yasō dikshu vjirimbhitam || 17 [||\*] Kāvyaḡāmdharvva-sarvvvasva-  
 midhunā yēna sāmpratam | bhār-āvataranam dēvyāś=chakrē  
 7 pustaka-vīnāyōh<sup>4</sup> || 18 [||\*] Yēna trividha-vīrēna tridhā pallavitam yasāh |  
 dhavalatvam dadhus=trīm jagamū katham=anyathā ||  
 8 19 [||\*] Ath=ārthunam=apunyēna punyēna svargga-subhruvām | sō sḍbhuta-  
 tyāgasilās=cha śrīngārī cha divam gatah  
 9 || 20 [||\*] Tatah Pramāra=chamdrasya Harīschamdrasya namdanah || (|)  
 prasāstī<sup>5</sup> Mālava-kshōḡim Dēvapālāh pratāpavā-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 20 n || 21 [||\*] <sup>6</sup>Tasminn=Amdra-padam mud=āśritavati śrī-Dēvapālō<sup>7</sup> nripē  
 tat-sūnur=dvishad-amtakō nīja-gunair-lōkā-  
 21 n=sadā ramjayan | dhīmān(ī)=Jaitugidēva ēsha nripath śrī-Mālav-ākhamdalāh  
 śāsti kshōnum=imām=udāra=cha-  
 22 ritah svair=Vvā(bbā)lanāryānah || 22 [||\*] Bhuktva<sup>8</sup> rāja-sukham tasmin=  
 prāptē tridāsa-mamdrām | śāsti tasy=ānujah<sup>9</sup> kshōḡim Jaya-  
 23 varmmā janādhupah || 23 [||\*] Sa ēsha naita-nāyakah sarvv-ābhuyadāyī ||  
 Mahuasta-pathakē Vadauda-grāmē samasta-rājapurushān=vrā(brā)-  
 24 hman-ōttaran=pratimvāsi-pattakīla-janapad-ādīmā=cha vō(bō)dbhayat=astu vah  
 samviditam yathā ||<sup>9</sup> śrīman-Mamdrapadurgga-shtitar=a-  
 25 smābhīh septadāsādhika-trayōdāsasa(śa)ta-sainvatsarē ||<sup>10</sup> samsārasy=āsāratām  
 dīshitvā || tathā hu || <sup>10</sup>Vātābhra-vibhramam=īdam vasu-  
 26 dh-ādhupatyam=āpātāmātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōḡah | prānās=trīnāgrajalavimdu-samā  
 narānām dharmmah sakhā param=ahō

<sup>1</sup> Read *nrvvāmadhī*<sup>2</sup> Originally *dhātri* was engraved.<sup>3</sup> In A and in the three grants of Arjunavarman the name is *Jayarāshid*<sup>4</sup> In the place of *et* originally *et* was engraved.<sup>5</sup> Instead of this word A has *ravakāsa*<sup>6</sup> Metre Sārdhāvrikīḡita<sup>7</sup> The *akshara* *pa* of this word seems to be corrected out of *īd* which was originally engraved.<sup>8</sup> Metre Sīlōka (Anushṡubh).<sup>9</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.<sup>10</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā.

- 27 paralôka-yâné [||\*] ita sarvvaṃ vimrśya dāpan-ādmṣṭaphalam=amgikṛitya<sup>1</sup>  
 pratī<sup>2</sup> śrī-Gāṃgadēva-pārśvatī<sup>3</sup> Vadauda-grāmō-yam
- 28 tribhyō vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaō dāpitaḥ | Tēna cha pratī<sup>2</sup> śrī-Gāṃgadēvena  
 sammat<sup>4</sup> 1317 Āgrahana-śukla-tritīyāyām tithau
- 29 Ravi-vāsarē Pūrvvāśādhā-nakṣatrē Śūla-nāmnī yōgē śrīmad-Amarēśvara-  
 kṣhētrē Rēvāyā dakṣiṇē kūlā Rēvā-Kapilā-
- 30 sangamē snātīvā bhagavamtam chaśūchara-gurum śrīmad-Amarēśvara<sup>5</sup>  
 dōyam pañc-opachārah samabhyarchya ||<sup>1</sup> jīvitam vidyuch-chañchalam  
 jñātīvā
- 31 Navagēmvasthāna-vinrgatāya Bhārgava-sagōthāya Bhārgava-Chyāvana-<sup>7</sup>Āpnavāna  
 Aurva-Jāmadagny-ētū pañca-pravarāya Mādhyam-
- 32 dināśākh-ādhyāyīnē dvi<sup>8</sup> Veda-pautrāya<sup>9</sup> pā<sup>10</sup> Harisarmma-putrāya agnī<sup>11</sup>  
 Mādhasarmanānē vrā(brā)hmanāya padānī chatvāri
- 33 4 Takāristhāna-vinrgatāya Gautama-sagōtrāya Gautam-Āmṛasa-Añchatthy ēṭ  
 tri-pravarāya Āśvalāyanāśākh-ādhyā-
- 34 yīnē dvi<sup>8</sup> Lāśhū-pautrāya dvi<sup>8</sup> Līmadēva-putrāya cha<sup>12</sup> Janārjanaśarmma<sup>13</sup>  
 vrā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 Ghatāusharisthā-
- 35 na-vinrgatāya Bhīradvāja-sagōtrāya Āmṛasa-Vā(bā)raspatya-Bhīradvāj ēṭ  
 tri-pravarāya Mādhyamdināśākh-ādhyāyīnē
- 36 dī<sup>14</sup> Kēkū-pautrāya dī<sup>8</sup> Divakara-putrāya dvi<sup>8</sup> Dhāmadēvasarmanānē  
 vīā(brā)hmanāya padam=ēkam 1 ēvam=ēbhyaḥ-<sup>15</sup>tribhyō
- 37 vrā(brā)hmanēbhyaḥ śhatbhīr-<sup>16</sup>vvañtakair-Vvadauda-grāmō-yam samastō-pi  
 chatuḥkankata-<sup>17</sup>viśuddhāh sa-vrīkṣhamālākulāh sa-hiraṇyabhā-
- 38 gēbhōgāḥ s-ōparikārah sarvvdāya-samētāh sa-nidhē(ḍh)ukṣhēpō mātāpitṛ-  
 ātmanas=cha puṇyayasōḥbhividdhāyē
- 39 chañdrākkārṇava[ḥ]kṣhīta-samakālam yāvat-parayā bhaktiyā dēvavrā(brā)hmaṇa  
 bhukh-varjyam śāsanēn=ōdaka-pū-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 40 rva[m] pradattāḥ || tan=matvā tanvīvās-pattakūjanapadar=yathādīyamāna  
 bhāgabhōgakarahīrnyōdikam=ājñā-vdhē-
- 41 yar=bhūtā sarvvaṃ-ētēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam<sup>18</sup> | sāmānyam ch=atad=dharṇi |  
 phalam vu(bu)ddhiv=śmadvamsajair-anvair=apī bhāvi-bhī bhīr-<sup>19</sup>
- 42 smatpradāpita-dharmm idāyō<sup>19</sup> syam=anomanantavyah pālāniya=cha || Uktam  
<sup>20</sup>Va(ba)hubhīr=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhīh Sugar-ādi-
- 43 bhīh | yasva yasya yadā bhūmis=asya tasja tadā phalam [||\*] Sva-dattām  
 para-dattām vā yō hareta vasumdharam

<sup>1</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluons

<sup>2</sup> *I e*, here and below, *prattīdra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-pārśvatī*

<sup>4</sup> Originally *sammatt* seems to have been engraved. Read *samvat*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Āgrahāyana*

<sup>6</sup> The *ākṣhara* *ś* of this word in the engraving is really *rara*

<sup>7</sup> Read *Chyāvana*-, this correction may have been made already in the original.— Here and in some places below the rules of *samāh* have not been observed.

<sup>8</sup> *I e*, here and below, *dvivedā*

<sup>10</sup> *I e* *pāthaka*

<sup>12</sup> *I e* *chaturvēda*

*I e*, here and below, *dīkṣhita*

<sup>14</sup> Read *śhādbīr-*

<sup>18</sup> Originally *ñitavyam* was engraved.

<sup>20</sup> Metro of this and the next two verses *Ślōka* (Anuṣṭubh)

<sup>9</sup> Originally *-śhaustrāya* was engraved.

<sup>11</sup> *I e* *agnīdēv-*

<sup>13</sup> Read *Jandrdana*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *-ēbhyaḥ-*

<sup>17</sup> Read *chatuḥkankata*.

<sup>19</sup> Compare above, p 112, note 16.

- 44 | viśhthāyām sa kṛmir-bhūtvā pūṛibhū saha majjati | (I) Shashtam varsha-  
sahasrāni svargē tśhthati bhūmidah |
- 45 āchchhētā ch=ānumattā(nā) cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt | (II) <sup>1</sup>Sarvān=ēvam  
bhāvmo bhūmpālān=bhūyō bhū-
- 46 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadrah | sāmānyō syam dharmma-sētur-nrīpānām kālē kālē  
pālānyō
- 47 bhavadbhū || Iti<sup>3</sup> kamaladalāmva(bu)vimdu-lōlām śrīyam=anusūmtya manushya-  
jīvitam cha | saka-
- 48 lam=idam=udāhritam cha vudhvā<sup>3</sup> na hi puushah para-kīrttayō vilōpyā it  
||\*|| Samvat
- 49 1317 Jyēshtha-śudi 11 Gurāv=ady=ēha śrī-Māndapadurgē mahārājāhīrāja-  
śrīmaj-Jayavarmme-
- 50 dēva-<sup>1</sup>Li<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup> b<sup>1</sup>ī<sup>1</sup> sāmāhvirga(gra)hika-pam<sup>4</sup> śrī-Mālādharma-sammattēna ||<sup>5</sup>  
<sup>1</sup>Li<sup>1</sup>U<sup>1</sup> jīvēndra Gavīsaya sūnūnā vidushā spu(sphu)tam |
- 51 Haishadēv abhīdhēn=ēdam lōkhitam<sup>7</sup> rāja-sāsānam<sup>8</sup> | (II) Yō<sup>9</sup> vētty=apāram  
smrīśāsāstra-sāam Gōśēka-nāmnō va(bu)dhā-pungava-
- 52 sya | śīshyah sudhīh sāvdi(bī)ka Āmadēvō bhūpasya lēkhyam samasōdhi  
tēna | (II) Utkīrnam=idam ru(rū)pakāra-Kānbadēna |
- 53 Dātō mahāpradhāna-rāja-śrī-Ajayadēvah | (II)  
<sup>10</sup>Sva-hastō=yam mahārājasya ||

No 14—KANKER INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHANUDEVA,  
THE [SAKA] YEAR 1242

By HIRA LAL, B A , NAGPUR

This inscription or *prasasti*, as it is called in line 19, is lying in the veranda of the school house at Kanker, the capital of the Feudatory State of that name in the Central Provinces, and was brought away from the ruins between the Diwān and Śitalā tanks in that town. It was first brought to my notice by Mr Baijnath, B A, Superintendent of the Bastar State, who kindly furnished me with an inked estampage, and further estampages were supplied to me by the Diwān of the Kanker State and the Agency Inspector of Schools, Chhattīsgarh Feudatories.

The stone is a cubit square and half a cubit thick, and the writing covers a space of 18" by 17" in 19 lines. The letters are bold and well formed, the average size being  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters are Dēvanāgarī, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the commencement (*Om siddhāh*) in line 1, and the concluding portion (ll 18 and 19) containing the date and the names of the erector and the writer of the inscription. There are altogether eight verses, of which six are in the Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre, and the first and the last in Sragdharā and Anushtubh respectively. The principal orthographical peculiarities are the indifferent use of ś for s and *vice versa* (ll 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 15, 17, 19) and the use of b for v (ll 2, 12, 14). Some of the letters with a superscribed *repha* have been doubled (especially m and t), others not. The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all. Final forms of t occur in ll. 12 and 18.

<sup>1</sup> Metre Śālit

<sup>2</sup> Ie -pāndita-

<sup>7</sup> Read *lōkhitam*

<sup>10</sup> These words are engraved in small letters under the figure of Garuda which is on the proper right of the plate

<sup>3</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā

<sup>4</sup> This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> Originally -*śāsānam* was engraved.

<sup>5</sup> Read *buddhēv*

<sup>6</sup> Metre Śōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>9</sup> Metre Indravajrā

The inscription is an eulogy of the *Nāyaka* *Vāsudēva*, the minister of king *Bhānudēva* of *Kākāira*.<sup>1</sup> It states that he constructed two temples of *Mahādēva*, and another in honour of the local deity of the fields, besides a building with a gateway, and excavated two tanks. It is dated in the [Śaka] year 1242 bearing the name *Raudra*, on the 5th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Jyāishṭha*, corresponding to (Tuesday), the 27th May A. D. 1320. Unfortunately the week-day is not mentioned, and hence the date does not admit of verification. It is also possible that it may have been Wednesday, the 28th May, as there was a repetition of the Hindū date *pañcāmī* in that fortnight and month. The record gives the genealogy of the minister for four generations, and that of his sovereign for seven generations. It is stated that *Vāsudēva*'s ancestors were elephant-catchers (P). Though in the *Kanker State* wild elephants are not now found, they are still to be met with in the division in which it is included.<sup>2</sup> The most important part of the inscription is that which gives the genealogy of the *Kākāira* chiefs, mentioning in order the following — *Simharāj*, *Vyāghra*, *Vōpadēva*, *Kṛishṇa*, *Jaitarāja*, *Sōmachandra* and *Bhānudēva*. The dynasty is stated to be lunar, and the want of any epithet indicating paramount sovereignty postulates a subordination to another power. The epithets applied to them — *avanīśa* (l. 1), *nṛpa* (ll 2 and 5), *dharanidhara* (l. 6), *bhūpāla* (l. 7) and *nṛpati* (ll 10 and 13), are all synonyms of the word 'king'. In two copper-plate grants of *Pamparājādēva* found in the *Kanker State*<sup>3</sup> the king is styled *Sōmavamsānva-yasrūta-mahāmanḍalika* (feudatory chief of the lunar race), which supports the above statement. The present *Rāj* family of *Kanker* is doubtless connected with these kings. It belongs to the lunar race and has always claimed to be a very ancient family.<sup>4</sup> According to its own traditions it claims to have come from *Orissa*. Its original ancestor was ruling at *Jagannāthapurī*, but, on suddenly becoming a leper, in which state he could no longer occupy the throne, left the place and went out in search of a cure. At *Siḥāwā*, close to *Kanker* and now in the *Dhamtarī* tahsil of the *Rapur* district, a spring was found, by bathing in which he got rid of the loathsome disease. The local people<sup>5</sup> persuaded him to stay on at *Siḥāwā* and installed him king, and he and his descendants continued to rule there. There can be little doubt that *Siḥāwā* was once the capital of this dynasty, as its ruins and temples testify. There is still an inscription there, which is dated in the Śaka year 1114. The capital was finally removed to *Kanker*. This must have been done prior to *Bhānudēva*'s times. For in line 12 we read *Kākāirī nṛpa-Bhānudēva nagarē* (in *Kākāira*, the town or capital of king *Bhānudēva*), and in lines 3 to 5 *Kākāirī . . . śrī-Jaitarājō-bhāvat* (there was the illustrious *Jaitarāja* in *Kākāira*). Thus *Jaitarāja* was the grandfather of *Bhānudēva*. Thus *Kākāira* has been the capital of the State for over 600 years. *Kanker* once included the rich *Dhamtarī* tahsil of the *Rapur*

<sup>1</sup> This is really the correct name of the town and State, but it is now officially written as *Kanker*. In *General Cunningham's Report* for 1873-74 it is spelt as *Kākēr*, showing that the nasal had not been till then inserted. The local people at present still call it *Kākar*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Central Provinces*, called *Goḍwānā* by the *Musal māns*, were so infested by these animals that even revenue was levied in elephants. Even places like *Jabalpur*, which were and are far less jungly than *Kanker*, had their quota of wild elephants. See *Jarrett's Ain-i-Akhbar*, Vol II p. 198, where the following occurs — "Garha (2 miles from *Jabalpur*) is a separate State abounding with forests in which are numerous wild elephants. The cultivators pay the revenue in mubars and elephants." About a dozen years ago 40 elephants were captured in *Barrākol*, a State now transferred to *Bengal*, and I had once an occasion of riding one of them.

<sup>3</sup> These have not yet been published and are at present in my possession.

<sup>4</sup> *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 236.

<sup>5</sup> It is said that the installation of the *Kanker* chief is up to this day confirmed by the *Halbās* by anointing the *Rājā* before the shrine of *Maulidēvi*. The *Halbās* are an aboriginal tribe mostly living in that State and the adjoining tracts. These *Halbās* claim to have come from *Orissa* along with the leper king and are still the chief domestics of the *Kanker* chief. They speak a dialect which is a curious mixture of *Oriyā*, *Chhattisgarhī* (a form of Eastern Hindi) and *Marāṭhī*, see *Dr Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VII p. 381.



district, but is now limited to an area of 1,429 square miles lying between 20° 6' and 20° 34' N and 80° 41' and 81° 40' E

As regards the buildings and tanks mentioned in the inscription, there can be no doubt that the two tanks are identical with the present Diwān and Śītalā talāos, between which the ruins of the temples may still be seen. It is very probable that the Śītalā talāo—a name which gained currency since a hut dedicated to the goddess Śītalā was constructed on its bank—is the Kaudika-bandha of the inscription, the unnamed tank being called Diwān talāo or 'minister's tank,' thus keeping up the memory of its original constructor, who by calling it a *taḍāga* apparently distinguished it from the *bandha*, i.e. the tank formed by merely damming up a stream. The very name Kaudika-bandha indicates its secondary importance. In the first place it was merely a *bandha* (dam), and secondly it was probably constructed by the payment of *kaudikas*,<sup>1</sup> a Sanskritised form of *kaudīs* (cowries) or shells, a currency of the lowest value.

The temples and buildings have all fallen or been pulled down, and from the materials a fresh temple was constructed by the predecessor of the present chief. The old temples were seen by Mr Fisher, who was Deputy Commissioner of the Raipur district (to which Kanker was formerly attached) about 1873 A.D., and he alludes to them in his private Journal<sup>2</sup> thus—“Saw some very curious old temples to the west of the village, one has a *bījak* giving, as I was told, some particulars of its history. They are very old and utterly neglected now.” This *bījak* was seen on the gate of the Mahādēva temple about the year 1825 as recorded in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p. 505, where its date is also stated, which is the same as that of our inscription in all details. A noteworthy point in our inscription is the mention of the construction of a *puratōbhadrā* with a *pratōli*, about which latter Dr Vogel has written an article in the *Royal Asiatic Society's Journal*, July 1906, p. 539. He has proved that *pratōli* really meant a gate-way, evidently strongly built and of considerable height. It was sometimes provided with a flight of steps<sup>3</sup>. I have not been able to find *puratōbhadrā* in the *Kōśas* to which I have access, but *savatōbhadrā* is described as a kind of house with 4 doors facing the 4 quarters<sup>4</sup>. From this I infer that a *puratōbhadrā* was a building with only one door in front. And the Kākara *puratōbhadrā* was actually furnished with a gate-way (*pratōli*).

<sup>1</sup> In this part of the country a good deal of transactions were done in cowries (shells, Sanskrit *kaṣṭhā*), which are still used as currency by the poor people. It must not however be supposed that there were no coins here. In the copper-plates of Pampasajadēva alluded to before, the coin *tanka* of local mint finds a mention. It is still a practice in some places to get work done, chiefly digging and throwing of earth, by what is called *kaudikas*, a mode of piecework payment, 2 or 4 cowries or more according to the labour involved being paid for each basket of earth thrown out. A man with cowries stands at a place where the earth is to be thrown, and as each labourer turns up and throws down the earth, he receives immediately the fixed number of cowries each time. This mode of labour automatically punishes the idlers and saves a good deal of supervision and account-keeping where a large number of labourers are engaged simultaneously on such a work.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Cunningham's *Archaeological Reports*, Vol. VII p. 147.

<sup>3</sup> Dr Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The idea seems to have been taken from a *savatōbhadrā* village, which is described in the *Mānassāra*, a book of the highest authority on Hindū architecture, as “a town or village of quadrangular form, containing in the middle a temple dedicated to one of the triad, Brahmā, Vishnu or Mahēśvara. It has 4 streets of equal length on the 4 sides at right angles, and 2 more crossing each other in the middle. Between these may be formed 3, 4, 5, or as many more streets as the extent of the village will admit, on each side, parallel to the middlemost street. Without the walls should be placed the shrines of the deities who preside over and defend the several quarters of the village, at the angular points should be erected halls, porticoes, colleges and other public edifices, and towards the quarter of Agni (south east) a watershed for the accommodation of travellers and passengers. The whole village should be secured by a quadrangular wall and a ditch around it, with 4 large and as many small gates in the middle of the sides and at the angular points. Without the northern gate should be erected a temple for the worship of Mahākāl, and the huts of Chandālas or outcasts should be a *krōśa* distant from the village. A tank or reservoir should be constructed either on the south or north side or near either of these 2 points for ablutionary and culinary purposes.”—See Ram Baz's *Architecture of the Hindus*, 1884, p. 43.

## TEXT.

- 1 श्री सिद्धिः ॥ आशीर्षं<sup>1</sup> हिमांसोर्महितगुणगणस्त्रिंहराडूरिसिंहस्तस्माद्दाम्रात्रा  
नीश्रीभव-
- 2 दतुलयया तेजसापास्तशूर्यः<sup>2</sup> ॥ जज्ञे सीपि स्ववीर्योचितनृपतिजक<sup>3</sup> बोपदे  
स चैवं कृश्या-<sup>4</sup>
- 3 ख्यं वैरिराजव्रजदलनपर विक्रमाक्रांतविस्रं<sup>5</sup> ॥१॥ काकीरेवनिपालमौलिसुहुट  
प्रोद्गा-
- 4 'सिंह्रीरांङ्कुरज्योतियोतितपादपंकजनखज्योतिस्त्रकाया' भुवि ॥ संयामांगणवी-  
विक्र-
- 5 मशुणः श्रीजैतराजोभवत्तस्माद्भुतसत्प्रतापमहसः श्रीसीमचन्द्रो नृपः ॥१॥  
तस्मात्स्त्री-<sup>6</sup>
- 6 गुणसागरादभिनवस्त्रवांगवेधोज्वलः<sup>7</sup> श्रीभानुर्धरणीधरः क्षितितले<sup>8</sup> लब्धप्रतिशो-  
दयः [।\*]
- 7 जागेर्त्ति<sup>11</sup> प्रतिपक्षपक्षदलनो भूपालचूडामणिर्यस्मिन्मयाश्रित<sup>12</sup> लोक एष सुकतो  
जागर्त्ति श-<sup>13</sup>
- 8 हासनः ॥३॥ देशः<sup>14</sup> पुष्यनिरीतिशास्त्रतधनस्त्रस्त्रीनिष्ठा द्विजाः खेटापूर्व-  
पराः प्रजाष्कि-<sup>15</sup>
- 9 मपरं पौराः पर धार्मिकाः [।\*] सभ्याः<sup>16</sup> शास्त्रविचारधौतमनसो धर्मात्-  
तारे कलौ राख्यं श्रास-
- 10 ति भानुदेवनृपतौ किं किं न लोकीत्तरं ॥४॥ वंशे नागदसोपजीव-  
जनस्तीतेभवन्ना-
- 11 यकः श्रीदामोदरसुनुकव्वलयश्रा<sup>17</sup> पी[लू]प्रजानायकः ॥ ख्यातस्तत्तय-  
स्त्रभावसर-
- 12 लो भीमाभिधस्तसुतो काकीरे नृपभानुदेवनगरे<sup>18</sup> श्रीवासुदेवोभवत् ॥३॥  
स्त्रंभीयं [न]-
- 13 गरस्र जातिजनतानध्वप्रभानायको<sup>19</sup> विख्यातष्किल<sup>20</sup> भानुदेवनृपतेः<sup>21</sup> पादांजु-  
राधकः [।\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read आशीर्षे हिमांसो<sup>2</sup> Read 'सूर्य'.<sup>3</sup> Read सीप'.<sup>4</sup> Read कृश्या<sup>5</sup> Read 'स्नानविद्वप'.<sup>6</sup> Read 'ज्योतिर्घोतित'.<sup>7</sup> Read 'ज्योतिःप्रकाश'.<sup>8</sup> Read तस्मात्स्त्री'.<sup>9</sup> Read 'वीज्वल'.<sup>10</sup> Read लब्ध'.<sup>11</sup> Read जागर्त्ति'.<sup>12</sup> Read 'विश्वस्तवि'.<sup>13</sup> Read सहासनः.<sup>14</sup> Read 'शास्त्र'.<sup>15</sup> Read प्रजाः वि'.<sup>14</sup> The original has *Adira*.<sup>16</sup> Read 'दक्षय'.<sup>17</sup> Read नीवास'.<sup>15</sup> Read 'नख'.<sup>20</sup> Read विख्यातः किञ्च भानुदेव'.<sup>21</sup> Read पादांजु'.

- 14 संप्रामांगणसादिवर्गपुरतः ख्यातप्रभावो 'महाजगत्विद्धुतविक्रमो धृतिधरः  
श्रीवा-<sup>3</sup>
- 15 सुदेवो भुवि ॥६॥ देवश्रीशसिभूषणस्य<sup>4</sup> कतिना देवालयं कारितं युगं  
मंडपशोभितं च
- 16 पुरतोमद्रं प्रतोत्था सह । क्षेत्रेशस्य तथा सुरालयवरं स्मीतं [त\*]-  
डागं तथा बधं कौडिकसंज्ञकं
- 17 बहुजलं दीर्घं तथा खानितं ॥७॥ 'हृष्टापूर्त्तपरस्वाशीखलीत्तिशसि-  
चद्रिका<sup>5</sup> [।\*] वासुदे-
- 18 वस्य विस्कारा स्थिताचन्द्रार्कतारकं ॥८॥ संवत् १२४२ रौद्रसंवत्सरे ।  
ज्येष्ठ<sup>6</sup> वदि
- 19 पंचम्यां । 'प्रसस्तिस्समारोपिता नायकवासुदेवेन ॥ लिखिता 'सत्तिकुमा-  
रेण ॥ शिव [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

On Success! (Verse 1) In the race of the Moon there was (born) **Simbarāḡ**, a (very) lion to enemies, (and) praised as possessing numerous virtues From him was born king **Vyāghra**, of unequalled fame, who outshone the sun by his splendour He also begot an ornament of kings befitting his own manliness **Vopadēva**; and the latter, likewise, (had a son) named **Kṛ[ishna]**, who was given to destroying crowds of hostile kings, (and) who dominated the universe by (his) valour

(V 2) (Then) there was in **Kākara** the illustrious **Jaitarāja**, the lustre of the nails of whose lotus-feet was rendered (still more) brilliant by the light emanating from the shining diamonds in the diadems on the heads of kings (prostrating themselves before him) to the ground, (and) who had the merit of conquering heroes on the battle-field From him who owned the glory of wonderful great valour (was born) the illustrious king **Sōmachandra**.

(V 3) From him, the glorious ocean of virtues, (was born) a young king the illustrious **Bhānu**, who was brilliant by (his) whole body and apparel, who acquired honour and prosperity, the destroyer of the party of opponents, a crest-jewel of kings (He) is (now) protecting the earth. While he is ruling, the people are (all) virtuous (and) well-intentioned

(V 4) The country is replete with permanent wealth and virtue and is devoid of (all) calamities, the twice-born are devoted to good actions, the subjects are intent on performing sacrifices and doing charitable acts What more? The citizens are very virtuous (and) refined, (and) their minds are purified by the study of the Śāstras What wonder does not (happen) in (this) iron age, while king **Bhānudēva**, the incarnation of virtue, is ruling the kingdom?

(V 5) In a family which abounded in men subsisting on (catching?) groups of elephants there was the **Nāyaka Pô[īu]**, of brilliant fame, a leader of men, the son of the illustrious **Dāmōdara**. His famous, straightforward son was called **Bhīma**. His son was the illustrious **Vāsudēva**, (who resided) in **Kākara**, the town of king **Bhānudēva**.

<sup>1</sup> Read महाशिव°.<sup>2</sup> Read श्रीवा°<sup>3</sup> Read श्रमि°.<sup>4</sup> Read इरा°.<sup>5</sup> °स्वारीक° and °शमि°.<sup>6</sup> Read ज्येष्ठ.<sup>7</sup> Read मशति°.<sup>8</sup> Read शक्ति°.

(V 6) This illustrious **Vāsudēva**, the pillar of the city, the chief gem (*śhring*) with priceless splendour amongst (*his*) caste fellows, famous, devoted to the lotus-feet of King **Bhānudēva**, known to be very valorous before the array of knights on the battle-field, great, of wonderful power (*and*) patience, is (*now*) administering the country.

(V 7) (*This*) clever (*minister*) caused to be built two temples of the god whose ornament is the moon (*viz* Mahādēva), together with halls, a *puratōbhadrā* with a gate-way, and an excellent temple (*dedicated*) to the guardian deity of the fields. Moreover (*he*) caused to be dug a large pond (*taḍḍya*) and a long tank (*bandhā*) called **Kaudika**, which contained a great quantity of water.

(V 8) The moon-light of the true fame of **Vāsudēva**, devoted to sacrifices and charitable works, has expanded (*and*) become established so long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure.

(Line 18.) **Samvat 1242**, in the **Raudra** year, on the 5th (*twice*) of the dark (*fortnight*) of **Jyāshtha**, (thus) *prastā* was erected by the *Nāyaka* **Vāsudēva**. Written by Śākha kumāra. Hail!

#### POSTSCRIPT.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C I E, GÖTTINGEN

Prof Hultzsch has asked me to express an opinion on the date of the stone inscription published above, of which he has sent me an impression. He also, at the instance of Mr Hra Lal, has requested me to give my readings of, and, if possible, to verify, the dates of two copper-plate inscriptions of the **Kākāira (Kanker)** chief **Pamparājadēva**, which are about to be published by Mr Hra Lal, and of which impressions have been forwarded by him.

The date of the stone inscription clearly is, as given by Mr Hra Lal *Samvat 1242 Raudra samvatsarē | Jyēshṭha-vadē pañchamyaṁ |*. It does not admit of exact verification, and the only question concerning it is, to which era the year 1242 should be referred so that the date may fall in a *Raudra-samvatsara*. *A priori* the expression *samvat 1242* would be taken here to denote the **Vikrama** year 1242; but there is no **Vikrama** year 1242 that could be called a **Raudra** year. Nearest to V 1242, **Raudra**, by the southern system, would be the expired *Chaitraś* **Vikrama** year 1257, and by the northern mean-sign system it would indicate the time from the 13th November A. D. 1195 to the 8th November A. D. 1196, in the expired *Chaitraś* or *Kārttikāś* **Vikrama** years 1252 and 1253. If the year of the date were 1252 instead of 1242, it might be taken to be the expired *Kārttikāś* **Vikrama** year 1252, in which case the 5th of the dark half of **Jyāshtha** would undoubtedly fall in a **Raudra** year, but there is nothing to prove that the writer erroneously put 1242 instead of 1252.

Assuming, then, the figures for the year and the Jupiter's year to have been correctly given, it would only remain to take the expression *samvat 1242*, as has been done by Mr Hra Lal, to denote the expired **Śaka** year 1242, which by the southern system was a **Raudra** year. But here we are at once met by a difficulty. In my paper on the dates of the **Śaka** era in inscriptions I have shown<sup>1</sup> that among 400 **Śaka** dates of inscriptions only five do not contain the word **Śaka** or **Śāka**, and that of even these five dates three are spurious or suspicious, while the two others are in verse. There is therefore every reason to assume that the writer of the inscription would have denoted the **Śaka** year 1242 by some such expression as *Śakē* 1242, not by *samvat* 1242. And there might be the further objection that in the Central Provinces, where the date comes from, the system of Jupiter's years ordinarily followed seems to have been the northern system, not the southern system by which alone the **Śaka** year 1242 can be described as a **Pandra** year.

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI p. 149.

As the date cannot be verified, it would be useless to indulge in further speculations<sup>1</sup>. To the wording of it seems certainly to be suspicious. And I can only say that, assuming the figures for the year to be correct and the date to be really a Śaka date, it would correspond to the *pārnāmānta* Jyāishtha, to Monday, the 28th April A D 1320, and for the *amānta* Jyāishtha, as stated by Mr Hua Lal, to Tuesday, the 27th, or Wednesday, the 28th May,<sup>2</sup> A D 1320.

Of the two copper-plate inscriptions of Pamparāja, one is clearly dated as follows —

[L 7] . . . . . Īśvara-

[L 8] samvatsarē Kārtika-māsē Chitrā-rikshē Ravi-dinē suryōparāgē

[L 10] . . . . . samvat 966 .

ie "in the Īśvara year, at an eclipse of the sun on a Sunday, in the *nakshatra* Chitrā in the month Kārttika, . . . in the year 966"

I have no doubt that the year 966 of this date must be referred to the Kalachuri era.

In *Festgruss an Roith*, p 53 ff, I have tried to prove from the 12 dates between the years 958 and 968, which hitherto have been available, that the Kalachuri (Chēdi) era commenced on the 5th September A D 248, that the years were *Asvini* years and the months *pārnāmānta* months, and that therefore, to convert an expired Kalachuri year into an expired year of the Kalyuga, we must add 3349 when the date falls in the bright half of Āśvina or in any month from Kārttika to Phālguna, and 3350 in all other cases. Applying this here, we find that date, for the *pārnāmānta* Kārttika of the expired Kalachuri year 966 = Kalyuga expired 66 + 3349 = 4315, regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 5th October A D 1214, when the 15th of the dark half ended 3 h 33 m, and when the *nakshatra* was Chitrā, by the equal space system and according to Gaiga for 2 h 38 m, after mean sunrise. On the same day there was a total eclipse of the sun, the greatest phase of which at Kanker (in about Long 82° and Lat 0°) was four digits<sup>3</sup>.

It will, I think, be generally admitted that Sunday, the 5th October A.D 1214, undoubtedly is the proper equivalent of our date, but, in connection with this date, the writer apparently has wrongly quoted the year Īśvara instead of the immediately following year Bahudhānya. By the northern mean-sign system Īśvara lasted from the 2nd September A D 212 to the 29th August A D 1213. By the northern lun-solar system therefore Īśvara was the proper name of Kalyuga 4314 expired, and not of the year of our date, viz Kalyuga 4315 expired, which according to the northern lun-solar system, as already intimated, would have received the name Bahudhānya. For the present, I can ascribe the error only to the writer's carelessness, but the error is of such a nature that it confirms rather than invalidates our general result<sup>4</sup>.

The date of the other copper plate of Pamparāja I read thus —

[L 9] . . . . . | samvata | 965 Bhādiapadē vadī I[0]

[L 10] Mriga-rikshē Sō[ma]-dinē |

Here everything is perfectly clear and certain in the impression excepting the number of the and the second *nakshatra* of the name of the weekday. As regards the latter, it appears to

<sup>1</sup> If the year were 1244 (instead of 1242), it might be taken to be a Kalachuri year, in which case the date would have fallen in a Raudra year. I do not mean to suggest hereby that the inscription could be ascribed to a Raudra period (A D 1492-93).

<sup>2</sup> The 5th *īshtha* commenced 1 h 4 m before mean sunrise of the Tuesday and ended 0 h 30 m after sunrise of the Wednesday.

<sup>3</sup> Between A D 1201 and 1250 this is the only solar eclipse in the month Kārttika that could have been visible at Kanker.

<sup>4</sup> Mr Hua Lal quite lately has sent me for calculation a date from the Central Provinces, which undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1005. According to the original date, this day should fall in the *Paushya*, but by the northern lun-solar system it would fall in the year *Pravāsa* which follows immediately upon *Parabhava*, and by the southern system in the year *Viśvāsu* which immediately precedes *Parabhava*.

me evident that the engraver after the *akshara sô* in the first instance by mistake engraved the letter *d* (of *diné*), and that he then altered this *d* to *ma*. Under any circumstances there could be no doubt that the intended weekday is *Sôma-dina* or 'Monday'. Nor can there be any real doubt about the number of the *tithi*. The date clearly gives us the dark half of the month Bhâdrapada and during it the *nakshatra* Mriga (Mrigaśrisha). Now in the dark half the *nakshatra* will ordinarily be Mriga about the 8th *tithi* of the *amânta* and the 10th *tithi* of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada, and a careful examination of the impression shows that the word *vad* is actually followed by *10*, the *0* of which is engraved quite on the margin of the plate. I therefore take it that the date gives us for calculation "the year 965, the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of (the *pûrnamânta*) Bhâdrapada, with the *nakshatra* Mriga and a Monday." And treating the year again as a Kalachuri year, I find the following equivalents. —

For the expired Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga expired 965 + 3350 = 4315 Saturday, the 2d August A. D. 1214, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada ended 13 h 25 m, and the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 21 h 40 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 20 h 21 m., after mean sunrise

For the current Kalachuri year 965 = Kalyuga 4315 current Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213, when the 10th *tithi* of the dark half of the *pûrnamânta* Bhâdrapada commenced 7 h, and when the *nakshatra* was Mriga, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 15 h 46 m., and by the Brahma-siddhânta for 14 h 27 m., after mean sunrise

Of the two, I do not hesitate to accept Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213, as the true equivalent of our date. That the *tithi* of the date was a current *tithi* can cause no difficulty. And the fact that Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years is proved by another date, in an inscription of which Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar some time ago has been good enough to send me a photograph. The inscription referred to is one at Secunârâyan which the late Sir A. Cunningham had stated to be dated—

*Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Âsvina-sudr 2 Sôma-dinê*

According to the photograph the date really is—

*Kalachuri-samvatsarê || 898 || Âsvina-sudr 7<sup>1</sup> Sôma-dinê*, and with this reading the date regularly corresponds, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145, when the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Âsvina ended 20 h 57 m after mean sunrise

#### No. 15 —NOTE ON THE TWO COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF MAHENDRAPALA OF KANAUJ.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, C. I. E., GOETTINGEN

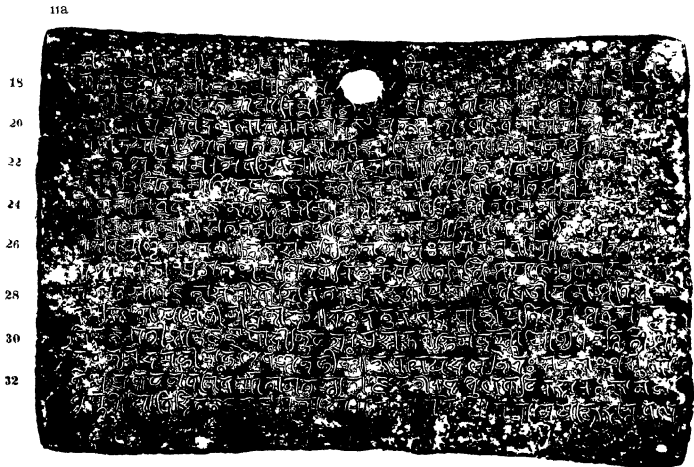
While I was reading the final proof of my paper on the two copper-plate inscriptions of the time of Mahêndrapâla of Kanauj, published above p. 1 ff., I received from Prof. Hultzsch excellent ink-impressions of the two inscriptions which had been supplied to him by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. The impressions enabled me to make one or two slight corrections in my texts, but it was impossible to insert in my article Mr. Venkayya's description of the original plates, and to get ready in time the colotype facsimile of the second of the two inscriptions, the plates of Avanivarman II Yôga, which Prof. Hultzsch had at once ordered to be prepared and which is now published herewith.

On the plates A., those of Balavarman, Mr. Venkayya writes as follows —

"The two plates are about 13" broad and about 9<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>" high, somewhat less in the middle. They are strung on an almost circular ring, 2<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured below

<sup>1</sup> So the *tithi* was already given, correctly, in *As. Res.* Vol. XV p. 605

Una plates of Avanivarman II Yoga. — [Vikrama-]Samvat 956



Scale 45

E Hultzsch

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle Saale

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya

0.1  
0.2  
0.3  
0.4  
0.5  
0.6  
0.7  
0.8  
0.9  
1.0  
1.1  
1.2  
1.3

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the bottom center of the plate. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Vedic or classical Sanskrit.

1.2  
1.4  
1.6  
1.8  
2.0  
2.2  
2.4  
2.6  
2.8  
3.0  
3.2

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible near the top center of the plate. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Vedic or classical Sanskrit.



a circular seal, which is slightly damaged and measures nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. It is about  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick, and bears in relief a squatting figure, perhaps representing a god, the right hand of which seems to be raised, as if to indicate the *abhaya* hasta. . . . . Either plate near the top has a ring-hole which is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the plates B, those of Avaniṃai man II Yōga, Mr Venkayya writes —

"The three plates are between  $12\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $12\frac{1}{4}$ " broad and between  $8\frac{1}{2}$ " and 9" high. They are strung on an oval ring which measures  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " by  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of the ring are secured below a circular seal, which is slightly mutilated and measures nearly 2" in diameter. The seal bears in relief a squatting figure, similar to the one on the seal of the other plates. Each plate contains a ring-hole which is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter."

On the excellent facsimile published herewith I have to say only a few words. It will show that the inscription in some places is not very easy to read. As regards individual signs I would merely draw attention to the forms of the initial *v* and *ḍ*, *e g* in *iva*, l. 33, and *ḍam* =, l 45, to the sign for *ṛṣ*, *e g* in *āvṛyasya*, l 11, to the final *t*, *e g* in *abhāt*, l 32, and to the numeral figures, especially that for '9', in line 68.

In my text of the inscription the word *śi-* has by an oversight been omitted before *Ta[ru]nā-*, above, p 10, l 57.

#### No 16—VANDRAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II

By PROFESSOR E HULTSCH, PH D, HALLE (SAALE)

These plates were found in the backyard of Buddharaju Venkataraju of Vandram, a village in the Bhimavaram taluka of the Kistna district, and were forwarded by the Head Assistant Collector of Narsapur through the Collector of Kistna to Rai Bahadur Venkayya, who sent me two sets of ink-impressions of them, with the following remarks —

"These are five copper-plates, measuring  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in height. They have high rims more than  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ring on which the plates are strung was cut by me for the first time and soldered subsequently. It is oval, measures  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " by  $3\frac{1}{8}$ ", and is nearly  $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured in an expanded eight-petalled lotus at the bottom of a circular seal, which measures  $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. The seal is much damaged, but bears, in relief on a countersunk surface, the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvānāmkuśa*, with a boar facing the proper left over it and a floral device below. The other symbols cut in the seal are not quite distinct. Traces of the sun over the boar, of the crescent of the moon behind his tail, and of an elephant goad in front of him are visible."

The first and last plates bear writing only on one side, and the three remaining plates on both sides. The plates are in a bad state of preservation. Of plate i a small portion is missing. Plate ii b is a palimpsest, and part of its writing is effaced. The two first lines of plate iii b and some letters of the two last lines of plate iv a are damaged by corrosion. Of plate iv b the two first lines and part of the third are in a still worse condition. On the last plate (v) some letters are more or less doubtful.

After the MS of this article had gone to the press, I received from Mr Venkayya the original copper-plates, with the help of which I was able to improve my readings of several indistinct words.

The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the usual type. I would only draw attention to the peculiar form of the secondary *ḍ* in *-mūrttō-*, l 18, and *samāhūya*, l 36 f. The language is Sanskrit, but the four first lines of the last plate contain some Telugu words. The Sanskrit portion consists of both prose and verses.

The inscription opens with the genealogy of Ammarāja (II) of the (Eastern) Chālukya (I 5) dynasty ll 1-17 are practically identical with ll 1-23 of the Elavaru grant of the same king<sup>1</sup> But Vikramāditya (I) receives the title *Yuvarāja* (I 13), and the name *Kollabīganda* is twice (ll 14 and 17) spelt with *b*, not with *bh*

Ammarāja II is then praised in seven verses, all of which occur in his Padaankalūu grant,<sup>2</sup> where they are however differently arranged<sup>3</sup> The two verses (5 and 6) recording the date of his coronation are also found in the Mahyapūndi grant<sup>4</sup> It is a curious fact that the major portion of plate u b (consisting of verses 3-5 and nearly the whole of verse 6) of the Vandram plates is engraved over another grant of Ammarāja II, which seems to have been partially effaced by the writer, but of which distinct traces are still visible<sup>5</sup> I subjoin a transcript of those lines of the original inscription on plate u b, which can still be made out

- 20 . . . . . स समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्रीविजयादित्यम्-  
 21 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुधा-  
 22 यो वैगोसहस्रराष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान् कुटुंबिनस्समाह्वयेयमात्ना-  
 23 पयति [I\*] विदितम् . . . . . स वंशे वशिष्ठगोचो विद्वान् आ-

The poetical description of Amma's reign is followed by a prose passage (ll 30-37) which is worded in nearly the same manner as ll 30-36 of the Elavaru grant<sup>6</sup> Ammarāja II, who is here styled '*Samastabhuvanāśraya*, the glorious *Vijayāditya* (VI) *Mahārājādhvajāya-Paramāśraya Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the very pious one, who meditates at the feet of (his) mother and father, thus commands, having called (them) together, the ryots, headed by the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, inhabiting the twelve villages (the chief one of which is) *Prāndoru* in the *Pāvunavāra* district (*vishaya*)'

So far the text can be easily transcribed and understood But the remainder of the inscription cannot be deciphered in full, as a number of words in the damaged portions are doubtful or quite illegible Besides, the author of the long metrical passage describing the donee (ll 37-61) knew so little Sanskrit, or got his draft copied in such an imperfect way, that I am unable to propose satisfactory corrections even of some of the well-preserved portions of it The whole of this passage seems to be in verse Making allowance for the damaged and lost lines I number the verses as 8-23 Verse 8 praises the family (*gōtra*) named *Mitrayu*. A descendant of it was *Tūrkkaya-Peddiya*<sup>7</sup> (v 9), who lived in the large village *Rāvīparū* (v 10), his son *Vijayāditya* (v 11) and his grandson *Tūrkkīya Yajvan* (v 12) The last had by *Kandamāmbā* a son named *Kuppanayya* (v 14), who seems to have enjoyed the titles of minister (*amātya*, v. 15) and vassal (*śimanta*, v 16) He had the surname *Vīpanārā[yana]* (v 21) and founded a shrine of Śiva at *Drākshārāma*<sup>8</sup>

"To this *Kuppan[ā]mātya*, who is devoted to Me, the village named *Tānderu* has been given by Us, having made (it) an *Agrahāra*, to whom (the village) named [*Beta*]pūndi (in the neighbourhood) of *Prāndoru* in your district<sup>9</sup> (*vishaya*), together with the share of gold,

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XII p 91 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* Vol VII p 15 ff

<sup>3</sup> The verses of the Padaankalūu grant (ll 23-37) correspond to the following verses of the Vandram plates 1, 4, 3, 5, 6, 7, 2, and an additional verse is inserted between 1 and 4

<sup>4</sup> Above, p 47 ff

<sup>5</sup> Both sides of plate v. also exhibit traces of obliterated writing A grant of Bhūma I is a similar palimpsest, see Prof Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol V p 127

<sup>6</sup> In the latter the epithet *mātapitr-pādānuśhyatā* (l. 35) is however missing

<sup>7</sup> With *Tūrkkaya* compare the names *Tūrkkasārman* (above, Vol V p. 120, note 14) and *Tūrkkama* (*Ind Ant* Vol XIII p 214, text l 49)

<sup>8</sup> *Drākshārāmē kṛta-Śiva-nīlayō*; v. 22 (l 58)

<sup>9</sup> *Pāndurō* is the Telugu genitive of *Prāndoru* (l. 35)

<sup>10</sup> *I e* in the *Pāvunavāra vishaya* of l. 35.

as given with exemption from all taxes, having made (it) an *Agrihōra*” I subjoin my reading of this passage, which is so peculiarly worded, that it remains doubtful whether the present grant refers to Tānderu or to Betipūndi or to both, and whether only the second or both of them belonged to the Pāṇunavāra-vishaya.

61 . . . . . तस्मै कुप्यन[र\*]म[र]त्या[य]

62 महत्ताय<sup>1</sup> तान्[र]नासपासस्यहारिहृत्वीन्नाभिदत्त<sup>2</sup> । य[स्य भव]द्वि-

63 षये प्रान्दो[र]ति [विटि]पुण्डिनास्य मह[र]टकभागस्यहा[री\*]कृत्य सर्व्व[कर]-

64 पर<sup>3</sup> दत्त इति विदितस्तु व[ः] ॥ अस्य (स) ग्रामस्वावधय[ः<sup>4</sup>] ॥ . . . .

Of the subsequent description of the boundaries of the village granted (ll 64-67) I am unable to furnish a satisfactory transcript. The remainder of the inscription (ll 67-72) is nearly identical with ll 57-60 of the Elavaru grant<sup>5</sup>. The last line (72) seems to read —

य(र) ते कृमिः ॥ [२५<sup>6</sup>] आङ्गिः<sup>7</sup> कटकराजः [र\*] महा[का]भटकर[र\*]ज्य [र\*]  
जीन्ताचार्य्येण लिखितं ॥

Accordingly the *Āṅgipō* was the *Katukarāja*<sup>8</sup> the poet<sup>7</sup> Mahā[kāp]bhata, and the writer *antācharya*<sup>8</sup>.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, Drākshārāma is well-known,<sup>9</sup> and the Pūnāvāra vishaya is probably the same as Pāṇunavāra-vishaya in a grant of Bhīma II.<sup>10</sup> The villages Prāndoru, Betipūndi, Tānderu and Rāvīpāṇu I am unable to identify.

#### FIRST HALF OF THE TEXT<sup>11</sup>

##### East Plate

- 1 ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकलधुवनसस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां ह्य-
- 2 रीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलक्ष्मराज्याना मातुगणपरिपालीतानां<sup>12</sup> स्वा-
- 3 भिमहृत्सेनपादानुध्यायीना<sup>13</sup> भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादित-
- 4 वरवराहलाञ्जनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृतारतिमण्डलानाम-
- 5<sup>14</sup> श्यमेधावभूतज्ञानपविचीकृतवपुषा चालुक्यानां कुलम-
- 6 लकरिण्योः सत्य[र\*]श्रयवल्गभेन्द्र[स्य\*] भ्राता कुब्जविष्णुवर्द्धनोष्टाद-
- 7 श वर्ष[र]णि वेगिदेशमपालयत् ॥ तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिशतं । त-
- 8 दनुजेन्द्ररा[जनन्दनो] विष्णुवर्द्धनो नव । तस्मूनुर्मगियुवराजः पचवि-<sup>15</sup>
- 9 शति । तत्पुत्री जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवरजः कोकिलिः षष्मासान् ॥

<sup>1</sup> Read महत्ताय

<sup>2</sup> Read ॐहारीकृत्याम्भिदत्त

<sup>3</sup> Read परिहारिष

<sup>4</sup> Instead of *tath-uktam Vyāsēna*,<sup>1</sup> 69 reads *tatha ch-uktam Vyasa-bhātī[ra\*] akṣna(na)*

<sup>5</sup> Read कटकर

<sup>6</sup> See above, p 49 f

<sup>7</sup> I e the author of the verses describing the donee. In other grants of Ammarāja II Pōtanabhatta and dhavabhatta are mentioned as ‘poets’

<sup>8</sup> The same person was the writer of the Elavaru and Padukalūru grants

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. above, Vol IV p 37, note 3

<sup>10</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol. XIII p 213

<sup>11</sup> From two sets of ink impressions and the original copper plates

<sup>12</sup> Read ॐपालीतानां.

<sup>13</sup> ॐध्यायिनां

<sup>14</sup> Read ॐश्रयं.

<sup>15</sup> The *anuvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 10 तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तत्रिंशत् । तस्युच्चो विजया-  
दित्यभट्टार-
- 11 कौष्टादश । तस्युतो विष्णुवर्धनः षट्त्रिंशत् । तस्युतो विजयादित्यनरेन्द्र-  
सुगराज-
- 12 षाष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । तस्युतः कलिविष्णुवर्धनोद्गाढवर्ष । तस्युतो गुणगां-  
कविजया-
- 13 दित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत् । तदनुजयुवराजविक्रमादित्यभूपतेः स्युत्सासु-
- 14 'क्यभिममूपालस्त्रिंशत् । तस्युतः कौस्तुभिविजयादित्यः षष्ठासान् ।  
तस्युनुर-
- 15 म्भराजः सप्त वर्षाणि<sup>१</sup> । तस्युतविजयादित्यं बालसुच्चाय तालपी भासमेकं [1\*]
- 16 त जित्वा चालुक्यभीमतनयो विक्रमादित्य एकादश भासान् । ततस्ता-  
लपराजस्य सुतो युध-
- 17 \* मल्लः सप्त वर्षाणि । तं जित्वा कौस्तुभिविजयादित्यस्युतो भीमराजो  
द्वादश वर्षाणि । तस्य म-
- 18 हे[त्र्य]रमूर्तेरुमासमानाकृतेः कुमारामः [1\*] लोकमहादेव्याः स्युत्सु यक्षम-  
भवदम्भराजा-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 ख्यः ॥ [१\*] यो रूपेण मनोजं विभवेन महिन्द्रमहिम्नकरसुखमहसा  
[1\*] हरमरिपुरद-
- 20 हनेन न्यक्तुर्व्यं(१)भाति विदितदिगवनिर्कृतिः<sup>२</sup> ॥ [२\*] कविशयककल्पतव-  
द्विजसुनि-<sup>३</sup>
- 21 दीनाश्वज्युजनस्य(न)रभिः । याचकजनपित्तामणिरवनिश्चम-<sup>४</sup>
- 22 निम्नोद्योगमहसा युमणि[1\*] ॥ [३\*] विदितधराधिपकियौ द्वि-
- 23 विधायुधकोविदो [विलीनारिक्तल]ः । करितुरगागमकुम्भ-
- 24 लो हरचर . . . . . मधुपः<sup>५</sup> श्रीमान् ॥ [४\*] यिरिर-
- 25 खवसुसंख्याव्ये<sup>६</sup> सक[स] . . . . . [श्री]वर्मासिन्धु [५\*] कल्प-  
चयो-
- 26 दशदिने भृगुवारे मैत्रनक्ष[त्रे] ॥ [५\*] धनुषि रवी शक्ये शद-
- 27 [श]र्वे तु [जम्भानः] पङ् । योधादुदयगिन्दिनी<sup>७</sup> रविः [६\*] कौस्तुभ-

1 Read 'क्यभीम'.

2 Read वर्षाणि.

3 Read 'कौस्तुभ'. From here to the end (1-27) this side of the plate is a palimpsest.

4 Read 'तवर्षिज'.

5 Read 'रवनीश्वभि'.

6 Read 'शक्ये शक्ये शक्ये'.

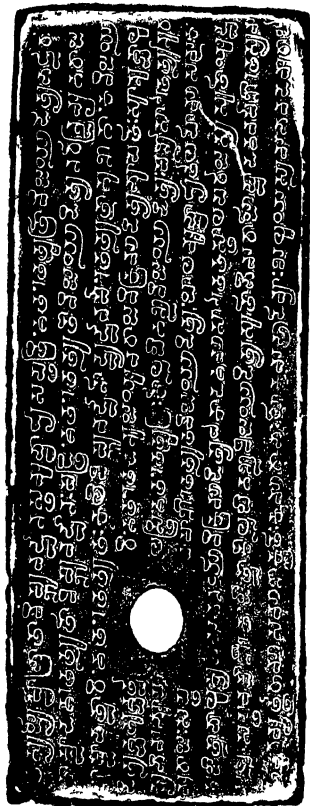
7 Read 'शक्ये शक्ये शक्ये शक्ये'.

8 Read 'शक्ये शक्ये शक्ये'.

Vandram plates of Ammaraja II



11 a.



10  
12  
14  
16  
18

E. Hultzsch

Scale 8

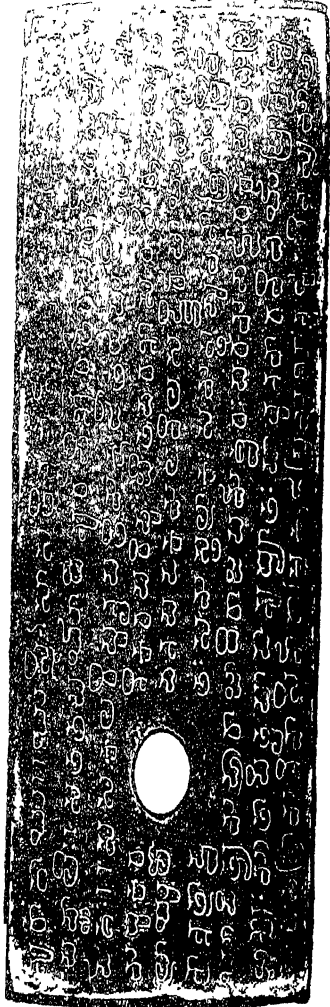
Colotype by Gebr. Plattner, H. Hilt-Saale

20  
22  
24  
26



This image shows a rectangular metal plate, likely a leaf from an ancient manuscript. It features a circular hole on the left side. The surface is covered in dense, ancient script, possibly in a South Asian language like Tamil or Grantha. The script is arranged in horizontal lines across the plate.

28  
30  
32  
34  
36



This image shows a second rectangular metal plate, similar to the first one, with a circular hole on the left side. It is also covered in ancient script, continuing the text from the previous plate. The script is dense and fills most of the surface area.

## Third Plate, First Side

- 28 सुरागाय ॥ [६\*] यस्मिन्<sup>1</sup> सासति नृपतौ परिपक्वानिकसस्यसं-<sup>2</sup>  
 29 पच्छालिः । <sup>3</sup>सततपयोधेनुरभिरिर्णीरीतिरपरग्निरस्तचोरी  
 30 देशः ॥ [७\*] स सकलरिपुनृपतिमकुटतटघटितमणिगण-  
 31 मधुकरनिकरपरिचुवितचरणसरसिरुह्युग-  
 32 लोयु[ग\*]लोचनपदकमलविलसद्विरिफायमानो<sup>4</sup> मा-  
 33 नोन्नतोद्धतः<sup>5</sup> समस्तलोकः समस्तभुवनाश्रयश्चीविज-  
 34 यादित्यमहाराजाधिराजप[र\*]मेश्वरः परमभट्टारकः परमन्न-  
 35 न्नखः मातापितृपादानुध्यातः पातुनवारविषये प्राण्डोऽ-  
 36 [द्वाद]शग्रामनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रसुखान्कुटुंबिनस्तमाज्ञ-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 37 शैलमाज्ञापयति ॥ . . . . .

## No. 17.—THE INSCRIPTIONS ON THE MATHURA LION-CAPITAL.

By F W THOMAS, M.A., LONDON

The Mathurā lion-capital was discovered by the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraju under circumstances detailed in his article on *The Northern Kshatrapas* edited and published by Professor E. J. Rapson in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI 1894, pp. 541-554, see in particular pp. 542-4. It was found embedded in the steps of an altar voted to Sitalā on a site belonging to some low-caste Hindūs at Mathurā, but not more definitely located. Having been with difficulty secured by Dr. Bhagvanlal, the capital was conveyed to Bombay, subsequently, on his death, it was despatched to England, and it can now be seen in the Buddhist Room at the British Museum.

The inscriptions incised on the capital were transcribed and translated by the discoverer himself, but owing to his death the task of publishing the MS. was entrusted by the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society to the late Professor Bühler, who was able to compare the readings with the stone itself and with paper impressions presented to him in 1889 by Dr. James Burgess. At the commencement of the published account, which appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N. S., Vol. XXVI 1894, pp. 525-540, Prof. Bühler observes that the collation has made necessary some alterations in the transcript and in the translation, among which the more important ones have been pointed out in the notes. But I may confidently assert that all really essential points have been fully settled and explained by Dr. Bhagvanlal, whose great acumen and scholarship are as conspicuous in his interpretation of these inscriptions as in his other epigraphic publications. For convenience's sake I have prefixed an introduction, summarising the chief results deducible from the inscriptions."

<sup>1</sup> Read यस्मिन्हासति

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read °रणीर्णीरीति°

<sup>4</sup> Read °माषी.

<sup>5</sup> The Elavaru grant (I. 32 f.) supplies the correct reading मानोन्नतो नतीद्धतसमस्तलोकः.

While endorsing in the main these statements of so great an authority, from all points of view, as the late Prof. Bühler I have endeavoured, in re-editing the inscriptions with Plates, which before were wanting, to give an unbiased reading based upon new impressions supplied by the kindness of the Department in the Museum (at the instance of Dr. J. F. Fleet, who originated the suggestion of this article), and upon frequent inspections of the stone itself. The present versions will therefore be found to differ in some particulars from those of Dr. Bhagvanlal and Prof. Bühler.

The shape and dimensions of the capital will be best realized from the accompanying Plates, but some particulars demand a verbal description. In the first place, the circular hole in the upper square surface, corresponding to a similar hole in the under surface, proves that the capital was surmounted by a shaft or some other continuation. Prof. Bühler remarks that various representations on slabs from the Amarāvati Stūpa prove this shaft to have supported a *Dharmachakra*, referring to the Archaeological Survey Plates published by Dr. Burgess (Plate xxxviii figs 1 and 6, and Plate xl figs 3 and 4). But it has already been pointed out by me in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906, pp. 216 and 464, that the use of lion-capitals of actual pillars was a common feature in Indian architecture, derived from Persian models. Examples may be seen in the Archaeological Survey publications relating to Bharhut (Cunningham, Plates vi, viii, x), Sāñchī (Maisey, Plates xix, xxxiii), Mathurā (V. A. Smith, Plates xliii-xlvi and xlix-l), Amarāvati (Burgess, p. 93, Plates xlix liii, liv, lv and Burgess, 1882, Plate xiv), and elsewhere. The presumption, therefore, is that the lion-capital formed the crown of a real pillar.

Secondly, the state of the stone has been somewhat impaired by time and accident. In some cases, e.g. in the loss of the horn-like projections of the two heads, this has involved no curtailment of the text. The chippings at the two bottom corners have been, no doubt, equally harmless. But the front, which would be the most exposed portion of the stone, has in part so peeled away as to render some characters illegible. In the second line of the large inscription carved on the body of the lion to the spectator's left (J 1 1) the large *ria* is followed by traces of two or three *aksharas* of equal size leading to a partly visible *su* ('), after which intervene three doubtful characters before we come to firm ground again in *puli*.<sup>1</sup>

In size the *aksharas* vary considerably. We may distinguish five groups: (1) the inscriptions B E F I J M on the front and back of the stone (among which I perhaps exceed, the others slightly in size), having characters about 2-2½ in in height, (2) G N P E'', on the back and under surface of the stone, circa 2-1½ in, (3) A (on the unpolished top and back of the stone), K L (on the breast of the left lion), O Q R (underneath), J' (front, on the leg of the left lion), circa 1½ in, (4) C D E' (which may be estimated from E', slightly the largest, visible among the characters of E), circa 1 in, (5) H H', slightly incised in small characters, of about ¾ in, at the places indicated on the front. In the same inscription the *aksharas* generally maintain a fair average size, but sometimes they become a little cramped by limitations of space. It is clear that the inscriptions in the larger characters (1), (2) and (3) were carved first, and those of a smaller size were afterwards crammed in wherever space offered.

In type, on the other hand, the characters present an uniformity which, like the subject matter of the records, forbids any supposition of additions during the subsequent history of the stone. They have been compared by Prof. Bühler to those of the Shāhbīzgañhī and Manselra versions of the Edicts of Aśoka. But the degree of similarity and dissimilarity may now be more exactly estimated from Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*, where the columns viii and ix

<sup>1</sup> In quoting Kharrōshthī records, length of vowels is noted except where the intention is to insist upon the exact reading supplied by the original as question.



Front of the capital



W BRIGGS COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J F FLEET

SCALE ABOUT 2x

No 1 are based chiefly upon these inscriptions. The type may be described as inter-  
 between the Aśoka forms and the cursive derivatives of the Dhammapada MS and  
 discovered by Dr Stein, to which approximate the vase scratchings from Mānikāla and  
 the inscription of Sui-Vihāi (see the Plate given by Dr Hoening in the  
*Antiquary*, Vol X facing p 325). It does not, however, appear to be quite identical  
 exhibited in any of these or in the Taxila plate (see the facsimile above, Vol IV  
 p 56), where on account of the historical contiguity we should expect to find, and do find,  
 congenial. The inscriptions edited by M Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér IX Vol  
 (1899), p 526 ff and Vol IV (1894), p 504 ff (No 35), are also in similar  
 acts (see the Plates)

The forms of the individual letters may be seen from Plate IV. Those of *tha*, *sa*, *mu*, *spa*,  
 position of medial *e* and the looped form of *u* have been described by Buhler. Attention may  
 called to the *ra* in Q 1, the *spa* in A 7, the *ra* (?) in I 1, the curious form in J 1 inter-  
 ed by Buhler as *shfē*, the archaic *ma* with the original angle beneath in A 2. A few points  
 for further consideration. The form of *ta*, which occurs many times, has in other records the  
 o of *tra* (see the Plate). Although we have certainly one case (J 2, in *hīrita*), and  
 appears two others (E'' in *krakārta*?, and R 1 in *Tachhīlāsa* or *Rachhīlāsa*?), where the bottom  
 is wanting, the character occurs so often that there can be no doubt as to what it denotes  
 supposing it to be a *da*. Buhler, who in his articles in the *Z D M. G* Vol XLIII pp 133 and  
 6 has read a similar character as *tt* (so also Johansson, *Der Dialekt der Shāhādegārhī-*  
*ahīron*, I p 126), was influenced by finding it in *pratśō* (M 2) and similar cases. But the  
 ular form of *da* is several times instanced, and the *t* for *d* in *pratśō* and elsewhere is a  
 ical, not an orthographical, feature, found in other Kharōṣṭhī records.

The only question remaining, as concerns *ta*, is part of a larger matter. How do we  
 represented the conjunct *r*? In a number of cases the addition is made by a stroke inclined  
 he left attached to the lower curve. This occurs in A 1 (*chhatra*°), A 6 (*mātrā*), A 7  
*ra*°). In these examples there was some slight danger of confusion with *tō*, which shows  
 the Plate) a similar stroke attached to the upper curve. Perhaps for this reason another  
 ice is more frequently adopted, namely a dot in place of the stroke, see B 1 and 3 (*chhatra*°),  
 2 (*putra*), M 1 (*chhatra*°), Q. 2 (*chhatra*°). There remain A 3 (where *te* is written), A 5  
 here I can detect no clear indication of the *r*-stroke or dot), G 1 (where there is nothing  
 ighed to the *ta*, though the reading may be *chhratava*, if not *chchhatava*), G 2 (*chhatava*),  
 3 (where we seem to have *atraurēna* for *atō*°). In A 1 we have two strokes, both of  
 ch seem to be intentional, one of them, which resembles the downward stroke of the Aramaic  
 Pahlavi *t*, I have conjectured to denote a doubled *t* before the *r*. Of a cerebral (*ta*) I can  
 1 no trace, unless indeed it is contained in the mysterious third sign of A 13.

With other consonants than *t* the *r* is regularly inserted where required. We may quote  
 a in A 7 (where it takes the form of a detached stroke), *gra* in A 2 and N 2, *pa* in A 10  
*adhavipra*°), A 11 (*prati*°), M 3 (*pratśō*), N 3, *dhra* in A 10 and M 2, *chhra* (*chchha*?)  
 G 2 and I 1 (*chhratava*° and *chhratrava*). In the last example, as also in *paḍhravi*  
 10, *paḍhravi* in I 2), it would seem to be even repeated, but this may be a feature of  
 nunciation rather than of writing. A really obtuse *r*-stroke is found in *mahēshvra*, A 2, and  
 bably in *Paspasri*, A 7.

The case of *kra* is peculiar. If we disregard the doubtful inscription E'', it is found four  
 es, in *dhakravatō* (A 12), *nākraruasa* (F 1 and N 1), and *sakravatāna* (P 1), *re* in places  
 here we expect a simple *ga*. This can hardly be accidental, it would seem probable that in  
 ese cases the combination *kra* represents a spirantic pronunciation of *ga*, analogous to the  
 rsian *g*, more especially as in the name of Seistān (Pahlavi *Sayhastān*) this sound no doubt  
 availed at the time.

A few further points remain to be noticed. (1) In *ateurena* and *hōrakāparivāreṇa* (A 9 and 10) we find a perhaps intentional stroke diverging from the tail of the *na*, though not in both cases on the same side. Have we here *na*? The rather noticeable variations in the form of the nasal may be observed in Plate iv.

(2) *Sa* varies between the forms with and without one small adjunct near the centre (see Plate iv). In N 3 the addition of the *r*-stroke makes *sam*. In E 4 a slight curve at the foot may also indicate *sam*, anticipating as in the Stein documents, the following nasal. A writing *sa* is certainly to be seen in G. 1 and probably also in B 2.

(3) The two occurrences of *kharaḥṣṭa* (A. 4 and E 1) seem both to show a small diverging mark in the place where *h* is usually appended, a circumstance which, together with the probable derivation of the word, suggests a reading *rha*=*hra*.

(4) In A 2 *a* has a small stroke added as a sort of head.

(5) In A 13 we have the distinguishing mark of *ś* vertical and at the top, elsewhere it is horizontal and at the centre.

(6) The *ś* of A 11 has two small (head and foot) strokes differentiating it from the *ś* of the previous line,— apparently without reason.

(7) The complicated *jo* of C. 2 recalls the varieties on the coins (see Gardner, *The Coins of Bactria*, pp. 55, 83).

(8) Lastly we may mention that the stone presents a number of dots and other small marks which must apparently be ascribed to accident or wear. In some cases we might be tempted to trace the *anusvāra*, e.g. in J, where we should thus arrive at a reading *Sarvāstivātamin*.

The Prākṛit in which the inscriptions are composed has been described by Bühler and perhaps need not be discussed at length. It is distinguished by closeness to Sanskrit. Elision of medial consonants occurs, if we neglect the suffixal *k* (*nagaraa*, *kusūlaa*, *māhādēngṣha*), only in *ateurena* (for *°ureṇa* ?), *saṣpa*[t]ṣ. In *ayava* and *puya* (= *dohārya* and *phā*) we have a weakening of *ch* to *y*. I have suggested (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1906, p. 205) that the sound denoted by this *y* was that of the French *j*, and the matter will arise again in connection with the proper names. The changes apparent in the word *chhatra* are not necessarily Indian. The hardening of *g* and *d* to *kr* and *t* has been already dealt with; on the other hand *p* appears in *thūva* and *pratiḥāst* as *v*, never *b* as *p*. Conjunct *s* is, except in foreign and technical names (*kharaḥṣṭa*, *sakastāna*, *sarvāstivāda*), assimilated ([t] *thūva*, *kaḥhāvāra*, *prati*[t] *thāra*, *bhu*[k] *khū*), *r*, on the other hand, remains both as prior (*sarva*, *khārāda*), and as posterior, member of a conjunction. The forms of the *a* and *ā* declensions are very well preserved. The nominative singular appears both as *a* (in *thūva*, etc.) and as *o* (*kharaḥṣṭo*, etc.), the neuter is in *a*[m] (*sarīra*[m]), the genitive singular in [*s*] *sa*, twice written *sa*. In *-mūna* the *i* declension shows the Prākṛit form, of the *ī* inflexion we have several forms (instrumental *-ād*, etc.). The *r*-stems seem to be regular (*dāta* in A 3 being a miswriting for *dātrā*), while in *yuvārāna*[h] in A 4 we have an ultra-Sanskrit use of the consonant paradigm. We may note the employment of *sarvāstivāda* in place of *°vādan*. The only pronouns occurring are *imā*, nominative masculine, and *utē*, a locative, and the only finite verb *bhusavi* (certainly not *bhūsaḥ*, as Bühler read) presents a problem; see the note to A 13. The false concord *sarīra pratiḥāvītō* is found elsewhere (see the note *ad loc*).

We now come to the historical matter, which has been discussed both by Bühler, pp. 529-33, and by Professor Rapson (p. 541 ff. of the same volume). The object of the chief inscription (A.) is to record a religious donation on the part of the Chief Queen of the Satrap Bājula, with whom are associated various members of her family and her whole court. In the other inscriptions we find honourable mention of (1) certain other members of the Satrap family at Mathurā, (2) other Satraps, and (3) a Buddhist teacher, or two Buddhist teachers, bearing the

names Buddhila (or Budhila) and Bu[d]dhadēva. The last named, who is termed an *śakōrya* and represented as a champion of the Sarvāstivādin school against the rival Māhāsāṅghikas, bears a name which cannot have been rare, one teacher of this name is mentioned by Tāranātha as a leader of the Vaiśāhikas (see Schiefner's translation, pp 4 and 67, and the references in the St Petersburg Dictionary), and we have therefore no sufficient means of identification. It is different with some of the other names.

In the first place, the Great Satrap Rājūla himself and his son, the Satrap Śudāsa, have both been identified with rulers named on coins and in other inscriptions from Mathurā (see Buhler, pp 531-2, *Ep Ind* Vol I pp 195-6, 199, Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol III p 30, and Vol XX pp 48-9, V A. Smith, *Mathurā*, p 21, Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p 9, § 33). These identifications were made by Cunningham, who also proposed to identify the *Yuvārāja* Kharaōsta with the Kharamōsta, son of Artas, known from coins, a suggestion which is scarcely tenable (Buhler, *op cit* p 532). The further identification of the Great Satrap Kusūlā Pātika with Pātika, son of the Satrap Luaka Kusūlaka, named in the Taxila plate, is important not only as supplying a date, though in an unknown era,— for the Taxila Plate is dated in the year 78, (in the time) of the Great King Mōga,— but also as implying that the other Satraps mentioned may also have ruled in distant places. It appears therefore that the inscriptions make a point of naming with respect the chief representatives of the Kshatrapa dominion in Northern India, and this is a strong argument for retaining the evident interpretation of inscription P as 'in honour of the whole Saka realm' (*Sakastāna*). It is therefore important to ascertain what other indications of nationality the inscriptions supply.

In an article published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1906 (pp 181-216, see also pp 460-4) I have endeavoured to prove (1) that Sakas inhabited the region now known as Sistan as early as the time of Darius the Great and Alexander, (2) that the inscriptions of the lion-capital exhibit a mixture of Persian and Saka nomenclature, and I have inferred that the Kshatrapas of Northern India were the representatives of a mixed Parthian and Saka domination. I think that all these propositions must be adhered to. Upon the first of them we need not dwell here. The second is strongly supported *a priori* by the fact that Pātika of Taxila, who bears himself a distinctively Persian name, mentions as his overlord the Great King Mōga, whose name is with equal distinctiveness Saka.

I may here refer to a small point in the Taxila inscription which is not without interest. The form of the phrase *chhatrapasa Luakō Kusūlakō nama tasa* (for *chhatrapasa Luakasa Kusūlakasa*), which recurs in a second phrase, has been by Buhler compared with passages in two of the Jama inscriptions from Mathurā. We may perhaps find something of the kind in later Sanskrit inscriptions and in the style of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitōpaḍeśa*. But the turn of the phrase is so conspicuous a feature of the edicts of the Achæmends that we are strongly tempted to regard it as, like the earliest Indian architecture, derived through the Satraps from a Persian model.

This is not the place for resuming at length the discussion of the **etymology** of all the names occurring in the inscriptions. A few points may be mentioned —

1. The name *Kharaōsta* or *Khārha(vra)ōsta*, as = *kshathra*, 'sovereignty,' + *ōsta*, 'blessing,' is practically certain. The initial *kha*, which reappears in *khaharōta* with variant *kshahardāta*, presents no difficulty, it recurs in the *khapallāna* (no doubt = *kshathrapahlāna*, 'defence of sovereignty,') of the new Śārnāth inscription (above, Vol VIII p 173 ff). The variation in the initial consonant group, of which we find a third form in *chhatrapa*, is of the same nature as that in *cavalier* and *chivalry*, that is to say, it is due to historical and dialectical differences.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On a coin given by Prof Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl in No 1, we have *Kehahardāta* in Brāhmī together with *Chhahardāta* in Kharoṣṭhī, some of the Nāak inscriptions have *Khahardāta*, etc

The *hra*, from *thra*, arose (with other forms) on Iranian soil, *Mihra* (Skt *Mihira*) being a variant of *Māthra*,<sup>1</sup> of which a still more simplified form is found in *Muraboyana* of the Takht-i-Bahā inscription (see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. X Vol. III (1904) pp. 463-4), the old Persian dialect had also *s*, concerning which it may be sufficient to refer to the grammars.

2. *Mévah* is no doubt a variant of the Scythian name *Maunakes Mevans*, which we find attached to the king Maues and Mōga (= *Mauaka*).

3. The two names *Kālvī*, *Kāmālvī* show a Pahlavi suffix *lvī*, in the second case with addition of an Indian termination.

4. *Nauludo* is no doubt for *Naurūdō*, 'New Growth,' with a Pahlavi or Afghan *l* for *r*.

5. The element *Khala-* appears in *Khalama* and *Khalasamušo*.

6. The termination *-ās* in *Kōmāsū* and *śamāsō* seems to be Scythic.

7. The element *-s* in *Āyas*, *Kōmāsū*, *Nandaskasa*, *Pispas* is certainly not the Sanskrit *ś*, which would have been so written in these inscriptions. It is a derivative element, perhaps identical with the *-ci*, *-si* (Pahlavi *-oik*) which appears in many Iranian names.

8. The *y* in *Āyas*, *Hayuarana*, *Ayimsa*, found also on the coins as an alternative for *s* in *Āyalsa*, etc (see Gardner, *op cit* pp. 93, 173), most probably represents a *j* sound resembling the French *j*, for which reasons it must also remain undetermined whether the *ayana* (= *āchārya*) and *puya* (= *pyā*) of our inscriptions were intended or not to represent a pronunciation with a *y*.

9. The name *Abūhōlā* doubtless consists of two members, *Abū* (of uncertain meaning) to be traced in *Αβουλιτης* (see Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s. v.) + *hōla*, a variant of the *hōra* in *Spālahōra* and the *hōrakā* of our inscriptions. That *spāla* is a Pahlavi form of O. Pers. *spāda* = Zend *spāda* = Neo-Pers. *spāh* is plain from its occurrence in *Spalapati*, which corresponds to the Persian *Isphahān*, Pahlavi *Spāhpat* (see Justi, *op cit* and Horn, *Neupersische Etymologie*, No. 699). As the Zend-Persian *ahura* is used in the sense of 'prince' and as the form *hōra* is to be traced in the common (Sassanian) name *Hormisdas*, there can be no reason to doubt that this is the meaning of the second part of the name of *Abūhōlā* and that her *hōrakāparvāra* was a 'retinue of princesses (or ladies)'

10. As regards the term *Kusūlaa* (= *Kusūlaka* of the Taxila Plate), it seems to me extremely unlikely that the word is unrelated to the *Kuyūla*, *Kujūla*, *Κοζουλα* applied to Kadphises and Kanishka, more especially now that the Sārnāth inscriptions have brought Kanishka into relation with the northern Satraps. The word seems to me to have been probably a title of the order of *Šāhū*, *Bahādūr*, and the like.

It will now be sufficient to enumerate the persons occurring in the inscriptions. These are —

(1) The family of Rājūla —

(a) Rājūla himself with his sons Kharādsta (*Yuvarāja*,<sup>2</sup> son of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā), Sudāsa (entitled Satrap), *Khalama* (entitled *Kumdra*<sup>3</sup>), and *Maja* (entitled *Kanishka*),—the two last also being possibly children of the Chief Queen Abūhōlā— and his daughter Hana.

(2) Five other, probably princely, persons *Kālvī*, *Naulūdō*, *Kāmālvī*, *Āyimsuša*, *Khalasamušo*. These were perhaps relatives of Rājūla.

(3) Friendly satraps, namely *Kusūlaa Pādika*, *Movaki Miyika*,<sup>3</sup> *K(r)ōnina*, *Khandura*, *Tachhila* (*Rachhila*).

(4) A Buddhist *āchārya*, named *Buddhila* (*Budhila*), and a second (perhaps identical with the former), named *Buddhadēva*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Huang in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 542 ff., and Jey, Vol. XXXVI, p. 482 ff.

<sup>2</sup> On this and other similar titles see M. Boyer's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, Sér. IX Vol. XIX, p. 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The name of a satrap *Mevans* is traced by Prof. E. Lebon in the *Revue de Numismatique*, 1894, p. 648.

The inscriptions supply in themselves no means of dating. But the style of the monument of which they celebrate the foundation seems to have been strongly Persian. This is in favour of an early date, but for a definite determination of it we must continue to rely upon the more or less contemporary Taxila plate belonging to the year 78 (in the reign) of the Great King Mōga, who is usually placed (see Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 29) as early as 120 B. C.

### TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES.

#### A. I.

- 1 Mahachhatra(ttra)vasa rajulasa [Mahāchhatravassa Rājūlassa]
- 2 agra(ggria)maheshmjasia(o<sup>o</sup>) [āgramahēshi-Āyasiā]
- 3 komusaa dhite [Kōmūsāā dhite]
- 4 khara(rha<sup>o</sup>)ostasa yuvaraūa [Kharāstassa yuvārāūah]
- 5 mata nadadi(sī<sup>o</sup>)akasa . [mâtâ Namdadi(sī<sup>o</sup>)akasa ]

#### A. II.

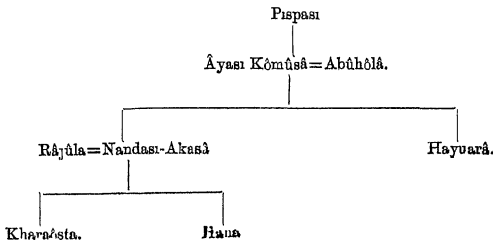
- 6 sadha mata(tra) abuholaa(e<sup>o</sup>) [sadha mâtrâ Abūhōlāā]
- 7 pitramahi pispasria bhra [pitāmahi-Pispasīā bhra-]
- 8 tia hayuarana sadha hanadhitra(<sup>o</sup>) [-trâ Hayuarānâ sadha Hana-dhitrâ]
- 9 atra(te)ūena horakapa [amtēurēna hōrakāpa-]
- 10 rivarena ise pradhraviprate [-rivārēna isō pradhravipratō-]
- 11 śe(śre<sup>o</sup>) misme śarira pratithavito [-sē misimē śarira[m] pratithāvitō]
- 12 bhakravato śakamunisa budhasa [bhakravatō Śakamunissa Buddhassa]
- 13 ma(mia<sup>o</sup>)kite(hi<sup>o</sup>)ra(<sup>o</sup>)ya saspaē bhusaveti(<sup>o</sup>) [ . . rāya saspaō bhūsā-v-iti]
- 14 thuva cha sagbarama cha chatu [thūva cha samghārāma cha chatu-]
- 15 dīśesa saghasa saiva [-dīśēssa samghassa Sarvā-]
- 16 stavatana parigrahe [-stavātānam parigrāhē]

### TRANSLATION.

By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Āyasi Kōmūsā, mother of the Her Apparent Kharāsta, Nandasī-Akasā (by name), together with her mother Abūhōlā, her paternal grandmother Pispasī, her brother Hayuarā (<sup>o</sup>), her daughter Hana, her household and court of hōrakās (ladies), a relic was deposited in this piece of land in a stūpa with the thought. ' May it be for the eternal . . . of the Holy Śākya sage Buddha ' And the stūpa and the monastery are for the acceptance of the universal Sangha of the Sarvāstivādins.

### NOTES.

Genealogy —The scheme appears to be as follows —



**Readings**—L 1 The additional stroke in the *tra*, if not accidental, may denote a doubling. At least I learn from Prof. Rapson that a (cross) stroke is used in the Stein documents for that purpose.

L 2, *aggra* with a cross stroke, *ma* in *mahēshi* has the original form with a subscribed angle, *shri* has the close *r*-stroke found elsewhere.

L 3, *te* in *dhte* is quite clear, it must be due to an error, as the regular form of *tra* occurs several times in the inscription.

L 4 Is the side stroke in the *r* of *kharāstasa* accidental, or does it possibly represent *h*? See p. 138 above. It occurs in the place, though not with the shape, of aspiration in other consonants.

L 5 No doubt *namdas* should be read, on the analogy of the other names. But the lower stroke of the *akshara* is curtailed (being at the edge of the stone) in such a way as to produce the appearance of the cursive *da* in Buhler's Table, col. viii. After *sa* nothing can be clearly seen on the stone. The analogy of the other names would lead us to expect *śā*. On the *ta* in *mātā* see p. 137 above.

L 8 From what nominative form the instrumental *Hayuarānā* is to be derived is not obvious.

L 9, a [n] *teurēna* presents a case, rare in these inscriptions, of disappearance of a medial consonant. The only other cases are: (1) *śāpād* for *śāvatā*, l. 13 (if that is the correct reading), (2) *k* in *nākrāvaśsa* and *māhāsanghāna*, and (3) *kharāvaśsa*. As in general the medial consonants are sharpened rather than weakened, this seems to show a mixture of dialects. On the word *hōrakā* see p. 140 above.

L 11, *nerme* Buhler takes this as denoting a *stūpa*, and he quotes Professor Pischel's view that it is a Prākṛit form of *mheama*, used in the sense of 'high', hence = *stūpa*. The word is certainly a substantive and the name of a manufactured object, as appears from the phrase *meśmō kārita niyātītō* in inscription J, but in point of etymology it may perhaps be related to the *mesimamālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, o xxxii *rannō sarītram jhāpēsum yasmin mesimamālaka*.

L 13 The last *akshara* is doubtful, and it is indeed possible to question whether any sign is intended after *v*. Buhler's reading *bhāsati* is out of the question. We must apparently take *bhāsē* as a strange optative form.

L 12 The sign for *tō* is, owing to misplacement of the vowel stroke, that usually in these inscriptions denoting *tra*. I do not detect a sign for *r*.

L 6 Whether *mātā* or *mātrā* is inscribed I cannot determine.

L 7, *tra* is clear in *pitra*, and *eri* in *Pispaśi*.

L 9. The second *akshara* resembles *tra* more than anything else, if it is really *tē* (which in any case must be meant), the sign for *tē* is added to the earlier form of *ta*.

L 13 Buhler's reading *mukhātāya*. The first *akshara* is certainly not *mu*, but might be *mra*, unless it is simply *ma*, and the third is far from being an ordinary *ra*, the expression *Buddhāya mukhātāya* does not present an orthodox appearance.

L 15, *tē* seems clear, compare *tē* in l. 10.

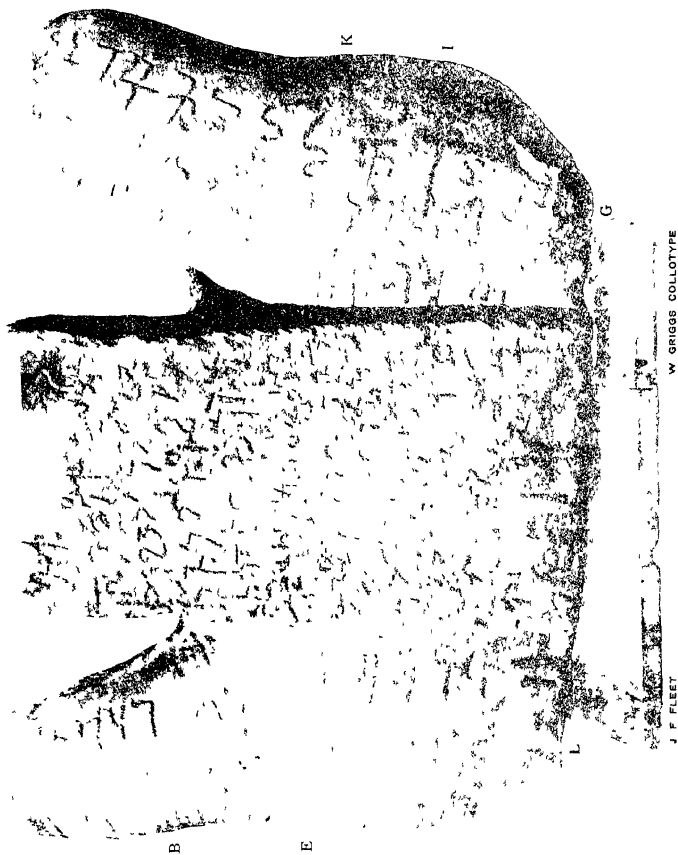
**Grammar and interpretation**—L 1, 4 in Rājūla is supported by the *Ranjubala*, etc., of the coins.

L 2 It is doubtful whether *mahēshi Āyasi* or *mahēshī Yasi* is to be read. In the former case we have an omission (or postponement) of the sign of declension, as in *pīśāmāsi*, l. 7. It would however not be entirely out of the question to take *pratiśhāvitō* as an active participle with the subject *mātā* in the nominative and a false concord. Buhler observes (p. 535) that '*pratiśhāvitō* is the neuter, as frequently in the Shālbāgarhī version of the Rock-Edicts.' We may quote *emah kaṭavō* in Edict XI. Generally however in cases parallel to the present (e.g. in

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion-capital  
in the British Museum

Plate II

Back of the capital



W. GRIGGS COLLOTYPE

FROM GENERAL SIR ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM'S PHOTOGRAPHS

J. F. FLEET

SCALE ABOUT 22





10 Māpikāla, Taxila, and Wardak inscriptions) the active construction (*pratiñhāritā*) is preferred

B<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Mahachha(chchha?)travasa [mahāchhatravassa]
- 2 vajulasya putra [Rājūlasya putra]
- 3 śudase chatrave [Śudāsē chhatravē]

## TRANSLATION.

Śudāsa, son of the Great Satrap Rājūja, being Satrap

## NOTES.

L 1. A cross stroke, apparently intentional, on the *chha* may indicate duplication, as in the cases already noted<sup>1</sup>

L 2, *va* (*sic*)

L 3. As these inscriptions seem to present no other nominatives in -s, Śudāsē may best be regarded as a locative, in M it is plainly so

C<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Kalu a [Kālūi a-]
- 2 varajō(jho?) [-varajō]

## TRANSLATION

Kālūi, younger brother.

D.<sup>3</sup>

Nauludo [Naulūdō].

E.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Khara(rha?)osto yuvaraya [Kharāstō yuvarāyā]
- 2 khalamasa kumara [Khalamasa kumāra]
- 3 maja kantiha [Maja kantiha]
- 4 sa(sam?)manamota.

## TRANSLATION

Kharāsta, Hair Apparent, Khalamasa, *kumāra*, Maja; youngest, . . .

## NOTES.

Bühler read *Jalama*<sup>o</sup> in 1 2, but the *akshara* seems to be a *kha*. He also regarded *kumārā(t)maja* as a single word. The last line is uncertain, but I may perhaps suggest that the cross stroke in *mō* is accidental, in which case we may understand the words *samānā mātā* as indicating that the three sons named were *uterine* brothers. Bühler's reading *chha* is by no means borne out by inspection

E'<sup>5</sup>

Kamuo [Kāmūiō?]

## NOTE.

Apparently a proper name, like Kālūi

E''.<sup>6</sup>

kra ka(rva?)rita (yu?) [-kra kārta?]

<sup>1</sup> See Plate II

<sup>2</sup> In small letters at the place indicated in Plate III

<sup>3</sup> In smaller letters within E; see Plate II

<sup>4</sup> On the right cheek of the right lion; not shown in the photographs

<sup>5</sup> See Plate III

<sup>6</sup> See Plate II.

## NOTE.

The *ta*, if it is so to be read, has the earlier form

F.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Budhilaśa nakraraśa [Buddhilaśa Nākraraśa]
- 2 bhikkhaśa sarvaśtīvataśa [bhikkhaśa Sarvaśtīvataśa]

G.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Mahachhatravasya kusūlaśa padikāśa meva(na)kīśa [mahachhatravasya Kusūlaśa Pādikaśa Mēvakīśa]
- 2 miyikāśa chhatravāśa pūyae [Miyikāśa chhatravāśa pūyāś]

J (3)<sup>3</sup>

Sarvaśtīvātana padī[rī<sup>2</sup>]grahe [Sarvaśtīvātāna padī(rī<sup>2</sup>)grahē]

## TRANSLATION.

F.—Of the Nāgara *bhikkhu* Buddha, a Sarvaśtīvādīn.

G.—For the honour of the Great Satrap, the Kusūlaka Pādika, and the Satrap Mēvaki Miyika.

J.— For the acceptance of the Sarvaśtīvādīns.

## NOTES.

These three inscriptions, written in *akṣaras* of about the same size, adjoin each other, and may form a single whole

**Readings.**—G 1.—The *va* or *na* of *mēva(na)kīśa* is a single straight stroke. *Mēvaki* is however more probable than *mēnaki* (*manāki*), see above

**J. (3).**—The *di* in *padīgrahē* (= *pratīgrahē*) is identical with that in *Pādika*; nevertheless *parīgrahē* is on the whole more probable in view of A 1 16 The *bhikkhu* Buddha may be, but need not be, identical with the Buddhādēva of the inscription K. He belongs to Nāgara, no doubt the famous city of Nagarahāra (but see Watter's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I. p. 184 ff., 201 and reff.) Concerning the remaining persons see the introductory remarks. There seems to be no ground for joining the inscription J. (3), as Bühler does, to the lines J (1 and 2), on the opposite face (the front) of the stone

M<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Chha(chohha)trave śudise [chhatravā Śūdisē]
- 2 imo padhravī [imō padhravī]
- 3 prateśo [pratēśō]

I.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 veyā aṅ (u ?) dīrna (dinam ?) kadhavaro busapa
- 2 ro kadha
- 3 varo
- 4 viyāa

<sup>1</sup> See Plate II.

<sup>4</sup> See Plate I.

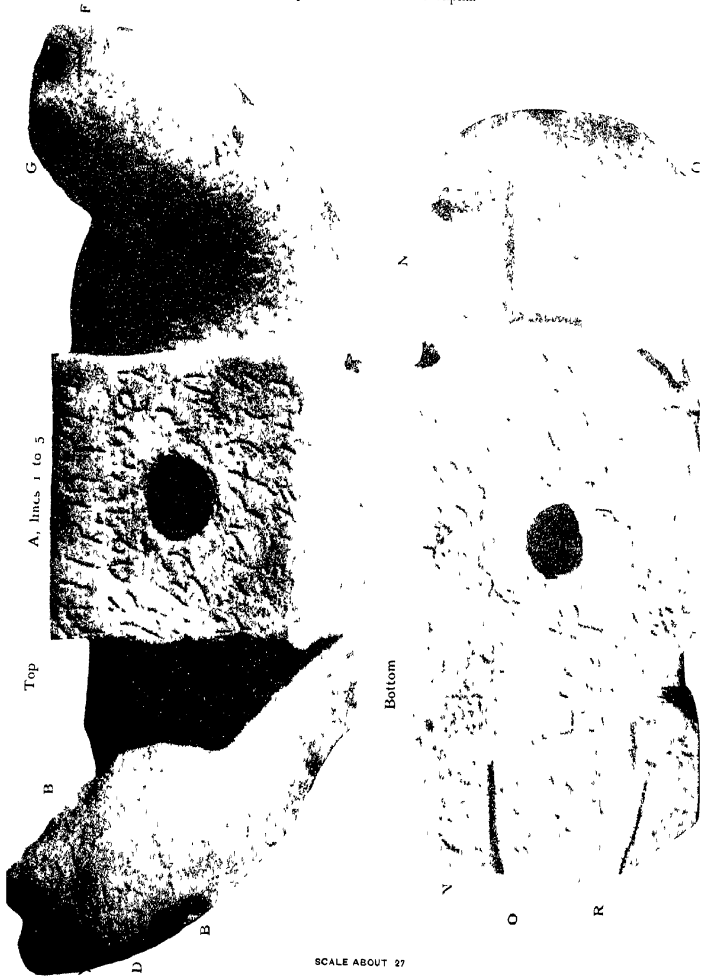
<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid*

Inscriptions on the Mathura lion capital  
in the British Museum

Top and bottom of the capital



SCALE ABOUT 27

J. (1 and 2)<sup>1</sup>

- 1 *vya rva* . . . . . pahashte (PP) na  
 2 *nisimo karita nyatatito* [nissimo kārta myyātītō]

These three inscriptions present the most difficult problems of all those inscribed on the capital. They are written in *aksharas* of approximately the same size. As M has no verb (unless we here make use of the *-krakārītu* (P) of B<sup>2</sup>), we should naturally expect it to be in connection with one of the others. It certainly seems to join the *vēya*<sup>3</sup> of I 1. But here we enter upon a very obscure passage. Buhler with great ingenuity has elicited the reading *vēya-udīno kadhavaro busaparo kadhavaro=vēgōdīrnō skandhāvārō busaparō skandhāvārō*, which he renders 'the army has started in haste, the army is intent on wealth'. But to this there are, apart from the inappropriateness of the sense, the following objections — (1) *skandhāvāra* does not mean 'an army,' but 'an encampment,' (2) the meaning 'riches' attached to *busa* is attested only by Wilson's Dictionary, (3) it is doubtful whether the third *akshara* is really *u*, it is unlike the other *u*'s of these inscriptions and rather resembles *am*, while the bottom curve may even be a part of the accidental indentation in the stone (see the Plate), (4) a weakening of *g* to *y* in *vēya* is contrary to the tendencies of the languages employed in these inscriptions. On the other hand, the *ro* of I 2 plainly follows the *pa* of I 1, and a reading *vēyaśndhān kadhavaro=vayayantīnām skandhāvārō* appears but little promising. The *vya* which precedes the large *rvā* in J 1 is in small characters and no doubt an independent addition. Can it possibly be an insertion to show that the large *rva*, which apparently joins on to nothing, is an error for *vya*=*mya*? The sign which Buhler renders by *shś* (reproduced in his *Indian Palaeography*, Plate I col. xii), is quite clearly inscribed, but its meaning is anything but clear. It is more like *rā*, which seems very unlikely. With the preceding *paś* (Buhler *paś*) it composes no doubt a proper name. What came before *paś*, occupying a space sufficient for 7 or 8 *aksharas*, is quite obscure owing to the stone having been peeled away. We seem to have the remains of a *sa*, but what is to be done with the large *rva* commencing the line? Even adopting the suggestion that it is an error for *vya* we have no ground for proceeding further. The words *nissimō kārta myyātītō*, 'a *stūpa* was caused to be made and presented,' are quite satisfactory. We have already noted the older form of *ta* in *kārta*. With these remarks I must be content so far as these inscriptions are concerned.

J'<sup>2</sup>

- 1 *Khalasamu-*  
 2 *śo*

The *aksharas* are perfectly clear, though Buhler read *khalasāna śo*. We seem to have here a proper name.

K. & L.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 *Āyamasa* [Āyāriassa]  
 2 *budhatevasa* [Buddhatēvassa]  
 3 *utaena ayimisa* [utaēna Āyimisa].

## TRANSLATION.

Through the elevation of the *āchārya* *Buddhadēva*, Āyimisa.

The exact meaning is not clear. We might take *Āyimisa* as a genitive with *dāna* understood. But what then was the *dāna*? The last *akshara* of *Āyimisa*, which lacks the tail of the *sa*, was read by Buhler as *ta*.

<sup>1</sup> See Plate I.

<sup>2</sup> On the leg of the left lion, under his tail.

<sup>3</sup> Not shown in the Plates. Incised in very clear characters on the breast of the left lion between J and J' (see Plate II) plainly a single independent record.

H.<sup>1</sup>

Gubavihara [Gubāvihārē]

## TRANSLATION

In the cave *vihāra*.

Bühler would translate 'In the Guha-monastery,' and the matter cannot be considered certain, as we have a Hamsasānghārāma near Gaya (*Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol I p 18) and a (Jama) *Mihravahāra* mentioned in an inscription published by him in *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 212

H.<sup>2</sup>

Dhamada(?)na(?) [dhammadānam]

## TRANSLATION

Religious donation

N<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Ayarasa budhassa nakraraassa bhikkhu [āyārassa Buddhassa Nākaraassa bhikkhu-]
- 2 sa sarvastivatasa pagra [-ssa Sarvastivātassa pāgrā-]
- 3 na mahāsāghiana pra [-nam Māhāsāngghīnam prā-]
- 4 ma(?)ñāvitave khalulasa [-māñāvittavē khalūlassa]

## TRANSLATION.

To the Sarvastivādin *ācārya* Buddha, a *bhikkhu* of Nagara, an exercise-ground in the knowledge of the nature of proof to the vanguard of the Māhāsāngghikas.

L 1 Buddha is, of course, the *bhikkhu* already mentioned in the inscription F. The rendering 'of Nagara' (Bühler) seems to be the most satisfactory among the meanings of *Nāgaraka*, for which see the St Petersburg Dictionary. Concerning the place probably denoted see Water's *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I pp 184 ff, 201 and reff.

Ll 2-3 Of the *sa* which Bühler inserts after *gra*, in order to get the word *prakāsamā* I can see no trace.

L 4 The reading seems certain; the only difficulty is the word *khalula*. Halāyudha gives *khadūrtkā* in the sense of 'a military exercise-ground,' and the Atharva-Vēda has *khadāra* with indeterminate sense. If the rendering given above does not seem quite acceptable, we may at least find in *khalula* some form from the root *khaṅṅ*, so common still in titles of controversial works. That the Māhāsāngghikas were opposed to the Sarvastivādins Bühler has already observed. I conjecture that *pramāñāvittavē=pramāñāvittā*

O<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sarvabudhana puya dhamasa [sarvabuddhānam pūyā dhamassa]
- 2 puya saḡhasa puya [pūyā saṃghassa pūyā]

## TRANSLATION

Honour to all the Buddhas, Honour to the *Dharma*, Honour to the *Saḡha*.P.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sarvasa sakrasta [sarvasa Sakrastā-]
- 2 nasa puyae [-nassa pūyāe].

<sup>1</sup> In small characters below the letter H in Plate I.<sup>2</sup> In small characters, as H, below the letter H' in Plate I<sup>3</sup> See Plate III

## TRANSLATION.

For the honour of all Sakastāna.

The objections raised by Dr Fleet (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1904, pp 703-9, 1905, pp 154-6) to this rendering of Bühler seem to me ineffective. As regards the presence of Sakas at Mathurā, see the introductory remarks, where it is also shown that the form of the word exactly represents the name of Sakastāna. Nor is there any difficulty in the expression of honour to the 'whole realm of the Sakas,' since we find in the Wardak inscription (and elsewhere, e.g. in the inscriptions of Sae Vihār, Anyor, and various Mathurā inscriptions, which have regard to the 'good and happiness of all living creatures,' *sarvasattvānām*) even more comprehensive expressions, nor again is there any difficulty in the use of *sarva* (uncompounded) with the meaning 'whole' (see the St Petersburg Dictionary). As regards *svaka*, 'one's own,' (a common word), and the Pāli *sakatthāna*, 'one's own place (home, etc),' it may be remarked that, while it is natural to say, as in the passages cited by Dr Fleet, 'he went to his own home,' etc., it seems less natural to inscribe on the stone 'honour to (somebody's) own home,' etc. [This inscription has been recently discussed by M Barth, *Comptes Rendues de l'Académie*, 1907, pp 384 ff, with his accustomed perspicacity. I am, however, unable to admit that the name of a donor is required here any more than in the inscriptions G and O. A *pūjā* addressed to a country is certainly unusual, but inscription G. contains a similar *pūjā* addressed to the chief representatives of the Saka dommon.]

Q.<sup>1</sup>

1 Khardaasa [Khardaassa]

2 chhatravasa [chhatravassa].

## TRANSLATION

Of the Satrap Khardaa.

R.<sup>2</sup>1 Ra(ta<sup>2</sup>)chhilasa [Ra<sup>2</sup>Ta<sup>2</sup>... h...]

2 kromi... a... n... a...]

## TRANSLATION.

Of Ra... (Ta... hila<sup>2</sup>) Kaundinya (?)

*Kaundinya* is a suggestion of Bühler, who also regards *Tachhilasa* as = *Takshasilasa*

## Additional Notes

1 A number of questions relating to, or connected with, the inscriptions on the Lion Capital—for instance the forms of the names Moga, Rājula, and Kharasta, and the date of Moga—have been discussed by Dr J F Fleet in an article entitled 'Moga, Maues, and Vonones,' published in the *J E A S.* for October 1907, pp 1013-40.

2 P 137, l 9 Insert after 'pp 526 ff' the words '(where *sapana* is perhaps = *sappana* = *sattvānām*, see Pischel's *Grammatik der Prakrit-sprachen* §300)'

3 P 137, l 38 Insert after 'detached stroke' the words 'to the left together with the same curve to the right that in *se* denotes *e*, see below'

4 P 139, l 44 Insert after the words 'defence of sovereignty' the words 'see the Iranian *Grundriss* II p 97'

<sup>1</sup> See Plate III and Plate I where R has been printed in error. The word *chhatravasa* is inverted on the stone

<sup>2</sup> See Plate III.

No 18 — MOUNT ABU VIMALA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION  
OF [VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1378

BY PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN.

In 1828 H H Wilson, in *As. Res.* Vol XVI p 284 ff, published an account of the inscriptions on the mountain Arbuda, the modern Mount Abū in the Sirohi State of Rājputāna, from copies presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Captain Speers, Political Agent at Sirohi. In that account Prof. Wilson gave full translations of one of the two large inscriptions at the temple of Nāminātha, the texts of which were first published in 1883 by Mr A V Kāthavate, and which have now been edited, with facsimiles, by Prof. Lüders, above, Vol VIII p 200 ff, of the Guhila inscription in the neighbourhood of the temple of Achalésvara, edited by myself in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XVI p 347 ff,<sup>1</sup> and of the Achalésvara temple inscription of which I have treated above, p 79 ff.<sup>2</sup> Of other inscriptions only short abstracts of the contents were given, apparently based on an account in Hindi that had been drawn up by a native scholar.

For many years afterwards little<sup>3</sup> was done for the study of the Mount Abū inscriptions. But in the cold season of 1900-01 Mr Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, while staying at Abū, had impressions (or, in a few cases, eye-copies) prepared of all inscriptions which are now found on the mountain, and by sending them to the Government Epigraphist he for the first time has placed at our disposal trustworthy materials for a critical examination of these records. Most of these inscriptions are very short, none of them go back beyond the middle of the 11th century A D, and considering their great number, the *data* furnished by them for the political history of the country are disappointingly few. In other respects, some are of considerable interest and well deserve to be made more generally accessible, while a good many contain some name, or expression, or date, or perhaps only some mark or letter, which, unimportant as it may seem at first sight, may prove of use on a future occasion.

The number of the inscriptions in Mr Cousens' collection, which has been sent to me by Prof. Hultzsch, is 298, of which 270 are ink-impressions and 28 eye-copies only. Of the total number, 148 are from the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) which was founded by Vimala,<sup>4</sup> 97 from the temple of Nāminātha, founded by Tejapāla,<sup>5</sup> 30 from the temple of Achalésvara, and 13 from other localities. Of the Vimala temple inscriptions 126 are dated, the earliest date being of the [Vikrama] year 1119 (about A D 1062), in a short inscription (No 1780 of Mr Cousens' list) of a minister of the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I, and the latest (in No 1874) of the [Vikrama] year 1785 (about A D 1728), between the two, the years which most

<sup>1</sup> A kind of facsimile of the inscription may be seen in *Bhāvnagar Insor* Plate xxxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Wilson also gave a translation of the inscription of the Vikrama year 1265, published by Dr Cartellieri in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XI p 221 ff, the original of which is now at the town of Sirohi, see *Progress Report of the Archaeol. Survey of India, W. Circle*, for 1905-1906, p 47.

<sup>3</sup> For inscriptions that have been edited (in addition to those translated by Prof. Wilson) see my *Northern Ind.*, Nos. 261 and 265.

<sup>4</sup> In inscriptions the temple is called *Vimala-vasahikā*, *Vimalasya vasahikā*, *Vimala-vasahī*, and *Vimala-vasahikā-śrītha*, in literary works also *Vimala-vasahī*. Above, p 81, I have already stated that the names 'Vimala Sāh' or 'Vimala Shāh,' recently written 'Vimala Śā', in my opinion owe their origin to a misunderstanding of the term *Vimala-vasahikā*, 'Vimala's temple'. Similarly, *Lāngya vasahikā* has given rise to the name (for Tejapāla's brother) 'Lāngya Sahilā', in *As. Res.* Vol. XVI p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII p 200, Prof. Lüders has shown that the ordinary name of the temple is *Lānasyā* (or *Lānasya-vasahikā*) or *Lānā vasahikā*. In inscriptions I also find *Lāngya-vasahikā*, *Tejapāla-vasahikā* and *Tejāla-vasahī*, and in literary works *Lāngya-vasahī*.



frequently occur are the Vikrama years 1245 (22 times) and 1378 (25 times). Of the inscriptions at Tejhpāl's temple 77 are dated, and here the earliest dates are of the Vikrama year 1287 (about A D 1230), the very year in which the temple was founded, while the latest date (in No 1748) is one of the [Vikrama] year 1911 (about A D 1854), no less than 47 inscriptions are dated between the Vikrama years 1287 and 1297, and 9 between 1346 and 1389. Of the 30 inscriptions at the temple of Achalēśvara 22 are dated. Here the earliest inscription appears to be one (No 1950), unfortunately almost entirely effaced, of the [Vikrama] year 1186 (about A D 1129), and another (No 1941) seems to contain a date in the [Vikrama] year 1191. What I consider to be certain is, that No 1951 of Mr Cousens' List is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1207 (about A D 1150), in the reign of the [Paramāra] *Mahāmandalēśvara Yaśōdhavaladēva* (a feudatory of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla, an inscription of whom is dated in the same year)<sup>1</sup>. Two other inscriptions (Nos 1945 and 1946) are dated in the [Vikrama] years 122[5] and 122[8], the rest in 1377 and later years. Regarding the 13 remaining inscriptions, it will suffice to say that the Guhila inscription mentioned above (No 1953 of the List) is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1342, and that the dates which occur in others are of later years.

Of the inscriptions at the temple of Nēminātha, the two largest and most important, together with 30 shorter ones, have been edited from Mr Cousens' materials by Prof Luders, above, Vol. VIII p 200 ff. I now give the text of an inscription of the [Vikrama] year 1378, which is at the temple of Rīshabha, and the chief point of interest in which is the statement that that temple was founded in the Vikrama year 1088 (about A D 1031) by a certain Vimala, who had been appointed *danḍapati* at Arbuda by [the Chaulukya] Bhīmadēva [I].

Before I proceed to describe the inscription, I may state that the date here given for the foundation of the temple is known to us also from other sources. In *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 243, the late Dr Klatt gave an extract from a *Paṭṭavālī* of the Kharatara-gaohchha, according to which the minister Vimala, who belonged to the Pōravāda (Prāgvāta) family, and who broke the parasols of thirteen Sultāns and established the town of Chandrāvati, caused a temple of Rīshabhadēva to be built on the mountain Arbuda — a temple which even now is known by the name *Vimala-vasatī*,<sup>2</sup> and which, it is added, was consecrated by Vardhamānasūri in the year 1088. The same story, with the same date, is more fully given in the extracts in Prof Weber's *Catalogue of the Berlin MSS*, Vol II pp 1036 and 1037, where we are moreover told that, to obtain from the Brāhmins the ground on which he intended to build the temple, Vimala had to cover it with gold coins, and that he expended 18 crores and 53 lacs (185,300,000) in the building of the temple. And the date also occurs in an interesting extract from Jinaprabhasūri's *Tīrthakalpa*, in Prof Peterson's *Fourth Report*, p 92 f. There, again, the Vikrama year 1088 is given<sup>3</sup> for the foundation of the *Vimala-vasatī*, and 1288 for that of the *Lāṅga-vasatī*,<sup>3</sup> and it is also stated that, when the two temples had been demolished or damaged (*bhagna*) by the Mlēcchhas, they were repaired in the Śaka year 1243 (i.e. the Vikrama year 1378), the first by Lalla, the son of Mahanasimha, and the other by Pīthada, the son of the merchant Chandasimha. We shall see below that our inscription actually records the restoration, in 1378, of Vimala's temple by Lalla (Lāṅga), the son of Mahanasimha, and

<sup>1</sup> No 129 of my *Northern List*.

<sup>2</sup> So far as I can see, there is something wrong in the verses 39 and 40, as given by Prof Peterson, but regarding the date of the construction of the *Vimala-vasatī* there can be no doubt.

<sup>3</sup> According to the extracts, the *sūtradhāra*, who built the *Lāṅga-vasatī*, was Śōbhanadēva, who is mentioned in the same way (as *prādātakāra* *sūtradhāra*) in Mērutanga's *Prabandhachintāmanī*, p 269. This builder's name actually occurs in No 1874 of Mr Cousens' List, an inscription of the Vikrama year 1288 — Jinaprabhasūri's account of the mountain Arbuda, from which the extracts are taken, seems to be based on inscriptions and to be quite trustworthy.

Vijada, the son of Dhanasimha, and the name of the person who repaired the temple of Tejapāśā (the *Lūnya-vasati*) is given as Pēthada in an inscription<sup>1</sup> at that temple, the full text of which is —

L 1 Om<sup>3</sup> || ²Ā-chamdrārkam namdatād-ēsha samghā-<sup>4</sup>dhsah srīma-  
2 n Pēthadah samgha-yuktah | jīrnōddhātam Vastupāla  
3 sya chaityē<sup>4</sup> tēnē yēn-ēhāśrbudādāraū sva-sārah ||

The inscription with which we are more immediately concerned here<sup>5</sup> is on a black slab, built into the side wall of a shrine in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space between 1' 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 1' 8" broad by 1' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, but of which only the first 22 lines extend over the full breadth of this space, lines 23-29 are only 1' 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ " long and line 30 (which contains merely a date) only 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The greater part of the writing is well preserved, but in line 16 about 10 *aksharas* and in line 17 about 4 *aksharas* are effaced, and in some places the writing is difficult to read, mainly, as it seems to me, because the letters have been formed carelessly and are so close to one another that they have not come out clearly in the ink-impression at my disposal<sup>6</sup>. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the words *om* || *śrī-Arṇvatīriha-prasāstr-lakhyate* || at the commencement, the words *aṭha rājāvali* || in line 9, and the date in line 30, the text is in verse, the number of verses being 42. In respect of orthography only few remarks are necessary. There are separate signs for the letters *b* and *v*, and the sign for the former has been wrongly employed also for *v* in *sarbaṅṅā*, l 16, and *sa nbbabāh*, l 21. The palatal sibilant is used instead of the dental in *manasūṣ*, l 4, *sāmha-* (for *simha-*), l 6, and *sahasrē*, l 8, and the dental instead of the palatal *r* in *Rishabha* ll 26 and 29, and in line 24 the author himself has written *śhaḍ-aritavaḥ* instead of *śhaḍ-ritavaḥ*, which would not have suited the metre<sup>8</sup>. What is more interesting is, that in line 4 we find *nripasa* for *nripasya*, and in line 21 *vadāyñi* instead of *vadāyā*. The latter reminds us of the name *Nyānasakti* (instead of *Jānasakti*) in *Ind Ant* Vol XIII, p 93, l 26, and shows that in Rājputāna as well as in the Kanarese country there could have been hardly any difference in pronunciation between *ñā* and *nyā*, and *nripasa* recalls *īasa* and similar genitive cases of far more ancient inscriptions,<sup>9</sup> without, of course, proving more than that the pronunciation of *s* must have been similar to that of the conjunct *sy*. In respect of grammar I need draw attention only to the word *vidadhāna*, in line 3, the reading of which is certain, and which the author undoubtedly has used as a 3rd person singular of the Perfect of *vi-dhā* (instead of *vidadhē*), probably misled by the participle *vidadhāna* which was more familiar to him than the proper verbal form<sup>10</sup>. Though the writer or engraver in some places has done his work carelessly, I believe that, with the exception of what has been entirely effaced

<sup>1</sup> No 1743 of Mr Cousens' List, "on pilaster near shrine doorway of the principal temple in Vastupāśā's temple"

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Metre Sāhni

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>5</sup> No 1790 of Mr Cousens' List

<sup>6</sup> When my text was finished, I was able to compare impressions kindly sent to me by Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha and by the Government Epigraphist, which in one or two places where there had been some doubt confirmed the correctness of my readings.

<sup>7</sup> For curiosity's sake it may be stated that the Sanskrit *īasa*, German 'hase,' English 'hare,' seems to go back to an original *īasa*, compare Prof Wackernagel's *Altind Gramm* Vol I p 225

<sup>8</sup> Compare *śhadriśha* and *śhadarīśha* in the St. Petersburg Dictionary

<sup>9</sup> See Prof Rapson in *Journ Roy Asi Soc* 1900, p 104 f, and Prof Franke's *Pāli and Sanskrit*, p 97 f, and compare the genitive cases *terasa*, *vagata*, etc, in *Ep Zeylanica*, Vol I p 18 ff

<sup>10</sup> Proper Perfect forms which occur in the text are *bābhāva*, *bābhāvuh*, *chakāra*, *didāsa*, *prañīta* and *kārayām-dātuh*

and of perhaps the last words of verse 21, the original text may everywhere be restored with confidence

The object of the inscription is, to record that in the [Vikrama] year 1378 two persons, Lalla (Lāḷiga) and Vijāda, for the spiritual welfare of their parents repaired the temple of Rishabha (Ādinātha) on the mountain Arbuda. And the inscription is divided into three parts. The first part (verses 1-13) is a *prasasti* or eulogy of the sacred Arbuda, but besides glorifying that locality and some mythical or divine beings (Ambikā and Śrīmātā) residing there, it also gives a few historical details connected with it, and especially records the foundation, in the Vikrama year 1088, of the temple of Ādinātha by Vimala. The second part (vv 14-23) contains a *riśāvalī* of the chiefs who at the time of the restoration of the temple were in possession of the mountain. And the third part (vv 24-38) gives an account of the family of the men by whom the temple was repaired. The concluding verses (39-42) record the name and spiritual lineage of the priest or teacher who consecrated the restored building, and the exact date when he did so.

To omit what is of no historical interest, the first part begins with the well-known story how on the mountain Arbuda there sprang from the fire-pit (*anala-kunda, agni-kunḍa*) of the sage Vasishtha the hero Paramāra. In his lineage appeared the hero Kānhadādeva, and in his family there was a chief named Dhandhu (Dhandhurāja), who was lord of the town of Chandrāvati and who, averse from rendering homage to the [Chaulukya] king Bhīmadēva [I] and to escape that king's anger, took refuge with king Bhōja, the lord of Dhārā. The author then, rather abruptly, tells us that in the Prāgvāta family there was a distinguished personage named Vimala in whom religion, unmerged in darkness through the wickedness of the times, suddenly shone forth again in its splendour. He was appointed by king Bhīma *dandapati* (commander of the forces or governor) at Arbuda, and there one night was enjoined by the divine Ambikā to build on the mountain a beautiful dwelling for the Yוגādībhārtrī (Yugādījuna, Ādinātha). That Vimala obeyed the request the author intimates in the verse "I adore the holy Ādinātha who was placed on the top of Arbuda by the glorious Vimala, when one thousand and eighty-eight years had passed since (the time of) the glorious king Vikramāditya."

The chief Dhandhu or Dhandhurāja, spoken of in the preceding paragraph, apparently is the Pramāra (or Paramāra) Dhandhuka mentioned above, p 11, whose son Pūrnāpāla ruled the Arbuda territory in the Vikrama years 1099 and 1102<sup>1</sup>. He would of course have been a contemporary of both the Chaulukya Bhīmadēva I and the Paramāra Bhōjadēva of Mālava — Vimala's name occurs in another inscription at his own temple, dated in the Vikrama year 1201. That inscription,<sup>2</sup> No 1767 of Mr Cousens' List, contains 10 lines of writing which covers a space about 2' 6" long by 5½" high, and contains 17 verses. In the ink-impression the first two lines of it cannot be read with any confidence, but so far as I can see, a man is spoken of in them who belonged to the Śrīmāla *kula* and was an ornament of the Prāgvāta *vamsa*. His son was Lahadha, who was somehow connected with the king Mūla (see the Chaulukya Mūlarāja I) and was also known by the name Vira-mahattama. Lahadha had two sons. The first of them was the minister Nēdha, and the second Vimala, who in verse 7 is described thus —

Dvitiyakō-dvattamatāvalamvī(bī) damdādīhupah śrī-Vimalō va(ba) bhūva |  
yān-ēdam-nchchar-bhavasimdhunētakalpan vimrmmāpitam-ātra vēsma ||

<sup>1</sup> The name Dhandhuka also occurs in the genealogy of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati, above, Vol VIII p 201.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mr Cousens the inscription is over the doorway of cell No 10 in the corridor of Vimala's temple. It is referred to in *As Res* Vol XVI p 311, in the words. "One inscription bears date S 1201, but as nothing else is decipherable, it is of no further value."

Nēdha's son was Lāhga, his son was the minister Mahāduka,<sup>1</sup> and he again had two sons, Hēma and Daśaratha. And the object of the inscription is, to record that Daśaratha at the temple of Rūshabha set up an image of Nēmitrīnēśa (Nēmitrīrthakara, *ie* Nēmnūātha), which was installed on Friday, the first *tithi* of Jyēshtha of the Vikrama year 1201, corresponding to Friday, the 5th May A. D. 1144. I may add that the genealogy here given is for the greater part corroborated by another inscription at Vimala's temple, No 1768 of Mr Cousens's List,<sup>2</sup> the full text of which is —

- L 1 ३Śrī-Śrīmālakulōdbhava |<sup>4</sup> Viramahāmantri putra-[sa]nmantri- | śrī-  
 2 Nēdha-putra-Lāhga-tatsuta-Mahāduka-<sup>5</sup>śutēn-ēdam || Nijapu-  
 3 trakalatra-samanvitēna |<sup>6</sup> sanmantri-Daśarathēn-ēdam | śrī-Nēmi-  
 4 nātha-[b]ṛmvaṃ |<sup>6</sup> mōkshārtham kāntam rāmyam ||

For us the main point of interest is the date which the first of the two inscriptions furnishes for Daśaratha, for that date, being of the Vikrama year 1201, shows that Vimala, the younger brother of Daśaratha's great-grandfather Nēdha, may well have lived in the Vikrama year 1088, the traditional date for the foundation of his temple.

The contents of the second part of our inscription (verses 14-23) I have already given above, p. 81 f. This *rājāvalī* in verse 14 commences with Āsarāja, who belonged to the Chāhuvāna (Chāhuvāna, Chāhamāna) family and was king of the town of Nādūla (Naddūla). After him came Samarasimha; and his son was Mahanasimhabhata (v. 15). Then came Pratsāpamalla, and to him was born Vijāda, the lord of the Marusthali *maṇḍala* (v. 16). He had three sons, the first of whom was the king Lūnga (v. 17). Verse 18 then eulogizes Lūnda 'who like a god of death devoured the host of adversaries,' and verse 19 Lumbha, of whom verse 20 records that he conquered the mountain Arbuda, and that, after having ruled the earth, he became the lord of heaven (*ie* died). Verse 21 then eulogizes Tējasimha, the son of Lūnga, verse 22 wishes long life to Tihunāka, and the mutilated verse 23 appears to say that Lumbhaka together with Tējasimha and Tihuna (*śrīmal-Lumbhaka-nāmā samantatas-Tējasimha-Tihunābhyaṃ*) in right manner carried on the government of the mountain Arbuda.

Regarding the first part of this *rājāvalī*, as far as Vijāda, there can be no doubt, and I have nothing to add to what I have previously said about it. A difficulty arises concerning the sons of Vijāda. According to the inscription of Luntgādēva, above, p. 80, Vijāda, who is also called Daśasyandana (Daśaratha), had four sons — Lāvanyakarna, Lūnda (Luntga), Lakshmana, and Lūnavarman, of whom Lāvanyakarna is distinctly called the eldest (*jyēshtha*). According to the present inscription Vijāda had three sons the first (*dāya*) of whom was Lūnga. After Lūnga the inscription mentions Lūnda and Lumbha, without saying that they were his younger brothers or in any way specifying their relationship. In my account of Luntgādēva's inscription I have identified Lūnga with Lāvanyakarna, and have taken Lūnda and Lumbha to be the names of his brothers, identifying Lūnda with Lūnda (Luntga) and Lumbha with Lūnavarman. Other inscriptions are sure to be discovered which will show whether I am right or wrong. In the meantime I feel bound to state that my friend Mr Ojha, than whom nobody is better acquainted with the history of his country, takes the three names Lūnga, Lūnda and Lumbha (Lumbhaka) to denote one and the same person, and to be all Sanskritized forms of Lumbhā, denoting a chief 'commonly called राव लुभा,

<sup>1</sup> The metre shows that the name is correct here.

<sup>2</sup> The inscription is on the seat of an image in cell No. 10 in the corridor.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of the two verses Āryā.

<sup>4</sup> These signs of punctuation are superfluous.

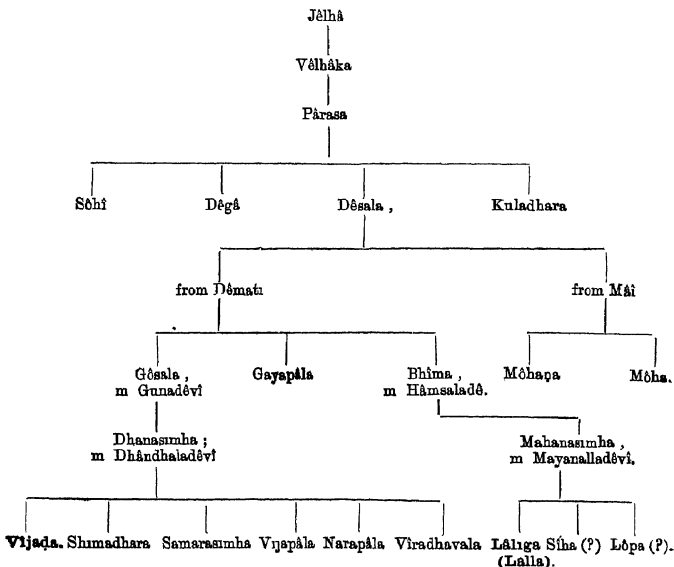
<sup>5</sup> The metre requires us to read *Mahāduka*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-bṛmvaṃ*.

the famous conqueror of Ābū.' If my learned friend should be right, the last lines of the genealogical Table published above, p 83, would of course have to be slightly altered. Mr Ojha agrees with me in considering Tihunāka (Tihuna) to be a younger brother of Tējasimha, but from his point of view places both, together with Tējasimha's son Kānhadadēva, under Luṭṭaga (Lundha, Lūnga, Lumbha). At the time when our inscription was composed, in the Vikrama year 1378, Lumbha was dead, and the government of Ābū must have been actually carried on by Tējasimha.

The account, which forms the third part of our inscription (verses 24-38), of the family of the two men (Lalla and Vijāda) who restored the temple, contains little more than a list of names which may be seen from the following Table —

Genealogical Table.



The individuals mentioned in this Table were devotedly attached to the Jaina faith. Jēlhā, the founder of the family, was a merchant, and his *guru* was Dharmasūri.<sup>1</sup> His place of residence was given in the inscription, but the name has been effaced. Of Dēsala it is said that he made fourteen processions to the seven sacred places,<sup>2</sup> Śātrunjaya and the rest. The other members of the family are eulogized in general terms.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p 154.

<sup>2</sup> The seven *śrīkṣā*s or *kṣātrās* are frequently mentioned, but I have not yet found the names of the seven places.

There are at Vimala's temple several short inscriptions of members of this family, likewise dated in the [Vikrama] year 1378. And there is a longer inscription<sup>1</sup> of the same family, No. 1791 of Mr Cousens' List, which is dated, in words and figures, in the Vikrama year 1309. This inscription contains 25 lines of writing with 15 verses, and records the installation, by Ānandasūri, of an image of Nēmyūna (Nēmnātha) at Vimala's *vasahikā*. We learn from it that the family belonged to the Ūkā[śa] *vamśa*,<sup>2</sup> and that its founder, Jēhāka, as he is there called, was an inhabitant of Māndavyapura (Mandor). After Kuladhara it mentions five sons of his, but as the text is partly effaced, I am not at present prepared to give their names from the ink-impression at my disposal.

The remaining verses (39-42) of our inscription record that Rishabha was installed (or rather re-installed) on the mountain Arbuda by the *guru* or *sūri* Jhānachandra, on a date in the [Vikrama] year 1378. Regarding the spiritual lineage of Jhānachandra, we learn that he was preceded by Amaraprabhasūri, and that the founder of the lineage was Dharmasūri, also called Dharmaghōsha-ganāryaman, *i.e.* Dharmaghōsha, 'the sun of the gana,' who defeated Vādichandra and Gunachandra, and caused the awakening of three kings'. Other inscriptions of the [Vikrama] year 1378 speak of Jhānachandra either as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmasūri<sup>3</sup> or as being in the *paṭṭa* of Dharmaghōshasūri,<sup>4</sup> and an undated inscription, No. 1796 of Mr Cousens' List, commences with the words *Śrīmad-Dharmaghōshasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Āna(n)masūri-śrī-Amaraprabhasūri-paṭṭe śrī-Jhānachandrasūri*. The Ānandasūri of the last must be the Ānandasūri mentioned above with a date in the Vikrama year 1309, and the Ānandasūri and Amaraprabhasūri of the inscription apparently are the Ānandasūri and his disciple Amaraprabhasūri who, according to Prof Peterson's *Fifth Report*, p. 110, l. 1, are mentioned in a manuscript written by Amaraprabhasūri's advice in the [Vikrama] year 1344. Before Ānandasūri there is mentioned, *ibid.* p. 109, Dharmasūri (a disciple of Śīlabhadrasūri of the Rāja-gachchha), who to the pride of conceited disputants was what the lion's roar is to an elephant, and who put an end to the intoxication of the king Vīgraha. And the same person is mentioned, under the name Dharmaghōshasūri, in Prof Peterson's *Third Report*, App. pp. 15 and 307, where he is represented as enlightening the king of Śākambhari; and *ibid.* p. 262, where he is said to have defeated disputants in the presence of the king of the Sapādalaksha country. From all this there can be no doubt that, of the three kings who in our inscription are spoken of as having been awakened by Dharmasūri, one was a king Vīgraharāja of Śākambhari (the capital of the Sapādalaksha country). In fact, I believe that that king is identical with Visaladēva-Vīgraharāja, whose Delhi Siwālik pillar inscriptions (No. 144 of my *Northern List*) are dated in the Vikrama year 1220 (in A. D. 1164), and that Dharmaghōshasūri himself is a person of that name who in a short Vimala temple inscription (No. 1906 of Mr Cousens' List) is mentioned with a date in the [Vikrama] year 1226 (in A. D. 1170). Who the two other kings were I do not know, nor have I identified yet Vādichandra<sup>5</sup> and Gunachandra who were defeated by Dharmasūri.

The date given in verse 42 is Monday, the ninth *tithi* of the dark half (*śukla*) of Jyēsthā in the year made up of the *vasus* (8), the *munis* (7), the *gunas* (3) and the moon (1), *i.e.* the [Vikrama] year 1378. Here there is the difficulty that the word *śukla*, which I have translated by 'the dark half,' might equally well denote 'the bright half', and at first sight the latter interpretation might really seem to be preferable, because in line 30 of our text the date is repeated

<sup>1</sup> This is the inscription referred to in *As Res.* Vol. XVI p. 311, in the words "Another (*viz.* inscription), in like manner, shows a date S. 1309, but nothing else."

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* the Ōsavāla tribe, compare *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 1769, 1822 and 1852 of Mr Cousens' List.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 1766, 1758A, 1764 and 1793 of Mr Cousens' List.

<sup>5</sup> There is a Vādichandra who composed the *Jhānasūryōdaya*, I do not know whether he is the man mentioned in our inscription.

in the words 1379 *Jyēshtha-sudī 9 Sōmē* But against this it has to be said that in four independent inscriptions (Nos 1771, 1821, 1829 and 1904 of Mr Cousens' List) we have *samvat* (or *sam*) 1378 *varshē Jyēshtha-vadī 9 Sōma-dinē* (or *Sōmē*), which evidently is the same date as the one given in our inscription. And besides, for the bright half of *Jyāishtha* the date would be quite incorrect for 1378 (as a *Chātrādi* current or expired, or *Kārttikādi* expired year), whereas for the dark half of the *pārnmānta* *Jyāishtha* of the expired *Kārttikādi* *Vikrama* year 1378 it regularly corresponds to Monday, the 10th May A D 1322. For these reasons I regard my translation of the date to be correct and take Monday, the 10th May A D. 1322 to be its proper equivalent, and I consider the way in which the date has been repeated in line 30 (where '1379' under any circumstances would be suspicious) to be due to a mistake

## TEXT 1

- 1 || Ōm<sup>2</sup> || <sup>3</sup>Śrī-Arbudatīrtha-prasastir-likhyatē || <sup>4</sup>Amgikrit-āchalapadō vṛishabhāstō-  
sī<sup>5</sup> bhūtir-ganādhipatsvīta-pādapadmah | śāmbhū-yugādīpurushō jagad-  
ēkanāthah punyāya pallavayatu<sup>6</sup> prata-vāsāam sa[h]<sup>7</sup> || 1
- 2 <sup>8</sup>Nibaddha-mūlah phalibhīh sapatīa<sup>9</sup> dīumair-naēmdīair-iva sēvyamānah |  
pādāgi ajāgrad-bahuvāhnikah śīi-Arbudō namdatu śāla-rājah || 2 Yasmin  
<sup>10</sup>Vīśhātānalakumda-jammā kshatikshatī-trānaparah pur-āsit | pratyashī-<sup>11</sup>
- 3 rthasārthōnmathanā-kritāthī<sup>12</sup> kshatāv-īha śrī-Paramāra-nāmā || 3 <sup>13</sup>Tad-anvayē  
Kānhsadādēva-vīrah pur-āvir-āśiva<sup>14</sup> piabala-trāpāh | chiram nivāsam  
vidadhāna<sup>15</sup> yasya karāmbujē sarvajagaj-jayaśrīh || 4 <sup>16</sup>Tatkulakamala-
- 4 marālah kīla[h\*] pratyarthi-mamdalīkānā[m\*] | Chandravatīpur-śāh samajāni  
vir-āgrani[r\*]=Dha[m\*]dhuh || 5 <sup>17</sup>Śrī-Bhimadēvasya nṛpāśa(sya) sēvām-  
ānanya[m]ānah kīla Dhamdhurājah | narēśa-rōshāch=cha tatō manaśvī(svi)  
Dhārādhipam

<sup>1</sup> From an impression supplied by Mr Cousens, No 1790 of his List

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Here, as often elsewhere, the vowel of *śrī* is left unchanged before the initial vowel of a proper name

<sup>4</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>5</sup> This sign of punctuation, which is superfluous, may have been struck out in the original

<sup>6</sup> Originally *ḡayantu* was engraved

<sup>7</sup> Originally *śd* was engraved, but it seems to have been changed to *śāh* — So far as I can see, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. In the three first Pādas the author addresses the Jaṇa Tīrthamkara Rishabha, in terms which would be equally applicable to the god Śiva, and, as the text stands, he then in the fourth Pāda speaks of him in the third person, in words which would literally mean 'may he day by day put forth sprouts for (our) religious merit'. Instead of *pallavayatu* I should have expected *pallavaya*, followed by an accusative case and generally words to some such effect as 'cause our devotion to thee to sprout for our religious merit'. (Compare *Śatruṅgaya-māhātmya* XIV 33 *tād-rīstānām hi sadbhakti-vally-svām pallavayasi*). In the first Pāda I take *vṛishabhāstō-sī* to be equivalent to both *Vṛishabha*, *āstō-sī*, and *vṛishabhāstō-sī*, so that the Pāda would mean both 'O Vṛishabha (Rishabha) having chosen this mountain for your residence, you are seated (here), and 'you (O Śiva!), who have taken the name Achala, are seated on a bull'. I am aware that Rishabha has a bull for his cognizance, and that in representations of him this animal is figured beneath him, but I am not sure that he could be described as 'seated on a bull'. — In the second Pāda *ganddhīpati* denotes both Pauṇḍrika, the leader of Rishabha's *gana*, and Gaṇēśa

<sup>8</sup> Metre of verses 2 and 3 Upejāti

<sup>9</sup> Read *sapattraur* — The word *phala* means both 'fruit' and 'the blade (of a sword),' etc; *pattra* 'leaves' and 'vehicles,' etc; and *adānē* 'rivers' and 'armies'

<sup>10</sup> Read *Vasūshikā*, the same wrong reading we have below, in line 9 — With *anala-kunda* compare *agni-kunda* in *Ep Ind* Vol I p 234, v 5

<sup>11</sup> The *akshara śhī* is a mistake for *rthī*, and should be struck out because *rthī* has been repeated at the commencement of line 3

<sup>12</sup> Read *krīdātīhā*

<sup>13</sup> Metre Upeṇḍravajā

<sup>14</sup> Read *-dētī*

<sup>15</sup> Wrong for *vidadhā*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>16</sup> Metre Aryā

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Upejāti

- 5 Bhōjanripam prapēdē || 6 <sup>1</sup>Prāgvātavamś-ābharanam babbūva rānam  
pradhānam Thi(vi)mal-ābhidhāna | yas-tōjasā <sup>2</sup>disamay-ādhakāra-magnōpi  
dharma mah sahas-āvira-śīta<sup>3</sup> || 7 <sup>4</sup>Tava(ta)ś-cha Bhimēna narādhipēna  
pratāpa-bhūmi(m)re-Vima-
- 6 lō mahāmatah | kva(kr)itō-[\*]budē damdapatih satām priyah priyamvadō  
namdatu Jaina-śāsanē || 8 <sup>5</sup>Asōkapat[<sup>6</sup>]rāruna-pānipallavā samullasatkēsara-  
sām(sam)ha-vāhanā [\*] śisudvayālamkrita-vigrahā sati<sup>5</sup> satām kri-
- 7 yād-vighna-vināsam=Ambukā || 9 Ath-ānyadā tam msi damdanāyakam samādīdēa  
prayatā kil-Āmbukā [\*] ih-āchi(cha)lē tvam kuru sadma sumdaram  
Yugādibharttur-nirapāya-samsāyah || 10 <sup>8</sup>Śri-Vikramādityanripād-vya-
- 8 titē shtāsitī-yātē śaradām sahasrē(srē) | śri-Ādī[nā]tha[m]’ śikharē-rbudēya  
nrvēsi(śi)tam śri-[V]imalēna vamdē || 11 <sup>8</sup>Vignādihvyādhu-hamtri yā māt-śva  
pranāt-āngishu | Śripurjarāja-tanayā Śrīmātā bhavatām<sup>9</sup> śri-
- 9 yā || 12 <sup>10</sup>Achalēśa <sup>11</sup>Vīśhātānalatātini-Mamdākinīvimalasālila- | punyāni yasya  
śri[m]nū<sup>12</sup> jayamvi(t) vīvidhāni tīrthāni || 13 Atha rājāvalī || <sup>13</sup>Vairivargga-  
dalanē gata-tamdras=Chāhuvāmakulakarava-ohamdrah<sup>14</sup> | yō Nadūla-na-
- 10 gasya narēsa Āsarāja ita vīvarō śbhūt || 14 <sup>15</sup>Prabalavāridavānala-  
vārdah Samarasī[m\*]ha ita prathitas-tatah | Mahanasimhabhatah subhat-  
āgranīh prithu-yasā ajamshita tad-āngajah || 15 <sup>16</sup>Pratāpamallas-tad-ann pratā-
- 11 pi babbūva bhūpāla-sadassa mānyāh [\*] vir-āvatamsō-jani<sup>17</sup> Vijadō-ya  
Marusthalimāmdala-bhūtmibhartīā || 16 <sup>18</sup>Āsan<sup>18</sup> trayas-tat-tanayā nay-ābhya  
mūrttāh pum-arthā iva bhāgabhō(bhā)jab | ādyō dhartripati-rakshapālāh  
khyātāh kshītō(tau) Lūniga-
- 12 nāmādēyah || 17 <sup>19</sup>Nyāyamārgga-śikharī madhumāsah<sup>20</sup> kālavaksha(t=ka)valayann=  
ari-vrajam | mamdalika-paha(da)vīm-apālahā(ya)l=Lumdha ity-ābhudhyā  
dhīyām mdhuh || 18 <sup>21</sup>Vipakshanārī-nayanāmbupūrais=chakāra yah kīrti-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrā<sup>2</sup> Read -śtā<sup>3</sup> Read *duṣṣamay* (or *śūkhamay*) *ādādhakāra-*<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 8-10 Vamśashta.

<sup>5</sup> Here a sign of punctuation was originally engraved — Ambukā is similarly described in the inscription of the Vikrama year 1201, mentioned above, p 151 f, in a verse the correct reading of which I take to be *Vikata-kutladamēhīrā-bhīhāndeyam tatāh cha dhūtasabalasūtālā-bhūsuram tungam-uohohāh | eahat sutam-uddrātā yānka samētham sadmaso nryagapitmadhrādāh s-Āmbukā tō-stu tūhīya* || Compare the representation of Kushmāṇḍini in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXII p 463, Plate iv

<sup>6</sup> Metre Upajāti

<sup>7</sup> It is difficult to say whether we should read *Āśvīdīhān* or *Āśvīdēam* The *akshara* which follows upon *dā*: originally was *dē*, but seems to have been altered, and the next *akshara* looks more like *tha* than *va*, but it might be said that *th* has been wrongly engraved instead of *v* also in *Tihmala* for *Vimala*, in line 5 On the whole I think that the reading *Āśvīdīhān* is preferable

<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka (Annastubh)

<sup>9</sup> The sign for *d* in this word is clearly struck out in the original, and it seems probable that the engraver intended to alter *bhācatām* to *bhacatu* — In the above I have purposely given *Śrīmātā*, not *śrī Mātā*, because in other inscriptions *śrī* appears clearly to be part of the name, not an honorific prefix I may mention that in No 1774 of Mr Cousens' List we have *Śrīmātāśvet* as one word, not *Śrīmātīśvet*, and that in the account given of this mythical being and her father in Mērtutanga's *Prabandhachintāman*, p 282 ff, the base of the word is both *Śrīmātā* and *Śrīmātī*: In the same account the father's name is *Śripunīya*

<sup>10</sup> Metre Āryā<sup>11</sup> Read *Parīśhād*; compare above, line 2

<sup>12</sup> Read *śringē* — Since at the commencement of the verse the mountain is addressed in the vocative case, one would have expected *tava śringē*, but this would not have suited the metre

<sup>13</sup> Metre Svāgatā<sup>14</sup> *Chāhuvāna* probably is a mistake for either *Chāhuvāna*- or *Chāhuvāna*-<sup>15</sup> Metre Drutavilambita.<sup>16</sup> Metre Upajāti.<sup>17</sup> After the *ō* of *tamed* another vertical stroke was originally engraved, but has been struck out.<sup>18</sup> Metre Indravajrā — Read *Asami-troyas-*<sup>19</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā.<sup>20</sup> Read, probably, *madhuravah*<sup>21</sup> Metre . Upajāti



- 13 latām sapat[<sup>t\*</sup>]rām | bahūva bhūmipati-labdhamānō Lumbh-ābhūdhānō jagad-  
 ākavīrah || 19 <sup>1</sup>Samhṛitya śātrūn prabalanu<sup>2</sup> balēna śrī-A[r\*]budam prāpya  
 nagādhrājam | <sup>3</sup>[bh]nktvā sa [bh]ūma[m\*]dana-rā[<sup>jyam</sup>=uchchaib] || <sup>4</sup>svarlō-
- 14 ka-lōkādhipatur=bahūva || 20 <sup>5</sup>Lūngasya tanujō jago[<sup>j</sup>-ja]yī Tējasimha itī  
 tējasām mḍhih | yat-prātipadavapāvakaś-chiram varivargga-vipadam  
 nahatisma<sup>6</sup> || 21 <sup>7</sup>Karāgia[<sup>j</sup>]grā[<sup>t\*</sup>]karavā-
- 15 ladanda-khamdikṛt-āśēshavirōdhivarggah | pṛihyām<sup>8</sup> prasiddhas-Tihunāka-nāmā  
 vīr-āvātamsah sa chirāyur-astu || 21 (22) <sup>9</sup>Śrimal-Lumbhaka-nāmā sama[nv]itas=  
 Tējasimha-Tigu(hu)nābhyaṁ | A[r\*]buda[<sup>g</sup>]nīśa-
- 16 rājyam nyāyani[<sup>dh</sup> ?]<sup>10</sup> . . . . . [|| 23\*] . . . . . <sup>11</sup>urapura-vāsi  
 snguru-śrī Dharmmasūri-padabhaktah [i\*] Sarbajñānāsēna-ratah<sup>12</sup> sa jayati  
 Jēih-ābhūdhah śrēshṭi(śhṭi) || 24 Tat-tanayah su-nayō=bhūti<sup>13</sup> Vē-
- 17 [hā]kah sakala-bhūta<sup>14</sup> . . . . . [||] tat-putrah su-charitra[h] punya-mḍhih  
 Pārasah sādhub || 25 Sōhi-Dēgā-Dēsala-Kuladhara-nāmnā tad-amgajā jātāh |  
 chatvārah kulamandra-sudrīdhastambh-ābhūrāmā [yē ||]
- 18 26 <sup>15</sup>Śrī-Dēsalah sukri[<sup>tapēsa</sup>]la-vitākō[<sup>tis</sup>=<sup>16</sup>chamcha]chohaturdaśajagaj-jantā-  
 vad[āta]h<sup>17</sup> | Śātrumjayapramukha-vīrutasaptati[rtha]-<sup>18</sup>yātṛās=cha[<sup>tu</sup>]rdaśa chakāra  
 mahāmāhēna || 27 <sup>19</sup>Dē[<sup>ma</sup>]h-Māi-
- 19 nāmni sādhu-śrī-Dēsālaya bhāryē dvē | nirmalaśilagun-ā[<sup>dhy</sup>]ś dayā-kṣa[mē]  
 Jaina-dharmasya || 28 Dēmatkukshu-prabhavā Gōsa[<sup>raj</sup>]-Gayapāla-Bhi[<sup>ma</sup>]-  
 nāmānah | Māi-kukshēr-jātan Mōha-
- 20 na-Mōh-ābhūdhau putrau || 29 Jmaśāsanakamala-ravih sādhub śrī-Gōsalō-  
 vi[<sup>dat</sup>]<sup>20</sup> kīrtm | gunaratnarōhanadhār<sup>21</sup> Gunadēvi priyatamā tasya || 30  
<sup>22</sup>Saddharmmakarmm-akaniba-
- 21 dḍhabuddhis=<sup>23</sup>tad-amgajā śrī-Dhanasimha-sādhub | bhāryā tādīyā sadayā  
 vadājñā(nyā) manyā satām Dhāmdhaladēvi-samjñā || 31 <sup>24</sup>Sādōh[r\*]=Bhīmasya  
 autō Hāmsaladēkukshu-sambhāba(va)h śrīmān | ma-<sup>25</sup>
- 22 himā-mḍhur-mahaujā mahāmatur-Māhanasimh-ākhyā[h] || 32 <sup>26</sup>Mayanalladēvi-  
 varakukshisukti-muktās=trayas-tat-tanayā jayanti | jēshtō<sup>27</sup> jagadvyāpi-  
 yasahprakāśah sādhu-agrapī[r\*]=Lāhga-

<sup>1</sup> Metre Indravajrā<sup>2</sup> Read *prabalan*<sup>3</sup> Up to the end of the line the *akṣaras* in brackets are more or less conjectural, they are carelessly written in the original For *bhāmamāna* read *bhāmamāla*-<sup>4</sup> His sign of punctuation is superfluous<sup>5</sup> Metre Rathōddhatā<sup>6</sup> The four *akṣaras* *nahatisma* are quite clear in the original, but offend against the metre and yield no proper meaning The only alteration which I could suggest would be *dahatv=īha*<sup>7</sup> Metre Upajāti.<sup>8</sup> Read *pṛihyām*<sup>9</sup> Metre of verses 23 26 Āryā<sup>10</sup> Here about 10 *akṣaras* are effaced<sup>11</sup> In No 1791 of Mr Cousens' List (see above, p 154) Jēthāka is described as an inhabitant of Mādvayapura<sup>12</sup> Read *Sarvajñānāsēna ratah*<sup>13</sup> Read =*bhūti*=<sup>14</sup> Here about 4 *akṣaras* are effaced<sup>15</sup> Metre Vasanttilakā<sup>16</sup> Read *ptāla vīttakōti*=<sup>17</sup> Read, perhaps, *ōdnāh*<sup>18</sup> Originally *īrīhō*, with a sign of punctuation after it, was engraved<sup>19</sup> Metre of verses 28 30 Āryā<sup>20</sup> The reading is conjectural The original has *vī [t?] dē kīrtim*<sup>21</sup> Compare *gunaratnarōhanajayī* in my *Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS*, Bombay, 1881, p 43, line 1<sup>22</sup> Metre Upajāti<sup>23</sup> After the *akṣara dḍhi* a sign of punctuation was originally engraved, but has been struck out<sup>24</sup> Metre Āryā<sup>25</sup> Here originally *mē* was engraved, but the sign for *ś* seems to have been struck out, the two *akṣaras* *himā* at the commencement of the next line are quite clear The author has used the feminine *māhīmā* instead of the masculine *māhīman*<sup>26</sup> Metre Indravajrā — The two *akṣaras* *maya* at the commencement of the verse were apparently read as one syllable (*may*)<sup>27</sup> Read *jyēshthō*

- 23 sādhuṛājāh || 33 <sup>1</sup>Āśvinēyā[*v*]=iva śrēsth[*au*] kanishthan guna-sāhnan [*h*]  
Siha-Lōp-ābhudhan<sup>2</sup> dharmmadhyāna-pravanamānasu || 34 Shat sutā  
Dhanasimhasya mūrtā
- 24 iva shad-*artāvah*<sup>3</sup> | visvaviśv-ōpekārāy-āvatirnnā[*h*] pritha(thi)-vi-talē || 35  
<sup>4</sup>Tēshām-ādyah sādhu[r\*]=Vijada ita vimalama(ta)ra-yasāhprasarah | guṇa-  
sāgarah Shīmadharah saṅgā(ja)na-
- 25 mānyah Samarasi[*m*]hah || 36 <sup>5</sup>Rājāsamāja-śrēsthō vikhyātō(tah) sādhu-  
Vijapālāh [*h*]\* | nipuna-matī-*N*rapālāh sukṛita-ratō Viradhaival-ākhyah | (||)  
37 <sup>6</sup>Svapitri śrēyasē
- 26 jīrnōddhāram<sup>7</sup> Rishabha-mamdirē | kārayām-āsatur=Lalala-Vijadau sādhu-  
sattamō(mau) (||) 38 <sup>8</sup>Vādichandra Gunachandra-vijētā bhāpatraya-vibōdha-  
vidhātā | Dharmasūtri-
- 27 r-iti nāma pur-āsta<sup>9</sup> visvaviśva-viditō muni-rāja[*h*]\* | (||) 39 <sup>10</sup>Mūlapatta-  
kāmē tasya Dharmagōṣha-gaṇāryamā<sup>11</sup> [*h*]\* | babhūvuh śama-sampūrṇāh<sup>12</sup>  
Amaraprabhasūrayah || 40
- 28 <sup>13</sup>Tatpatta-bhūshanam-adūshanadharmaśīla-<sup>14</sup>sīdya(dhām)tasimdhuparisīlana-Vishnulīlāh  
| śrī-Jānachandra ita namdatu sūri-rājah punyōpadésavidhi-bōdhitasa-
- 29 tsamājah | (||) 41 <sup>15</sup>Vasu-muni-tu(gu)na-śasi(śi)-varsha | Jēshatō<sup>16</sup> sitimara(va)mi-  
Sōma-yuta-divasē | śrī-Jānachandra-gurunā pra[*t*]ishṭa(sht)itō-*r*[*bu*]da-g[*rau*  
Ri]sha[*b*hah]<sup>17</sup> || 42
- 30 137ē Jēsta-sudī<sup>18</sup> 9 Sōmē ||

## POSTSCRIPT.

## On the Chāhamānas of Naddūla.

As I have referred in the preceding to the Genealogical Table of the Chāhamānas of Naddūla published above, p 83, I take the opportunity to state that Mr Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha has recently sent me rubbings of four inscriptions, two of which furnish a date in the [Vikrama] year 1147 for the chief Jōjala (Yōjaka), here called Jōjala, while the two others are of the reign of Rāyapāla of Naddūla, whose name does not occur in the Table, and for whom they furnish dates in the [Vikrama] years 1198 and 1200. The rubbings do not enable me to edit the full texts of these inscriptions, but the initial lines, which contain the dates and the names of the chiefs, may be given with confidence.

1 — This inscription is at Sādri (about 13 miles south of Nadol) in the Gōdwār district of the Jōdhpur State. It contains 11 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Om<sup>19</sup> samvat 1147 Vaiśākha-śudī 2 Budha-vāsarē mahā-  
2 rāja-śrī-Jōjadēvēna śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhīta-  
3 samastadēvānām yātrākāla-vyavahārō lēkhitah ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 34 and 35 Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>2</sup> I am doubtful about the correctness of the two names, the four *aksharas* at the beginning of the Pāda might be read also *sthāldāpā*

<sup>3</sup> Wrong for *shad-ritavah*, which would not have suited the metre

<sup>4</sup> Metre Āryā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre Upagīta

<sup>6</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>7</sup> Read *vams-Rishabha*

<sup>8</sup> Metre Svagatā

<sup>9</sup> Read *datō*

<sup>10</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>11</sup> Read *ganāryamnah*

<sup>12</sup> Read *sampūrnnā*

<sup>13</sup> Metre Vasantshilakā — With the commencement of the verse compare e.g. Prof Peterson's *Etih Report*,

p 207, v 5 *tatpaita bhūshanamanv-gata-āśhanōbhdāt*

<sup>14</sup> Probably the intended reading was *śīlāh*

<sup>15</sup> Metre Āryā

<sup>16</sup> Read *varsōś Jyēshāh* (or *Jyashtihē*)

<sup>17</sup> Read *gūśa-Rishabha*

<sup>18</sup> Read *Jyēshtha* (or *Jyashtītha*)-*sudī*; and see above, p. 155

<sup>19</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

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Calotype by Grah. Pictura. Middle-Sa.

From an inked estampage supplied by Mr H Cousens



2 — This inscription is at Nadol. It contains 13 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Om<sup>1</sup> samvat 1147 Vaisākha-sudi 2 Vu(bu)dha-vāsa-  
 2 ré mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Jōjalādēvāḥ sama-  
 3 sta-dēvanām śrī-Lakshmanasvāmī-prabhritinām yātrā-vya-  
 4 vahāram lēkhayati yathā || . . . .

The date of these two inscriptions regularly corresponds, for the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1147, to Wednesday, the 23rd April A.D. 1091, when the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half ended 16 h 26 m after mean sunrise

3 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 39 lines of writing and commences. —

- L 1 Om<sup>1</sup> samvat 1198 Śrāvana-vadi 8 Ravāv=ady=śha [ma]-  
 2 hārāj[ādhirāja]-śrī-Rāyapālādēvā<sup>2</sup> kalyāṇa-viṣa[ya]-  
 3 rājjyē ēvam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date corresponds either, for the *pūrnāmānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 29th June A.D. 1141, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 3 h 11 m after mean sunrise, or, for the *amānta* Śrāvana of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1198, to Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 11 h. 20 m after mean sunrise. As the date of the following inscription is correct only for the *amānta* month, I here, too, take Sunday, the 16th August A.D. 1142, to be the true equivalent of the date

4 — This also is at Nadol. It contains 8 lines of writing and commences —

- L 1 Om<sup>1</sup> || Samvat 1200 Bhādrapada-vadi 8 Budha-vārē ady=śha śrī-  
 2 Na[ādī?]lē samastarājavalīsamalankṛita-pūjya-mahārājādhi-  
 3 rāja-paramésvara-śrī-Rāyapālādēva-vijayarājjyē ś-  
 4 vam kālē pravarttamānē .

The date, for the *amānta* Bhādrapada of the expired *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year 1200, corresponds to Wednesday, the 23rd August A.D. 1144, when the 8th *tithi* of the dark half ended 16 h 52 m after mean sunrise

In the Table Rāyapāla (A.D. 1142 and 1144) would have to be placed between Jōjalla (A.D. 1091) and Ālhana (A.D. 1153-1161), and it is probable that he was the immediate predecessor of the latter, but how he was related to either of them it is impossible to say at present

I may add that Mr Ojha has also been good enough to send me some notes on the identification of Kāsahrada and Naddūlāī, spoken of by me above, pp 73 and 67. On the former, which I suspected to be somewhere near Nadol, he writes —

“I would identify Kāsahrada with Kāyadrām (also called Kāsadrām) at the foot of Mount Ābū, about 3 miles from the Bhimānā station of the R. M. Railway. It is a place of considerable antiquity with several old temples. An inscription of the time of the Paramāra prince Dhārāvārsa was discovered there by me some years ago”

And respecting Naddūlāī, which I had taken to be a different place from Naddūla, he says —

“As you think, it is quite different from Naddūla. It is now called Nāralāī, and is situated in the Gōdwar district of the Jōdhpur State. An inscription from the place is published in *Bhāvnagar Inscr* p 140 (where the date given is incorrect).”

<sup>1</sup> Denoted by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Read *dēva kalyāna-*

<sup>3</sup> See my *Northern List*, No 306 — On the map of the Rājputāna Agency ‘Narlas’ is seven miles south east of ‘Nadol.’

## No 19 — INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BASTAR STATE.

By HIRA LAL, B A., M R A S, NAGPUR.

Mr Cousens in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04 (p 54) opens his report on the conservation of antiquarian remains in the Central Provinces with the remarks that 'the Central Provinces and Berâr cannot be said to be rich in antiquarian remains,' but 'possibly there exists many an old relic of considerable interest lying hidden away in some of the extensive jungles and little known tracts in the province, that has not come under the notice of any one capable of estimating its value' Exactly from such a place do I draw the materials for the subject I propose to notice on

Bastar is a feudatory state in the extreme south of the province situated between 17° 46' and 20° 14' north latitude and 80° 15' and 82° 15' east longitude, touching the Gôdâvarî and comprising an area of 13,000 square miles, all covered with dense forests and populated by the wilder tribes, some of whom did not till very recently know the use of clothes This extensive jungle has been made to yield no less than 22 inscriptions<sup>1</sup> through the strenuous efforts of my friend Mr Baijnath, B A., Superintendent of the Bastar State Three of these inscriptions were noticed by Colonel Glasford, Deputy Commissioner of the then Upper Gôdâvarî District, about the year 1862 A D<sup>2</sup> So far as is known, only one of them has been published, viz, the so-called Nagpur Museum inscription of Sômésvara<sup>3</sup> On the authority of the information supplied by the Curator of the Nagpur Museum it is there stated that the stone was brought from a village Kowtah, near Sironcha, which is incorrect as will presently be shown It belonged to Bârsâr, of the Bastar State, and is an important record of the predecessors of the present line of Râjas

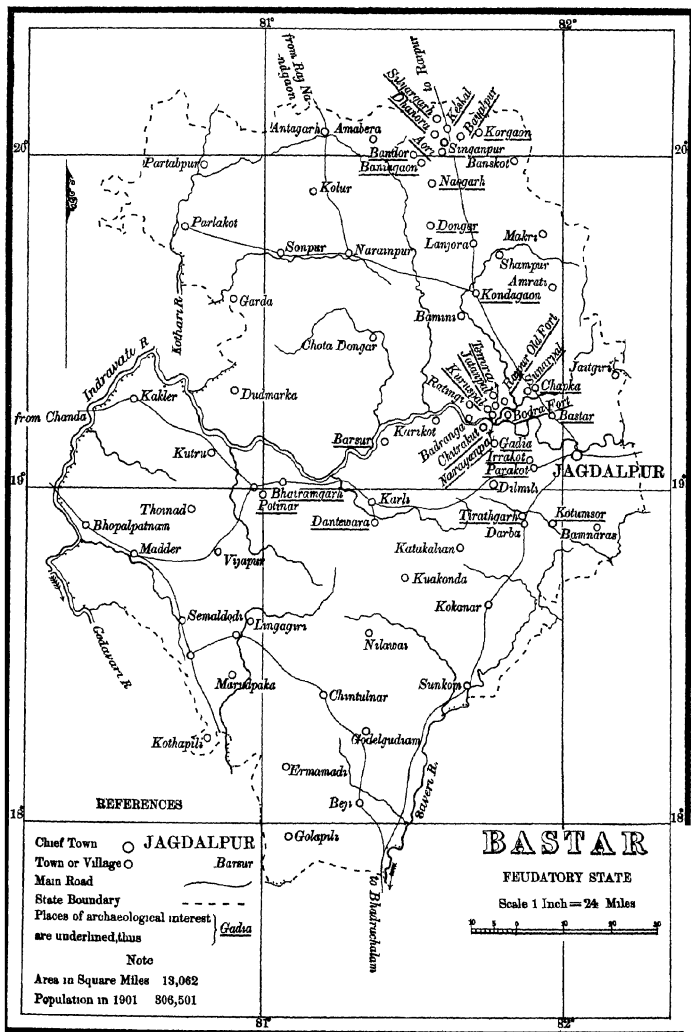
In order that the references to places in the Bastar inscriptions may be easily understood I append a map of the State showing their positions as also some other places possessing archaeological remains As most of the latter have never been noticed before, a brief mention of at least some of the important ones may not be out of place here These places are Bârsâr, Dantêwârâ, Gadia, Bhairnagarh, Narâyanpâl, Sunarpâl, Kuruspâl, Tirathgarh, Potnâr, Chajkâ and Dôngar

Bârsâr is a place of very great interest It is 55 miles west of Jagdalpur, the present capital of Bastar It contains ruins of many temples, the most important of which is a Śiva temple with two sanctuaries having a common *mandapa* supported on 32 pillars in four rows In each of the sanctuaries there is a *linga* and a Nandi, and old people remember that an inscription was removed from this place about half a century ago Another Śiva temple has a *mandapa* with 12 pillars in three rows, and the third is called *Mâmâ bhâgî-kâ mandar* and is distinguished by carvings on the inside walls in the shape of bells suspended from chains Outside the Gaṇeśa temple there is a huge figure of Gaṇeśa, 17' in circumference and about 7' or 8' high Numerous images are lying about or collected together under huts, of which the most noticeable is one of Vishnu, 4' high, and showing good workmanship There are also some images of Mahishâsuramardini, one of which is inscribed All the temples are of medieval Brâhmanic style, most of them built of stone without lime — Dantêwârâ is about 20 miles south of Bârsâr, and in the intervening villages there are sculptured stones lying about, some of them being five-hooded cobras or intercoiled snakes Dantêwârâ contains the shrine of Dantêśvari, the tutelary goddess of the present ruling family The temple is built at the junction of two rivers

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote this Mr Baijnath has made further discoveries which will be described in another paper

<sup>2</sup> See *Selections from the Records of the Government of India in the Foreign Department*, No. XXXIX p 82 et seq

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III p. 314



Prepared specially for the Govt. Epigraphist for India from an original supplied by him





called Sankhni and Dankni, and is notorious as a place where human sacrifices were formerly annually offered. At least a place was pointed out to me in the innermost sanctum, close to the goddess, where they said the victims used to be decapitated. The goddess has eight arms and is represented in the act of killing the buffalo demon. She is in reality Mahishasuramardini, locally known as Dantésvari. There are various other images such as those of Vishnu, Kārttikēya, Ganésa, etc., some of which were brought away from the ruins of Bārsūr. There are five inscriptions here, three inside the Dantésvari temple, one just outside it, and another near a mud hut called Bhairamgudi. There are remains of several other temples buried in ruins. For the support of the Dantésvari temple, an estate consisting of several villages is attached — Bhairamgarh is about 70 miles west of Jagdalpur and has three or four temples, together with remains of a fort and a ditch and several tanks. There is an inscription on a pillar, and at Potinār, a village near Bhairamgarh, there is a slab<sup>1</sup> inscribed on four sides — Gadia is 20 miles west of Jagdalpur and has a stone temple with no idol, but built in the same style as those of Bārsūr. About 400 yards away there is a big inscription, and a *linga* was found buried in a brick mound. — Narāyanpāl and Kuruspāl are quite close to each other, the former being situated on the river Indravati. Near these villages are the forts of Rājapur and Bōdrā, and not far away the beautiful falls of the Indravati at Chitrakūt present a magnificent appearance — Narāyanpāl is only 6 miles from Gadia and has an old temple, an image of Vishnu, and an inscription — Sunārpal and Chapkā are within 12 miles from Narāyanpāl. Chapkā has a number of *sati* pillars, several of which are inscribed — Tīrathgarh also contains some temples and relics — Dōngar is a place where according to custom the present Rājas go to be crowned. Here one of the queens, whose finger was chopped off by royal order and who ventured to inform her father, writing the letter with the blood so wantonly split, was buried alive. The pit, which is still pointed out, was once disturbed by a greedy Rāja of the same family, who also brought down the temple of Narāyanpāl and some others in search of supposed buried treasure.

I now proceed to give a short notice of each inscription of which I possess impressions, with very brief remarks where necessary, reserving a fuller account for other papers. The Bastar inscriptions may be roughly divided into three classes, viz., those of the (1) Nāgavamśi kings, (2) the Kākatiyas, and (3) miscellaneous. Of 27 yet discovered, ten belong to the 1st class, five to the 2nd, and the rest to the 3rd.

### THE NĀGAVAMŚI INSCRIPTIONS.

#### I — Narāyanpāl Stone inscription of Queen Gunda-mahādēvi, the mother of Sōmésvaradēva.

Narāyanpāl is a village 23 miles west of Jagdalpur. The inscription is on a stone slab and is in Nāgari characters, and the language is Sanskrit. It records the grant of the village Nārāyanapura to the god Nārāyana and some land near the Khajjuri tank to the god Lōkēśvara, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1083 on Wednesday, the full moon-day of the Kārttika month in the Khara samvatsara (*Śaka-nrpa-kālātītē āśa-sata trayā[s\*]-trims-ādāhē Khara-samvatsarē Kārtika-purnimāsyām Budhavārē*) corresponding to 18th October 1111 A D, and issued by Gunda-mahādēvi, the chief queen of Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, the mother of Sōmésvaradēva and the grandmother of Kanharadēva, who was then ruling on the death of his father (*Mahārāja-Sōmésvara-dēvasya svar(svar)gatē tshām putrasya śām naptuh . . . śrimad-vira-Kanharadēvasya kalyāna-vyaya-rāyē*). The dynasty claims to belong to the Nāgavamśa and the Kāsyapa gōtra, to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of Bhōgavati the best of the cities (*Nāgavamśodbhava Bhōgavati-pura-var-śvara savatsa-vyāghra-lāmhāna Kāsiyapa-gōtra*). At the end of the inscription the sun and moon, a cow and a calf, and a

<sup>1</sup> This has now been removed to a roadside place called Jānglā, six miles north of Potinār, for easy access

dagger and shield with a *linga* in its socket, exactly of the shape in which the *Langâyats* wear them, are engraved. There is a postscript to this inscription in which it is stated that the land was given by *Dhârana-mahâdêvi*, who was probably the widow of *Sômêśvara*, as will appear further on. There can be no doubt that *Narâyanpâl* is the *Nârâyanapura* of the inscription. A temple of *Nârâyana* is still standing there. The image of *Vishnu*, about 2' high, canopied by a hooded snake, is exquisitely executed.

## II.—Bârsûr inscription of *Ganga-mahâdêvi*, wife of *Sômêśvaradêva*.

This inscription is now in the *Nâgpur Museum*, and, as stated above, it has already been published.<sup>1</sup> It is a slab 9' 2" long, 14" broad and 3½" thick, broken into two pieces, the bigger one measuring 6½" and the smaller one 2' 11". It is inscribed on three sides. The inscribed portion of each flat side is about 4½", thus leaving half of the pillar buried underground. As the whole of the inscription could not be completed within the allotted space, the remaining portion has been inscribed on the third side, on which the writing runs to the length of 31". The stone is stated to have been brought from *Kowtah* near *Sironcha*, but the *Tahsildar* of *Sironcha* informs me that it was never sent from that place.<sup>2</sup>

The stone is indisputably from *Bârsûr*. Happily *Col Glasford* has given a facsimile in his report on the *Dependency of Bastar*. Speaking of the *Bârsûr* temples he says<sup>3</sup> — "In front of this temple I found a slab with an ancient *Sanskrit* and *Telugu* inscription on both sides, part of it had been broken off and was nowhere to be found. After offering a reward and causing search to be made I had the satisfaction of obtaining it. As the *Telugu* is of an antiquated character, I regret to say I have not succeeded in obtaining an accurate translation of the inscription. A facsimile is appended. From what I can ascertain it would appear that the temple of *Mahâdêva* where the slab was found was built by a *Râjâ Sômêśvaradêva*, a *Nagavamî Kshatriya*, in the year 1130."

The inscription is in the *Telugu* character, and the language is also *Telugu* prose, the *burudêvali* or titles of the king being in *Sanskrit* and corresponding with those in the *Narâyanpâl* *Sanskrit* inscription. It records that *Ganga-mahâdêvi*, the chief queen of *Sômêśvaradêva* gave a village named *Kêramaruka* or *Kêramarka* to two temples of *Śiva* (both of which she had built) on Sunday, the 12th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Phâlguna* in the *Śaka* year 1130. The two temples referred to here still exist, having one common *mandapa*, and from local enquiry it appears that it was from this place that *Col Glasford* removed the slab. Although the names of the temples *Virasômêśvara* and *Gangâdharêśvara* given after the royal couple as recorded in the grant, are forgotten, a tank still remains which is called *Gangâśâgar* and retains the memory of the charitable queen *Ganga-mahâdêvi*. If the *Sômêśvara* of this inscription is identical with that of *Narâyanpâl*, there has apparently been a mistake in engraving the date which should be 1030 and not 1130, and that is perhaps the reason why the week day does not correspond with the *tithi* given there, *viz.*, the 12th of the bright fortnight of *Phâlguna*, on a Sunday. According to *Mr. Dikshî's* calculations, *Phâlguna Śukla 12* of *Śaka-Samvat 1130* ended on Wednesday. So it was concluded that the year meant was *Śaka 1131* expired, in which year the *tithi* given in the inscription fell on a Sunday. But on calculating the week day for the same *tithi* in *Śaka 1030* expired I find that

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 814

<sup>2</sup> A similar error seems to have been committed in relegating the Buddhist stone inscription of *Bhavadêva* (republished in *J R A S 1905*, p 617, by *Dr Kielhorn*) to *Balâpur*, whereas from my enquiry *in situ* I found that the inscription was really brought from *Bhândaka*, and this is confirmed by *General Cunningham's Reports*, Vol IX, p 127

<sup>3</sup> Report on the *Dependency of Bastar*, 1862, p 62

it also fell on Sunday.<sup>1</sup> In the Narāyanpāl inscription it is stated that the grant of Nārāyanapura was made in Śaka 1033, in the reign of Kanharādēva, who had succeeded his father Sōmēśvarādēva on his death. And as there is nothing to show at present that there were two Sōmēśvaras,<sup>2</sup> the date 1030 fits in very well. It, however, seems somewhat extraordinary that such a palpable mistake should have been allowed to remain when it could be corrected by joining together with a curved line the two ends of the Telugu 1 which is like an egg half-cut (at least it is so in the inscription) thus transforming easily the second 1 of 1130 into a zero. I am very reluctant to suppose that the engraver committed a mistake, but that he did is patent enough in this case whether we read 1030 or 1130. The village Kōramaguka may be identified with Kōdmalnār, which is situated quite close to Bārsūr and is said to have been *mu'afi* or exempt from the payment of taxes for a long time.

### III.—Kuruspāl inscription of Dhārana-mahādēvi, second queen(?) of Sōmēśvara.

Kuruspāl is a village about a mile off from Narāyanpāl. The inscription was found built upside down into the steps of a small tank, which shows that it did not belong to the tank itself, but was brought away from some ruins, possibly the temple built in the centre of the tank, and was ntised without regard to what was engraved on it. It is in the Nāgarī character, the language being Sanskrit with very bad spellings. The object of the inscription is to record a grant of land situated near Kalamba by Dhārana-mahādēvi, who seems to have been the second queen of Sōmēśvarādēva. The inscription belongs to the victorious reign of Mahārājādhirāja Sōmēśvarādēva (*Mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Sōmēśvarādēva-pādānu kalyāna-vijaya-rājyā śrīmat-sā(mach-ohhā)sana-mahādēvi devīya Dhārana-mahādēvi tay-āchamya Kalāmbva-samāpasthā bhāmā dattam(ā)*). The same long *virūdas* as in the Narāyanpāl and Bārsūr inscriptions are attached to Sōmēśvarādēva's name. The inscription also mentions the name of Nārāyanapura. It is dated in the Saumya saivatsara.

### IV.—Sunārpāl stone inscription of Mahādēvi, queen of Jayasimbhadēva.

Sunārpāl is about 10 miles from Narāyanpāl. The stone is partially broken, and a part of the inscription is gone. It is undated. It records the grant of land, or, more properly, an imprecation against the resumption of granted land, and gives the names of witnesses before whom the gift was made, but it is not stated where. The gift was apparently made by Mahādēvi, the chief queen of Jayasimbhadēva of the Nāga race, the supreme lord of Bhōgavatī, having the tiger with a calf as his crest. He is called Rājādhirāja Mahārāja Śrī Jayasimbhadēva.

### V.—The Dantēsvarī gudi inscription<sup>3</sup> of Narasimbhadēva.

This is another stone inscription in Telugu character found in the temple of the goddess Dantēsvarī at Dantēwārā. It is dated in the dark fortnight of the month Jyēshtha in the Śaka year 1140 (expired). In this year there was an eclipse of the sun, and the month of Jyēshtha was intercalary. At that time Mahārāja Narasimbhadēva, the ornament of the race of the best of serpents, was ruling (*Śrī-bhujaga-vāra-bhāshana-Mahārājula-ana Śrīman-Narasimbhadēva-Mahārājula rājyamu*). The inscription is only a fragment

<sup>1</sup> Since I wrote the above, Prof Kielhorn has kindly calculated the date for me and finds that Śaka 1030 Phālguna Sudi 13 Sunday regularly corresponds to Sunday, 14th Feb A.D. 1109.

<sup>2</sup> I do not think that much importance can be attached to the different *virūdas* used in the Bārsūr and Narāyanpāl inscriptions. The Sōmēśvara of the former has the title *yagadēvābhāshana-mahārāja*, which does not occur in the latter. But then the *virūdas* used in the Bastar inscriptions are not always the same.

<sup>3</sup> For reading this I am indebted to Mr. Sitaramayya, one of the Superintendents in the Comptroller's office, Central Provinces.

Of the remaining five Nāgavamsī inscriptions it has not yet been possible to obtain good impressions. They are all in Telugu. The Potnār slab seems to refer to Narasimhadēva and the Dantēwārā stone lying outside the Dantēsvārī temple to Jayasimhadēva. The Bhairamgarh inscription contains *brūdas* similar to those found in the Barsūr one, and the king is stated in both to be the worshipper of Māmkya-devī (*Śrī-Māmkya-devī-āvya-śrīpāda-padm-ārādhaka*), which is an older name of Dantēsvārī, so named by the successors of the Nāgavamsīs, the Kākatīyas, although the latter claim that Dantēsvārī came with them from Warangal, where she was called Māmkya-devī.<sup>1</sup> This inscription is incomplete and it appears that it was never completed. The Bhairamgudi inscription at Dantēwārā appears to be the oldest of all, as its date appears to be Śaka 984.<sup>2</sup> The Gadia inscription, apparently of Somēśvaradēva's time, contains the usual figures of the cow and calf, Sun and Moon, Śiva, etc., the peculiar signs of the Nāgavamsī kings, although they do not seem to refer to their family crests. They are all picture imprecations. The sun and moon represent that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Śiva is the protector against violation of the grant on the spiritual side, and the dagger and shield of the king on the temporal. The cow and calf depict the grave sin which the transgressor would commit, exactly equal to taking away the cow from the calf. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Kuruspāl inscription has a representation of an ass associating with a pig, the imprecation being explained in the text thus, *Jō (yō) anyathā karōti tasya pītā gardabhah sūkari mātā* (he who acts otherwise has for his father an ass and for his mother a pig).

From these inscriptions it would appear that Bastar, which has been held to have always been the home of wild animals, with almost wilder tribes, was once ruled by a people whose civilization is sufficiently evidenced by the remains of temples, some of which are of great architectural beauty. These inscriptions carry the history of Bastar back to the eleventh century A.D., when at least the central portion of the State was ruled by the Nāgavamsī kings. They apparently belonged to the Sinda family of Yalburga, whose titles are strikingly identical with those of the Bastar Nāgavamsī kings. Dr Fleet states<sup>3</sup> that there appear to have been more branches than one of this family. One of these was that of Bastar, which has been hitherto unknown. These inscriptions disclose the names of five or six different kings, *viz.*, Dhārāvārsha, his son Sōmēśvaradēva, and his grandson Kanharadēva, Jayasimhadēva, Narasimhadēva, and a possible Sōmēśvara II. In view of the fact that half the inscriptions relating to these kings have not yet been deciphered owing to their incompleteness or want of proper impressions, I reserve a fuller discussion of the history of these kings for another occasion.

## II.—THE KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS.

All these are modern ones, the oldest being those of the Dantēsvārī temple at Dantēwārā written by the *rājaguru* of the present family, who was a Maithila Pandit. One of these is in Sanskrit and the other is a Maithili rendering of the same with some additions. Col Glasford has given a very defective transcript of both in his report. They are dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1760, or 1703 A.D. on the 3rd day of Baisākh, dark fortnight. They record the pilgrimage of Rāja Dīpālādēva to the Dantēsvārī shrine when 'so many thousands of buffaloes and goats were sacrificed that the waters of the Sankhni river became red like *kusuma* flowers and remained so for five days'. The Kākatīyas are stated to be Sōmavamsīs,<sup>4</sup> born of the

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's Report on the Bastar and Kharonde Dependencies, 1861, p. 13

<sup>2</sup> As read by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya

<sup>3</sup> Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572

<sup>4</sup> In the Ekāmnātha inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ind. An.* Vol. XXI, p. 200) they are stated to belong to the solar race to which 'Sagara, Bhadratha, Baghu and Rāma' belonged. This apparent contradiction is, however, capable of being explained. The Kākatīya king Gaṇapati had no male issue. He had a daughter named Badrāmbā, who succeeded him on the throne. Apparently she also had no male issue and had therefore to adopt her daughter's

Pândava Arjuna The genealogy begins with Kâkati Prâtâparudra, who was king of Warangal. His brother Annamrâja was the first to come to Bastar, and the genealogy is continued to Dikpâladêva, nine successors being mentioned. The present Bastar family is the representative of the old Warangal family, who, having been defeated by Musalmâns, fled to Bastar. Combining the information hitherto available, the following list of Kâkatiya kings may be made up

1—Predecessors of Annamdêva, from Professor Kielhorn's *Southern List*, above, Vol VIII, Appendix, p 18

- 1 Duryaya
- 2 Bêta (Betmarâja) Tribhuvanamalla, son of 1
- 3 Prôla (Prôlêrâja, Prôdarâja) Jagatkêsarin, son of 2, made the Western Châlukya Tailapadêva prisoner, defeated Gôvîndarâja and Gunda of Mantakûta, conquered but reinstated Chôdôdaya, put to flight Jagaddêva
- 4 The *Mahâmanjâlêsvara* Rudradêva, son of 3, subdued Domna, conquered Mailigidêva, burnt the city of Chôdôdaya A D 1163-[and 1186]
- 5 Mahâdêva (Mâdhava), brother of 4
- 6 Ganapati (Ganapa) Chhalamattiganda, son of 5, defeated the Dêvagiri Yâdava Singhana, the kings of Chôla, etc. A D [1199-1200 to 1260-61]
- 7 the *Mahâmandalachakravartin* Prâtâparudra of Êkasîlânagarî, i e Warangal. His general Muppidi entered Kâûchi and installed Mânavira as governor A D 1316

2—Successors of Annamdêva down to Dikpâladêva according to the Dantêwârâ inscriptions.

- 1 Annamrâja, brother of Prâtâparudra.
- 2 Hâmiradêva
- 3 Bharava (Bhai Râj) dêva
- 4 Purushôttamadêva
- 5 Jayasimhadêva
- 6 Narasimhadêva, his queen Lachhamî-dêî dug many tanks and planted gardens
- 7 Jagadîsârâyadêva
- 8 Viranârâyanadêva
- 9 Virasimhadêva, married Vadanakumârî, a Chandêlla princess
- 10 Dikpâladêva, married Ajabakumârî, of the Chandêllas, visited the Dantêsvârî temple in Samvat 1760, A D 1703

son Prâtâparudra. It is possible that Prâtâparudra's father may have belonged to the lunar race, and, while Prâtâparudra became by adoption a Kâkatiya of the solar race, his brother Annamdêva, the founder of the Bastar family, must have remained what his father was, that is, of the lunar race. Strictly speaking Prâtâparudra himself does not seem to have a very strong claim to be a solar Kâkatiya. He was adopted by his grandmother, whereby he became a member of her (his husband's) race, but it can be urged in his favour that he succeeded to the Kâkatiya throne, and that adoption of females was valid in ancient times (see *Dattakamîndêd* VII § 30-38 as quoted by Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, sixth edition, p. 180), whereby Ganapati's daughter, whom her father had called his 'son' and had given a male name of 'Rudra' (on which account she was called Rudrâmba, see *Ind. Ant.* XXI p 199) became incorporated with her parental race of solar Kâkatiyas. The commentator of the *Prâtâparudriya*, who was no less a personage than the great Mallinâtha's son, explains the word thus—*Kâkatiyâ nama Durgâ Saktir Êkasîlânagarîvarândm kuladheâtâ id Saktir bhajanty-asy êti Kâkatiyâh*. It is in this sense alone that the Bastar family could be classed as Kâkatiya. This would not affect their true lineage, etc., the lunar race. All this however would apply if Annamdêva was a brother of the Prâtâparudra of our list I. But list II with 10 kings for a period of about 400 years postulates the existence of another Prâtâparudra, who probably ruled a hundred years later and 'lost his kingdom and his life in the battle with Ahmad Shâh Bahmanî' in 1424 A.D. This Prâtâparudra was also probably engrafted from another family like his predecessor, in all likelihood from the lunar race to which his brother Annamdêva as a matter of natural course continued to belong.

3 —Successors of Dikpālādēva down to the present ruling chief, according to records kept in the Rāja's family

- 1 Rājāpādēva
- 2 Dalpatdēva
- 3 Daryādēva, his brother Ajmēr Singh rebelled against him in Samvat 1836, A.D 1779
- 4 Mahipalādēva
- 5 Bhūpālādēva
- 6 Bhairamadēva.
- 7 Rudrapratāpādēva, the present chief

The family records place another Pratāparājādēva between Narasimhadēva and Jagadīśarājādēva, Nos 6 and 7 of List 2. Pratāparudradēva, the brother of Annamrāja, is stated to have had three eyes, his army was composed of nine lac archers,<sup>1</sup> and during his time golden rain fell. Pratāparudra I. was a great patron of learning, and Vidyanātha wrote a work on Alankāra, which he called after him *Pratāparudrayasōbhāshana* or *Pratāparudrīya*.<sup>2</sup>

The other three inscriptions are at Dōngar; they are written in Hindī. Two of them are dated in Samvat 1836, or A D 1783, and refer to a visit of Rāja Daryādēva in order to quell a local rebellion. The third is dated in Samvat 1928, or A D, 1871, and records the *patībhāshēka* ceremony of Bhairamadēva, the father of the present ruler.

### III —MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

All these are unimportant and give no historical data. Six belong to Chhapkā and are engraved on *sati* memorial stones and, with one exception, in Nāgarī characters. Most of these have the usual marks of the sun, the moon and the outstretched hand with figures of husband and wife. Some have got temples engraved, with the couple in the act of worshipping the *lunja* represented there. One is found at Bārsūr on the pedestal of a goddess and is fragmentary.

### NO 20 — KANKER COPPER PLATES OF PAMPARAJADEVA

[KALACHURI] SAMVAT 965 AND 966.

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

These are two copper plates which were found in an old well in the Village Tahankāpār, 18 miles from Kanker, the capital of the state of the same name in the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. They are now in the possession of the chief of that state and were sent to me by his Dīvān Paṇdit Durgprasād. Ink impressions were kindly taken for me at Nāgpur by Mr T G Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plate.

There are two different records issued at an interval of a year. Both the plates are  $7\frac{2}{3}$ " long, but they differ in height and weight, one measuring  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " and the other  $3\frac{1}{4}$ ", the bigger one

<sup>1</sup> This may be true in the sense that he ruled over so big a population, who, as subjects, could at any time be called out for military service. In Bastar and adjoining tracts almost every man knows the use of the bow and arrow, with which they even kill tigers. The probability, however, is that 'nine lac' was a conventional term for the highest number. In the Hoṭṭār inscription (*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol I, Part II, p 433) the Chālukya king Satyāśraya is stated to have put to flight a Chōla king who had collected a force numbering nine lacs, indirectly insinuating that he defeated the biggest army that could be brought in the field. Similarly it has become idiomatic to speak of *Bhūvangarā* (52 forts), 700 *chēlas* (disciples), 108 *śrīs*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* xxi, p 198, and Duff's *Chronology of India*, p 213.

weighing 6 oz and the smaller 6 oz 10 drs. The former has an oblong hole at the top, measuring  $\frac{1}{8}'' \times \frac{1}{16}''$ , apparently for stringing it with other plates. It is uniformly and sufficiently thick, and is in a good state of preservation. The smaller one is thick in the middle but very thin at the ends, so thin indeed that the commencement *śm svasti* has cut through the plate leaving holes in the engraved portion, and, similarly, at the diagonally opposite end, a portion is exceedingly worn-out leaving irregular holes there. The corners of this plate were rounded off. It has at the end an ornamental figure representing the moon. This was probably the family crest.

The average size of the letters in the bigger plate is  $\frac{1}{16}''$  and in the smaller  $\frac{1}{8}''$ . The former appears to be a palimpsest. Both the sides contain minute scratches of letters of almost double the size, which are altogether illegible.

The characters in both the plates, which were written at an interval of a year only, are Nāgarī, and the language in both is corrupt Sanskrit prose. Both the plates were engraved by Śāthi or Śāo Kēśava, who apparently lived at Pādi (town).

There is very little to note about orthographical peculiarities. The letters *dha*, *ra*, *na*, *ksha*, *bha*, *ya*, and the figures 9 and 5 appear in a somewhat antiquated form, and the usual indifference to the use of *s* for *ś* is conspicuous. Spelling mistakes there are many, they have been noticed in the footnotes under the text.

The bigger plate, which is the older of the two and was issued from the Kākara residence, is a state document conferring a village with a fixed revenue on the village priest Lakshmidharaśarman. This refers to Japarā village, but Chikhali is also incidentally mentioned. The smaller plate records the gift of two villages, Kōgarā and Āndali, to the same person on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun. These transactions were made by the *Mahāmaṅgalika* Pamparājadēva of the Śōmavamśa (lunar race) in the presence of his queen Lakshmidēvi, prince Vōpadēva and eight Government officials including the minister. In the village document these officials appear as witnesses. The recipient of the villages was himself one of them.

The village document is business-like and contains abbreviations which were no doubt very well understood at that time, but are now difficult to make out. It does not indulge in genealogies. In the gift, however, we are told that Pamparājadēva meditated on the feet of Śōmarājadēva, who meditated on the feet of Vōpadēva. I take this Vōpadēva to be identical with that of the Kanker stone inscription of the Śāka year 1242 (see above, page 124). I shall discuss this question in another paper on the Śihāwā inscription, which also gives a genealogy of this family.

The bigger plate is dated in Saṁvat 965, in the Bhādrapada month, in the Mṛiga lunar mansion, on Monday, the 10th of the dark fortnight, and the smaller one in the Īśvara-saṁvatsara, in the month of Kārttika, in the Chitrā lunar mansion, on Sunday, at the solar eclipse, the year being given in figures at the end as 966. It is not stated to what era these dates belong, but Professor Kielhorn, who has kindly calculated them for me, has conclusively proved that they refer to the Kalachuri era. The reader is referred to the postscript added by him at the end of my article on the Kanker stone inscription (see above, pp 128 and ff), where he has fully discussed the question. The English equivalents of these dates, as calculated by him, are Monday, the 12th August A.D. 1213, and Sunday, the 5th October A.D. 1214, respectively.

The towns and villages mentioned in the plates are Kākara, Pādi, Kōgarā, Āndali, Jāparā, Chikhali and Vanikōṭṭa. Kākara is the modern Kanker, where the present chief of the state resides. It is 88 miles from Raipur, the headquarters of the Chhattisgarh Division, in which the Kanker state is included. Kōgarā has now been corrupted into Kōngērā. There are two villages of this name in the state, and for distinction one is called Dēo Kōngērā (8 miles

south-east of Kanker), and the other Hât Kōngérá (6 miles north of Kanker) The former is associated with gods, and the latter with a market, which is held there In the inscription Kōgará is said to be close to the shrine of Prānkésvara, which has now disappeared, but has apparently left its reminiscence in the suggestive adjunct *Déo* which Kōngérá now bears I therefore identify our Kōgará with Déo Kōngérá. Jaipará is the modern Jéprá (Indian Atlas, quarter sheet 92, N W., Long 81° 31', Lat 20° 28'), a village 15 miles north of Kanker and Chikhali is about 21 miles in the same direction just on the borders of the state. It is now included in the Dhamtarí tahsil, which formerly formed part of the Kanker state. Ándali is probably represented by the present Ándni (Áñni), 10 miles east of Kanker Pádi cannot be identified The same is the case with Vanikóṭṭa about which it is doubtful whether it is the name of a village at all

## Plate I.

## TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Kákara-samávásé rájádhrája-paramésvara-paramamáhésva(śva)ra-Sô-
- 2 ma-vams(ś)-ánvaya-prasúta-Katyá[yá\*]ni-vara-lavdha-pañcha-savd<sup>1</sup>-ábhinamdita-nija-bh<sup>2</sup>ṛ-
- 3 opárjita-
- 4 maháman[d\*]álka-simat<sup>3</sup>-Pamparájadéva-vijaya-rájjyē tat-sammhita-rájñi Lakshmi-
- 5 dévi kumara<sup>4</sup> Vōpadéva pradhána Bhōga rárá | vapátha | asú<sup>4</sup> śtē n<sup>5</sup>-a-
- 6 vyáparam kurvam ti-
- 7 shtá(a)mti Jaipará Vanikóṭṭa maryádi-kṛtya grāma-patrō-yañ ga tá-
- 8 Lakshmidharáyam(ya) pradattam
- 9 prathama saráha gaja bhāma śohhu 130 vijaya-rāja<sup>5</sup> ttamka 140 hālar-
- 10 árdha-pattam-
- 7 tarē | tathá Chikhali-grāma-patrē vijaya-ráj[y\*]a-ttamka 150 pralavá-pau-
- 8 ṇa-pattamarē | Asmim arthé śákshupaṣ bhattará[ṇaka\*] (|) Gōvinda gai(n.ś)
- 9 Lakshmidhara | gai[tá\*] Ma-
- 9 hēsvara<sup>6</sup> | ná[yaka\*] | Chhamtū | ná[yaka\*] | Dámōdara | sá[o\*] | Pálatū |
- 10 samvat (|) 965 Bhādrapada vadī 1[0]
- 10 mṛga-rikshá<sup>7</sup> śódma diné<sup>8</sup> | pam | Vishnuśarmmaṇá lkhitam sēthi Késavēna
- 11 utkīrṇam Pádi-
- 11 patiané [|\*] subham<sup>9</sup> bhavatu ||

## TRANSLATION.

Hal! At the Kákara residence, in the victorious reign of the illustrious *Mahámāṇḍalīka* Pamparájadéva, the king of kings, the supreme lord, the great worshipper of Śiva, (who is born in the lineage of the family of the Moon, who is hailed as having obtained the 5 sounds as a boon from Kátyáyani, who has acquired (his country) by (the force of) his own arms, with him the queen Lakshmidévi and Prince Vōpadéva (sitting) by his side, and while the eight<sup>10</sup> officials

<sup>1</sup> Read *lavdha-pañcha-savd*.<sup>2</sup> Read *śmat*.<sup>3</sup> Read *kumara*<sup>4</sup> Probably *akha*<sup>5</sup> Read *rāja*<sup>6</sup> Read *Mahēsvara*<sup>7</sup> Read *mṛgarekhā*<sup>8</sup> Read *śmādiné*<sup>9</sup> Read *subham*

<sup>10</sup> These eight officials seem to have included the minister, the village priest, who in the present case is a party to the transaction, the Rāj Pañdit, who wrote out this document, and five others, whose office is probably expressed by five letters *Rá, Rá, Vas, Pá and Tha*, which perhaps stand for *Rájaka* (chief counsellor), *Rájavallabha* (court favourite), *Várika* (chamberlain), *Párisika* (aide-de-camp), and *Thakkura* (lord-in waiting) See *Jour. As Soc Bengal*, 1905, Vol I p 10, Vol XVII, 1873, pp. 405 and 408, *Ind Ast* Vol XI, pp 244 and 337. In the last, which is a Chauhukya grant of A D 1207, the following occurs *śvar-ashāhūr gōsthikash* . . . *śarā karāṅgā*, this place of worship has to be taken care of by the following eight trustees Our inscription was written only six years after the one referred to above, and it would seem that at that time eight was considered an adequate number of persons as witnesses or trustees, etc., in connection with transactions of at least landed property.



I

[Kalachuri] Samvat 965

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

वैशिकेक वसंभोजेना ज्ञाने जा...  
म वेञ्चत्तय प्रथमकात्ताने वनले...  
महामल्लिकश्रीसत्पपना इदेववि...  
रेविकुसुमवेषदेवप्रभततैमासना...  
श्रीतेकेपना वल्लभो ह्यमयीवीक...  
प्रगुमसनाठगह्यममो कु...  
गनेतथावि च्वलीममपत्रे...  
लवदुतने। गश्री मये शील्ले...  
स्विव काके यना वामीदनु...  
गुणनिक साहादिना पारि...  
प्रवतव्यतवत॥

II

[Kalachuri] Samvat 966

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10

पारिसेमावायेसमया नाम वस्ती...  
मल्लिकश्रीसत्पपना इदेववि...  
नदेवपा रातयो तपमसतपय...  
ल्लोली इपग जो तल्लेवि...  
मसा। तना जे ला तदुम लमोवि...  
ने कुवैविधीरा ह्यतकेरा...  
प्रा जोगे तपदावपुत्रा ययक...  
एविके ने कातेकमयेत...  
श्रीतकुसुमा पदेत पदप...  
वीपारवव पारपुनाले ने कु...  
नतीके ह्येने तवत॥



(headed by) the minister Bhōga (?) are present on duty, this document of the village, making Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa the limit,<sup>1</sup> is given to *Gatā*<sup>2</sup> Lākshmidhara First<sup>3</sup> (the revenue was payable) at 130 (in former coins, now) 140 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for half the Halbā<sup>4</sup> patṭi (share) Similarly in the document of Chikhālī village, 150 coins of (our) victorious reign (mint) for the ½ Pralavā (Halbā) patṭi (share) The witnesses for this purpose (are) *Bhāttarānaka* Gōvinda, *Gatā* Lakshmidhara, *Gatā* Mahēśvara, *Nāyaka* Chbantū, *Nāyaka* Dāmōdara, *Bāo* Pātātū Samvat 935, Bhādrapada (month), in the Mṛiga lunar mansion (*rakṣha*), on Monday, the 1[0]th of the dark fortnight Written by Pandit Viṣṇuśarman and engraved by Sethi Kēsava in the Pādi town Let good fortune attend

## Plate II

## TEXT

- 1 Ōm<sup>5</sup> Svasti Pādi-samāvāsē samasta-rū-jāvalī-manālakṛitā<sup>6</sup>-sōmavam [sāvaya-<sup>7</sup>  
prasū]ṭa-mahā-  
2 man[d\*]alika-srīmad-Vōpādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-parama-bhāttāraka-mahaman[ā\*]alik a<sup>8</sup> -  
[śi]mal-Sōmarā-

<sup>1</sup> This is another ambiguous phrase capable of various interpretations. It is possible that the executors meant to convey that the boundaries of Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa were duly marked out on the spot before the document was given to Lakshmidhara. Vanikōṭṭa is another troublesome word. It may have been the name of a village in the vicinity of Jaiparā and may have been used as an adjunct to distinguish it from other villages of the same name. Similarly people talk of Dōri Nāharman, meaning that Dōri which is near the village Nāharman, to distinguish it from another Dōri. There is a village in Kanker called Pharasakōṭ, which is probably a corruption of Parasakōṭṭa, and on this analogy, it may fairly be asserted that there is nothing extraordinary in the name Vanikōṭṭa as denoting a village. It is, however, equally probable that it was no village, and that Jaiparā had this adjunct because there existed in that village a *zanik kotta*, or "traders' fortress," that is, a fortified place probably made by Banjārās for storing grain purchased for transport. In older times the Banjārās are known to have carried even guns for protecting themselves from plunder. Jaiparā may have been one of their central depōts, which they fortified, and the village therefore came to be called Jaiparā Vanikōṭṭa. It is not necessary that the Banjārās alone should have done this. There may have been other traders who might have built a fortified place, but as this part of the country has been and is a favourite resort of these wandering traders, it is more likely that they should have built such a depōt. Numerous examples of such adjuncts may be cited. Thus, there is a village *Barā* in the Saugor district. It has got Hindu tombs called *Suras* and hence people call it Barā Suragaon. In fact the adjunct has gained such prominence that the real name Barā is almost elbowed out, and only Suragaon is regularly used. Similarly, Hirdnagar-Garhākōṭā, well known as Garhākōṭā, derives its name from the construction of a fort and rampart, the original principal village being Hirdnagar, which a Bundelā chief Hirdē-Shāh founded in his own name.

<sup>2</sup> The village priest is still called *Gatā* in Kanker and Bastar States.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 4 and 5 are so obscure as to make their translation extremely doubtful. There can be little doubt, however, that they relate to the fixation of revenue of the villages mentioned, in the coins of the reigning prince. Whether the old revenue in respect to the village to which the transaction refers, was 130 *tankas*, and on revision on the present occasion, was enhanced to 140 *tankas*, or the old 130 *tankas* were equal to 140 new coins is not clear. While executing the present document opportunity was taken to revise the revenue of another village, Chikhālī, for which another *grāmapatṛa* or document existed, and the revenue was fixed at 150 new *tankas*. It appears that the Chikhālī document was not near at hand, and that seems to be the reason why blank space enough to fill up 3 figures was left out between the words *Chikhālī-grāmapatṛā* and *Vijaya-rājyatanaka* to be filled up afterwards. But once omitted nobody cared to fill it in, the matter not being of great importance, as the old rental was superseded by the revised amount which was thenceforth payable to the State. The fact that this record is a palimpsest seems to show that the fresh transaction was a matter on revision under the new régime of Pamparajadēva, and apparently the old record, which had become useless, was beaten out and the new one was inscribed instead. The words *sarāha goja bhāma dohhu* appear to be some local technical term, which was used in fiscal matters and was well understood at the time, but so far as my enquiry from local sources goes, it has not survived and it is not now used in State transactions. The matter, however, is not of great importance and does not affect the historical information inferable from the record.

<sup>4</sup> *Paṭṭi* are plots of land in a village and the Halbā or Halbā *paṭṭi* was apparently one cultivated by the Halbā, an aboriginal tribe chiefly found in Kanker (see above note 5, page 124).

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol. <sup>6</sup> Read "many *alankṛitā*". <sup>7</sup> Read *vamādvaya*. <sup>8</sup> Read *mahāmāyālikā*.

place occurs as Karial on the Indian Atlas sheet 92 N E, Lat 82° 50' and 20° 17' The plates have now been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum

There are three copper plates, each measuring  $5\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$ " The first is inscribed on one side only Traces on the other side show that the plate has formerly been used for another inscription The plates are quite smooth, and their edges have neither been fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims They are in an excellent state of preservation About 1" from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter, for the ring on which the plates are strung This ring is oval,  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " long and  $2\frac{1}{8}$ " broad It had not been cut when the plates were sent to me

The ends of the ring are secured in a circular seal, about  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter It is identical with that described by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p 196 Its upper part shows a representation of a standing Lakshmi facing full front, on each side of her an elephant is standing on a waterlily, with its trunk raised above her head In the proper right corner there is an expanded waterlily, in the proper left corner a *śankha*

The seal has been subjected to fire, and the legend could not be made out when I received the plates It has, however, proved possible to clean it, so that it can now be read with certainty It therefore also makes it possible to decide what the legend must have been on the corresponding seal published by Dr Fleet, which is quite illegible

The weight of the three plates is 1 lb  $2\frac{1}{2}$  oz, and of the ring and seal 1 lb 2 oz., total 2 lb  $4\frac{1}{4}$  oz

The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " The character is the same box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as in the copper plates of the same king published by Dr Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff The long variety of *i* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i*, and usually not in the centre of it as in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,<sup>1</sup> nor in the right side of it as in the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēva<sup>2</sup> The separate sign of the cerebral *d* occurs in *chādāmān*, l 1, and the final form of *ṭ* in *dadyāt*, l 18, and *vasēt*, l 19 Note also the use of one and the same sign to denote a stop in l 5 and the visarga in l 4, etc The compound *ugh* occurs in *Drōnasīnghēna*, l 23, and *ñch* in *kāñchanam*, l 17, *mahimatāñ-chchhrēshṭa*, l 21, and, falsely, in *dānāñch=chhrēyō*, l 22

The numerical symbols for 2, 20, and 9 occur in l 22

The language is Sanskrit The legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory stanzas, here attributed to Vyāsa, are in verse the remainder of the inscription is in prose

As regards orthography we have to note the doubling of *k* before *r* in *vikrama*, l 1, the similar doubling of *dh* before *y* in *anudhdyātā*, l 3, the doubling of a consonant after *r* in *svargē*, l 18, *visarjyātō*, l 8, *svarmān*, l 16; *dharmmēshu* and *dharma*, l 13, *śryya*, l 16, *sarva*, l 8, *hētuv=vasu*, l 3; *bhūr=vasaṅnavi*, l 16, *bahubhuv=vasasudhā*, l 19, the form *savatsara*, i e *sāvatsara*, l 22, the use of the *phvāmāliya* in *yāñ=kāñchanam*, l 17 (but *-rājāñ kshēn-*, l 4), of the *upadhmaniya* in *-pradañ parama-*, l 3, *Śāmbilakayōḥ pratvāsi-*, l 5, etc The visarga is usually replaced by *s* before hard dentals Before the stop, however, we find *bhāmāñ tasya*, l 20, *-srishṭāñ tō*, l 10 A superfluous anusvāra has been added in *bhāmāpāmn*, l 12 *Tr* and *tr* have been interchanged in *ptriv-*, l 3, and *tridāsa-*, l 6 Note finally the forms *tāmbi-a-*, l 10 and 23, *Drōnasīnghēna*, l 23, and the use of the genitive in *Vishnuśvāminas*, l 10

The inscription is one of the Rāja Mahā-Sudēva, and it is dated in the second year of his reign on the 29th day of Śrāvana The engraver was Drōnasīngha, who also occurs in

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 191 and ff

<sup>2</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp 196 and ff

Mahā-Sudēvā's Raipur plates<sup>1</sup> Like this latter inscription and the Āraṅg copper plates of Mahā-Jayarāja,<sup>2</sup> our inscription was issued from Śarabhapura, and it states that the illustrious Mahā-Sudēvarāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre of the crest jewels in the turas of the *sīmantas* who have been subjugated by his prowess, who is the cause for the removal of the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land, and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father, issues the following order to the householders living in Navannaka and the neighbouring Śāmbilaka, in the Kṣhitmandā āhāra. Be it known to you that these two villages, which assure the happiness of the abode of the king of gods, have been bestowed by a copper charter on the Vajisaneyin Viṣṇusvāmin, of the Kauśika gōtra, for as long a time as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of sun, moon, and stars, together with their treasures and deposits, not to be entered by district officers<sup>3</sup> and soldiers, free from all taxes, for the purpose of increasing the spiritual merit of our parents and ourselves.

The date of our inscription cannot as yet be settled. Mahā-Sudēva is the same who has issued the grant published by Rājendralāla Mitra<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Fleet.<sup>5</sup> According to the legend of the seal he was the son of a certain Mānamātra, who in his turn had risen from the Prasum-ārnaiia, i. e. who was descended from Prasanna, probably his son.

Neither Mānamātra nor Prasanna are elsewhere known. Mānamātra can perhaps be identified with Mānānka, "the ornament of the Rashtrākūtas," who is mentioned in the copper plates of Abhimanyu of Mānapura edited by Professor Hultzsch.<sup>6</sup> This Mānānka had a son, Dēvarāja, who might be identical with Sudēvarāja. In support of this hypothesis it may be mentioned that *mātrā* and *anka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean ornament. On the other hand, the alphabets of the two inscriptions differ, and this, in addition to the difference in the names, makes the identification very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura also recurs in the two other grants by Mahā-Sudēva and in the Āraṅg plates of Mahā-Jayarāja. Navannaka may be the present Nahnā, the Nahnā<sup>7</sup> of the maps, three miles south of Khariāu. We do not know anything about the location of the remaining geographical names of our inscription, Kṣhitmandā and Śāmbilaka. They should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Khariāu.

#### TEXT<sup>8</sup>

##### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [\*] Śarabhapurād-vikkiam-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chūdāmani-
- 2 prabhā-prasāk-āmbu-dhōta<sup>9</sup>-pāda-yugalō upu-vilāsmi-simant-ōddharana-
- 3 hētur-vvasu-vasudhā-gō-pradah-paramabhāgavato mātā-pitri<sup>10</sup>-pād-ānuddhyā-
- 4 taś-śri-Mahā-Sudēva-rājah Kṣhitmand-āhāriya-Navannaka-śtat-pravēṣya-
- 5 Śāmbilakayōh=pratavāsi-kutumbnas-samāññāpayati || Viditam= astu

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 191 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the meaning of *dhōta* compare Dr. Vogel in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902*, p. 247.

<sup>4</sup> *J. Beng. A. S.*, Vol. xxxv, Part 1, 1867, pp. 195 and ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 196 and ff.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. viii, p. 168, compare Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxx, p. 509.

<sup>7</sup> The Commissioner of Raipur now informs me that the plates were actually found in Nahnā, and that the local authorities are inclined to identify Śāmbilaka with the present San Doil or Sandohal, a village adjoining Nahnā.

<sup>8</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>9</sup> Read *dhōta*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *pitri*.



16

16 17 18 19 20  
 16 18 20  
 16 18 20

11 b

22

22  
 22

16

18

20

22

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 6 vo yath=āsmabhur=ctad<sup>1</sup>=grāma dvayam tridaśa<sup>2</sup>-patī-sadana sukha-piatishrhākai<sup>o</sup>  
yava-  
7 d=raṇi śaś tārā-kṛānā-piatihata-ghôr-āndhakāīam jagad=avatsishatē tavad=upā-  
8 bhogyas=sandhus=sopanidhū=achata-bhata-prāvēśya-saī vva-kāra-vīsuji-  
9 to matāpīti=ātmanas=cha pany-ābhividdhayē Vājisanēya-Kōśika<sup>3</sup>-sagōtra  
10 Vishnusvāminas-tācabrasāsanēn=ātsrīstāh [\*] Tē yāyam=ēvam=upalabhy=asya

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 jñā-sīavana-vidhēyā bhutvā yathōchitam bhōga-bhāgam=upanayantas=sukham piati-  
12 vatsyatha [\*] Bhavishyatas=cha bhūmpāmn<sup>4</sup>=anudāsayati [!]\* dānād=  
vīsishtam= anupā-  
13 lana-ja.n<sup>5</sup> pūṣā dhammēshu mśchita-dhyah=piavadanti dharmā[\*] !  
|| (j) tasma[d\*] dvija-  
14 ya svīvāddha-kula-sūtaya dattām bhavam bhavata vo matu=ca  
goptu[\*] ||  
15 Tad=bhavadbhu=sapy=śha dattar=anupālayitavyā [\*] Vyāsa gitams=ch=atīa  
slokan=n-

## Third Plate, First Side

- 16 dāharanti || Agnēr<sup>6</sup>=apatya[\*] prathamam suvarṇnam bhūi=vvaishnavī  
śūrya-  
17 sūtās=cha gāvah [\*] dattās=trayas=tēna bhavanti lōkī yah=kāñchanaṃ gim  
cha mahīm cha da-  
18 dyāt [!]\* Śhashtī<sup>7</sup>-varsha-sahasāni svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [\*] āchchhōtt.  
19 ch=anumantā cha tāny=ēva narake vaset [!]\* Bahubhu=vvasudhī datta  
rajah-  
20 s=Sagar-ādibhīh [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmih tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 Svadattam<sup>8</sup> paradattām vā yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira [\*] mahīm=mahimatāñ=  
chchhrēshtha  
22 dānā(ñ)ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam=iti [!]\* svamukhājāyā savvtsara<sup>10</sup> 2 Śrāvana  
di 20 0  
23 utkīrṇnam tāmbraśāsanam Drōnasinghēna.

Seal.

Prasann-ārnava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu-janmana[h\*] Śrīma[t-Sudē]varājasya sthīram  
jagati [śāsanam].

<sup>1</sup> The engraver originally wrote =*asmābhīr=oya*, but corrected it to =*asmābhīr=ēla*. The gender in the following is wrong

<sup>2</sup> Read *tri*

<sup>3</sup> Read =*kaśika*

<sup>4</sup> Read *bhūmpān*=

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>6</sup> The *sa* in *anupālanam* has been added below the line

<sup>7</sup> Metre Indravajrā

<sup>8</sup> Metre Ślōka.

<sup>9</sup> Metre Ślōka

<sup>10</sup> Read *savvatsara*



## No 22—NOTE ON BHUJABALA MAHARAYA

By R SEWELL, ICS (Retired)

In Vol VIII 122 ff Mr H Krishna Śāstri, B A, publishes an inscription of the Kalasa chief Bharava II at Karkala in the South Canara district of the Madras Presidency, and in the course of his discussion<sup>1</sup> on the history of the family quotes Mr Rice's Mûdgere Taluq inscription of A D 1516 (Mg 41). His comment on this is as follows—"This inscription supplies the interesting information that, during the reign of the great Krishnarāya of Vijayanagara, Bhujabala-Mahārāya led a campaign against the Tulu-rajya, and was encamped at the *bhuvana-sāle* in Mangalūru . . . Bhujabala-Mahārāya, who led the campaign, must be identical with Krishnarāya's elder brother 'Busbalrao' mentioned on p 110 of Mr Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, etc . . ."

There seems to be a mistake here. Firstly, I note that Mr Rice does not consider the word *Bhujabala* in the passage in question to be a proper name. The passage<sup>2</sup> runs—*Vijayanagara-udā bhujabala mahārāya u Tulu rājya-ā m-le dāndu bandu*, and is translated by Mr Rice—"The mighty (*bhujabala*) Mahārāya of Vijayanagara having come against the Tulu kingdom with an army." Here there is no ruler or leader named "Bhujabala Mahārāya." Secondly, the leader of the army could only have been Nuniz's "Busbahao," elder brother of Krishnadēva Rāya, if the date of this expedition to the Tulu country were referred to a period at least seven years earlier than the date of the inscription, because "Busbalrao" had died when Krishnadēva was placed on the throne in A D 1509. It is possible that the expedition did take place before Krishnadēva's accession, and it is equally possible that it may allude to Krishnadēva Rāya's own exploit shortly after he came to the throne, when he, or his generals, reduced the Ganga Rājs of Ummatū in Mysore. The mention in "Mg 41" of Krishnadēva Rāya's supreme sovereignty over the Kalasa country during the chieftainship of Immadī-Bhararsa-Odeyar gives us no clue to the date of the Vijayanagara army's march to Mangalore, for this may have taken place at any period before the date of that chief's grant, viz, Sunday, July 13, A D 1516. But what is quite certain is that the leader of the army referred to could not have been Krishnadēva Rāya's elder brother, whom Nuniz called "Busbalrao," *during*, as stated by Mr Krishna Śāstri, the reign of Krishnarāya, for it was "Busbalrao's" death, according to Nuniz, that placed Krishnadēva on the throne.

At the date of the grant Krishnadēva was conducting his decisive campaign in the east, and had captured Kondavidu three weeks earlier, viz, on June 23rd, A D 1516.

## No 23.—RAJAPURA COPPER PLATES OF MADHURANTAKADEVA.

[ŚĀKA] SAMVAT 987

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

The discovery of this first copper plate inscription in the wild Bastar State of the Central Provinces is the result of the zeal with which Rai Bahadur Baiyath, B A, the Superintendent

<sup>1</sup> Page 127, note 2. Will some one tell us whether the name should be spelt *Kalasa* or *Kalasa*? It appears to be spelt either way in the original inscriptions. Thus in Mr 40 (the inscription preceding the one in question), the Kanarese text has *Kalasa* in line 11, and *Kalasa* in line 12. On p 68 of his translation Mr Rice gives us three times *Kalasa* and five times *Kalasa*, on p 69 we have four times *Kalasa* (not *Kalasa*) and three times *Kalasa*. This last form is certainly wrong, for the second akshara is always *la* in the original. The variation is only in the third syllable. Mr Krishna Śāstri, in the *Epigraphia* spells the word consistently *Kalasa*.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Carn* VI 155-202, lines 1-2.

of the State, set himself to make a search for the antiquarian remains in that little known and remote quarter, at my request Mr Baijnath has been richly rewarded for his efforts, for, in addition to the present copper plates, he has discovered more than twenty new inscriptions in Sanskrit and Telugu characters, of most of which he has sent me ink estampages and tracings I have deciphered several of them and they will in due course appear in this Journal. I begin with the copper plates, as this is perhaps the most ancient Sanskrit inscription yet found in Bastar. Mr Baijnath found the plates in the possession of a Brāhman named Gangādhar Pārhi of Kawadgaon close to Rājapura. Gangādhar received them from his sister-in-law, who found them buried in a field at Nāharni, sixteen miles from Rājapura.

There are three copper plates, held together by a ring, soldered into what was apparently the lower portion of a seal, which had been broken off. Each plate is about  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ " and they weigh  $29\frac{1}{2}$ , 30 and 35 *tolas*, respectively the weight of the ring being 26 *tolas*. The plates are smooth, sufficiently thick, and in an excellent state of preservation. They are inscribed on both sides, except the first one, which is inscribed on one side only. Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Secretariat Press, Nāgpur, kindly took for me impressions, which are reproduced in the accompanying plate. The plates are numbered 1, 2, 3, on the margin, which was apparently left to prevent the ring holes from coming in between the written lines. The word *śi* has been engraved in the upper margin of the first plate, over the figure 1.

The second side of the third plate is inscribed with benedictive and imprecatory figures viz., 12 hands in a row at the top, beneath which there is the proper left a cow with a bell attached to her neck, and a dagger and a shield beside her feet, a floated *linga* in the form of a *śaśitha* in the middle, and a woman pursued by a donkey to the proper right, with the figure of the sun and the moon over it. My interpretation of these figures is as follows.—The hands are uplifted, apparently as an expression of benediction on the donor, and they are twelve, probably because there were 12 *pāthas* or donees referred to in the inscription. The cow is apparently drawn to remind us that whosoever appropriates the gifted land, will have to reap the same consequences which a cow's curse can produce, or will fall into the same calamity as a cow is in when deprived of her calf. Śiva is shown as the protector against aggression on the spiritual side, and the ruling king's dagger and shield on the temporal. The sun and the moon indicate that the grant is to last as long as these luminaries endure. Lastly the obscene figure of an ass associating with a woman is a vulgar imprecation implying that the transgressor of a gift should be so low-born.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription is in the Nāgarī character. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{8}$ ". They are well formed and clearly written.

The language is corrupt Sanskrit, and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses, which are inserted in a somewhat disconnected manner, the remainder of the inscription is prose. In fact the whole composition is disjointed, and there are several grammatical slips and spelling mistakes.

The most noteworthy orthographical peculiarities are the representation of the initial *ś* with two dots and a stroke underneath, resembling the Nāgarī figure 2 (ll 13, 16, 23 and 30). The anusvara is put at the side of the letter and is represented by a dot with a *halā* underneath (ll 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26 and 27), but in several instances it is also represented in the ordinary way by a dot on the top of the letter (ll 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31 and 32). One top stroke representative of the *mātrīś*,

<sup>1</sup> Compare my remarks, above, p. 164.

of *ś*, *ai*, *ô* and *au* is exhibited by a vertical stroke placed before the letter to which it is attached—a practice which is still followed in the Bengali and Oriyâ writing, but exceptions may be found side by side, where it is placed on the top of the letter according to the practice now followed in writing. Thus, in line 12, the *ś* of *Madhurântakadêva* has a top, while the very next *ś* of *Kanheradêva* has a vertical stroke preceding the letter *da*. The latter form, however, predominates, the exceptions being found as regards *ś* in ll 2, 4, 10, 11, 12, 21, 26, 29 and 31 and of *ô* in ll 1, 19, 31, and 32. *Av* has been used only once, in line 8, and *au* twice, in lines 11 and 26, and in each case one of the top *mâtrâs* has been represented by a vertical stroke preceding the letter to which it is attached. The letters *bha*, *ôha*, *va* and *ksha*, invariably appear in their antiquated forms. The letter *v* is used throughout for *b*, and *s* for *ś*, except in the solitary instances of *daśa* in l 3 and of *śrî* in ll 12 and 29. *Ja* is used for *ya* (ll 20, 24, and 27), *ri* is used for the vowel *ri* in l 8, and *na* for *na* in l 6. In line 8 *hanvala*<sup>1</sup> for *kamala* is a spelling which occurs in other inscriptions. It represents the actual pronunciation of the vernacular word—a pronunciation still kept up in the Chhattisgarh division, of which Bastar forms part.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of Râjapura village, situated in the Bhramarakôtya *mandala*, to one Mēdipôta or a Chhurikâra Mēdipôta and his descendants, together with 70 *gadyânaka*<sup>2</sup> gold. The grant was made by the king Madhurântakadêva, who belonged to the Chhindaka family of the Nâga (Cobra) race. The inscription is dated in the [Saka] year 987, in the Parâbhava samvatsara, on Wednesday of the bright fortnight of Kârttika month. Although the *tithi* has not been given, there is a most minute description of the moment of the grant, the *nakshatra* being stated to be Anurâdhâ, the *yôga* to be Saubhâgya and the *karana* to be Gaa. From these data the exact date has been kindly calculated for me by Professor Kielhorn who says—

“The date for Śaka 987 expired corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th October A D 1065. On this day the third *tithi* of the bright half of Kârttika ended 9 hours 17 minutes after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* was Anurâdhâ and the *yôga* Saubhâgya. The second half of the *tithi* was the *karana* Gaa. But the Jupiter's year is not quite correct. By the southern system it should have been Visvavasu and by the northern luni-solar system Plavanga and by the northern mean sign system Kîlaka. The mistake is the same as in the first Kanke<sup>3</sup> plates.”

The purpose for which the grant was made is somewhat obscure. I take it to be a compensation for supplying a victim for human sacrifice. Before proceeding to show how I arrive at this conclusion, it may be stated that in Bastar and the adjoining tracts human sacrifices were rampant about seventy years ago. It is notorious that human victims were offered to the goddess Dantêsvari, enshrined at Dantêwârâ in the Bastar State. Colonel Macpherson of the Madras Army, who was appointed agent for the suppression of Merah sacrifices and female infanticide in the hill tracts of Orissa, which Bastar adjoins, says<sup>4</sup>—“In the worship of Tanu Pennu or Earth Goddess the chief rite is human sacrifice. It is celebrated as a public oblation by tribes both at social festivals held periodically and when occasions demand extraordinary propitiation, such as the occurrence of an extraordinary number of deaths by disease or by tigers, or should very many die in child-birth, or should the flocks or herds suffer largely from disease or from wild beasts, or should the greater crops threaten to fail, or the occurrence of any marked calamity to the families of the tribal chiefs. Victims are called Merah and are acceptable only when they have been acquired by purchase or were born as such, that is, of a victim father. Victims are generally supplied to the Khonds by men of the two races called Panwâ and Gahingâ, who are attached in small numbers to almost every Khond village for the discharge of this and other peculiar offices. The Panwâs purchase the victims without difficulty or kidnap

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dr Grierson in *J R A S* 1907, p 1057

<sup>2</sup> *Gadyânaka* is a weight = 32 *gunja*. See *Tâjûnvâlkyâ* iii 258

<sup>3</sup> Above p 129.

<sup>4</sup> *J R A S*, Vol XIII (1852), p 243 *et seq.*

them from the poorer classes of Hindûs, procuring them either to the order of the Khonds or on speculation, and they moreover constantly sell as victims their own children and children of whom as relatives they are the guardians Khonds when in distress, as in times of famine, also frequently sell their children for victims, considering the beatification of their souls certain and their death for the benefit of mankind, the most honourable possible. The Meriah grove, a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, usually stands at a short distance from the village by a rivalet which is called the Meriah stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is avoided by the Khonds as *haunted ground*.<sup>1</sup> Bearing these remarks in mind, I now proceed to examine in how far they can throw light on our inscription. The italics in the above extract are mine, and they should be borne especially in mind, while considering what follows. In ll 26 to 28 it is stated that "no body enters the *chhuriprabandha*. There is no place for the preceptor of *yôginis*. For this purpose this village is taken with a view to do good to all living beings." From this it is plain that the grant was not made for any spiritual purpose such as the increasing of the religious merit of the king and his ancestors, but with a practical earthly aim, *viz*, in order to secure the welfare of the general public including cattle and other animals. The grant was not made to a Brâhmana but to a Mâdîpôta (ll 12 to 14) who is styled "Pâtra 12," and to whom 70 *gadyânaka* gold were given in addition to the village, with the mutual consent<sup>2</sup> of the king, the queen, the prince and officers of State as stated in the grant, evidently in order to make the transaction an out-and-out purchase. Had the donee been a Brâhmana, we should have expected a mention of his parentage, *gôtra* and caste, but no such information is forthcoming in this grant. In l 25 Mâdîpôta is called *chhurikâra*, which is probably used in a technical sense having reference to the *chhuriprabandha* referred to above, and not in the ordinary sense of a knife-maker (blacksmith). I am unable to say what *chhuriprabandha*<sup>3</sup> really means, but from the context it appears to stand for something like *narabala* *prabandha*, apparently on account of the great importance of the *chhurs* or knife in the sacrifice.

With regard to the epithet "12 pâtra" I am inclined to believe that Mâdîpôta, whether this word is a proper name or the name of an office, was the head of the 12 persons employed in the work of procuring victims. So late as 1834 A. D., when an investigation was made in Bastar in connection with kidnapping persons for sacrifice, it was believed that there were 12 villages given rent-free to kidnappers of 12 families, with whom the stipulation was that in case they could not procure victims from elsewhere, they must supply them from their own family in consideration of the free grant they enjoyed. Of course the existence of a grant for such a purpose could not be proved, as the sacrifices had been stopped long before the institution of the investigation. But the tradition of 12 families of *mellahs* or kidnappers of victims is significant and points to a practice which evidently existed in the days of these sacrifices.<sup>4</sup> I am further inclined to think that Mâdîpôta was an office, *Mêdî* being the same as *Mêlî* or *Mellî*, vulgo *Melliah* or *Malva*,<sup>4</sup> the word *pôta*, which in Telugu means a sacrificial victim, being dropped for

<sup>1</sup> The *Kâlîkâ Purâna* says —

If a human sacrifice is performed without the consent of the prince, the performer incurs sin (see *Budhrâdhyaia* in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol V p 383)

<sup>2</sup> [The text has *chhuriprabandham*, which might perhaps be translated "killing with a *chhurî*."—S. K.]

<sup>3</sup> [The passage in question (l 14) can also be translated,—“Receivers 12 *Mêdîpôtas*, in their hand property was received.” The *Chhurikâra* of l 25 would then be a special *Mêdîpôta*.—S. K.]

<sup>4</sup> Capt MacVicar says —

“The Meriah offering, whether so called Toki Poojah or Noroboli (Narabali), is essentially the same in object as the *bôli* (bah) of the Doorga Poojah, and to this day the ritual of the Khond is annually celebrated by the Borsoloo or *Maliah Pater* (Pâtra) at Pooramar, the capital of Chinnâ Kîmed, on the conclusion of the Dasserah festival—a goat now being substituted for the more precious victim.” Mark the italics, which are mine. (See Report by Capt MacVicar, 1851, in the *History of operations for the suppression of human sacrifice in the hill tracts of Orissa*, 1854.) It would appear that Melliah (the procurer) and Meriah (the victim) were identical terms, the procurers being regarded in

the sake of brevity It will now appear that the grant gives sufficient indications pointing to the procuring of a human victim The village is secured as the residence of the preceptor of the *yōgis*, who of course dwell in a haunted place, which is naturally avoided by others The victim is obtained by purchase, with the mutual consent of the king and his subjects, the grant is made to non-Brāhmanas, the likely persons to take part in such a ceremony, and all this is done for the purposes of *dayā* and *dharma* to all living creatures Having referred to these main points, I pass over the minor ones which lead to the same conclusion, that this grant was made in favour of procurers of victims for human sacrifices If therefore the purpose of the grant is really what it appears to be, then I fancy this is a unique record and no similar inscription has hitherto been discovered

Some remarks about the dynasty of the king mentioned in this grant will be found above on pp. 161 and ff, where I have dealt with the inscriptions of the Nāgavamśi kings found in Bastar, most of which are not yet published and which I propose to edit in due course as intimated before The dynasty is clearly related to the Sinda family of Yelburga Though styled "Lord of Bhōgavati, the best of cities," Madhurāntakadēva appears to have been a *Maṇḍalika* (feudatory chief), as the verse in ll 24-25 shows that his *rāj* was limited to Bhāmarakōṭya, which is described as a *mandala* in l 15 He belonged to the Chhindaka family, one of the 36 Agnikulas<sup>1</sup> mentioned by Chand Bardai, the court poet of Piṭhivīrāja

With regard to the localities mentioned in the record, Rājapura is identical with the present village of the same name, 22 miles north-west of Jagdalpur (the capital of Bastar), on the bank of the Indrāvati river There are ruins of a fort there, and it is believed that it was once a royal capital The present Rāja family also dwell there for some time Chakrakōṭya is, I feel little doubt, the town mentioned by the Kashmirian poet Bilhana in his *Vikramānkaḍēvacharita*, in which he records that Vikrama as *yuvārāja* set out on a series of warlike expeditions, with the permission of his father He repeatedly defeated the Chōlas and plundered Kāñchi He assisted the king of Mālavā in regaining his kingdom and carried his arms as far north as Gauda and Kāmarūpa He attacked also the king of Sindhala or Ceylon, destroyed the sandal wood forests of Malaya Hills and slew the lord of Kērala He finally conquered Gāngakūṇḍa (IV. 21) Vēngī (IV. 29) and Chakrakōṭa (IV 30) After having accomplished these brilliant exploits Vikrama turned homewards, and, on coming as far as the Krishnā, he was suddenly disquieted by the news of his father's death Dr Buhler<sup>2</sup> remarks that "Bilhana's rhapsodic treatment of this portion of Vikrama's career makes it impossible to determine the chronological order of these wars Only so much may be considered certain that his last exploits were performed in the south as he came on his homeward march to the Krishnā." There can be no doubt about these exploits of Vikrama They were, as related above, the conquest of Gāngakūṇḍa, Vēngī and Chakrakōṭa, and at least these seem to have been conquered in the order in which they have been mentioned Gāngakūṇḍa was the Chōla capital, situated in the north-east corner of the Trinchnopoly district,<sup>3</sup> whence Vikrama proceeded north to Vēngī, the country between the Krishnā

the same light as the victims, as they had themselves to become victims in the absence of a proctored one The sacrificers paid the Mellaha, who thus became purchased victims, and they did not care whence the victim was procured so long as one was supplied to them when wanted Thus to the sacrificers, the procurer and the victim would mean the same thing, but the terms came to be differentiated when a class of procurers grew up and the real victim happened to be a substitute for themselves. A parallel instance of such differentiation in the same word may be found in Kōṭwāl and Kōṭwār in the Saugor district, where in spite of the officials regarding them as identical, a social distinction is made out The Kōṭwāl is generally of a higher caste than the Kōṭwār and considers himself the proper village watchman, other menial duties being taken as the proper function of the Kōṭwār

<sup>1</sup> *Pratishrūpa Rāsā*, Canto I, page 54 (Nāgari Prachārini Granthamālā series)

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V p. 319 footnote

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX p. 389



112 a

28

30

32

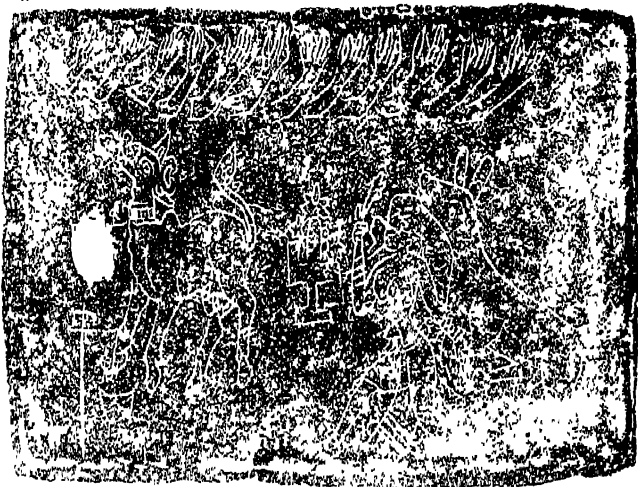
श्रीमद्गौरी तं प्रयावर्त्म्यवेत्तुः उप का ना धाह उा वक्र को  
 सुमदु लम घे सा कि स य क डी सा न सृ नः सु वे स नी ना ग  
 रु चि क न ण सा वि श्रा लि सि न का य यु स त्त क नः ३३ ति  
 न म ५५ ३ ३ म उ क न ज क ल द र बो त त न र न दे न पा म  
 ग मि न श ३ ३ आ दा न म म ण यी वी श्व द श्रो य म त न नो प ह  
 ति ॥

28

30

32

112 b



and the Gôdâvarî. He apparently crossed the latter and raided the country of Chakrakôta and then wended his way homewards. This occurred just a few years after the present grant was made (1065 A D), in as much as Vikrama became king in 1076 A D. Many a southern king<sup>1</sup> likewise raided this somewhat weak power, which must accordingly have been situated near to their kingdoms. Therefore Chakrakôta was not near Dhâra, as some scholars have supposed, but was contiguous to Vēngî, being situated in the present Bastar state. I think the confusion with Dhâra is due to the fact that Chakrakôtya had a king named Dhâravarsha (which has been apparently wrongly interpreted to mean 'king of Dhâra'<sup>2</sup>). In an unpublished inscription found at Kuruspâl, a place close to Râjapura, there occurs *Chakrakûtîdihîsvaranâm kulam-alam karishnuh . . . samabhavad Dhâravarshanâmô narêsvarah*. The Nârâyanapâla inscription also mentions Dhâravarsha, whose widow Gunda-mahâdêvî gave away the Nârâyanapura village in her grandson's reign in the year 1111 A D<sup>3</sup>. The name Chakrakôtya probably survives in the present Chitrakûta or Chitrakôta, 8 miles from Râjapura. *Bhramarakôtya* was possibly an alternative name of Chakrakôtya, which seems to survive in Ghumara, a name given to the fall of the Indrâvatî at Chitrakôta.

## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 Ôm<sup>4</sup> svasti [\*] Sahasra phanâmani-kirana-nikar-âvabhâsura-<sup>5</sup>Nâgavams-o-  
2 dbhava-Bhôgâvati-pura-vai-êsvara<sup>6</sup> visada-jaya-patu-pataha-gâm-  
3 bhâ(bhî)rya-dhvanî-lamkârta<sup>7</sup>. (I)daśa-dis-âmtarârdhanu<sup>8</sup>. (II)vyôghna-lâm-  
4 ohhana-(I)Chhîmdaka-kula-talaka-kamala-bhâskara (II) mahâ-mahô-  
5 svara(svara)-chaana-kamala-sêvi-kumjalka-pumja-pi[\*]janta-bhra-  
6 marâyamâna(na) (II) surapati-vimrpta-dumdubhi-tûrya-rav-o[\*]trâ-  
7 sit-âri-chakra chirâ lavdha-jôyêta<sup>9</sup> (I) êrâvat-ôpari-lavdha-lamva<sup>10</sup>.  
8 kamvala-kadalâ(hi)-dhvaja<sup>11</sup> samkh-aka-savd-âbhînamdita | svasti nrî-<sup>12</sup>  
9 pa kâl-âtita-sa[\*]vat 987 nava sata-satâsi-sapta-<sup>13</sup>

## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varshasa<sup>14</sup> parâbhava-samvatum-abhyamtarah-kârtika-mâsa-sukla-pakshê<sup>15</sup> vudha-  
11 dinê nakvatra anurâvê<sup>16</sup> saubhâgya-jôgê<sup>17</sup> | karana gajê<sup>18</sup> | sarvê<sup>19</sup> mahû-

<sup>1</sup> The first raid so far as is known appears to have been made by Vijayaditya III of the Eastern Chalukya line, who ruled between 844 and 888 A D. He burnt Chakrakôta (above, Vol IV p 226). Then the Chôla Râjendra Chôla I (A D 1011-33) took Sakka-kôttam (*South Ind Inscr* Vol II p 108), while one of his successors, king Virarajendra I, claims to have crossed the Gôdâvarî, passed through Kalinga, and advanced against Chakrakôta (*ibid* Vol III p 70). Next the Chôla Ling Kulôttunga, while yet a youth, won his first laurels in battle by storming Chakrakôta. This happened prior to 1070 A D and is mentioned in the Tamil poem *Kalingattu Parani* (X 24), and also in inscriptions (see e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 286). Vikrama was probably the fifth ruler, the sixth being Vishnuvardhana Hoysala in the 12th century (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 396).

<sup>2</sup> I would therefore, instead of 'Râjaktarvarman (i.e. Kulôttunga Chôla I) conquered the king of Dhârâ at Chakrakôta' read 'Râjaktarvarman conquered king Dhârâ(varsha) at Chakrakôta' (see Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No 756).

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 161

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Read *-amê ôdbhava*

<sup>6</sup> Read *êsvara visada-*

<sup>7</sup> Read *famkârta*

<sup>8</sup> Read *-dis âmtarârdô dhanur-*

<sup>9</sup> Read *labâha jay-ôpêta*

<sup>10</sup> Read *arvâvat ôpari labâha-lambâ kamala*

<sup>11</sup> Read *famkê aika sabd-*

<sup>12</sup> Read *saka-nrî*

<sup>13</sup> Read *-sata-sapt dêtî*

<sup>14</sup> Read *varshasya*

<sup>15</sup> Read *samvat-ar-âbhyamtarâ kârtika mâsa sukla-pakshê ôvâha-*

<sup>16</sup> Read *anurâdhâ-nakshatrain*

<sup>17</sup> Read *sarva muhûrttêshu.*

<sup>18</sup> Read *gôgê.*

<sup>19</sup> Read *gârâ-karanê*



- 12 tram śrī-Madhurāmtakadēva || kumara<sup>1</sup> Kanharadēvaḥ rājñī Nāgala-mahā-  
 13 dēvi | kumara<sup>2</sup> Nāikah nāyaka Sūdrakah<sup>3</sup> kumāra Tumgarājah srē-<sup>4</sup>  
 14 śhthi Pulitama || ēkāmata<sup>5</sup> -bhūtva pātra 12 mēdīpōta hastē dravyam  
 15 grhītam suvarna-gadyāśnaka 70 Bhramarakōtya-mandala-madhya  
 16 Rājapura-grāmam pāda prakshāla[y\*]itvā hastē dhārām pradatā(ttam) ||  
 ā-chandra-  
 17 tārika-prabhṛiti siva-nirmālyam<sup>6</sup> vaditam kāla-kāl-āntarē grihñā-<sup>7</sup>  
 18 mañ vadāt || Vānārasyaṁ sahasra-linga bhagnē | sahasra-tatāga<sup>8</sup> bhagnē

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 19 sahasra vrāhmaṇa<sup>9</sup> | gō sahasra-ghātam kritvā | tasyasyōpi<sup>10</sup> phalam bhavāti ||  
 sva-  
 20 da[t\*]t[ā\*]m paradat[tā\*]m vā jō(yō) harēd(rēta) vasumdhārām [t\*] shashtur<sup>11</sup>.  
 varshaha-sahasraṇi  
 21 viśthāyām jāyate krimi[h\*] || sāmānyō=yam dharmā-sētum(tur)=nripānām  
 kālō kā-  
 22 lē (yō) pālanīyam(-yō) bhavadbhīh [t\*] sarvān=yōpētam<sup>12</sup> bhāginah  
 pārthavēndro bhū-  
 23 yō yāchatē Rāmachandrah [t\*] Ākās-ōtpati<sup>13</sup> nidhi gaja da[t\*]tam iti  
 grāmya  
 24 vāhyam rāja-dravyam || <sup>14</sup>jāva chadras=cha sūrjas=cha jāva tishthati mēdini ||  
 (i) jāva-  
 25 tu Bhramakōtya rājavama tāvatu || ohhūrī-kāra mēdīpōtasya putra-  
 26 pantre sāsanam<sup>15</sup> pālanīyam || grāma-mēdhya<sup>16</sup> ohhūrī-pravadham<sup>17</sup> kō=pi na  
 pravi-  
 27 sat<sup>18</sup> || kulāyani<sup>19</sup>-jōgini-ābhāryasya(h) sthālam n=āsti || ētad=arthē

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 28 grāmam grhītam dayā-dharma-sarva jantu-()upakār-ārtha-hētum || Chakrakō  
 29 tyā-mandala-madhya sākshī nāyaka śrī-Dhārēsvarah(śvaraḥ) Mudhasēli Nāga-  
 30 hasti | karana Dārā | Likhitam kāyastha-Dhānūkēna(h) iti  
 31 lekha[ni] dhritam kumara<sup>20</sup> Tumgarāja Dhāmadēva Gōvardhanah  
 Danārdanah<sup>21</sup> pātra  
 32 Gāgrā sādhu Sāhāranga(-su ?) | Manavridhi<sup>22</sup> svahastō-yam matam=ārōpaya-  
 33 ti ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *kumara*

<sup>2</sup> Read *ku ra Nāyakah*

<sup>3</sup> Read *Sūdrakah*

<sup>4</sup> Read *śrēhthā*

<sup>5</sup> Read *ēkāmata*, cf *īkamatībhidat* m || 29, 30, and 33 of the Siyadoni inscription (above, Vol I p 177)

<sup>6</sup> Read *śiva nirmālyam=uditam*

<sup>7</sup> Read *grhīnam=tmam*

<sup>8</sup> Read *-tatāga*

<sup>9</sup> Read *brāhmaṇa*

<sup>10</sup> Read *tasy-āsy=api*

<sup>11</sup> Read *shashtim varsha sahasraṇi*

<sup>12</sup> Read *sarcān=ēvañ bhāvanah pārthivēndraṇ bhāyō bhē*

<sup>13</sup> Read *ākās-ōtpati*

<sup>14</sup> Read *yāvach=chandraś=cha sūrjas=cha ydvat=tiśhthati mēdanti ydvat=tu Bhramarakōtyō rāja-vaśēd=pi*  
*tāvat*

<sup>15</sup> Read *sāsanam*

<sup>16</sup> Read *-mēdhē*

<sup>17</sup> Read *-pravadham*

<sup>18</sup> Read *sat*

<sup>19</sup> Read *kulāyini-yōgini*

<sup>20</sup> Read *kumara*

<sup>21</sup> Read *Jandāna* In Bastar and the adjoining Ōryā country this name is commonly pronounced *Danārdana*, and I have found a Talsūda of Kālāhandi who actually writes his name so. All these names should properly be in the instrumental

<sup>22</sup> Read *Manavridhī*

## TRANSLATION

Om ! Hail ! (In the reign of the king) born of the race of the Nāga (Cobra), which is resplending with the mass of rays (proceeding from) the jewels in (its) thousand hoods, who is lord of Bhôgāvati, the best of cities, while the space between the ten quarters is resounding with the deep sound from the shill drums (proclaiming his) brilliant victories, whose crest is a bow and a tiger, who is (as it were) the sun to the lotus (-like) crest jewel of the Chhindaka family, who resembles a bee which is rendered yellow by the mass of the pollen served to the lotus feet of the great Mahêsvara, whose circle of enemies is terrified by the sound of the *duṇḍubha* (drum) and *tūya* (musical horn) won from Indra, who is endued with victories gained since a long time, whose banner is the lotus and plantain (leaf) supported on (the back) of Airāvata (white elephant), and who is hailed by the sound of conches only, in the year of the (Śaka) king 987 expired, in the month of Kārttika, during the currency of the Parābhava-samvatsara, in the bright fortnight, on Wednesday, in the Anurādhā lunar mansion, in the Saubhāgya yōga and Gara karana, in all these auspicious moments, the illustrious Madhurāntakadēva, Prince Kanharadēva, Queen Nāgala Mahādēvi, Prince Nāyaka, Nayaka Śūdraka, Prince Tungarāja and Śrêshṭha Pulama, having unanimously agreed, the village Rājapura (situated) in the Bhramarakōṭya mandala is granted, after washing the feet and (accompanied) with pouring streams (of water), (and) 70 *gaḍyānaka* gold are received in the hand of (by) Mēḍipōta, (who is the head) of the twelve *pātras* (persons worthy of receiving gifts) The gift is declared as *Śvanirmālya* (as sacred as a gift offered to Śiva and therefore inviolable), as long as the moon, the stars, etc, endure. If any one from time to time says "I take it," the result for him also (will be the same as in the case of) breaking a thousand *lingas* in Bānāras, breaking a thousand tanks, and killing a thousand Brahmins and a thousand cows

"He who resumes land given by himself or given by another becomes a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years"

"Common is this religious bridge to princes, and it should be guarded by you from age to age Thus does Rāmachandra again and again conjure all future lords of the earth"

The produce from the heavens, deposits (in the earth) and (wild) elephants<sup>1</sup> are given, but other things outside the village are the State property So long as the sun and the moon and the earth and the royal race of Bhramarakōṭya endure, so long (must this charter be observed). This charter is to be respected in the case of Chhurikāra Mēḍipōta's sons and grandsons

Nobody enters the *chhuviprabandha* at the village sacrifice There is no place for the preceptor of the resident (local) *jōgīs* For this purpose this village is taken, for the benefit of all creatures, for the purpose of (showing) kindness and (performing) virtue. In the Chakrakōṭya mandala the witnesses are —Nāyaka Śrī Dhārêsvara, Mudhasêli, Nāgahasti, (and) Karana Dārīā Written by Dhānūka Kāyastha

The pen (engraving stylus) (was) touched by Kumāra Tungarāja, Dhāmadēva, Gōvardhana, Danārdana, Pātra Gāgirā (and) Sāḍhu Sāhāraṅga (Sāhārasu ?) This is in Manavī-dhrī's hand(writing) (which) sets up (expresses) the (general) opinion.

<sup>1</sup> In Blochman's *Asiatic Researches*, Vol I page 122, the following occurs.—

"Elephants are chiefly found in the Subah of Agra, in the forests of Bayāwān and Narwar as far as Berār, in the Subah of Allahābād, in the confines of Pattaḥ and Gheragūt and Ratanpur, Nandanpur, Sargachh and Bastar"

## No 24—SIHAWA STONE INSCRIPTION OF KARNARAJA

## THE ŚAKA YEAR 1114

BY HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR

This inscription is on a slab built into the wall of the Karnésvar, *vulgo* Kanésar, temple at Sihawá, the principal village of the tract of that name in the Dhantari tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It was first noticed in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV p 500, and it is referred to by General Cunningham in his *Reports*, Vol VII p 145. The place does not seem to have been visited by any archæologist. The inscription was brought to notice by the District officials, who thought it sufficient to ascertain the date, and the full contents of the record have hitherto remained unknown. I therefore edit it from an ink impression supplied by Mr Gokul Prasád Ísvardás, Tahsildár of Dhantari, from which a reduced facsimile is reproduced in the accompanying plate.

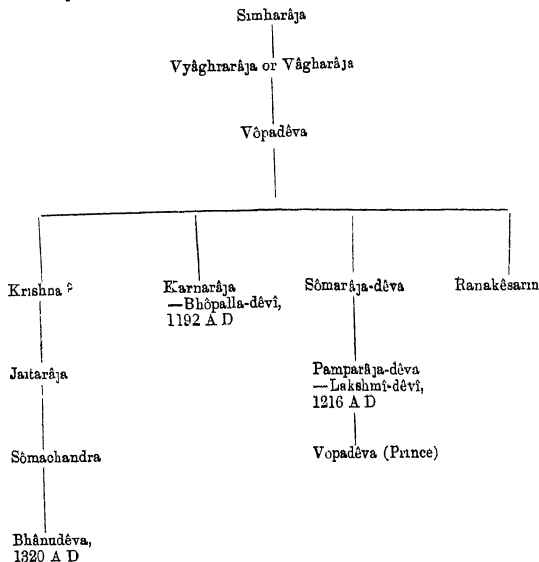
The inscription contains 16 lines covering a space 22" × 13½". The letters are bold and well formed. They are all intact excepting one which is broken off in line 2. Their average size is about 1½". The script is Nágari, and the language is Sanskrit. The whole of the inscription is written in verse, except the invocation in the beginning, *Om namah Śiváya*, and the name of the *sútradhára* at the end. There are altogether 13 verses, 4 in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, 8 *A nushtribhás* and one *Upaját*.

The following are the principal orthographical peculiarities:—*s* is almost invariably used for *ś*. The sign of the *avagraha* is not used at all (see lines 3, 4 and 15). Letters following an *anusvára* changed from a nasal are doubled (lines 2, 10, and 13). Letters with a *répha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not. Instances of doubling may be seen in lines 1 and 15, and of non-doubling in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 11, while lines 8, 9, 10 and 14 afford instances of both. In conjunct letters *ṅ* has been used instead of the proper nasal as in *pañchakam* and *punyatah* in lines 12 and 15. *Śinha* is spelt throughout as *śinḡha*, following the usual vulgar pronunciation, and, finally, in line 1 the vowel *ṛ* is used instead of the *ri*, *tritaya* being written as *tritaya*.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of five temples, two in his parents' name, two in his own, and one in his issueless brother's, by king Karnarāja of Kákara, and of one by his wife, queen Bhópalla-dévi. These were all built at the sacred place Dévahrada. The date of the inscription is given in the last verse as Śaka 1114, without any other details as to the day or month, etc. The inscription was accordingly written in the year A D 1191-92, apparently after the completion of the whole group of temples, and it was put up in one of the king's own temples, in which Śiva was enshrined. The other one of those which he had built for himself was dedicated to Késava, who apparently occupied a secondary place in his estimation. The temple in which the slab is found, is still called Kanésar or Karnésvara, after the king's own name. The writer was the *sútradhára* Súpá, and the composer of the *prastá*: Nṛsimha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of the three-eyed Śiva, and in the second verse the moon, as the progenitor of the dynasty, is praised. Then begins the genealogy of the king, commencing with Sumharāja, whose son was Vágharāja, from whom was born Vópadeva, the father of Karnarāja, who married Bhópalla-dévi, and who, having conquered all the neighbouring

princes, assumed the title of a paramount sovereign. Combining the information from the other two Kākara inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of these Sōmavamśi kings we get the following genealogical tree.—



It would appear that Vōpadēva had four sons, but the probability is that he had only three, the doubtful Krishna of the Kanker *prāsasti* being probably identical with Karṇa of our inscription. Evidently the three brothers were all ruling chiefs, who appear to have divided the state between them and selected their residences in different places, though always keeping in touch with the ancestral capital at Kākara and recognising one amongst themselves as over-lord. Karṇa seems to have had a predilection for a site near the older capital, viz, Sihāwā, and was probably living in Dhanōrā, now in the Bastar State, at a distance of about 28 miles from Sihāwā. In this village my friend Rai Bahādur Pandā Bajnāth, B A, Administrator of the Bastar State, has recently discovered ancient remains, there being about 20 tanks and 25 mounds, one of which he excavated and found in it a huge Śiva *linga* with beautiful carvings. Dhanōrā is enclosed by hills on three sides, and is a likely place selected by a Rāja for his residence. There is a local tradition that a Rāja Karṇa ruled there, although the people of that place do not even now know of the existence of any inscription mentioning his name. Sōmarāja and his son Pamparāja favoured Pādi-pattana, which I cannot identify. It was possibly somewhere towards Dhamtari side. Ranakēsari was issueless, as our inscription informs us, and he was probably wholly dependent on his brother Karṇarāja, as we find the latter building a temple in his name to perpetuate his memory—a thing which he would perhaps have done himself had he been his own master. If he was ruling as a chief subordinate to his brother, we have no information as to

where he had selected his residence. There can be little doubt that all these branches of the Kākara family owed allegiance to some other power, which was very probably represented by the Haihaya kings of South Kōśala, as the use of the Kalachuri era by Pampariyajadēva would indicate. Karnarāja was apparently more ambitious than the rest. He subdued the neighbouring princes, as our inscription relates, and probably set himself up as an independent ruler in the out-of-the-way jungles, that is perhaps the reason why he used the Śaka era in his inscription instead of the Kalachuri era, thus intimating that he did not acknowledge the Haihaya domination, unless it was customary to use the Kalachuri reckoning in official documents involving disposal of property, etc., while the older Śaka era was used for other religious and general purposes.

The earliest date of this line of kings is that which we get from the present inscription, viz., 1192 A.D., and the latest is that of Bhānudēva, 1320 A.D., there being thus a difference of 128 years between Karnarāja and Bhānudēva. Karnarāja stood in the same relationship to Bhānudēva as did the first ancestor Simharāja to Karnarāja. Simha was great-grandfather of Karnarāja, the latter being great-grandfather (or great-granduncle) of Bhānudēva, and if a similar interval is allowed between Simha and Karnarāja, Simha's time would be about 107½ A.D. According to this calculation the generations would be very long-lived, about 42 years each on an average, which is hardly probable, though in sporadic cases there would be nothing extraordinary about it. The present Rāja family, according to its traditions, believes its first ancestor to have come from Orissa about Vikrama Samvat 1150 or 1093 A.D., and this curiously fits in well with the evidence afforded by the inscriptions under consideration. Apparently, then, Simharāja was the first emigrant, and he came about the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth. The Rāja family story<sup>2</sup> as related before (above, page 124) is to the effect that a Puri king, having become a leper, quitted that place and came to Sihāwā, which was merely a dense jungle, where he found a spring of water in which he took a bath which removed his leprosy. He was then installed king of that place, and it is possible that the locality was named after him, being called *Simha + awah = Simhūwah* (the comfort of Simha) which finally was corrupted into Sihāwā. From our inscription it appears that it was also known as *Dēvahrada tīrtha* or the holy lake of the gods, and there was certainly ample reason for calling it so. In fact a large portion of the Sihāwā tract seems to have been regarded as a piece of holy land. Local tradition avers that it was the hermitage of the *rishi* Śringu who is still worshipped there. Five miles from this place is the village Ratāwā where Angurā (Anguras) *rishi* used to live, and Muchukunda had his *āśrama* in the village Mechakā 22 miles from Sihāwā. About 10 miles west of Sihāwā there is Dōvakūta (the hillock of the gods), which also

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps more than a coincidence that a king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntara, who must have held sway in the same neighbourhood, is mentioned as early as the fourth century in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 6 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A variant of the same story is that a Puri king having appointed an illegitimate son of his as his successor, the others took offence and quitted the place. They came over to the wilds of Chhatisgarh and became the leaders of the local tribes, who installed them as their kings. That there is some truth in this story is evident from the fact that the installation of most of these chiefs is considered complete when it is confirmed by a particular tribe, by way of expression of gratitude on the part of the Rāja family. Thus the Kanher family seems indebted to the Haihās, the Kalāhandī family to the Kāndūs, the Rārākol to the Butkā Sūdās, the Bāmā to the Bhuynās, and so on.

<sup>3</sup> Besides the healing power of the spring, which in itself is sufficient to cause the place to become a *tīrtha*, Sihāwā is the source of the Mahānadi or Chitātpālā, of which it is said —

*Suvarnābhāṭā purī punyā punyā Māyārākāśari, Kōśalayām trayāṅg punyāḥ punyā Chitrotpālā nadi*  
Suvarnapurī is the present Sōnpur, capital of the state of the same name, and Māyārākāśari is another name of Narasimhanāth in Buraśambhar Zamindārī of the Sambalpur District. A visit to that place is held to wipe out all sin. *En passant* it may be noted that the apparent mistake of a sculptor in carving out a cat-lion instead of a man lion has metamorphosed the statue of the latter kept in the Narasimhanāth cave, into a new incarnation of the God, to account for which there has been no lack of imagination on the part of the local Brāhmins.

contains ruins of old temples<sup>1</sup> At Sihāwā there are two old temples close together in a pretty fair state of preservation One of them, in which our inscription was found, is dedicated to Mahādēva, and it is certainly identical with one of the two mentioned in line 12 The other is dedicated to Rāmachandra, but the people say that it was also formerly a Śiva temple and that the present statues of Rāma and others in it were brought from the ruined temple (about 300 yards away) near the Amṛita Kund, a bath in which is reputed to have cured the leprosy of the first Kanker king One of these must be the temple dedicated to Kēśava There are three other temples close by, which may possibly be those constructed by Karnarāja in his parents' and brother's name In the village Bhītarrās, which means 'the interior' and which probably formed the interior of the Sihāwā town in its days of glory, there is another old temple containing idols not easily distinguishable but stated by the people to represent Rāmachandra, etc, and this may possibly be the temple which Bhōpalla-dēvi built. It cannot, however, be confidently identified, the probability for such a conjecture being based on another supposition, viz, that Bhōpalla-dēvi was a Vaiṣṇavī, while her lord was a Śaiva It appears that it was in deference to her that Karnarāja dedicated one of his temples to Kēśava. And as one temple erected in her name was thus built on the holy spring, it seems reasonable to suppose that she should have selected a site for another which she built independently, in the interior of the town

## TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं नमः शिवाय ॥ <sup>2</sup>त्प्रातु <sup>3</sup>वस्तुतयमीश्वरलोचनानामग्न्यर्कसोममयमूर्त्ति-  
धर स-
- 2 मन्तात् । <sup>4</sup>यंलोकदुःखदहनप्रतिभासनादि[स्वा]प्यायनानि कृपयातुदिनं करोति ॥१॥  
<sup>5</sup>कन्दर्पवा-
- 3 गणसाणशिलामनोन्नदिक्कामिनीवदनदर्पणमण्डलसोः<sup>6</sup> । देवः ससौ<sup>7</sup> विजय  
तेचि-
- 4 तपः पयोधिसु[क्ताफल] हरसिरोमुकुटैकरत्न<sup>8</sup> ॥२॥ <sup>9</sup>पुरुवरःप्रभृतिभिः नृक्षैर्घो-  
वहधन्वयः । त-
- 5 स्य तस्मिन्नभूद्रूपः <sup>10</sup>[सि]वराजो नृपाग्रणीः ॥३॥ <sup>11</sup>तस्मादजायत महीपतिमौ-  
लिसंघरषेवृष्ट-<sup>12</sup>
- 6 चरणः किल वाधराजः । <sup>13</sup>राजन्यती समभवज्जगती समन्ताद्येन प्रजासपि  
ढतां भजता नृपेण ॥
- 7 ॥४॥ <sup>14</sup>वोपदेवोभवत्तस्मात्सिंघः<sup>15</sup> सिंघादिवापरः । येन विचासिता जग्मु-  
द्विसः<sup>16</sup> सन्नुत्पद्मिपाः ॥५॥

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gokul Prasad visited these temples lately (November 1907) and has sent me a copy of a small description found in one of them, in which I read the name of Śri Vāgharaja. Thus the Devakūta temples appear to be older than those of Sihāwā, having been built in the times of Karnarāja's grandfather

<sup>2</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>3</sup> Read वस्त्रतयसीश्वर

<sup>4</sup> Read यक्षीक

<sup>5</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka Read कन्दर्पवाणगणसाणशिलामनीश

<sup>6</sup> Read श्री.

<sup>7</sup> Read शशी I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda Śāstri, M A, for pointing out that the moon is Atri's son who comes out of the Ocean in the form of his penance

<sup>8</sup> Read शिरो

<sup>9</sup> Metre Anushubh Read भिर्घो वधे न्य

<sup>10</sup> Read सिङ्घ

<sup>11</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka

<sup>12</sup> Read संघसचर्ष

<sup>13</sup> Read राजन्वती

<sup>14</sup> Metre Anushubh

<sup>15</sup> Read सिंघ. सिङ्घ

<sup>16</sup> Read द्विस. यचु

- 8 तत्काङ्क्षभ्रूपतिभङ्गलभङ्गनक्षीः स्त्रीकर्षराजनृपतिर्विदितप्रतापः । १यन्यायवर्त-  
नक्षपाणभ-
- 9 यागवेष्टुं काकैरदेसममल न कलिः समर्थः ॥६॥ १तस्य भोपल्लदेवीति  
महिषी वरवर्षिणी । १वभूवः
- 10 मेने यांक्षीको लक्ष्मीं क्षितिगतामिव ॥७॥ १स्ववाहुवीर्येण विजित्य सर्वान्तु-  
पान्तदेशाधिपतीन्सम-
- 11 न्तात् । सेवाकरोपायनदानसीक्षांश्चकार १ साम्राज्यपदं दधानः ॥८॥ १तीर्थं  
देवङ्गदे तेन कृतं प्रासा-
- 12 दपञ्चकं १ स्त्रीयं तत्र हयं जातं यत्र शकरकेसवी १॥९॥ ११पितृभ्यां प्रददौ  
चान्यत्क्वरयित्वा १२ हयं नृपः ।
- 13 सदनं देवदेवस्य मनोहारि त्रिसूदनः(शूलिनः) ॥१०॥ १३रथकेसरिणे प्रादानृपायैकं १४  
सुरालयं । १५तद्वसञ्चीण-
- 14 तां ज्ञात्वा भ्रातृस्त्रेहिन कर्षराट् ॥११॥ १६भोपल्लदेव्या तत्रैव प्रासादः कारितः  
सुभः १७ । भर्तुः संक्षेपः १८
- 15 मिच्छन्त्या देहतः १९पुन्यतस्तथा ॥१२॥ चतुर्हसीत्तर २० सेयमेकादशे सते  
सके । वर्द्धतां सर्व्वतो नित्यं
- 16 नृसिंघे २१ कतिना कृता ॥१३॥ सूत्रघा[रः\*] स्या

## TRANSLATION.

Om<sup>1</sup> Salutation to Śiva

(Verse 1.) Let that triad of eyes of Śiva, consisting of fire, sun and moon, protect you on all sides—(that triad) which out of kindness burns the miseries of this world (and) illuminates and pleases it daily

(V 2) May the god moon be victorious—(the moon) who is a good whetstone for sharpening the arrows of Cupid, who is (the embodiment of) the splendour on the orb of the mirror (like) faces of the maidens of the (various) quarters of the sky, who is a pearl from the ocean (emanating in the form of) Atri's penance, and (who is) the only jewel on the crest of Śiva's head.

(V 3.) In that (moon's) family which prospered through Purūras and other kings there was a king Simharāja who was the leader of (other) kings

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka Read तस्माद् °श्रीः श्री°

<sup>2</sup> Read °देय°

<sup>4</sup> Metre Anushtubh

<sup>6</sup> Metre Upajāti. Read स्ववाहु°

<sup>6</sup> Metre Anushtubh.

<sup>9</sup> Read पञ्चक

<sup>11</sup> Metre Anushtubh

<sup>12</sup> Read °स्कारयित्वा

<sup>14</sup> Read प्रादानृ°

<sup>15</sup> Read तद्वस°

<sup>17</sup> Read पुम.,

<sup>18</sup> Read सक्षेप°

<sup>19</sup> Metre: Anushtubh Read चतुर्हसीत्तर सेयमेकादशे सते शके

<sup>2</sup> Read यन्माय°

<sup>3</sup> Read वभूव

<sup>7</sup> Read °श्रीक्षा°

<sup>10</sup> Read °केसरिणे.

<sup>13</sup> Metre Anushtubh

<sup>16</sup> Metre Anushtubh

<sup>20</sup> Read पुञ्चक°

<sup>21</sup> Read नृसिंघ°.

(V 4) From him was born Vāgharāja, whose feet were indeed scratched by the friction of diadems (adorning the heads) of (other) kings (prostrating themselves before him) By (this) king, who was devoted to his subjects like a father, the world came to be well-ruled on all sides

(V 5) From this lion as it were was born Vōpadēva, another lion, frightened by whom the elephant like hostile kings went (to retreat) to the (various) cardinal points (of the compass)

(V 6) From him was born the illustrious Karnadēva (who was) the splendour (adorning) the assembly of kings, whose glory was (well) known, and through fear of whose sword in the form of dispensation of justice the Kali (age) was unable to enter the spotless Kākara country.

(V 7) His queen was the beautiful Bhōpalladēvi, whom the people considered as if she were Lakshmi (goddess of wealth) come to this earth

(V 8) Having completely conquered the lords of all the neighbouring countries by the force of his arm and having secured paramount sovereignty (over them), (he) caused them to become devoted to his service, to pay tribute and presents and to become charitable

(V 9) In the holy place Dēvahrada five edifices were built by him Two of them were his own, where Śankara and Kōśava (are enshrined)

(V 10) The king, having caused two other temples of the god of gods, the holder of the trident,<sup>1</sup> to be built bestowed them on (to dedicate them in the name of) his parents.

(V 11) One temple Karnarāja gave to (to dedicate in the name of) king Banākēsarin, through fraternal affection, knowing that his lineage was to become extinct

(V 12) There, an auspicious temple was also caused to be built by Bhōpalla-dēvi, who wished for the union with her husband (both) in body as well as in meritorious acts.

(V 13) This (was done) in the Śaka year eleven hundred increased by fourteen. Let prosperity daily attend Composed by the clever Nṛsimha

The Sūtradhāra (architect) was Sūpā (?)

No 25 —VASANTGADH INSCRIPTION OF VARMAĀLĀTĀ,

[ VIKRAMĀ ] SAMVĀT 682.

By D R. BHANDARKAR, M.A., POONA

Last year a summary of this inscription was published by Prof Kielhorn,<sup>2</sup> with a promise to publish the full text on some future occasion The impressions sent by Pandit Gaurishanka Hirachand Ojha of Udaipur were not sufficiently clear for that purpose. During the touring season ending March 1906, my work chiefly lay in the Sirohi State I was thus able to inspect the original stone in person and take the best possible impressions When the summary was afterwards published on my return to head-quarters, I sent my impressions to Prof Kielhorn. But, as circumstances arose which prevented him from publishing them, the impressions were

<sup>1</sup> In the original the word is *trishānah* which I originally read as *trishādanah*. Dr Konow has suggested the correction adopted in the text

<sup>2</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1906, H 2



to whom the temple was dedicated. The second name is Pratihâra Bôtaka, the first of which words I think signifies the race Bôtaka was thus a Pratihâra, i.e. Pañjâr, and this is the earliest instance of the denomination Pratihâra occurring in an inscription. The third name is *vijayabhînyâ* Âdityabhata, the first part of which is unquestionably an official designation, meaning the foreign secretary.<sup>1</sup>

Prof. Kielhorn thinks that the name of Varmalâta spoken of in our inscription as paramount sovereign settles the date of the poet Mâgha. It would be impossible not to agree with him when he says, that, out of the numerous forms found in the manuscripts of the *Śisupâlavadha*, of the name of the king at whose court Mâgha's grandfather Suprabhadêva is stated to have held the office of prime-minister, the variant Varmalâta is to be selected as the most likely one. But to the identification of this prince with the Varmalâta of our inscription, supposing the date V E 682 to be correct it is possible to raise an objection. As every student who has read the *Śisupâlavadha* knows, Mâgha in his work distinctly alludes to the two grammatical treatises, the *Kîsikivrittî* and its commentary called *Nyâsa*. The former is the joint production of Jayaditya and Vâmana, and, with regard to the former author, the Chinese traveller I-tsing informs us in unmistakable terms that he died about A D 661-662. It should, moreover, be borne in mind that the author of the *Nyâsa* was Jinêndrabuddhi, who like Jayaditya was a follower of the Buddha.<sup>2</sup> And it is inconceivable that I-tsing, one of whose principal objects in coming to India was to collect information about Buddhist authors, could have passed him over in silence, if the latter had flourished before A D. 695 when the Chinese traveller's departure from India took place. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the author of the *Nyâsa* could not have lived before the first half of the 8th century. Mâgha, therefore, has to be assigned to the latter part of the 8th century. This line of argument adduced by Prof. Pathak<sup>3</sup> appears to me to be worth considering. Dr Konow, however, informs me that he does not think it convincing. He says, "the *argumentum ex silentio* is always unsafe, and, even if we admit that Jinêndrabuddhi cannot have written before A D 695, that does not disprove Professor Kielhorn's identification of our Varmalâta with the king whose minister Mâgha's grandfather was. Our inscription may very well date from a time previous to his appointment as minister, and it does not, at any rate, make it impossible to bring Mâgha down to the first twenty years of the 8th century. There is nothing to hinder us from supposing that Jinêndrabuddhi flourished about A D. 700. The alleged reference to his work in the *Śisupâlavadha* would, I think, be more intelligible if we suppose it to have been a new work at the time when Mâgha wrote his poem."

I quite accept Dr Konow's main conclusions. But I agree with Professor Pathak that the *argumentum ex silentio* carries some weight in this particular instance. One of the chief objects I-tsing had in view was to gather all available information about Buddhist authors in India. And, when we consider that he has even mentioned his own contemporaries, it is very unlikely that he should have failed to notice Jinêndrabuddhi, if the latter had actually achieved fame in his time. As pointed out by Dr. Konow, there is, however, nothing to prevent us from considering Mâgha and Jinêndrabuddhi as contemporaries. The mere fact that one author quotes another one, only shows that he knows him, and not necessarily that he belongs to a later time. Mâgha and Jinêndrabuddhi can, therefore, very well both have lived at the beginning of the eighth century, and Professor Kielhorn's identification of the two Varmalâtas remains unaffected by Professor Pathak's argument.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Gujarat in the Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol I Pt I p 82

<sup>2</sup> It might perhaps be doubted whether Jinêndrabuddhi was a Buddhist. But there are no reasonable grounds for the doubt. A Deccan College manuscript (No 38 of 1881-82, leaf 90b) has the following *Iti bhâkṣatvadditya-dohârya-Dvayê (Jinêndrabuddhî) (dâhî)-vraochitâyaṁ Kâkâk-vvarana-pâchikâyaṁ dantya bhidyayaya chatur-thak pādâh*. I am indebted to Prof. Pathak for this reference. See also *Ind. Ant* Vol. VII p 67

<sup>3</sup> *Jour. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol XX, pp 305-6

The place *Vata*, where the feudatory prince Rājula was reigning, is doubtless Vasantgadh itself. This will be seen from the fact that the temple to Kshāmāryā, said in the inscription to have been built by the *gōshihī* of *Vata*, is no other than the temple of Khmel *matā* in Vasantgadh of which the inscription stone originally formed part. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the temples dedicated to the Sun and Bhāhmā mentioned as existing in *Vatapāra* in the inscription of Pūrnapāla dated V E 1099 are still existing at Vasantgadh. A slightly different name for the place, viz. *Vatākara*, occurs in l 9. We have a similar instance of a certain old place called both *Āśāsana* and *Āśāsanākara*. The remains at Vasantgadh have been fully described and the question regarding the name *Vata* and *Vatākara* is fully discussed in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the months July 1905 to March 1906, inclusive pp 49 ff<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 श्री<sup>3</sup> नमः ॥ धातुर्या योगनिद्रा [जलन] — ◡ ◡ [नस्या] कृतिर्विश्व  
योने. <sup>4</sup> कैलासोच्चान्द्विभ्रप्रतिनियतमुदावासिनोर्द्वाङ्घ्रसन्ता [1\*] या
- 2 राक्षिस्वर्बलोके स्मृतिरपि च सतां या श्रुतिर्ब्रह्मगीता सा देवी दुर्गमेषु  
प्रदिशतु जगते मङ्गलानीह दुर्गाः<sup>5</sup> ॥ [१\*] नियतमतिप्रणतिप-
- 3 रखाञ्जी यागे <sup>6</sup> कृयाफलैश्चसक्तत् [1\*] वेमार्या वेमकरी विदधत् शिवानि  
नस्यत<sup>7</sup> ॥ [२\*] जयति जयलक्ष्मलक्षितवक्षस्थलसञ्चितत्रियाधार<sup>8</sup> [1\*] श्री-
- 4 वक्षेलातनृपतिः पतिरवनैरधिकवलवीर्यः ॥ [३\*] केचिन्देशमात्रैरतिविशदपद<sup>9</sup>  
सुद्रया पारगर्था<sup>10</sup> केचिच्चान्ये प्रकाम प्रतिवचनयुतैः [1]
- 5 [र्थ] जापैरजसं [1\*] अन्ये वै मण्डलान्ते कृतवलकुक्षकीर्भूतिदानिन चान्ये  
तेनेत्य सन्नरेन्द्रव्रतमनुचरता शासिता भूमिपालाः<sup>11</sup> ॥ [४\*] तस्याशेषविशि-
- 6 [ष] दोषरहितान्मुष्णाति भक्त्या गुणान् (i) नाम्ना वञ्चभटेति भृत्यपदवी-  
माश्रित्य सत्याश्रयः [1\*] ख्यातः कीर्त्तिमतामलघ्यचरितः<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup> श्रीमातु-  
रप्यर्जुन<sup>14</sup> किञ्च
- 7 [ज्ञा] तगुणः प्रसृष्टिभवतस्सूनीश्च संरक्षणे<sup>15</sup> । (ii) [५\*] तस्य सूनुरधिक प्रियः  
प्रियेः प्रथयादिसकलैर्भ्रंहायुषे<sup>16</sup> [1\*] राज्ञिलोभवदशैषराजकव्यात्मको-

<sup>1</sup> In l 9 of the Vasantgadh inscription of Pūrnapāla, *Vata* is also spoken of as the name of a country. In verse 17 of the *matā kṛtā* inscription found at Ghatyālā (*Jour. E. As. Soc.* 1895, p 518), the expression *Vata nāmnyā mandala* occurs. This is doubtless identical with *Vata Nānaka-mandala*. Here the country or district is not called simply after *Vata* (Vasantgadh) but also after *Nānaka* which evidently is the present N<sup>o</sup> 1, about thirteen miles north-east of it.

<sup>2</sup> From the original stone

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>4</sup> Read कैलासीचाङ्घ्र<sup>0</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Read दुर्गा, metre *śa.ā.ā.ā.ā*

<sup>6</sup> Read क्रिया<sup>0</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Metre *Āryā*, and also of the verse f 11, n 2

<sup>8</sup> Wrong for <sup>0</sup> कृयाधार which would not have suited the metre

<sup>9</sup> Read <sup>0</sup> पदेषुद्रया

<sup>10</sup> Read <sup>0</sup> कृया

<sup>11</sup> Metre *Sragdharā*

<sup>12</sup> Read <sup>0</sup> मलङ्कच्य<sup>0</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The letter *य* is not in the same line with *र* and *ज* but is engraved exactly below betw<sup>n</sup> these two letters and two vertical strokes are added one above and one below between them to draw attention to the omission

<sup>14</sup> Read, probably <sup>0</sup> श<sup>0</sup> instead of <sup>0</sup> श<sup>0</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Metre *Sardūlavikrīḍita*

<sup>16</sup> Read <sup>0</sup> युषे..

- 8 त्तिरमले कुले वृपः<sup>1</sup> [॥\*] [६\*] ब्राह्मणातिथिभृत्यादिकलावस्तु विशेषतः<sup>2</sup> [1\*]  
सौधिक ३द्रविणे ४शश्ववटे ५वैश्वणायते<sup>3</sup> ॥ [७\*] तस्मिन्नाजनि  
देव्याश्चासति राज्यं
- 9 वटाकरखानि[1\*] गोष्ठ्या कारितमेतद्भवनं भुवनस्य चिह्नमिव<sup>4</sup> ॥ [८\*]  
कारापकस्तु स्रुतः पितामहाख्यस्य सत्यदेवाख्यः [1\*] गोष्ठ्या प्रसादपरया  
निरूपितो ज-
- 10 [क]ना स वणिक् ।(॥) [८\*] यावन्मेरोस्तटानि प्रचुरहिमकणोत्तुङ्गशैलाधिपस्य  
स्यन्दि[न्यो] यावदु[च्चा] अपगतक[त्रु]पा — — — — [1\*]  
यावच्चन्द्रार्कभास-
- 11 [सु]तरलजलवे[रु]र्क्षयो यावदुच्चैस्ताव[हे]वालयं [निस्थि]तमिह भवतु ५त्र्यस  
५पौरजानां<sup>5</sup> ॥ [१०\*] द्विरश्रीत्यधिके काले घण्टां वर्षशतोत्तरे [1\*]  
जगन्मातु-
- 12 <sup>10</sup>[रिदं] र[ग]ान स्या[पि]तं [गो]ष्ठिपुङ्गवैः<sup>11</sup> ॥ [११\*] दिवाकरसुतस्येयं  
धूर्तराशेहिजन्मनः<sup>12</sup> [1\*] पूर्वार्तिमृदुभिर्वर्णैः प्रोक्षीष्णा नागमुण्डिना  
[॥] [१२\*] ॥ ❦ ॥
- 13 [गो]ष्ठिकाक्ष<sup>13</sup> [ ] राजिल । बकट । चन्द्रक । प्रतीहारबोटक ।  
राजस्थानीयादित्यभट । जा(?)ब(?)र्ण । मातृदासबङ्गदेव । कुलवर्धन ।  
धनदत्त[ब]सु [ ]
- 14 घुषक । धोन्धकपुत्रसत्यदेव । ककिलक । धनदत्त । गोमिक । हरि-  
गुप्त । [ब]पक । पपोष्ठ । सत्यदेव । रेभिलाक । रतिदास ।  
तरण । — — — — दत्त
- 15 दृढगुर । धनगर । बपाणन्दि । — — — । राजक । भद्रदेव ।  
रुद्रक । दत्तभित्तमालकुय । खिलकु । आर्यदिष्ट । णणु ।  
शायरटनाग — —
- 16 तता । भिलमालकु । सत्तमदेव । बङ्गदास — — । श्रीमातागणिका  
वृटानाञ्चो ॥ \* ॥ एवमेषां गोष्ठिकाराणां <sup>14</sup>ना-
- 17 . . . . . <sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre Bathôddhatâ.<sup>2</sup> Read विप्रेषतः.<sup>3</sup> Read इविणे.<sup>4</sup> Read शश्वटे.<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anashubh)<sup>6</sup> Metre Āryā, and also of the verse following.<sup>7</sup> The letter य is engraved below the line.<sup>8</sup> The word *paṃcra* is curious, but it probably means "descendants of the citizens (of Vata)"<sup>9</sup> Metre Sragidhā.<sup>10</sup> The *aksharas* °रिदं are very indistinct.<sup>11</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anashubh)<sup>12</sup> Read °राशेऽि.<sup>13</sup> Read गोष्ठिका क्ष<sup>14</sup> Read नामानि.<sup>15</sup> About five letters have been incised in cursive form, but I am unable to read them.

NO. 26. — DAULATABAD PLATES OF THE RĀSHTRAKUTA SANKARĀGANA,  
SAKA-SAMVAT 715

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA

These plates were in the possession of a Tongawalla, named Bhanu Devram Bhat, a Brahmin-kshatri by caste, and residing at Daulatābād, in the Nizam's territory. They seem to have been preserved as heirloom in his family, and, according to the account given by him, it appears that they were given to his great-grandfather as a *sanād*. The plates were obtained on loan by me from the owner through Maulvi Syed Mohammad Bilgrami, First Tālukdār, Auangābād district, who was kind enough to accede to my request promptly.

There are three plates, each of which measures about  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long by about 5" broad. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, and the remaining ones on both sides. The edges of the inner sides of them are fashioned slightly thicker so as to protect the writing, and the inscription is, on the whole, in a state of almost perfect preservation. The plates are strung on a circular ring, the ends of which are joined together by means of a knob bearing a roughly round seal, containing, in relief on a countersunk surface, a representation of Garuḍa, squatting and facing full-front, his hands are joined, palm to palm, on the chest, and are turned upwards, his legs rest one upon the other, and two projections at the sides denote his wings.

The characters of the original inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets prevailing in the 8th century. With regard to the forms of individual letters, attention may be drawn to *ā*, *e*, *g* in *Āsi*<sup>o</sup>, l 2, to *n*, which looks almost exactly like *m*, *e*, *g* in *°pūlma*<sup>o</sup>, l 12, to *ngā* in *bhanga*, l 14, to *nka* in *Sri-Sankaraganarāja*, l 27, to *rya* in *vīryā*, l 20, and to *ācha* in *°pañchabhā*<sup>o</sup>, l 35. The alphabet also includes signs for the numerals 7, 1, and 5 in line 41. The last sign is almost exactly like that for 5 given in the Sāmāngadh grant of Dantidurga, where the date is also expressed in words. No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained as to the correct reading of the date of our inscription. The language is Sanskrit. Up to almost the close of line 24 the inscription is in verse, and two benedictive and imprecatory verses occur in lines 38-40, the rest is in prose. The number of verses at the beginning is 12. Of these, verses 1-9 also occur in other early Rāshtrakūta records. The remaining three verses are peculiar to this inscription, and are historically important. The whole of line 31 after the word *vra(bra)hmachārī* and a part of the line following have unquestionably been tampered with. They contained names of the donee and the village granted, which have been cancelled and replaced by new ones by heating the plates and beating in the letters originally engraved. The boundaries of this new village are specified after about the middle of line 42, where the original inscription really ends, down to line 55. The letters of these lines are as carelessly written and are of exactly the same type as those incised in lines 31-32 just referred to. Lines 42-55 are thus a continuation of the forgery commenced in lines 31-32. In respect of orthography, the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, there is an indifference about the doubling of consonants after *r*, the *visarga* is often wrongly omitted, the vowel *ri* is employed instead of *ri* in *dhāpas=trivishāpa*, l 5, *Kanakāddra=va=Īndrarājah*, l 8, and *pry-ā[tmā]jyah*, l 24, the letter *qh* is employed instead of *h* once in *rāja-singhah*, l 4, and an *anuvādra* in conjunction with a following *n* is changed to that letter once in *dhvasi=vn=naya*<sup>o</sup>, l 2.

The inscription records a grant by Samarāvalōka śri-Sankaraganarāja of the Rāshtrakūta family. In the introductory metrical portion, his genealogy is given, beginning with Gōvindarāja I. The genealogy set forth as far as Kṛishnarāja I is in verses 1-9 which, as already said, are to be met with in many other grants of this dynasty, and which consequently teach us nothing new. It then describes Gōvinda II in the following words in verse 10, occupying ll. 19-21 and bearing a double entendre: "His son was king Gōvindarāja who was like Hari (Kṛishṇa) inasmuch as both were fond of battles, inasmuch as the former was celebrated for

having snatched away the glory of Śrī-Pārijāta just as the latter was for having carried off its greatness of the auspicious *pārijāta* (tree), and inasmuch as the prowess of his arms was shown by the former by supporting Gōvardhana just as it was shown by the latter by uplifing the Gōvardhana (mountain) " The mythological sense is clear enough, and, besides, the verse seems to show that Gōvinda II defeated a king of the name of Pārijāta, and made alliance with, and espoused the cause of, another prince called Gōvardhana.<sup>1</sup> The names Pārijāta and Gōvardhana are new, and have not so far been met with in epigraphic records. Then follows a verse (11) which is as important as it is unfortunately corrupt. But if the emendations proposed by me are accepted, the following appears to be its sense: " His younger brother was Nirupama, who, perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even deprived of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the elders, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family." What the verse means is that Gōvinda II was a self-conceited ruler and resorted to bad policy, which resulted in the regal authority being held by a person who had no respect for the Rāshtrakūta sovereigns that preceded him, and consequently created disaffection amongst his feudatory chieftains, who deserted him, and that Dhruva-Nirupama fearing that the sovereignty would pass away to another dynasty, was compelled to take the reins of the government into his hands and thus rule over his brother's dominions. The Dēōli and Karhād grants of Krishna III, however, give a slightly different account. They record that " sensual pleasures made Gōvinda-rāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose." The discrepancy in the two accounts is with regard to whether Dhruva-Nirupama was actually entrusted by Gōvinda II with the management of the kingdom, the Dēōli and Karhād grants saying that it was so, but our inscription implying that it was not so, as it was left to the care of one who was anything but attached to the Rāshtrakūta family.<sup>2</sup> But the facts, the actual occurrences, mentioned in our charter, which is the earlier of the two and consequently more reliable, could not have been distorted, though the motives might have been coloured and differently expressed, and hence what most probably happened was that Gōvinda II gave himself up to sensual pleasures and allowed the government of his kingdom to slip into the hands of a person other than Dhruva, and not of Dhruva himself, as the Dēōli and Karhād grants claim, and whether it was to remove the danger thereby caused to the stability of the Rāshtrakūta supremacy, as the motive is stated in our inscription, or, what is more likely, his mind lusted after sovereignty, for securing which a splendid opportunity had presented itself when Gōvinda II gave himself up to vicious courses, Dhruva-Nirupama was successful in making himself ruler of his brother's dominions.

Verse 12 informs us that the paternal uncle of (Dhruva-)Nirupama was Śrī-Nanna, brother of Śrī-Krishnarāja and son of Śrī-Kakkarāja. Then follows the preamble of the prose passage which usually precedes the formal part of a copper-plate inscription, and therein the

<sup>1</sup> I have taken the word *uddharana* in the sense of "uplifting, upholding," but it also signifies "eradication, extermination." In that case it would mean that Gōvinda II slew a prince of the name of Gōvardhana. Or if Gōvardhana is here supposed to denote a province, it would mean that he devastated the province of Gōvardhana. A province and a place of that name have been mentioned in the Nāsik cave inscriptions, and have also been spoken of in the Purānas. But whether the name was extant so late as the 8th century is doubtful. A similar play upon the word *Gōvardhana* occurs in the Bagurā grants of Indrarāja III (above, Vol. IX pp. 82 and 86).

<sup>2</sup> This discrepancy may perhaps be removed by putting a different interpretation on the words *guru-bhakti-mato-nyasametham*. It might be said that the person who had no respect for the elders, *śe* the Rāshtrakūta viceroy who were dead, and in whose hands the sovereignty lay, was no other than Gōvinda II himself. It might be argued that the management of the kingdom had actually been entrusted to Dhruva by him on account of his sensual courses, as the Dēōli and Karhād plates claim, and that the motive put forth by Dhruva and his party in ousting Gōvinda II and completely severing his connection with the Rāshtrakūta kingdom was that he had shown himself unworthy of his elders, *śe* the sovereigns who preceded him, by abandoning himself to sensual pleasures and not himself carrying on the administration of his kingdom. In my opinion, this interpretation would be far-fetched and fantastic.

name of the grantor Samarāvaloka-Śri-Śankaragana-rāja is specified and he is mentioned as son of Śri-Nanna just referred to. It is worthy of note that no titles have been coupled with his name. He was thus not even a feudatory chieftain. It is, therefore, no wonder that he is spoken of as issuing the charter with the express consent of Śri-Kalivallabha Narendradēva. The latter was doubtless an epithet of (Dhruva-)Nirupama, who was then the paramount sovereign and whose cousin Śankaragana was. The proper object of the inscription is stated in ll 28-33, but, as said above, the names of the original donee and the village granted to him which were engraved in ll 31-32, have been erased, and new ones incised in characters which, though old, are not quite legible. The only particular which has survived of the original grantee is that he had emigrated from Tenvi, and the expression *tai-pāda-pāpātīnam gnu-dukshant*, which occurs in l 33, shows that he was the preceptor of Śankaragana. Lines 34-36 contain a request to future rulers to respect the donation, and threaten with spiritual punishment those who might rescind it. Lines 37-40 quote two of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And the original inscription then concludes thus: "And this charter was written by Chandayika by order of the supreme ruler, when 715 years had elapsed in accordance with the era of the Śaka Kings." The supreme ruler here alluded to is (Druva-)Nuupama, and the Śaka year 715 must consequently refer to his reign. The earliest record—the Paurāṇ grant—of his son and successor Govinda III is dated in Śaka 716. It is thus plain that (Dhruva-)Nuupama could not have lived long after Śaka 715 when our grant was made.

After this commences the second part of the forged record. It has been mentioned above that the names of the grantee and the village granted engraved in the original inscription in lines 31-32 have been erased, and new ones substituted for them by beating in the previous letters. The name of the new grantee cannot be made out, but his *gōtra* specified is Bhāad-vāja. Secondly, the name of the new village incised appears to be something like Sāmira. And it is the boundaries of this village that are now specified in lines 42-58 after the completion of the old genuine inscription. The names are written so carelessly and the composition is so full of grammatical inaccuracies that it is not possible to be here definite about anything. In line 52 is given the expression *vala(lla)ḥha-narindra* which is an epithet generally borne by the Rāshtrakūta rulers. The connection of this expression, however, with what precedes and follows is not clear. The forged document ends with *Śri-Bhatah(ā)ka matah* || 800. The name *Bhatahka* reminds one of the inscriptions of the Valabhi princes, and if the numerals taken for 800 are correctly read and represent a date, as is highly probable, it must be referred to the Valabhi era, and it thus becomes equivalent to A D 1119 which may be taken to be the date of the fabrication of the forged record. Our copper-plate charter, as has been said at the outset, was in the possession of a person from Daulatabad, a Brahmkshatriya by caste, and has been preserved in his family as heirloom. As Brahmkshatriyas in the Dekkan are known originally to have come from Kāthiāwār, it is not unlikely that somebody in his family, after securing these plates tampered with them in order to use them as documentary evidence to strengthen his otherwise disputable claim to the village therein mentioned, and it is but natural that he should engrave the name Bhatārka after the manner of the Valabhi plates which he must have either seen himself in Kāthiāwār or known about from his forefathers.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

First Plate.

1 श्री<sup>३</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] स वोव्याहेशी<sup>३</sup> धाम यन्नाभिकमल क्तं [।\*] हरश्च  
यस्य कान्तिन्दु-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Read ०६५५

- 2 कलया कमलकृतं ॥ [१\*] <sup>1</sup>आसीद्वृत्तिमिरसुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तित्रयं<sup>2</sup>  
 3 ऋभिसुखो रणशर्वरीषु [१\*] भूपः शुचिः ष्ट्युरिवाप्तदिगन्तकीर्त्तिं <sup>3</sup>गोविन्द-  
 4 राज इति राजसु राजसिंघः<sup>4</sup> ।(॥) [२\*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विन्धुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिं  
 5 रार्त्तार्त्तिं हारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । <sup>5</sup>भूपस्तुविष्टपट्टपातुकृतिः  
 6 कृतज्ञः श्रीकन्नराज इति गोचमणिसर्वभूव<sup>6</sup> । (॥) [३\*] तस्य प्रभिन्न-  
 7 करटच्युतदानदन्तिर्दतिप्रहारविषमोक्षिखितांसुपीठः<sup>7</sup> ।  
 8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सद्राद्रुकूटकनकादृरिवेन्द्र-<sup>8</sup>  
 9 राजः ।(॥) [४\*] तस्योपार्जिततपसस्तनयस्रतुरुदधिवलयमालिन्या<sup>9</sup> ।  
 10 भोक्ता सुवि<sup>10</sup> शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजोभूत् ।(॥) [५\*] आसीतोव्विपुलो-<sup>11</sup>  
 11 पलावलिजललोभोभिवैलाजलादाप्राणियकलांकितोमल-<sup>12</sup>  
 12 शिलाजालानुषाराचलात् । आपूर्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रान्त-

*Second Plate, First Side.*

- 13 <sup>13</sup>प्रसिद्धावधिर्धेनेयं जगती <sup>14</sup>स्वविक्रमवलेनैकातपचीकृता ।(॥) [६\*] षभूवि-  
 14 भङ्गमगृहीतनिशातशङ्खमज्ञातमप्रतिहृताज्ञमपेतयज्ञं [१\*] यो व-  
 15 क्षमं सपदि दण्डवलेन<sup>15</sup> जिला राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ।(॥) [७\*]  
 काञ्ची-  
 16 <sup>16</sup>सकेरलनराधिपचोलपाण्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं [१\*] कपर्णाटकं  
 17 <sup>17</sup>वलमचिन्धमजोयमथैः भृल्यै<sup>18</sup> कियङ्गिरपि यः सहसा विजिग्ये ।(॥) [८\*]  
 तस्मि<sup>19</sup> दि-  
 18 व प्रयाते वल्लभराजे कृतप्रजापालः [१\*] श्रीकन्नराजस्तुर्महो-  
 19 पति<sup>20</sup> कन्नराज[े]भूत् ॥ [९\*] त[स्त्रु]नुराह्वरुचिः प्रथितो वभूव<sup>21</sup> श्रीपा-  
 20 रिजातविभवाह्र[ण]प्रतीत<sup>22</sup> [१\*] गोवर्धनोद्वरणलक्षितवाडुवीर्यो<sup>23</sup>  
 21 गोविन्दराजतृपति <sup>24</sup>हरिणा समानः ।(॥) [१०\*] तस्यानुजो निरुपमस-  
 सुदीर्घर्षमी-

<sup>1</sup> Read °आसीद्वृत्तिप°

<sup>2</sup> Read °त्रय°

<sup>3</sup> Read °कीर्त्तिनी°

<sup>4</sup> Read °सिंहः°

<sup>5</sup> Read °भूपविष्टपट्ट°

<sup>6</sup> Read °वलेभूव°

<sup>7</sup> Read °दन्तिदन्त° and °क्षिखितांस°

<sup>8</sup> Read °कनकाद्रि°

<sup>9</sup> Read °मालिन्याः°

<sup>10</sup> Read °सुवः°

<sup>11</sup> Read °सेतीर्त्ति°

<sup>12</sup> Read °कलखितामल°

<sup>13</sup> Read °प्रसिद्धावधे°

<sup>14</sup> Read °वले°

<sup>15</sup> Read °वलेन°

<sup>16</sup> Read °काञ्ची°; the letter ख in °केरलनराधिप° was first inadvertently omitted, but was afterwards engraved below between र and म, and the omission indicated by a horizontal stroke above

<sup>17</sup> Read °वले° and °मजैय°

<sup>18</sup> Read °भृल्यैर्भृल्यैः°

<sup>19</sup> Read °तस्मिन्°

<sup>20</sup> Read °पतिः°

<sup>21</sup> Read °वभूव°

<sup>22</sup> Read °प्रतीत°

<sup>23</sup> Read °वाडु°

<sup>24</sup> Read °भूपतिहरिणा°

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 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
 ...कृत्याकृतं ...  
 ...द्विभुक्तं ...  
 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
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 ...द्विभुक्तं ...  
 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
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 ...द्विभुक्तं ...  
 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
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 ...द्विभुक्तं ...  
 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
 ...कृत्याकृतं ...  
 ...द्विभुक्तं ...  
 ...सिद्धयुक्तं ...  
 ...कृत्याकृतं ...  
 ...द्विभुक्तं ...

STEN KO JOW

SCALE 0 9

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- 22 च<sup>1</sup> त्यक्तं नृपैरपि नयेन विलुप्यमानं । र[1\*]ज्यं चभार<sup>2</sup> गुरुभक्ति-  
तोन्वसंख्यं<sup>3</sup>
- 23 मा भूक्लिप्तान्वयपरिच्युतिरत्र लक्ष्माः<sup>4</sup> [11\*] [११\*] पितृव्यस्तस्य<sup>5</sup> गुणवा  
श्रीनक्ष इति
- 24 विच्युतः [1\*] श्रीकृष्णराजभाता हि श्रीकृष्णराजपुत्रजः<sup>6</sup> [11\*] [१२\*] तच्युतः

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 25 प्रकटपराक्रमाक्रान्तदिक्चक्रो 'पात्तानुरागः परच्छिद्रापवादरद्व<sup>7</sup>
- 26 स्वेष्वन्वमूकवधिर<sup>8</sup> विरुद्धकामसेवी विमलागाधसलिल<sup>10</sup> कान्तारभू-
- 27 मौ जलाशय इव प्रणयिनां<sup>11</sup> नृदृष्टीता समरावलोकश्रीशङ्करगणराजः
- 28 श्रीकलिवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवानुमंत्या<sup>12</sup> सर्वानेवागामिनृपतिग्रामकूट-
- 29<sup>13</sup> भृहत्तराधिकारिदीप्समनुवोधयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथास्माभि-
- 30 र्मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चानल्पपुन्यश्रीभिद्वेष्य<sup>14</sup> (i) तेन्वीविनि-
- 31<sup>15</sup> र्गतत्रन्नक्षचारी भारद्वाजगोत्राय वासुदे — — — नेयप-
- 32 ण्डि — — — भुक्त्या सामिराभिधानग्रामः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिसर्व-
- 33 देयप्रह्नीणश्चतुराघाटविशुद्धस्तत्पादपूजार्थं<sup>16</sup> गुरुदक्षिणा दत्ता ।
- 34 यतोऽस्मद्वंशैरन्यैर्वा पालनीयो रक्षणीयश्च । यो वापन्नानतिमि-
- 35 राहतमतिः<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> आच्छिद्यादाच्छिद्यमानं चानुमोदेतः<sup>19</sup> स पञ्चभिर्म[ह]-
- 36<sup>20</sup> पातकै चोपपातकैः संयुक्तं<sup>21</sup> स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्या-
- 37 सेन ।

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 38 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदेति<sup>22</sup> भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
- 39 तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥ [१३\*] विन्ध्याटवीश्वतोयां<sup>23</sup> शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> इय्य seems to have been intended, but is, of course, an ungrammatical form

<sup>2</sup> Read चभार, व and not च must have been in the original draft, and, being similar in formation, च was engraved instead of व

<sup>3</sup> Read 'भक्तिमती'

<sup>4</sup> Read लक्ष्या

<sup>5</sup> Read गुणवाच्यी'

<sup>6</sup> Read 'मिथारमज', रज is omitted in the text The श्री<sup>o</sup> of श्रीकृष्ण<sup>o</sup> or, what is more probable, the हि preceding t, is superfluous

<sup>7</sup> Read दिव्यकृत्त and पात्तानुराग.

<sup>8</sup> णि was first incised, and then it was corrected into च by erasure

<sup>9</sup> Read 'क्षिरी

<sup>10</sup> Read 'सलिल'

<sup>11</sup> Read नृदृष्टाता.

<sup>12</sup> Read 'देवानुमत्या

<sup>13</sup> Read 'कार्यादीप्समनुवोध'

<sup>14</sup> Read 'पुण्य'

<sup>15</sup> Read 'त्रन्नक्षचारी', all letters of l 31 after 'त्रन्नक्षचारी' and the first eight letters of the line following are forged ones, put in after effacing the original letters of the charter, which must have contained the name of the grantee and of the village granted.

<sup>16</sup> Read 'पूजार्थ'

<sup>17</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *sandhi* have not been followed

<sup>18</sup> Read

<sup>19</sup> Read 'मोदेत.

<sup>20</sup> Read 'पातकैचोप'.

<sup>21</sup> Read

<sup>22</sup> This ought to be मोदेते according to the rules of grammar; but this will not suit

<sup>23</sup> Read 'तोयां'

- 40 कथाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥(॥) [१४\*] लिखित  
चैतव्यासन<sup>1</sup>
- 41 शकटपकाक्षातीतसवत्सरग्रतेषु ७१५ परमेश्वराज्ञया पर-
- 42 मेश्वराज्ञया<sup>2</sup> चन्दयिकेन ॥ <sup>3</sup>पुनरपि <sup>4</sup>सिम [1\*] पुर्वत[2\*] चिच-
- 43 ग्राम [द<sup>3</sup>क्षिणत निवग्रामः पश्चिमतः दधि[वाह]-
- 44 ल ॥ उत्तरत<sup>4</sup> पडलावदपटन एव चतु[र]— —<sup>7</sup>
- 45 सिम<sup>5</sup> पुर्वत<sup>6</sup> टक । खेतसिमा<sup>10</sup> पुर्वदरिदरिगहो (?) [पुनः]
- 46 टोणस्य टोणस्य मस्तके शिलतल । तोयनरज । नि-
- 47 वृतटाकं [1\*] दक्षिणतः जवुग्र(?)हरकः [1] दक्षिणतः<sup>11</sup> नीवग्राम
- 48 सती (?)ताविह—रेलाद्रिसंवकः हस्तिनिकगोग्रहदरीद-
- 49 धिवाहलतटा[क] सिलाहयं सिवकपलासचिचाव-
- 50 दरितटाक ॥ उत्तरतः<sup>12</sup> खाटके हटो क — —

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 51 यु[न]म(?)णिः । पुर्वदरीर(?)[ल]—घससिमापर्यत<sup>13</sup>व-
- 52 ली—[निव]ह । वलभनरेद्रेण हिरमाल—गांडुड-
- 53 क उत्तरतः<sup>14</sup> देसिलस्यद्र ॥ ग्रामे भूमी ॥ इयञ्चोना-
- 54 चरमधिकालरं वा सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
- 55 <sup>15</sup>त्रीभटःकंसतः ॥ ८००

No 27.—BUCHKALA INSCRIPTION OF NAGABHATTA,  
SAMVAT 872

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA

This inscription was first discovered by a *Brahmahatta* of Jôdhpur named Nannurâma whose zeal for antiquarian matters is as unflagging as it is disinterested. It was found at Buchkalâ in the Bilâdâ district, Jôdhpur State. It is incised on a pilaster on the proper right forming part of the shrine wall jutting out into the *sadhâmanâpa* of what is popularly known there as the temple of Pârvatî. The inscription contains twenty lines of, on the whole, well-

<sup>1</sup> Read चैतव्यासन

<sup>2</sup> This word is repeated unnecessarily.

<sup>3</sup> The original inscription ends at चन्दयिकेन, and after that begins again the forged part which goes on till 1 55 at the close. It is engraved so carelessly that I am by no means certain of my reading of it. It is, moreover, so full of grammatical inaccuracies, which, in many cases, are due to local pronunciation, that it is not desirable to correct them all.

<sup>4</sup> Read सीमा

<sup>5</sup> Read पुर्वत

<sup>6</sup> Read उत्तरत.

<sup>7</sup> Probably चतुराघाट<sup>0</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Read सीमा.

<sup>9</sup> Read पुर्वत

<sup>10</sup> Read सीमा.

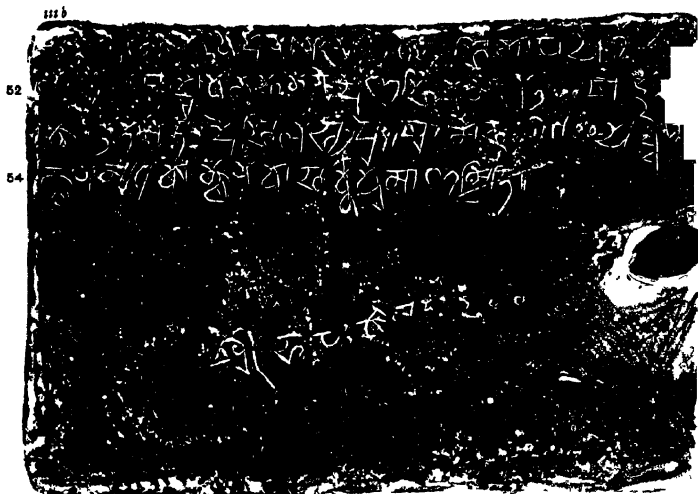
<sup>11</sup> This दक्षिणत is probably a mistake for पश्चिमत.

<sup>12</sup> Read उत्तरत.

<sup>13</sup> The reading पुर्वी is also possible

<sup>14</sup> Read उत्तरतः

<sup>15</sup> Read त्रीभटाकं.





preserved writing which covers a space of about 2' 4½" high by 11½" broad. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. They include the somewhat rare forms of *gh* and *n* and the numeral figures 8, 7, and 2. Attention may also be drawn to the way in which the letters *ś* and *ṛ* are engraved. With regard to the latter there is no difference between it and *m*, except that the upper vertical strokes in the case of the former are much shorter each other than in the case of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, but is anything but grammatical and the whole is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is doubled in conjunction with a following *i*, *dh* is written *ddh* twice in the word *mahārājādādhirāja*, and there is a tendency to use the dental sibilant instead of the palatal, though in one case the latter is substituted for the former *viz* in *sūtradhāraś*, l. 20.

The inscription is dated Samvat 872<sup>1</sup> the fifth of the bright fortnight of Chaitra, and refers itself to the reign of the *P M P* Nāgabhata-dēva meditating on the feet of the *M. P* Vatsarāja-dēva. It is thus clear that Nāgabhata is no other person than Nāgabhata, son of Vatsarāja, of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty wielding sway over the larger portion of North India. Of the princes of this royal family we have had but few dates earlier than the time of Bhōjadēva I. In fact, we had only one date, *viz* Śaka 705 = A D 783-84, for Vatsarāja furnished by the Jama work *Harivansa-Purāna*. And our inscription now supplies the second date, V. S 872 = A D 815 for his son Nāgabhata.<sup>2</sup>

The purport of the inscription, however, is not quite clear. Something is said therein to have been set up (*niśtā*), but what that 'something' was is far from evident. This something, we are told, was set up, after building the temple (*dīvagriha*) and worshipping the feet of *Paramēśvara*, in the village of Rājyaghāgakam, by the queen Jayāvalī, the daughter of Jajjaka, who himself was a son of the Pratihāra Bapuka, and wife of Bhumbhuvaka, the son of Haragupta of the family called Avāṅgānaka. As Jayāvalī has been spoken of as queen (*rājñī*), her husband must have been some kind of ruler, most probably a chieftain, feudatory to Nāgabhata, and reigning at, or, at any rate, holding Rājyaghāgakam, which must be supposed to be the old name of Buchkalā. The name of the *sūtradhāra* or mason is Pañohaharī, the son of Dēā.

The temple is, as we have seen, said to have been dedicated to *Paramēśvara*, which is usually taken to be a name of Śiva. This, however, does not agree with the sculptural details of the temple. Although it is now-a-days called a temple of Pārvatī, there is, truly speaking, no image in the sanctum. But on the dedicatory block on the shrine door and in the principal niche at the back, the images in which enable one to determine to what god the temple is dedicated, is a figure with four hands, doubtlessly representing some form of Vishnu, as the mace, discus, and conch-shell can be distinctly seen in its hands. Other images, also carved on the inner and outer walls of the temple, show that it was a Vaishnava structure. The word *paramēśvara* must, therefore, be taken in its ordinary sense and as referring to Vishnu.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 श्री [1] संवत्सरयते ८७२
- 2 चैत्रस्य सितपक्षस्य पंचम्यां
- 3 निवेसिता<sup>4</sup> ॥ महाराजाधिराजः<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is worthy of note that, in the copper plate charters issued by Bhōjadēva I, Mahēndrapāla and Mahāpāla alias Vinayakapāla, letter numerals are used to express figures, whereas, in the present as well as other stone-inscriptions belonging to the time of these princes, decimal notation is employed. It will thus be seen that both systems were current in North India about this time. [In the facsimile S92 is a misprint for 872 — S K.]

<sup>2</sup> The date has already been given by Prof. Kidhorn in his *Synchronistic Table for Northern India*, col. 9. from information furnished by Mr. Ojha.

<sup>3</sup> From the original stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read निवेशिता

<sup>5</sup> Read महाराजाधिराजः

- 4 परमेश्वरश्रीवत्सराजदेवपा-
- 5 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 6 <sup>1</sup>जादिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीनाग-
- 7 भट्टदेवस्वविषये प्रवर्द्धमान-
- 8 राज्ये राज्यघट्टकङ्गामि
- 9 राज्ञी जायावली प्रतीहार-
- 10 <sup>2</sup>स्वगोत्रश्रीवपुकपुत्रश्रीज-
- 11 ज्जकदुहित्ता ताकुहुवोत्पनावा-<sup>3</sup>
- 12 ज्ञानकस्वगोत्रश्रीहरगुप्त-<sup>4</sup>
- 13 पुत्रभुंभुवकपत्नी <sup>5</sup>अन्न च पर-
- 14 मेस्वरो निर्द्वी<sup>6</sup> कृत्वा अनेकजम्बा-
- 15 <sup>7</sup>तरस्वसिवर्तंससारदुखाव-<sup>8</sup>
- 16 हरस्य परमेश्वरस्य<sup>9</sup> पादा<sup>10</sup>
- 17 पुजयित्वा<sup>11</sup> देवगृहं करा-
- 18 प्य<sup>12</sup> [1\*] पुन <sup>13</sup>तस्य उपलिपन<sup>14</sup>
- 19 देवशासुतप[ञ्च]हरि<sup>15</sup>
- 20 शुचधारः<sup>16</sup> ॥

## No 28 —KENDUR PLATES OF KIRTIVARMAN II.

SAKA SAMVAT 672

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

This inscription was first brought to my notice in May 1902 by Bhṛṅgārkar bāvá, a well known reciter of *kirtans* at Poona. He was then engaged in a literary controversy about the identity of Jñānśvara, the well-known saint of Alandi, with Jñānśvara, the author of the *Jñānśvarī*, a famous Marāṭhī commentary on the *Bhagavadgītā*, and asked me whether the inscription threw any light on the point he was discussing. When I told him that the grant was issued in Śaka 672, and had nothing to do with the author of the *Jñānśvarī*, who was contemporary with Rāmadēva, the last of the Yādava kings of Dēvagrī, Bhṛṅgārkar bāvá was kind enough to lend me the plates for the purpose of editing the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Read "राजाधिराज".<sup>2</sup> Read "सुवीच".<sup>3</sup> Read "दीपना".<sup>4</sup> Read "सुवीच".<sup>5</sup> Here and in the following the rules of *śamāh* have not been observed.<sup>6</sup> The words परमेश्वरो and निर्द्वी as they stand, make no sense, and I can suggest no correction.<sup>7</sup> Some such reading as "जन्मान्तरधमिवर्ति" might be expected.<sup>8</sup> "दु ख".<sup>9</sup> Read परमेश्वरस्य.<sup>10</sup> Read पादौ.<sup>11</sup> Read पूजयित्वा.<sup>12</sup> Read कारयित्वा.<sup>13</sup> Read पुनन्नास.<sup>14</sup> Read उपलिपने. This word seems to have been here used in the sense of "engraving".<sup>15</sup> Read "हरि".<sup>16</sup> Read शुचधारः.







The plates were found at Këndûr, a village in the Khêd tâluka of the Poona district. They belong to Mr Purushôttama Râjapâthak, now residing at Këndûr. There are five plates, the first and the last of which are inscribed on one side only. The plates are equal in size, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " long by  $4\frac{1}{2}$ " broad. Their edges are raised into rims to protect the writing. The ring on which the plates are strung is about half an inch thick and  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal on the ring is oval, measuring 2" by  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". It has, in relief, on a countersunk surface, a standing boar facing to the proper left. The weight of the plates, together with the ring and seal, is 225 tolas. The inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets. The language is Sanskrit throughout, and with the exception of the invocatory verse at the beginning and the benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole is in prose.

The grant is one of the Western Chalukya king Kirtivarman II, and is issued from the city of Raktapura, which is probably to be identified with Lakshmesvara, in the Dharwar district. It records that on the full moon day of the month Vaisâkha, during a lunar eclipse, in Śaka 672 expired, in the sixth year of his reign, when his victorious camp was at Raktapura, Kirtivarman II, at the request of his great queen, granted to a Brâhmana named Râmasârman, the village of Bepatti in the centre of the villages of Penbâsarû, Kîsman-galam, Sulâm and Perbbâlî, in the district of Velvola. The five villages can be easily identified with Behati, Hebsur, Kusugalla, Sulja and Hebbali, in the Dharwar district. Velvola is a Sanskritized form of Belvola or Belvala, a name which is applied even at the present day to a portion of the southern Marâthâ country.

Before the discovery of the present grant, only three records of Kirtivarman II's time were known to scholars. Of these the most important is the Vakkalêri grant, which has been published by Mr Rice<sup>1</sup> and re-edited by Dr Kielhorn<sup>2</sup>. As interpreted by these scholars, the date of that grant is Śaka 679 expired, which is spoken of as the eleventh year of Kirtivarman's reign, while, according to the present grant, Śaka 672 expired was the sixth year of his reign. These two statements cannot be reconciled. It is, however, important to note that the present grant was issued five years earlier, and is perfectly legible throughout. It also mentions the occurrence of a lunar eclipse. Therefore the date in this grant, which admits of verification, is correct. But in the Vakkalêri grant, the first word describing the Śaka year is not legible. Both Mr Rice and Dr Kielhorn have proposed to read it as *nava*, nine, and this view has been endorsed by Dr Fleet. But the proposed emendation does not agree with the present inscription, according to which Śaka 677 expired was really the eleventh year of the king's reign.

The historical information in the present grant may be briefly summarised thus. The first king of the Chalukya line was Polekêsîni who performed horse sacrifices. Then came his son Kirtivarman I, who defeated the kings of Vanavâsi and other countries. His brother Mangalîsa being passed over, we are next introduced to Satyâśraya, better known as Polekêsîni II, who defeated the famous Buddhist king Harshavardhana, the patron of the illustrious Chinese traveller Hsien Tsang and the hero of Bâpa's immortal work, the *Harshacharita*. Polekêsîni II's son, Vikramâditya I, was the next king, who recovered, by means of his horse Chitrakantha, part of the Chalukya dominions, which had been overrun by the Pallavas, and had obedience done to him by the lord of Kâñchi, who had bowed down to none other. Vikramâditya I's son and successor was Vinayâditya, who broke the confederacy of the Chôlas, Kêralas, Pândyas and Pallavas, and defeated the paramount sovereign of Northern India. Vinayâditya's son Vijayâditya, the next king, had greatly assisted his father and grandfather in their wars. Though suddenly taken prisoner by the enemy, whom he had put

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII p. 48 ff

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol V p. 200 and ff

to flight, he skilfully effected his escape and restored the splendour of the Chalukya empire. He was succeeded by his son Vikramāditya II, who led an excursion into the Tundāka country, defeated his natural foe the Pallava king Nandipōtavarma, and entered the Pallava capital Kāñchi, but did not destroy it. He restored to the Rājasimhēśvara and other temples, which had been caused to be built there by Narasimhapōtavarma, heaps of gold and rubies, which had been taken away from them. Vikramāditya II was succeeded by his son Kirtivarman II, who issued the present grant.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Svasti [\*] Jayaty=āvishkrīta[m] Viśhnōr=vvārāham kshōbhrit-ārnavam [\*]  
dakshin-ōnata-damshtr-āgra-vīranta-bhuvanam  
2 vapuh [\*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrānām Hār[ti]-  
putrānām sa-  
3 pta-lōkamātrībhis=saptamātrībhu=abhivardhitānām Kārttikēya-parirakshana-pāsta(pta)-  
kalyāna-  
4 parampai ānām bhagavan-Nāīyana-prasāda-samāsādita-varāha-lāñchhan ēkshana  
kshana-  
5 vaśī-kṛt-āsēsha-mahībhritāñ=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishnōr=asvāmēdh-āva-  
6 bhritasnāna-pavitri-kṛta-gāti asya śī-Polekēśi-vallabha-mahārājasya sū-  
7 nuh parākram-ākṛanta-Vanavāsy-ādi-paranripata-mandala-pranībaddha-vīsuddha-kirtti-  
grī-  
8 Kirttivarmma-prithu(thi)vivalabha-mahārājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-samsakta-sakalōttara-  
9 pathēsvara-śrī-Harshavardhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēsvara-sēbdas=tasya Sa-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 tyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vivalabha mahārājādhuāja-paramēsvarasya priyatanaasya  
11 prajūāta-nayasya khatga(dga)-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakapthākhyā-pravara-tuamgamēn-  
aikē-  
12 n=av=ōtsādīt-āsēsha-vijigishōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītām svagurō śrīyam=  
ātmasā-  
13 t-kṛtya prabhāva-kulēsa dalita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kalabhra-piabhriti-bhūbhṛd-  
14 dabhra-vibhramasy=ānanyāvanata-Kāmohipati-makuta-chumbita-pādāmbujasya  
15 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śī-prithu(thi)vivalabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśva-  
16 ra-bhattāarakasya priyasūnōh pitur=ājnyā Bālēndugē(sē)kharasya Tārakārāti-  
17 r=iva daityabalanz=ausamudhatam trairājya-Kāmohipati-balam=avashabhya kara

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 dikṛta-Kavēra-Pārasika-Sumha[ādi]-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-ōttarāpatha<sup>2</sup>-nātha-mathan-  
ōpārjūt-ō-  
19 rjita-pāldhvaj-ādi samasta-pāramaisvarya-chimha(hna)sya Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya-  
śīprithu(thi)vivala-  
20 bha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-bhattāarakasya priy-ātmajas=śai[śa\*]va ēv=ādihgat  
āsēsh-āstra-  
21 śāstrō dakshināsā-vījyayin pitāmahē samunnūlita-mkhila-kantaka-samhatr=  
uttarāpatha-  
22 vijigishōr=gurōr=agrata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghatā-pāta-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> The engraver has originally written \*patāś, but corrected it

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STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R BHANGARKAR

18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical Tamil.

8  
 10  
 30  
 32  
 34

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the leaf, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical Tamil.

- 23 na-viśiṅgyamāna-kripāna-dhāras-samagra-vigrah-āgrēśaia[h\*] san-sāhasa-rasikah  
 24 paām(n)mukhikrita-śati umandalō Gangā-Yamunā-pādhivhaja-padaḥakkā-mahāśabda-  
 mā-  
 25 nīya-matamgaj-ādīn=pitrisāt=kurvvan=parah palāyāmānair=śāsāya katham=api  
 vidhvāsā-  
 26 d=apanitō=pi piatāpād=ēva viśhaya-prakōpam=arājakam=ntśarayan=Vatsarāja r-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 27 v-ānapēkshīt-āpara sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nurgatya svabhuj-āvashatambha-prasādhit-  
 āśēsha-viśva-  
 28 mbharāḥ prabhur=akhamdita-śaktitrayatvāt(ch)=chhatru-mada-bhamjanatvād-  
 udāratvān=nuravadyatvād=yas=sa-  
 29 mastā-bhuvan-śārayas=sakala-pēramaiśvarya-vyakti hētu-pādhivhaja-ādy-u[ ]\*]vala-prājya-  
 30 rājyō Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśva-  
 31 ra-bhatīśarakasya priyaputras=sakala-bhuvana-sāmrajya-lakshmi-svayamvar-ā-  
 32 bhūhēka-samay-ānantara-samupajāta mahōtsāhah ātmavamsāja-pū-  
 33 rva-nripati-chchhāy-āpahānnah prakrity-amitrasya Pallavasya samtil-  
 ōnmūlanāya  
 34 krita-matir=atitvarayā Tumdāka-vishayam prāpy=ābhūmukh-āgatān=  
 Nandipōtavarmā-ā-  
 35 bhūdhānam Pallavam rana-mukhē samprahṛitya prapalāyya  
 katumukha-vādītra-sa-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 36 mudhaghōsh-ābhūdhāna-vādya-viśēshān(shau)=khatvānga-dhvaja-pramāṇa-prabhūta-  
 prakhyāta-hasti-varā-  
 37 n=sva-kirāna-nikara-vikāsa nūrākṛita-tumram-mānīya-rāsū=cha hastēkṛitya  
 Kalāśabhava-mīla-  
 38 ya-harid-angan-ānchita kāmchīyamānām Kāmchīm=avināśya praviśya satata-  
 pravṛtta-dā  
 39 n-ānā(na)ndita-dvija-ḍm-ānātha-janah Narasimhapōtavarmma-nurmmāpita-śilāmāya-  
 40 Rājasimhāśvar-ādī-dēvakula-suvārnarāsī pratyarppan-ōpājit-ōjita-pu-  
 41 nyah anuvārita-piatāpa-prasara-pratāpita-Pāmdya-Chōla-Kērala-Kajabhra-  
 42 prabhṛiti-rājanyakah kshubhita-kari-makara-kara-hata-dalita śukta-mukta-muktāphala-  
 43 prakāsa-marochi-jāla-vilasita-vēl-ākulē ghūrnamān-ārpō-nidhānē dakshinā-  
 44 rnavē śarad-amala-śāsādhara-viśada yasō-rāsī-mayam jayastāmbham=atishṭ[h\*]ipat

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 45 Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrīprithu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhrāja-paramēśvara-bha-  
 46 ttāarakasya sūnūh(r) bālyē susukshita-śāstra-śāstra[h\*] sva-guna-kalāp-ānandita-  
 hri-  
 47 dayēna pitrā samārōpita-yanvarājya[h\*] svakula-varipah Kāmchīpatēr-  
 mngrahā-  
 48 ya mām prēshaya ity=ādēśam prārthya labdhvā tad-anantaram=ēva krita-  
 prayānas=sann=a-  
 49 bhūmukham=āgatya prakāsa-yuddham kartam=asamartham pravīshita-durggam  
 Palla-  
 50 vam samantatō=bbhūhāya bhagnasaktim kṛtvā prabhūta-matta-matamgaja-su-  
 51 varna-mānīya-kotir=ādāya pitrē samarpitavān=ēvam kramēna prāpta-sā-

- 52 1 vva<sup>h</sup>hauma-pada<sup>h</sup> pratāp-ānūrāg-āvanata-samasta-sāman<sup>†</sup>a-makuta-mā-  
53 la-tajab-pumja-pimjavitā-chāma-sarasuhāb(ūhāb) Kirtivarmanā-Satyā-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 54 śraya-sī<sup>h</sup>prthivivallabha-mahā<sup>h</sup>ujidhira<sup>h</sup>ja-paramē<sup>h</sup>śaia-bhattā<sup>h</sup>arakas-sarvān-ēva-  
55 m-ājñāpayati [I\*] Viditam=astu vo-smābhū<sup>h</sup>v=divisaptaty-uttara-shatchhatēshu  
Śakavarshēshv-atitēshu  
56 pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē shashthē varttamānē Raktapuram-  
adl. vasa-  
57 ti vijaya-skandhāvā<sup>h</sup>i Vaisākha-paurnamāsyām sōmagrahanē Kāśyapa-go-  
58 tāya Vajappasarmmanah<sup>1</sup>-pautrāya Mākaya-Vajapē[ya\*]-j ājmah  
59 putrāya vēda vēdanga-pāragāya Rāmasarmmanē Velvola-visha-  
60 yē Penbasaaru-Kisumamgalam-Suljam-Perballi-nāma-grāmānām=ma-  
61 dh<sup>h</sup>yē Beppatti-nāma-grāmo śil-mahādēvi-vijūapanayā dattah

*Fifth Plate*

- 62 Tad-āgāmbhu=asmad-vamāyau=anyasī=cha iājabhū=āyur-ai<sup>h</sup>varyy-ādinām vūlastam-  
achi-  
63 i ānu<sup>h</sup>-chañchalam=avagachchhadbhū=achandr-āi ka-dhāi-ārnavā-sthiti-samakālam yasā<sup>h</sup>-  
chuki-  
64 ishubbis-sva-dattā-nirv<sup>h</sup>śēsham paupālanīyam=Uktañ=cha bhagavatā vēda  
v<sup>h</sup>śāsēna  
65 Vyāsēna [I\*] Babubhū<sup>h</sup>vvasudhā bhuktā iājabhū<sup>h</sup>=Sagar-ādibhū [I\*] yasya  
yasya  
66 jadā bhūms-tasya tasya tada phalam [I\*] Svan=dātum sumahach-  
chhakam  
67 duhkhām=anyasya pālanam [I\*] dānam vā pālanam v-ētū(v-ētū) dānāch=chhrējō-  
nupālanam [I\*]  
68 Svadattām paradattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [I\*] shashth(t)im  
vaisha-saha-  
69 srāni vishthayām jāyatā krī(krī)mrī-iti [I\*] Dhanamjaya-Punyavallabhēna  
hkhita-  
70 m=adam

**TRANSLATION.**

(Verse 1) Hail! victorious is the body of Vishnu, manifested in the form of a boar on whose uplifted right tusk rests the world, and who has agitated the ocean

(Lines 2 to 6) The great king, the prosperous Polekēsi-vallabha, whose body was purified by the *avabhūthā* bath terminating a horse-sacrifice, and who adorned the family of the prosperous Chalukyā, who belonged to the family of Manavya praised by the whole world, who were the sons of Hārti, who were reared by seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds, who had acquired a series of benefits through the protection of Kārttikēya, and who had subdued in an instant all kings at the sight of the sign of the boar acquired through the favour of the revered Nārāyana

(Ll 6 to 8) His son was the prosperous Kirtivarman, the great king, and the lord of the earth, who had achieved spotless fame by the conquest of Vanavāsī<sup>2</sup> and other countries of hostile kings.

<sup>1</sup> [Looks like *Vāyaparmmanah* ॐ-S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> Also called Banavāsī or Banavāse.

22 b

36  
 38  
 40  
 42  
 44

This image shows a rectangular plate of inscriptions from the Kêndûr plates of Kirtivarman II. The text is written in an ancient script, likely Kharoṣṭhi, and is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is present on the left side of the plate, between lines 40 and 42. The plate is numbered on the left margin with the numbers 36, 38, 40, 42, and 44.

22 a

46  
 48  
 50  
 52

This image shows another rectangular plate of inscriptions from the Kêndûr plates of Kirtivarman II. The text is written in the same ancient script as the first plate and is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is present on the left side of the plate, between lines 48 and 50. The plate is numbered on the left margin with the numbers 46, 48, 50, and 52.

STEN KONOW

SCALE 0.7

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LIT

FROM INK IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR



54

54  
 56  
 58  
 60

55

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62

62  
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 68  
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70

(Ll 8 to 9) His son was he who had acquired the title of *Paramésvara* by defeating the prosperous *Harshavardhana*, the lord of all the north, and addicted to war

(Ll 10 to 16) The dear son of that<sup>1</sup> asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the great lord, was *Vikramāditya*, well versed in politics, whose companion was his sword alone, who had destroyed all rivals only with his excellent horse called *Chitrakauṭha*, who retrieving the fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by the confederacy of the three<sup>2</sup> kings, had destroyed the great splendour of the mountain-like kings of the *Pāṇdyas*, *Chôlas*, *Kéralas*, *Kalabhras* and others with his prowess resembling a thunderbolt,<sup>3</sup> whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the crest of the lord of *Kāñchi* who had not bowed down to others, and who was the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, the venerable emperor

(Ll 16 to 20) His dear son, who reduced to the condition of tributaries the kings of *Kavéra*, *Párasika*, *Simhala* and other countries after vanquishing the proud army of the confederacy of the three<sup>4</sup> kings and the lord of *Kāñchi* at the command of his father, just as *Kāntikya*, at the command of *Śiva* defeated the very insolent host of demons, who had acquired all the symbols of sovereignty such as a lofty *pāñdhvaja*<sup>5</sup> and others by subjugating the king of all the north, was *Vinayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll 20 to 30) His dear son, who while still a child, had mastered all the sciences and the use of arms, who when his grandfather conquered the southern region had uprooted the multitude of all his foes resembling thorns, conducting walkie operations in the very presence of his father who was desirous of conquering the north, who had the edge of his sword blunted by destroying the group of hostile elephants, who took the lead in all fighting, fond of meeting danger, who caused the multitude of his enemies to turn their backs, delivering to his father the variegated *pāñi*-banner,<sup>6</sup> the *dhalakā*, the great musical instruments,<sup>6</sup> rubies and intoxicated elephants, who, though taken captive through the force of circumstances by the flying foe approaching with some difficulty, put an end to anarchy and popular commotion by his prowess alone, and like *Vatsarāja*, expecting no help from others, escaped from the peril and conquered the whole earth by dint of his arm, who was an emperor, the asylum of truth, through his three powers being uninterrupted, through his breaking the pride of his enemies, through his liberality and blamelessness, whose vast empire was resplendent with a *pāñdhvaja* which was a symbol of universal sovereignty, was *Vijayāditya*, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings and the venerable lord

(Ll 31 to 45) His dear son, who had enjoyed great pleasure immediately after the time of his anointment at the self-choice by the goddess of universal sovereignty, who resolved to uproot the *Pallava* king, his natural foe, who had robbed of splendour the former kings of his line, who on coming to the *Tundāka*<sup>7</sup> district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing *Pallava* king named *Nandipótavarman*,

<sup>1</sup> *Tasya* means "of one who is well-known or referred to above"

<sup>2</sup> Compare the expression *avanapatitritaya* with *travṛjya* in line 17 *Ātmasādi-kṛtiya* should be "kṛted"

<sup>3</sup> *Vikramāditya* is compared to *Indra*.

<sup>4</sup> *Travṛjya* is used by *Jinasēna* in the following verse (*Ādi-purāna*, XXX. 35), and is explained by the commentator to mean *Chôla*, *Kérala* and *Pāñdyā* —

*prasadhya dakṣiṇānd-āśām vibhva travṛjyapdlakān |*  
*saman pranamoyān-dea vṛjitya jayāddhanasā ||*

<sup>5</sup> For the explanation of *pāñdhvaja*, see my paper in the *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV p 104

<sup>6</sup> The expression *mahāsabda* is frequently used in this sense in *Pampa Bhārata*, p 211

<sup>7</sup> *Tuṇḍāka* or *Toṇḍā* is a name of the *Dravida* country *Kāñchi* capital of it.

took possession of particular musical instruments, called *katumukhavāḍitra* and *śa*, *draghōsha*, the *khatvāṅga-ābhaya*, many excellent and well-known intoxicated elephants and a heap of rubies, which dispelled darkness by the brilliancy of the multitude of their rays who entered, without destroying it, the city of Kāñchi, which was, as it were, a girdle adorning yonder lady, the region of the south, who had rejoiced Bāhmanas, and poor and helpless people by his uninterrupted liberality, who acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasimbhēvara and other gods, which had been caused to be built by Narasimhapōtavarman, who distressed Pāndya, Chōla, Kērala, Kaḷabhra and other kings, the extent of his valour which could not be withstood, and who erected a pillar of victory<sup>2</sup> in the form of his great fame, as bright as the cloudless autumnal moon in the southern ocean, full of rolling waves, the shores of which were shining with the multitude of rays of numerous pearls dropped from shells struck and broken by the trunks of excited elephants resembling whales, was Vikramāditya, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord

(Ll. 46 to 54) His dear son, who was trained in science and the use of arms in his childhood, was appointed heir apparent by his father whose heart was delighted with a multitude of his virtues, who having asked for and obtained an order to put down the lord of Kāñchi, the enemy of his family, led an expedition, defeated the Pallava king in every quarter, who, unable to meet him in an open field had taken refuge in a fort, made him powerless, took possession of many ruttish elephants, gold and crores of rubies, and delivered them to his father, who thus gradually attained to the position of an emperor, and whose lotus-like feet were rendered yellowish by the mass of pollen on the numerous crests of all feudatory kings, who bowed to him through love of his heroism, Kirtivarman, the asylum of truth, the prosperous lord of the earth, the great king of kings, and the venerable lord, thus commands all,

(Ll 55 to 61) Be it known to you, when six hundred and seventy-two years of the Śaka era had passed away, and the sixth year of [our] increasing prosperous reign was current, when our victorious camp was located at Raktepura, on the full moon of Vaiśākha during a lunar eclipse, the village named Beppatti surrounded by the villages named Penbasaru, Kisumangalam, Sullam and Perballi, in the district of Veļvola, was granted by us at the request of the prosperous great queen to Rāmasarman, well versed in the Vēdas and Vēdāngas, who was the son of Mākaya, a performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and the grandson of Vājappaśarman of the Kāśyapa gōtra

(Ll 62 to 64) This should be preserved, as though it were their own gift, by future kings of our own family or others, knowing the flash of life and other things to be as changeful as lightning, and desirous of achieving a fame lasting as long as the moon, the sun, earth, and ocean will endure

(Ll 65 to 70) And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, including Sagara Whoever is the owner of the earth, reaps its fruit It is very easy to give what is one's own, it is difficult to preserve what is given by others Of the two things—a gift and preservation—preservation is the better He who takes away land, whether given by himself or others, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years. This is written by Dhanañjaya<sup>3</sup> Punyavallabha.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *hastē-kṛtiya* is not wrong, compare Dhanañjaya, *D sandhanakāvya* XIII 86, and Blatigny Dikshita's remark on Pāṇini I 4, 77: *sukāramātram=ity=anyē, hastē-kṛtiya mahāstrānti*. See *Padamanyasi*, p. 224 (Benares edition)

<sup>2</sup> Vikramāditya II did not set up a pillar of victory, only his fame, which spread to the shores of the southern ocean, is compared to such a pillar

<sup>3</sup> This must be the same person who composed the Vakkaḷam grant five years later A relative of his, perhaps his father, was Anuvārtapunya Vallabha, who wrote the Kāñchi inscription of Vikramāditya II (above, Vol. III, p. 359 f)

## No 29 — DATES OF CHOLA KINGS

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, O.I.E., GOTTINGEN

(Continued from Vol VIII, page 274)

From the materials supplied to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya I publish here, with the results of my calculations, twenty-two more dates of Chôla kings (Nos 137-158), and two dates (Nos 159 and 160) of the king Peruñjungadêva, "who claims to be a Pallava and who subverted the Chôla sovereignty about A D 1231-32"<sup>1</sup> Five of these dates (Nos. 145-149) belong to the king Râjâdhirâja [II] Râjakêsarivarman, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1183 The other dates in general merely confirm the correctness of the results previously found for the commencement of the reigns of the kings to whom they belong, but No 142 reduces the period, during which Râjarâja II must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 6th April to the 11th July A D 1148<sup>2</sup>

I am still keeping back a number of dates of Kulôttunga-Chôla II Râjakêsarivarman in the hope that more dates of this king may be discovered before long

At the end of this article I give a list of all published dates of Chôla kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign

## A.—RAJARAJA I.

137.—In the Śivayôganâthasvâmin temple at Tiruvîsâlfûr<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śri [ || — ] Kô-Râjarâjakêsarivarmanmakku yându 5 âvadu ivv-âtt[ai]  
[Dha]nu-[n]âyarû Nâyagarû-kk[i]lamayum Mûlamum pakka-  
2 m<sup>4</sup>prathupadamum kûdina vara yôgatt[i]n pôdu

"In the 5th year (of the reign) of king Râjarâjakêsarivarman,— on the day of the auspicious yôga which was combined with the first *tithi* of a fortnight,<sup>5</sup> (the *nakshatra*) Mûla and a Sunday in the month of Dhanus of this year"

I have previously found<sup>6</sup> that Râjarâja I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985. This date of the 5th year of his reign corresponds to Sunday, the 1st December A.D. 989, which was the 8th day of the month of Dhanus, and on which the first *tithi* (of the bright half of Pausa) commenced 5 h 6 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mûla, by the equal space system for 16 h. 25 m, and according to Garga for 3 h 56 m, after mean sunrise.

For dates with the auspicious yôga— also called *amrta-yôga*<sup>7</sup>— of a Sunday with the *nakshatra* Mûla, see above, Vol VI p 21, No 33, and note Compare also Hémachandra's *Sabdânusâsana-vratîti*, end of Adhyâya II Pâda 2. *Mûlârkaḥ*<sup>8</sup> śriyâtî tâtirî sarvakalyâna-kâranam | adhund Mûlârâjas=tv chitram lôkêshu gîyâtî ||

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1906-07, p 89.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol VIII p 264

<sup>3</sup> No 19 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

<sup>4</sup> Read *prathupa*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>5</sup> It is not stated whether it was the bright or the dark fortnight.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol VII p 6

<sup>7</sup> See *Ep Carn* Vol IV p 114, No 10.

<sup>8</sup> I.e. *Mûla-nakshatrêna yuktib'rkah sâryah*.

138 and 139 — In the Amṛitaghātésvara temple at Tirukkadaiyūr<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] [Tiru-ma]ga  
 2 . . . . . śrī-kōv=Irājarājakésarmanmaṅku . . . yānd[u]  
 16 vadu āgum yāndu Pī-  
 3 [ra]ttādi=tt[nga]l paṭ=pakkattu=[p]pakkam [8 ettu]=kki[la]mai<sup>2</sup> Tīngal nāl  
 Pū[na]rpūsam . . . . .  
 9 . . . . . 1[v\*]v-[āndēy] Tulā-nāyaṟu pū[rvva-bha]kshat[tu]  
 dvā[da]śiyam Nāya[r]u-kiḷa[m]ai[yum] peṟṟa Iraivadi . . .<sup>3</sup>

"In the year which was the 16th year (of *the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakésarvarman, — on the day of Punarvasu, the week-day (being) Monday, (and) the day of the fortnight being [8— eight—] of the second half of the month Purattādi . . . . .  
 . . . . . on [the day of] Rēvati which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Tulā in this year"

The first of these two dates regularly corresponds to Monday, the 23rd September A. D. 1000, which was the 29th day of the month Purattādi (i. e. the month of Kanyā), and on which the 8th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) commenced 0 h 55 m., while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 22 h 20 m., and by the Brahmasiddhānta for 21 h 40 m., after mean sunrise

The second date apparently corresponds to Sunday, the 13th October A. D. 1000. This was the 18th day of the month of Tulā, and on it the 12th *tithi* of the bright half (of Kārttika) ended 1 h 17 m. after mean sunrise, but as the *nakshatra* was Rēvati only from 11 h 10 m. after mean sunrise, I should have expected the day to be described as the day of (the preceding *nakshatra*) Uttara Bhādrapadā

140.— In the Śiva temple at Pērangiyūr<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . . śrī-Rāja-Rājarājādēvarku yāndu  
 2[4]āvadu . . . . . 1-yāndu<sup>6</sup> Mṛiśchika-nāyaṟu pū[r]vva  
 pakshattu=P[pudan]-kiḷamayum paṅṅamiyum peṟṟa Tī[ru]vō[na]ttan nā[1]

"In the 2[4]th year (of *the reign*) of the glorious Rāja-Rājarājādēva, — on the day of Śravana, which corresponded to the fifth *tithi* and to a [Wednesday] of the first fortnight of the month of Vriśchika in this year."

For the given week-day (Wednesday) and the *nakshatra* Śravana the date would be wrong for all the ten years from the 20th to the 29th year of Rājarāja's reign. Irrespectively of the week-day, the date for the 24th year would correspond to Saturday, the 6th November A. D. 1008, which was the 12th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of Mārgaśirsha) ended 3 h 33 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Śravana the whole day. I have little doubt that this Saturday is the proper equivalent of the date and that the week-day, if not misread, has been wrongly given in the original

<sup>1</sup> No. 27 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> The letter *la* is engraved below the line

<sup>3</sup> Read *Rēvati-nādi*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the *uttāhāna-dvādāśi tithi* (the *tithi* of the awakening of Vishnu)

<sup>5</sup> No. 208 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>6</sup> Read *Vriśchika*.

## B.—VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

141.—In the Amritaghatésvara temple at Tirukkadayār<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū-mālai m[ ]daudu . . . . .  
 16 kō-Pparakésamptamar-ā[na] Tribhuvana-  
 chchakravatti-  
 17 gal śrī-Vikrama-Śōladēvarku yāndu 6 ā[ā]vadu V[r]i[ ]śchi  
 . . . . .<sup>2</sup>[y]aiyum [Ba]dan-kīlamaiyum peṇṇa Mṛigaśīrshatti-nāli

“In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Parakésarvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśīrsha, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [second?] *tithi* of the . . . . . [of the month of] Vriśchi[ka]”

The reign of Vikrama-Chōla has been found<sup>3</sup> to commence on the 29th June A. D. 1118, and thus date of the 6th year of his reign undoubtedly corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th November A. D. 1123. This was the 11th day of the month of Vriśchika, and on it the second *tithi* (of the dark half of Kārtika) ended 4 h 45 m, while the *nakshatra* was Mṛigaśīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h 13 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 5 h 55 m, after mean sunrise.

## C.—RAJARAJA II.

142 — In the Grāmārdhanāthésvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>4</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maluviya Tina-mādam . . . . .  
 13 kō-Pparakésam[pa]tmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakravati-  
 14 tagal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu<sup>5</sup> [1]5[vadu]<sup>6</sup> Mē-  
 15 sha-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshatti ashtam[ ]m Budan-ki-  
 16 lamaiyum peṇṇa Pāsatti-nāli

“In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha”

With the result previously obtained<sup>7</sup> for the commencement of the reign of the Rājarāja [II.] Parakésarvarman, this date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 5th April A. D. 1161, which was the 13th day of the month of Mēsha and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of Vaiśākha) ended 12 h 54 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 11 h 10 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 9 h 12 m after mean sunrise.

143 — In the Grāmārdhanāthésvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>8</sup>

4 . . . . . kō-Pparakésaripanmar-āna  
 [Tri]bu-  
 5 vanachchakravattagal śrī-Rājarājadēvarku yāndu 1[7]vadu Dha[nu-nāya]ṅṅu  
 [a]para-pa-  
 6 ksha[ti\*]tu navaiyum Nāyaṅṅu-ki[ ]maiyum peṇṇa A . . . .

<sup>1</sup> No 30 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *deityaiyum* is meant. <sup>3</sup> See above, Vol VII p 8<sup>4</sup> No 140 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906<sup>5</sup> The letter *n* is engraved below the line<sup>6</sup> The letters *vadu* are written in a group<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol VIII pp 2 and 264<sup>8</sup> No 129 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

"In the 1[7]th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rájarájadéva,— on the day of A . . .<sup>1</sup> corresponded to a Sunday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanu<sup>2</sup>"

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162, which was the 7th day<sup>3</sup> of the month of Dhanus, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark half (of Mārgasīrsha) ended 16<sup>h</sup> 56 m, while the *nakshatra* was Hasta, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 13 h 47 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 10 h 30 m, after mean sunrise

The result shows that the *nakshatra*, of the name of which only the initial vowel remains in line 6 of the original, was Attam (Hasta)—The date is the latest one hitherto examined of the reign of Rájarája II

#### 144 —In the Grāmārdhanāthésvara temple at Eivānāsūr<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Pū maruviya Tiru-mādum . . . . .
- 8 P[p]ara[k]ésaripatnar=āna . . . . . Tribhuvana[ch]chakrava[1]tagal . . . . . śrī-Rájarájadéva<sup>4</sup>  
yāpdu 15[vadu]<sup>5</sup> M[1]na . . . . .
- 9 nāyaṟru p[ū]vva-pakshattu . . . . . pañ[ jami]y[u]m . . . . . Tingal-kiḷamayum . . . . .  
M[m]gaśi[r]shattu=ñā

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rájarájadéva,— on the day of Mrgasīrsha, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

In accordance with the previously obtained results, this date should fall in A D 1161, some time before the 24th March (the first day of the month of Mēsha), but with the actual reading of the original it would be incorrect. In my opinion, the fifth *tithi* (pañ[ jami]yuma) has here been quoted erroneously instead of the seventh (*saptamayum*), and the date corresponds to Monday, the 6th March A D. 1161, which was the 12th day of the month of Mīna, and on which the 7th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitia) ended 3 h 41 m., while the *nakshatra* was Mrgasīrsha, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 4 h 36 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise

Of the three dates, the date No 142 would show that the reign of Rájarája II. could not have commenced before (approximately) the 6th April A.D 1146<sup>4</sup>

#### D.—RAJADHIRAJA II.

##### 145 — In the Tyāgarājasvāmin temple at Tiruvārūr<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śr[ī] ॐ . . . . . Kadal śūnda pār-mag[a]lu[m] . . . . .
- 2 . . . . . kō Rájakésaripa[nma]r=āpa . . . . . Tribhuvanachcha[k\*]karavattagal . . . . .  
Rájādha(dh)irājadévaṟku yāpdu 2[āvadu]<sup>6</sup> Mēsha-nāyaṟru pūrvva-pakshattu  
shashthiyun=Dingal-kiḷamayum . . . . . Punnarpūshattu=ñā

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rájakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rájādhirājadéva,— on the day of Punnarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha"

<sup>1</sup> The name of the *nakshatra*, which is lost in the original, may be Ásvati (Ásvini), Attam (Hasta), Avittam (Dhanuṣṭhā) or Anuḷam (Anurādhā)

<sup>2</sup> No 137 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> The letters *eadu* are written in a group

<sup>4</sup> Compare the date No 106, above, Vol. VIII. p. 584

<sup>5</sup> No 538 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>6</sup> The word *avadu* seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the figure 2

The five dates Nos 145-149 are of the reign of a king Rājādhīrāja Rājakesarivarman, and are taken from inscriptions every one of which begins with the words *kadal śūnda*. The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March A D 1163. With such a commencement of his reign —

This date, No 145, corresponds to Monday, the 30th March A D 1164, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 6th *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Vaisākha) ended 19 h 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu, by the Brahma-siddhānta from 7 h 13 m, according to Garga from 9 h 51 m, and by the equal space system from 21 h. 40 m, after mean sunrise — This equivalent of the original date might perhaps be objected to on the ground that the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu only from 7 h 13 m (or later) after mean sunrise, and in the case of the date No 106, above Vol VIII p 263, where also the *nakshatra* was found to be Punarvasu from 8 h 32 m (or later) after mean sunrise, I have myself stated that that *nakshatra* in the original date might have been quoted erroneously instead of the immediately preceding *nakshatra* Ārdrā. But the two dates together now seem to me to show that in either case there was some special reason for quoting the *nakshatra* Punarvasu, instead of the *nakshatra* Ārdrā in which the moon was at the commencement of the day<sup>1</sup>

#### 146 — In the Kapardīśvara temple at Thiruvāñjuḷi.<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svastu [śrī] [||\*] Kadal śūnda pār-mādarum . . . . .  
 5 . . . . . [kō] Rājakēsari[vanma]r-ā[na] Tribhuvanachchakra[tti]-  
 6 gal śrī-R[ā]jādhrājādēvaṅku [y]āndu [Sa]vadu Śm[ha]n[ā]ya[ru] [a]para-  
 pakshattu [dv]adaśiyu[m] [Ti]-  
 7 [ṅa]t-kāma[ya]m perra [Pua]r[pū]śat[ti] nā[1]

“In the [8]th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājādēva, — on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 10th August A D 1170, which was the 14th day of the month of Simha, and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Śrāvana) commenced 2 h. 3 m, while the *nakshatra* was Punarvasu,<sup>3</sup> by the equal space system and according to Garga for 17 h 44 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 17 h 4 m, after mean sunrise

#### 147.— In the Tyāgarājāsāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr.<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Sva\*][stā] śrīh ||— Kadal śūnda pār-ē[ṅ]n-dīśu . . . . .  
 7 . . . . . kōv-Irājakēsari[parma]na Tribhuvanachchakravattagal śrī-Rājādhīrājādēvaṅku  
 yāndu 10[āvadu]<sup>5</sup> Mīna-nā[yaṅ]u pūrvva-pakshattu trayōdaśiyuḥ-Jevvāy-kīlamai-  
 yam perra Magattu nā[1]

“In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhīrājādēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna ”

<sup>1</sup> For other dates with *nakshatras* which also, if I may say so, commenced some time after sunrise, compare Nos 23, 47, 66, 105, and 121 of this series

<sup>2</sup> No 627 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>3</sup> A 12th *tithi* joined with the 11th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Śrāvana Punarvasu is called *jayanti*, it is a *mahā-vaddanti*. This may be the reason why the 12th *tithi* has been used in the original date (as a current *tithi*)

<sup>4</sup> No 540 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

<sup>5</sup> The word *āvadu* seems to have been added by a flourish added to the symbol for ten



The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173, which was the 5th *tithi* of the month of *Mīna*, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Phalgunā*) is 10 h 50 m, while the *nakṣatra* was *Maghā*, by the equal space system for 14 h 27 m and according to *Garga* for 2 h 33 m, after mean sunrise.

148 — In the Darbhāranyésvara temple at Tirunallūr<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śi[ḥ] Kadal sūl[ṅ]da [pā]r-mādarum  
[k]ṛṣṇa-īrī[śa] [k]ṣai[ṅ]parmar-a[ṅ]na Turbuva[na] [ch]chakkara[va] [t\*]tigal śi[ḥ] I  
[a\*] [d] [i] [a] [a\*] [d] [v]a [k]u [y]a [u] -
- 2 du padin-ori[ṅ]vudu Siṅna na[ya]rru pū[r]va pasha(ksha)itu paṅjanyu[ṅ]r  
Badan kilamai[y]um p[ē]ra Sōd[ṅ]nāl

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponds to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of *Simha*,"

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 15th August A D 1173, which was the 19th day of the month of *Simha*, and on which the 5th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Bhādrapada*) is 13 h 53 m, while the *nakṣatra* was *Svāti*, by the equal space system for 17 h 44 m, according to *Garga* for 5 h 16 m, and by the *Brahma siddhanta* for 1 h 19 m, after mean sunrise.

149 — In the Vṛṣhabhapuriśvara temple at Mēl-Śēvūr<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śi[ḥ] Kadal sūl[ṅ]da pār-m[ā]darum . . . . .  
2 . . . . . kō Irāsakā[śa]ripatmar āra  
Trbhuvanachchakkaravattigal śi[ḥ]-Rājā[ḍ]hirā[ḍ]jādēva[ḅ]ku yandu 13[ā]var  
Ka[k]kadaza nāyarru=ppadinmu(mū)nrān-dī(di)yaḍy=[ā]-  
3 na Badan-kilumayum-apara pakshattu ēkāda[ś]iyum peṅra R[ḍ]śan-ṅa[ḍ]

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponds to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to a Wednesday, the thirteenth solar day of the month of *Karkātaka*."

In the three hundred years from A D 1000 to A D 1300 there are only two days which would satisfy the requirements of this date, *viz* Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1097, and Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181.

In A D 1097 the *Karkātaka-samkrānti* took place 17 h 26 m, after mean sunrise of Thursday, the 25th June, the first day of the month of *Karkātaka* therefore was Friday, the 26th June, and the 13th day of the same month was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Āshāḍha*) ended 5 h 36 m, and the *nakṣatra* was *Rōhini*, by the equal space system and according to *Garga* for 4 h 36 m., and by the *Brahma-siddhanta* for 3 h. 56 m after mean sunrise.

In A D 1181 the *Karkātaka-samkrānti* took place 10 h 56 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 26th June which was the first day of the month of *Karkātaka*; and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Wednesday, the 8th July. On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of *Āshāḍha*) commenced 4 h. 24 m after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* was *Rōhini*, by the *Brahma-siddhanta* and according to *Garga* the whole day, and by the equal space system for 1 h 58 m after mean sunrise.

<sup>1</sup> No 394 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902

<sup>2</sup> No 222 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904

It is clear that if as was assumed above, the reign of Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman commenced between the 25th February and the 30th March A D 1163, neither of the two Wednesdays given above could have fallen in the 13th year of his reign. On the other hand I may state that if either of the two days really fell in his 13th year, the other dates would be incorrect. In these circumstances, and assuming that, with the exception of the regnal year, the details of the original date have been given correctly, I can only suggest that the year 13 (which is given in figures<sup>1</sup> only) has been quoted erroneously instead of the 19th year, and that the proper equivalent of the date therefore is really Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181. It might of course be objected that this day would fall in the reign of Kulottunga III Parakésarivarman, which commenced between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178. But I have already shown that we have a similar overlapping of two reigns also in other cases. A date (No 94) of the 30th year of Kulottunga III corresponds to the 25th January A D 1217, while the reign of his successor Rājājya III commenced in June-July A D 1216, and of this king again we have two dates (Nos 96 and 97) of the 7th February and the 22nd April A D 1248, whereas the reign of his successor Rājendra-Chōla III commenced in March-April A D 1246.

From the materials available I therefore infer that Rājādhirāja Rājakesarivarman, &c Rājādhirāja II, commenced to reign between (approximately) the 26th February and the 30th March A D 1163.

#### E —KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA III

150 —In the Grāmārdhanāthésvara temple at Elvānāsūr<sup>2</sup>

1. Tūbuvanachchakaravattigal śrī-Vīra[ā]jēndra-Śōladēvar[ku] yāndu 6vadu  
Maḡaṇa nīyaru pūrvva-pakku[h]ittu<sup>3</sup> dvi[tī]yayum Tīngat-kālamai[y]um pe[rra  
A]vittattai-nāl

“In the 6th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śraivishthā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 16th January A D 1184, which was the 22nd day of the month of Makara, and on which the 2nd *tithi* of the bright half (of Māgha) commenced 5 h 36 m, while the *nakṣatra* was Śraivishthā, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 11 h 10 m, after mean sunrise.

151 —In the Amṛtaghatésvara temple at Tirukkadayūr<sup>4</sup>

1. Srasti śrī [||\*] Puyal vāyppa . . . . .  
5 . . . . . kō=[Ppa]rakésarippar-āna  
Tūbuvanachchakaravattigal Madu[r]ayum Pāndi[ya]nāyum mudirālai-  
kond-arulīya śrī-Kulōttunga-Śōladēvar[ku] yāndu 16 vadu Mēsha-nāyaru pūrvva-  
pakshattu [a]ttamiyu[m]  
6. Viyāla-kkīlamayum peṇṇa Pūṣatti-nāl

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of king Parakésarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the

<sup>1</sup> Mr Venkayya has informed me, about three years ago, that the figures undoubtedly are ‘18’. I would suggest that ‘the thirteenth’ solar day, which is mentioned closely to the regnal year, may have misled the writer to put down ‘13’ also for the latter.

<sup>2</sup> No 158 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1905

<sup>4</sup> No 48 of the Government Epigraphist’s collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> Read *pakshattu*

<sup>5</sup> Read *Tribhu*

crowned head of the Pândya,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha<sup>1</sup>

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 31st March A D 1194, which was the 7th day of the month of Mēsha, and on which the 8th *tithi* of the bright half (of the second Chaitra) ended 10 h 50 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 18 h 24 m, and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise

153 — In the Śivayōganāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruvīśālūr<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śī ||— [Pu]yal vāppa . . . . . kō=P[pa]ra-  
16 . . . . .  
17 k[śā]n[pa]rmar=[ś]na T[ī]ḥbuva[na]chcha[kka]ravattigal Ma[du]ra[ya]m [P]ān[di]-  
18 yan mudī-talāiyun=gond-aruh[na] śī-Kulō]ttunga-Śō[la]-  
19 dēvaraku yāndu padine[t]tāva[du] Kum[bha]-nāya[r]ru pūr[va]-paksha[ttu]  
20 tr[ī]tīyāiyum Śani-kkalamāiyum p[er]ra [P]āratu nā[ī]

"In the eighteenth year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Pândya,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha<sup>3</sup>

The wording of this date is intrinsically wrong because on the third *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Kumbha the *nakshatra* could not possibly be Pūrva-Phalgunī, and the probability would seem to be that either the first fortnight been erroneously quoted instead of the second or Pūrva-Phalgunī (*Pūrattu*) instead of Pūrva-Bhadrapadā (*Pūrattidū*)<sup>3</sup> In my opinion, the date corresponds to Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1198, which was the 10th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 5 h 40 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā, by the equal space system for 4 h 36 m, after mean sunrise

153 — In the Vātāranēśvara temple at Tiruvālgādu<sup>4</sup>

1 [Sva]sti [śī] [!\*] Tribhuvanachchakaravattigal Madurāiyu[m] Ī]amum  
P[ān]dī[ya]n mudittalai[ya]n-go-  
2 [v]ā-aruh[na] [śī]-Kulōttunga-Śō[la]d[ē]va[r]kku yā[ndu] 2]3 vadu . . . . .  
4 . . . . . Kanni-nāya[r]ru=ppadinā[r]n=di[yadi]y=ś[pa]  
Śēvāy-kka(kki)[la]ma[ya]m pūr[va]-pa[ksha]t-  
5 tu [tr]ītīyāiyum p[er]ra Śitūrai-nā[ī]

"In the [3]3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōlādēva, who was pleased to take Madurai, Ījam and the crowned head of the Pândya,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight and to a Tuesday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Kanyā<sup>3</sup>

The date corresponds to Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 The preceding Kanyā samkrānti took place 20 h 58 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th August, the first day of the month of Kanyā therefore was Monday, the 28th August, and the 16th day of

<sup>1</sup> Another inscription of the [1]8th year of the same king with apparently the same astronomical details is found in the same temple (No 42 of 1906) But the portion, where the fortnight, the *nakshatra* and the *tithi* may be expected, is damaged What is actually found is [p] . . . . . miyūm  
*Vāgla-kkalamāiyum p[er]ra P[ā]ratu nā[ī]*

<sup>2</sup> No 14 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907

<sup>3</sup> Compare the date No 50, above, Vol VI p 288

<sup>4</sup> No. 456 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

the same month was Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200 On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of *Āśvina*) commenced 7 h 12 m., and the *nakshatra* was *Chitrā*, by the equal space system and according to *Gaṅga* for 2 h 38 m., after mean sunrise—There seems no reason why the second *tithi* (*dvitīyayam*) should not have been quoted in the original date instead of the third (*trītiyayam*)

#### F—RAJARAJA III.

154—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svas[ta] śr[i] [||\*] [Tr]bhuvanachakravattigal śrī-<sup>2</sup>Rājarājadēvarḱku yāndu  
24[āvaḍu<sup>3</sup>] Mid[un]a-nāyarṛu pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum  
Śan-klāmay[u]m peṛra Ś[ō]di-nāl

“In the 24th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna ”

The reign of Rājarāja III has been found to commence<sup>4</sup> between (approximately) the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 This date of the 24th year corresponds to Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240, which was the 9th day of the month of Mithuna, and on which the 11th *tithi* of the bright half (of *Jyaishtha*) ended 3 h 37 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 5 h 55 m., after mean sunrise

155—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svas[ta] śiḥ [||\*] Tribhu[va]nachchakravattigal śrī-<sup>6</sup>Rājarājadēvarḱku yāndu  
2[9<sup>7</sup> āvaḍu<sup>8</sup>] Tulā nāyarṛu-ppūrvva-[pa]kshattu prathamaiyum [Ś]ēvvāy-  
kīlamaiyum peṛ-  
2 ṛa Śōdi-nāl

“In the 2[9]th<sup>7</sup> year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā ”

The date, for the 29th year, regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244, which was the 7th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the first *tithi* of the bright half (of *Kārtika*) ended 12 h 58 m., while the *nakshatra* was Svāti, by the equal space system for 15 h 46 m., and according to *Gaṅga* for 3 h 17 m., after mean sunrise—For the 26th year of the reign of Rājarāja III the date would be incorrect

156—In the Jambukéśvara temple near Trichinopoly<sup>9</sup>

- 1 Svast[i] śrī [||\*] Tribhu[va]nachcha[kra]vatigal śrī-<sup>10</sup>Rājarājadēvarḱku yāndu  
2[9<sup>10</sup>āvaḍu<sup>10</sup>] Tulā-nāyarṛu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Śēvvāy-  
kka(kk)[i]amaiyum peṛra Ś[ō]di-nāl

“In the 2[9]th<sup>10</sup> year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Tuesday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā ”

<sup>1</sup> No 508 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side.

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 260

<sup>5</sup> No 501 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>6</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

<sup>7</sup> The second figure of the date might also be 6

<sup>8</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year.

<sup>9</sup> No 503 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>10</sup> See the notes on the preceding date

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Tuesday, the 4th October A.D. 1244.

157 — In the Jambukésvāra temple near Trichinopoly <sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||\*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-<sup>2</sup>Rājarājādēvarku  
[y]āndu 2[9 āvadu]<sup>3</sup> Kumbha-nayarru ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navamiyum  
Tingat-kūla[m]aiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl.

“In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date corresponds to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245, which was the 14th day of the month of Kumbha, and on which the 9th *tithi* of the bright half (of Phālguna) commenced 1 h 12 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 7 h. 53 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise.

158 — In the Jambukésvāra temple near Trichinopoly <sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||\*] Tr[ī]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-<sup>5</sup>Rājarājādēva[r]ku  
[y]āndu 2[9āvadu]<sup>3</sup> Kumbha nāyarru-ppū[r]vva-pakshattu navam[ī]yum Tingat-  
k[ī]lamaiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-nāl

“In the 2[9]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha ”

The date is identical with the preceding date, and corresponds therefore to Monday, the 6th February A D 1245

G — PERUNJINGADEVA.

159 — In the Jambunātha temple at Jambai <sup>6</sup>

- 1 Svasta śr[ī] [||\*] Śa[galabu]vvanachchakravatt[ī]gal śr[ī]-kō-Pperu[ñ]jūngadēva[r]ku  
yāndu 16vadu Danu-nāyarru pū[r]vva-pakshattu trayōdaś[ī]yum Tingat-  
k[ī]lamaiyum peṭṭa Urōsan[ī]-<sup>6</sup>nāl

“In the 16th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king Perunjūngadēva,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to a Monday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first [fortnight] of the month of Dhanu ”

Above, Vol VII p 165, I have found that the reign of Perunjūngadēva commenced between (approximately) the 11th February and the 30th July A D 1243. This date, of his 16th year, corresponds to Monday, the 9th December A D 1258, which was the 14th day of the month of Dhanu, and on which the 13th *tithi* of the bright half (of Pausa) commenced 7 h 48 m, while the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the Brahma-siddhānta the whole day, according to Garga from 1 h 19 m, and by the equal space system from 13 h 8 m, after mean sunrise—Instead of the 13th, I should have expected the 12th *tithi* to have been quoted, especially as, joined with Rōhini, this *tithi* is a *mahā-dvādāśī* (*pāpa-nāśinī*)

<sup>1</sup> No 500 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>2</sup> This name consists of two abbreviations for the word *rāja* placed side by side

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be denoted by a flourish added to the second figure of the regnal year

<sup>4</sup> No 62 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903

<sup>5</sup> No 96 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>6</sup> The syllables *san[ī]* are repeated by mistake in the original

160 — In the Grāmārdhanāthēśvara temple at Elvānāsūr.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]\* . . . . . Śagalabuvanachchakkaravatigal  
 śrī-kō=²Pparuñ-  
 2 ũngadēvarkku yāndu muppādāvadu Tulā-nāyarṅu apara-pakshattu  
 3 tri(ṭṛ)ṭṭiyayum Tinga[!]-kijamayum peṭṭa Kāttagai nal

“In the thirtieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of all worlds, the glorious king **Peruñjagadēva**,—on the day of **Kṛttikā**, which corresponded to a **Monday** and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Tulā**”

The date corresponds to **Monday, the 10th October A D 1272**, which was the 13th day of the month of **Tulā**, and on which the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half (of **Āśvina**) commenced 6 h 40 m, while the *nakshatra* was **Kṛttikā**, by the equal space system for 13 h 47 m, by the **Brahma-siddhānta** for 0 h 39 m, and according to **Garga** for 1 h 58 m, after mean sunrise

## A LIST OF THE DATES OF CHOLA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

## A —Parāntaka I Parakēsarivarman

(Between the 15th January and the 25th July A D 907.)

- No 101 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 36, Kalyuga 4044 (current) Saturday, the 14th January A D 943  
 No 55 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 40 Saturday, the 25th July A D 946

## B —Rājārāja I Rājakēsarivarman

(Between the 25th June and the 25th July A D 985 )

- No. 137 (Vol IX p 207) —Year 5 Sunday, the 1st December A D 989.  
 No 1 (Vol IV p 66) —Year 7 the 26th September A D 991  
 No 61 (Vol VII p 169) —Year 11 Sunday, the 14th June A D 996  
 No 25 (Vol V p 48) —Year 15 Tuesday, the 29th August A D 999  
 No 27 (Vol V p 197) —Year 15 Wednesday, the 15th May A D 1000<sup>3</sup>  
 No 138 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Monday, the 23rd September A D 1000.  
 No 139 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 16 Sunday, the 13th October A D 1000  
 No. 2 (Vol IV p 67) —Śaka 929 (current) The date is incorrect  
 No 140 (Vol IX p 208) —Year 24, Saturday, the 6th November A D 1008<sup>4</sup>  
 No. 3 (Vol IV p 68) —Year 28, Śaka 934 The date would correspond to the 23rd December A D 1012, but contains no details for exact verification.

## C —Rājēndra-Chōja I Parakēsarivarman.

(Between the 27th March and the 7th July A D 1012 )

- No 102 (Vol VIII p 261) —Year 5 Tuesday, the 26th March A D 1017  
 No 32 (Vol VI p 20) —Year 9, Śaka 943 (current) Thursday, the 7th July A D 1020  
 No 4 (Vol IV p 68) —Śaka 943 (current) Wednesday, the 1st March A D 1021.  
 No. 5 (Vol IV p 69) —Year 31 (for 21), Śaka 954 Monday, the 23rd October A D 1032

<sup>1</sup> No 159 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> Read =Pperuñjaga°

<sup>3</sup> In the original the week day is wrongly given as Thursday

<sup>4</sup> The week-day is wrongly given as Wednesday

- No 33 (Vol VI p. 21) —Year 22, Śaka 955 Sunday, the 25th November A.D. 1033  
 No 34 (Vol. VI, p 22).—Year 26, Śaka 959 The date is incorrect  
 No 62 (Vol. VII, p 169) —Year 31 Friday, the 23rd July A D. 1042<sup>1</sup>

**D —Rājādhirāja I. Rājakésarivarman.**

(Between the 15th March and the 3rd December A D. 1018 )

- No 15 (Vol IV p 218) —Year [3]2 (for 22) Thursday, the 22nd November A.D 1039.  
 No. 12 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 14th March A D 1044.  
 No 13 (Vol. IV p. 217) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 13th February A D. 1045  
 No 14 (Vol. IV. p 217) —Year 29. Wednesday, the 3rd December A D 1046<sup>2</sup>  
 No. 11 (Vol IV. p 216) —Year 30 Śaka 970 (current) The date does not admit of exact verification.  
 No 35 (Vol VI. p 22) —Year 35. Śaka 975 —probably Sunday, the 23rd May A.D 1053.<sup>3</sup>

**E —Rājéndradéva Parakésarivarman<sup>4</sup>**

(The 28th May A D. 1052 )

- No 38 (Vol VI p 24).—The 82nd day of year 4 Thursday, the 17th August A.D. 1055.  
 No. 36 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 6, Śaka 979 Monday, the 27th October A D. 1057.  
 No 37 (Vol VI p 23).—Year 12 (for 11 ?), Śaka 984 The date does not admit of exact verification.

**F —Virarājendra Rājakésarivarman<sup>5</sup>**

(Between the 11th September A D 1062 and the 10th September A D 1063 )

- Vol. VII, p 9. —Year 5 Monday, the 10th September A D 1067

**G —Kulöttunga-Chôla I Rājakésarivarman (Rājendra-Chôla II.)**

(Between the 14th March and the 8th October A D 1070.)

- No 56 (Vol VII p 1) —Year 4 Thursday, the 7th November A D. 1073  
 No 39 (Vol VI. p 278) —Year 7, Śaka 998 Friday, the 10th February A D 1077.<sup>6</sup>  
 No 63 (Vol VII p. 170) —Year 16 Thursday, the 12th March A D. 1086  
 No 6 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 37, Śaka 1030 (for 1028 ?) The date does not admit of exact verification  
 No 9 (Vol IV p 72) —Śaka 1035. Sunday, the 22nd February A D. 1114  
 No 7 (Vol IV p 70) —Year 44 Friday, the 13th March A D 1114  
 No 8 (Vol IV p 71) —Year 45 Thursday, the 8th October A D 1114  
 No 40 (Vol VI p. 279).—Year 45, Śaka 1036. Wednesday, the 9th December A D 1114.  
 No 26 (Vol V p 43).—Year 48 Monday, the 7th January A D 1118  
 Nos. 20 and 28 (Vol IV. p 262, and Vol V p 198) —Year 48 Friday, the 25th January A D. 1118<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *sakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The 2nd *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

<sup>3</sup> The 13th *śaka* has probably been wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd.

<sup>4</sup> In No 37 surnamed Rājakésarivarman

<sup>5</sup> No 273 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1904 contains a date of the 7th year of this king and of Śaka 991 expired (= A D. 1069/70)

<sup>6</sup> The month Māgha is wrongly quoted instead of Phālguna

<sup>7</sup> In No 28 the 12th *śaka* is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd which is correctly given in No 20.

**H — Vikrama-Chôja Parakésarivarman.**

(The 28th June A D 1118)

- No. 21 (Vol IV. p 263, and Vol. VII p 3) —Year 4 Monday, the 1st May A D 1122.  
 Nos 103 and 104 (Vol. VIII p 262).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 10th May A D 1122  
 No 22 (Vol IV. p. 264, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Monday, the 31st July A D. 1122.  
 No 57 (Vol VII p 3) —Year 5 Thursday, the 31st May A D 1123  
 No 10 (Vol IV p 73, and Vol VII. p 4).—The 340th day of year 5 Sunday, the 3rd  
 June A D 1123<sup>1</sup>  
 No 141 (Vol IX p 209) —Year 6 Wednesday, the 7th November A D 1123  
 No 84 (Vol VIII p. 1) —Year 7 Thursday, the 7th August A D. 1124,  
 No 105 (Vol VIII p. 263).—Year 8 Tuesday, the 18th August A D 1125  
 No 42 (Vol VI p 230) —Year 9, Śaka 1049 the 27th May A D 1127<sup>2</sup>  
 No 59 (Vol. VII p 5) —Year 10 Sunday, the 15th April, or Saturday, the 14th April  
 A D. 1128<sup>3</sup>  
 No 64 (Vol. VII p. 170) —Year 11 Wednesday, the 19th December A D 1128  
 No 58 (Vol VII p 4) —Year 11 Saturday, the 5th January A D 1129  
 No. 65 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 15 The date does not admit of verification  
 No 41 (Vol VI. p. 279, and Vol VII p 3) —Year 16 Monday, the 16th April A D. 1134  
 No 43 (Vol VI p 231, and Vol VII p 5) —Year 17, Śaka 1054 (for 1057) Thursday,  
 the 18th April A D 1135

**I — Kulöttunga-Chôda II<sup>4</sup>**

Vol VII p. 9 —Śaka 1056 (for 1065) the 24th March A.D 1143

**J — Râjarâja II Parakésarivarman.**

(Between the 6th April and the 11th July A D. 1146)

- No 85 (Vol VIII p 2).—Year 4 Wednesday, the 23rd November A D 1149.  
 No 86 (Vol VIII p 2) —Year 6 Thursday, the 24th January A D 1152  
 No 89 (Vol. VIII p 3) —Year 6 Thursday, the 14th February A D 1152<sup>5</sup>  
 No 87 (Vol. VIII p 2) —Year 12. Wednesday, the 26th March A D 1158  
 No 88 (Vol. VIII. p 3) —Year 15. Thursday, the 12th January A D 1161  
 No. 144 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 15 Monday, the 6th March A D 1161.<sup>6</sup>  
 No 142 (Vol IX p 209).—Year 15 Wednesday, the 5th April A D 1161  
 No 106 (Vol VIII p 263) —Year opposite to 16 Wednesday, the 11th July A.D. 1162,  
 No. 143 (Vol. IX p. 209) —Year 17. Sunday, the 2nd December A D 1162

**K — Râjâdhirâja II. Râjakésarivarman.**

(Between the 28th February and the 30th March A D. 1163)

- No 145 (Vol IX p 210) —Year 2 Monday, the 30th March A D 1164.  
 No 146 (Vol IX. p 211).—Year 8 Monday, the 10th August A D 1170  
 No 147 (Vol. IX. p 211).—Year 10 Tuesday, the 27th February A D 1173  
 No 148 (Vol. IX p 212).—Year 11 Wednesday, the 15th August A D. 1173  
 No. 149 (Vol IX. p 212) —Year 13 (for 19 ?) Wednesday, the 8th July A D 1181 (?).

<sup>1</sup> The 7th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th<sup>2</sup> The year *Plava* is wrongly quoted instead of *Plavaṅga*<sup>3</sup> In the original date either the *wakshatra* or the week-day is quoted incorrectly.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical with Kulöttunga Chôja II Râjakésarivarman, of whom I possess unpublished dates of the regnal years 4, 10, 14 and 15<sup>5</sup> The month of *Mina* is wrongly quoted instead of *Kumbha*<sup>6</sup> The 5th *śukla* is wrongly quoted instead of the 7th



L.—Kulóttunga-Chóla III. Parakésarivarman (Virarājendra-Chóla,<sup>1</sup> Tribhuvanavira<sup>2</sup>)

(Between the 6th and the 8th July A D 1178)

- No. 66 (Vol VII p 171) —Year 3 Monday, the 11th August A D 1180<sup>3</sup>  
 No 67 (Vol VII p. 171) —Year 3 the date is incorrect  
 No 107 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 4 Thursday, the 11th March A D 1182  
 No 150 (Vol IX p 213) —Year 6 Monday, the 16th January A D. 1184  
 Nos 108 and 109 (Vol VIII p 264) —Year 6 Thursday, the 5th July A D 1194.<sup>4</sup>  
 No. 68 (Vol. VII p. 172) —Year 7. Wednesday, the 22nd August A D 1184.  
 No 23 (Vol IV p 264) —Year 8 Monday, the 8th July A D 1185  
 No 90 (Vol VIII. p 4) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 5th January A D 1188<sup>5</sup>  
 No 19 (Vol IV p. 220) —Year 12 Monday, the 4th December A D 1189.  
 No 60 (Vol VII p 6) —Year 14 Thursday, the 2nd January A D 1192<sup>6</sup>  
 No 110 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 16 Monday, the 17th January A D 1194.  
 No 151 (Vol IX. p 213). —Year 16 Thursday, the 31st March A.D 1194  
 No 24 (Vol IV. p 265) —Year 16 Saturday, the 4th June A D 1194<sup>7</sup>  
 No. 69 (Vol. VII p. 172) —Year 17 Monday, the 13th February A D 1195.  
 No 70 (Vol VII. p. 172) —Year 17 Thursday, the 8th June A D 1195.  
 No. 152 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 18 Saturday, the 3rd February A D 1196<sup>8</sup>  
 No 71 (Vol VII. p 173) —Year 19 Monday, the 2nd September A D 1196<sup>9</sup>  
 No 17 (Vol IV. p 219). —Year 19 Tuesday, the 12th November A.D 1196.  
 No 72 (Vol VII p 173) —Year 19 Wednesday, the 30th April A D. 1197  
 No 16 (Vol IV p 219) —Year 19 (for 20), Saka 1119. Friday, the 21st November A.D. 1197<sup>10</sup>  
 No 111 (Vol VIII p 265) —Year 20 Sunday, the 3rd May A D 1198<sup>11</sup>  
 No 31 (Vol V p. 199) —Year 20 The date is quite incorrect  
 No 73 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 7th April A D 1199  
 No 74 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 21 Saturday, the 10th April 1199<sup>12</sup>  
 No 153 (Vol IX p 214). —Year 23 Tuesday, the 12th September A D 1200  
 No 112 (Vol. VIII p 265) —Year 23 Monday, the 6th November A D 1200  
 No 113 (Vol VIII. p. 266) —Year 25 Wednesday, the 24th July A D 1202<sup>13</sup>  
 No 44 (Vol. VI. p 231). —Year 27 Thursday, the 5th May A D 1205  
 No. 29 (Vol V p 198). —Year 29 Wednesday, the 7th March A D 1207.  
 No 114 (Vol VIII p 266) —Year 32 Monday, the 21st December A.D. 1209<sup>14</sup>  
 No 18 (Vol IV p 220) —Year 34 Monday, the 19th September A D. 1211.  
 No. 91 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 35 Sunday, the 2nd June A D 1213  
 No 92 (Vol VIII p 4) —Year 36 Monday, the 14th April A D 1214

<sup>1</sup> This name occurs in the dates of the 6th and 7th years<sup>2</sup> This name occurs in the dates from the 32nd to the 39th year<sup>3</sup> I now take this to be the proper equivalent of the date<sup>4</sup> The 12th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 11th<sup>5</sup> The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first<sup>6</sup> The first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second<sup>7</sup> The 4th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th<sup>8</sup> The *nakshatra* Púrva Phalguni is wrongly quoted instead of Púrva-Bhadrapadā<sup>9</sup> The *nakshatra* quoted is intrinsically wrong<sup>10</sup> The 15th solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 25th<sup>11</sup> The *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā is wrongly quoted instead of Uttarā-Bhadrapadā<sup>12</sup> The month of Rishabha is wrongly quoted instead of Mésa.<sup>13</sup> The 5th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 4th<sup>14</sup> The 9th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th.

- No 93 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 37 Monday, the 17th November A D 1214  
 No 30 (Vol V p 199) —Year 37 Sunday, the 7th June A D 1215  
 No 94 (Vol VIII p 5) —Year 39 Wednesday, the 25th January A D 1217

**M — Rājārāja III Rājākēśarivarman <sup>1</sup>**

(Between the 27th June and the 10th July A D 1216 )

- No 115 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year 2 Monday, the 29th January A D 1218  
 No 75 (Vol VII p 174) —Year 4 Monday, the 22nd June A D 1220  
 No 76 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 5 Wednesday, the 19th August A D 1220 <sup>2</sup>  
 No 77 (Vol VII p 175) —Year opposite to 6 Thursday, the 13th October A D 1222  
 No 95 (Vol VIII p 6) —Year opposite to 8 Monday, the 7th October A D 1224 <sup>3</sup>  
 No 116 (Vol VIII p 267) —Year opposite to 8 Sunday, the 23rd February A D 1225 <sup>4</sup>  
 No 117 (Vol VII p 267) —Year 10 Friday, the 17th April A D 1226  
 No 78 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 10 Tuesday, the 21st April A D 1226  
 No 118 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 12 Monday, the 2nd August A D 1227  
 No 119 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Thursday, the 10th July A D 1231  
 No 120 (Vol VIII p 268) —Year 16 Saturday, the 22nd May A D 1232  
 No 45 (Vol VI p 281) —Year opposite to 16 Saturday, the 25th September A D 1232  
 No 46 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 17 Tuesday, the 18th January A D 1233  
 No 47 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Tuesday, the 23rd August A D 1233  
 No 121 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 13th November A D 1233  
 No 48 (Vol VI p 282) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 7th December A D 1233  
 No 122 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 18 Sunday, the 25th December A D 1233  
 No 49 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 18 Monday, the 2nd January A D 1234  
 No 123 (Vol VIII p 269) —Year 19 (for 18) Sunday, the 11th June A D 1234.  
 No 50 (Vol VI p 283) —Year 19 probably Sunday, the 13th August A D 1234 <sup>5</sup>  
 No 124 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Sunday, the 5th November A D 1234  
 No 125 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year 19 Thursday, the 25th January A D 1235  
 No 128 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 (? for 21) Monday, the 12th January A D 1237 <sup>6</sup>  
 No 51 (Vol VI p 284) —Year 22 Tuesday, the 16th March A D 1238 <sup>7</sup>  
 No. 52 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Monday, the 28th February A D 1239  
 No 53 (Vol VI p 284) —Year opposite to 22 Wednesday, the 2nd March A D 1239  
 No 54 (Vol VI p 285) —Year opposite to 22 Friday, the 4th March A D 1239  
 No. 154 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 24 Saturday, the 2nd June A D 1240  
 No 126 (Vol VIII p 270) —Year opposite to 24 Saturday, the 12th January A D. 1241  
 No 127 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 27 Wednesday, the 30th July A D 1242  
 Nos 155 and 156 (Vol IX p 215) —Year 29 Tuesday, the 4th October A D 1244  
 Nos 157 and 158 (Vol IX p 216). —Year 29 Monday, the 6th February A D 1245  
 No 129 (Vol VIII p 271) —Year 29 Monday, the 26th June A D 1245  
 No 130 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 30 Sunday, the 17th December A D 1245. <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This surname occurs only in the date No 45

<sup>2</sup> The 5th *tittā* may have been quoted erroneously instead of the 4th

<sup>3</sup> The 9th *tittā* is wrongly quoted instead of the 8th

<sup>4</sup> [The last day of] the month of Kumbha has been quoted erroneously instead of [the first day of] the immediately following month of Mīna

<sup>5</sup> In the original date either the *śakāvatara* Uttarattādi (Uttara Bhadrāpadā) has been wrongly quoted instead of Uttarām (Uttara Phalgunī), or the first fortnight instead of the second

<sup>6</sup> If the published reading of the original date is correct, the second fortnight has been wrongly quoted instead of the first

<sup>7</sup> The 4th *tittā* is wrongly quoted instead of the 14th

<sup>8</sup> The 13th *tittā* is wrongly quoted instead of the 12th

- No 96 (Vol VIII. p 6) —Year 32 Friday, the 7th February A D 1248  
 No 97 (Vol VIII p. 6).—Year 32 Wednesday, the 22nd April A.D. 1248

N —Rājendra-Chôla III.

(Between the 21st March and the 20th April A D. 1246 )

- No 79 (Vol VII p 175) —Year 3 Saturday, the 20th March A D 1249  
 No 98 (Vol. VIII p 6) —Year 4 Sunday, the 12th September A D 1249  
 No 131 (Vol VIII p 272) —Year 4 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1250.  
 No 80 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 7 Wednesday, the 25th December A D 1252  
 No 83 (Vol VII p 177) —Year opposite to 7 The date is intrinsically wrong.  
 No 132 (Vol VIII p 272).—Year 9 Tuesday, the 12th January A D. 1255.  
 No 133 (Vol VIII p. 273) —Year opposite to 11 Monday, the 9th July A D 1257  
 No 134 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 16 (for 17) Monday, the 1st May A D 1262  
 No 135 (Vol VIII p 273) —Year 18 Wednesday, the 2nd January A D 1264<sup>1</sup>  
 No 136 (Vol VIII p 274).—Year 20 Wednesday, the 20th January A D 1266.  
 No 81 (Vol VII p 176) —Year 21 Wednesday, the 30th June A D 1266  
 No 99 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 22 Wednesday, the 20th April A D 1267.  
 No 82 (Vol VII p 177) —Year 22 Sunday, the 8th May A D 1267

\* \* \* \* \*

O —Peruñjungadéva.

(Between the 11th February and the 30th July A.D. 1243.)

- Vol VII p 164, B.—Year 7 Friday, the 30th July A D 1249  
 No 159 (Vol IX p 216) —Year 16 Monday, the 9th December A D 1258  
 Vol. VII p 164, A —Year 18, Śaka 1182 Sunday, the 31st October A D 1260  
 No 160 (Vol. IX p 217) —Year 30 Monday, the 10th October A D 1272  
 Vol. VII p 165, D —Year 31 Saturday, the 10th February A D 1274

\* \* \* \* \*

F.—Trnbhuvanavira-Chôjadéva.

(Between the 24th August A D 1331 and the 23rd August A.D 1332 )

- No 100 (Vol VIII p 7) —Year 11 Friday, the 23rd August A D 1342.

No 30 —DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHOEN, C I E, GÖTTINGEN.

(Continued from Vol. VIII. page 283 )

From the numerous dates of Pāndya kings sent to me by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya, I here give five (Nos 63-67), the European equivalents of which may be given with certainty. The remaining dates must wait till more dates of the kings to whom they belong have been discovered. Of those here published, Nos 64 and 66 are valuable inasmuch as, taken together with previously published dates, they show that Māravarmān Kulasēkhara I. commenced to reign between (approximately) the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268, and Māravarmān Kulasēkhara II. between (approximately) the 6th and the 29th March A.D 1314.

<sup>1</sup> The second fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the first.

In a postscript I give a date of a king Rājakéśarīvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya, according to Mr Venkayya a ruler of Kongu, which quotes both the Śaka year 1202 and the regnal year 15, both given in words. This date is of considerable interest, because my calculations prove its meaning to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which (reign) commenced in the Śaka year 1202 (and not, that the day of the date itself fell in the Śaka year 1202). The date thus suggests another point of doubt and uncertainty regarding the interpretation of dates that do not contain sufficient *data* for exact verification, even when at first sight such doubt seems to be out of the question.

At the end of this article also I give a list of all published dates of Pāṇḍya kings that have been examined by me, with approximate statements of the time when each king commenced to reign.

#### A—MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

63.—In the rock-cut Śiva temple at Tirumaiyam<sup>1</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māṇḍapanmar-āna Trubhuvanachchakravattigal śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya-dēvaṅku yāḍu 7vadu [Riṣa]bha-[nāy]iṅṅu-ppadim[ū]nān-diyadiyum pūrvva-<sup>2</sup> mikshattu daśamiyūm Nāyirru-kkila-<sup>3</sup>

2 mai[yu]m per[ra\*] U[tti]nattu nāi

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Māravarmān *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the thirteenth solar day of the month of Rishabha "

I have previously found<sup>4</sup> that the reign of Māravarmān Sundara-Pāṇḍya II commenced between (approximately) the 15th June A D. 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239. This date of his 7th year regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. The preceding Vriṣhabha-samkrānti took place 0 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, the 25th April A D 1245, which was the first day of the month of Vriṣhabha, and the 13th day of the same month therefore was Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245. On this day the 10th *tithi* of the bright half (of Jyāishtha) commenced 0 h. 43 m, and the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 19 h. 42 m, and by the Bṛahma-siddhanta for 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

For the reign of Mājavarmān Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. the date would be quite incorrect.

#### B—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

64.—In the Arjunéśvara temple at Kiladī<sup>5</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] Kō Māṇḍapa[mma]na Tr[ī]bhuvanachcha[ka]vattigal<sup>7</sup> [em]mandalamun-goud-arulaya śr[ī]-Kulasekharadēvarukku [y]ūdu 23vadu Mith[un]na-nāyāṅṅu 6 t[ri]t[ī]yā[yu]m Vell[ī]-kk[ā]lamayum per[ra] Pūśattu nāi

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of king Mājavarmān *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,— on the day of Pūshya, which corresponded to a Friday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 6th solar day of the month of Mithuna "

<sup>1</sup> No 387 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>2</sup> Read *pakshattu*

<sup>3</sup> The whole of this line is engraved over an erasure

<sup>4</sup> See above Vol VI p 305

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the *tithi* of the *Dasaharā*

<sup>6</sup> No 447 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>7</sup> Read *chakra*

<sup>8</sup> The syllable *ti* here stands for *tuati*

I have previously found<sup>1</sup> that the reign of Māravarman Kulasékharā I commenced between (approximately) the 19th March and the 27th June A D 1268 This date of his 23rd year regularly corresponds to Friday, the 1st June A D 1291 The preceding Mithuna-samkrānti took place 7 h 16 m after mean sunrise of Sunday, the 27th May A D 1291, which was the first day of the month of Mithuna; and the 6th day of the same month therefore was Friday, the 1st June A D 1291 On this day the 3rd *tithi* of the bright half (of the first Āshādhā) ended 3 h 3 m., and the *nakshatra* was Pushya, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 14 h 27 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 12 h 29 m., after mean sunrise.

The date reduces the period, during which Māravarman Kulasékharā I. must have commenced to reign, to the time from (approximately) the 2nd to the 27th June A.D. 1268

### 65—In the Arjunésvara temple at Kiladī.<sup>2</sup>

1 Svasti śrī [||\*] . . . . . śi-kō  
Mārapanmar-āna Tribhuvanachchakavattiga[<sup>3</sup> e]mmandalamun-gon[d-a]rñriya  
śrī-Kulaségaradēvaṅku yaṇdu 30vaḍin edurām-āndu Ka[r]kkataka-nāyaṅru 8 t'm  
apara-pakshattu ś[k]āda[śi]yūm peṅṅa Rōhin[ī]-nāḷ.

"In the year opposite the 30th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasékharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rōhini, which corresponded to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the 8th solar day of the month of Karkataka."

For the year opposite the 30th, *ie* for the 31st year, of Māravarman Kulasékharā I this date regularly corresponds to [Saturday], the 5th July A D. 1298. The preceding Karkataka-samkrānti took place 17 h 19 m after mean sunrise of Friday, the 27th June A D 1298 The first day of the month of Karkataka therefore was Saturday, the 28th June, and the 8th day of the same month was Saturday, the 5th July A D 1298 On this day the 11th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āshādhā) ended 18 h 55 m., and the *nakshatra* was Rōhini, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 23 h 38 m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 22 h 59 m., after mean sunrise.

### C—MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II

#### 66—In the Bhūmīśvara temple at Gudimallūr<sup>5</sup>

1 Svasti<sup>6</sup> [śrī] [||\*] Kō Mārapanmaṭṭi[r]buvanachchakkarava[t]ti śrī-Kula-  
[ś]égaradēvaṅku yaṇdu 12[āvaḍu]<sup>7</sup> paṅṅ[ī]ran[ḍāva]ḍu [M]ēsha-nāyaṅru  
pupu[r]va<sup>8</sup> pakshattu chatutteṣiyūm Vellī-kkamaiyūm peṅṅa Avitatt[ā] n[ā].

"In the 12th—twelfth—year (of the reign) of king Māravarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasékharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha "

This date is intrinsically wrong because the *nakshatra* cannot possibly be Dhanishṭhā on the 14th *tithi* of a first fortnight in the month of Mēsha Irrespectively of the *nakshatra*

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 273

<sup>2</sup> No 449 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> Read "chakra"

<sup>4</sup> The syllable *ts* here stands for *tsyadyu*

<sup>5</sup> No 419 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905.

<sup>6</sup> Read *svasti*

<sup>7</sup> The word *avadu* seems to be deputed by a flourish added to 2

Read *pāra-*

the date would be wrong for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulāśekhara I. But for the 12th year of the reign of Māvarman Kulāśekhara II (which has been found<sup>1</sup> to commence between approximately the 6th March and the 23rd July A D 1314) the date would regularly correspond to Friday, the 29th March A D 1325, which was the 4th day of the month of **Mēsha**, and on which the 14th *tithi* of the bright half (of Chaitra) ended 7 h 9 m, while the *nakshatra* was **Hasta**, by the equal space system and according to Garga for 10 h 30 m and by the Brahma-siddhānta for 7 h 13 m, after mean sunrise—I have no doubt that this is the true equivalent of the date and that the concluding words of the original date ought to be *Atattu nil*, 'the day of Hasta,' instead of *Atittattu nil*.

The date would prove that Māvarman Kulāśekhara II. could not have commenced to reign later than (approximately) the 29th March A D 1314.

#### D — JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA

67 —In the Satyagrāmātha-Perumāl temple at Tirumaiyam<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasti śiṭ [||\*] Śrī-ko-[Chchadai]pannai=āna Ti[ai]buvanaśa[kīa]vatt[ai]gal śi[ai]  
Parākk[ai]ama-Pā[naiyade]varkku [a]udu vvaḍ[ai]n  
2 edur 7vadu -n[ai]yayū apara pakshattu dvāḍiyyum Nayanū kk[ai]-  
lamayum perpa Uttarādattu nāl

"In the 7th (year) opposite the 5th year (of the reign) of the glorious king [Jatā]-varman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parakrama-Pandyadeva,—on the day of Uttarasadhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of "

I have previously found<sup>3</sup> that Jatāvarman Parākrama Pandya commenced to reign between (approximately) the 10th January A D 1307 and the 9th January A D 1358. This date of the 7th opposite the 5th year, *etc.* of the 12th year of his reign, undoubtedly corresponds to Sunday, the 4th February A D 1383, which was the 11th day of the month of [Kumbha], and on which the 12th *tithi* of the dark half (of Māgha) ended 21 h 7 m after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* was Uttaraśādhā, by the Brahma-siddhānta and according to Garga the whole day, and by the equal space system from 6 h 34 m after mean sunrise.

The date shows that Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya could not have commenced to reign before (approximately) the 5th February A D 1357.

#### POSTSCRIPT

#### RAJAKESARIVARMAN VIRA-PANDYA<sup>4</sup>

In the Kariyamānikka-Perumāl temple at Vijayamangalam<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Svasti śiṭ [||\*] Nānmalalaṅ=iyakka [||\*] [Śāga]i-yāndu āyatt=iru-nūṟ=naidil  
[kō]v=[irā]śa[k]śarpai nmax=āna [Ti]bhuvanachcha[kravat]-  
2 tugal śrī-Vīra-Pandyadevayku yāndu pa[ḍ]nāṅṅāvadu<sup>6</sup> Tu[ai]ā-nāyayū apara-  
pakshattu=7Ttngat-kilamayū]m daśamiyūm pe[ṟra] Ut[ai]uatū n[āi]

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VI p. 315

<sup>2</sup> No 395 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1906

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol VII p 17

<sup>4</sup> This king is neither a Pāṇḍya nor a Chōla, but a ruler of Kongu, see Rā Bahadur V Venkayya's *Annual Report* for 1905-06, page 79

<sup>5</sup> No 544 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1905

<sup>6</sup> The *akshara tu* is engraved above the line

<sup>7</sup> The guttural *n* is engraved above the line

"In the Śaka year one thousand two hundred and two, the fifteenth year (of the reign) of king [Rā]jakēśarīvarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Vīra-Pāndyadēva**,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to the tenth *tithi* and to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Tulā "

The meaning of this date would naturally be taken to be that the day of the date fell both in the 15th year of the king's reign and in the Śaka year 1202, either current or expired, but for either of these Śaka years the date would be incorrect

For the current Śaka year 1202 the date might be taken to correspond to Monday, the 2nd October A D 1279, which was the 4th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 2 h 37 m after mean sunrise. But the *nakshatras* on this day were Maghā and Pūrva-Phalguni

For the expired Śaka year 1202 it would correspond to Saturday, the 19th October A D. 1280, which was the 22nd day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Āśvina) ended 18 h 25 m, while the *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Phalguni, by the Brahmasiddhānta for 11 h 10 m, according to Garga for 15 h 46 m, and by the equal space system for 3 h. 17 m, after mean sunrise

The date would be incorrect also for the Śaka year 1200 (current or expired) and for all years down to Śaka 1214 expired. It would be correct for Śaka 1215 expired (= 1216 current), for this year it would correspond to Monday, the 26th October A D. 1293, which was the 29th day of the month of Tulā, and on which the 10th *tithi* of the dark half (of Kārtika) ended 6 h 52 m. after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* by all systems was Uttara-Phalguni during the whole of the day

I have no doubt that Monday, the 26th October A D 1293, is the proper equivalent of the date; and, in accordance with this result, I take the true meaning of the original date to be this, that the day of the date fell in the 15th year of the king's reign which commenced some time during the (current) Śaka year 1202 (= A D. 1279-80) that is quoted at the beginning of the date. For dates that have to be similarly interpreted, I may refer to Nos 261, 262 and 269 of my *Southern List*

#### A LIST OF THE DATES OF PANDYA KINGS HITHERTO EXAMINED.

##### A—Jatāvarman Kulāśēkhara

(Between the 30th March and the 29th November A D. 1190)<sup>1</sup>

- No 2 (Vol VI p 302)—Year opp to 13 Thursday, the 26th February A D 1204.  
 No. 1 (Vol VI, p 301)—Year 12 opp. to 13 Saturday, the 29th November A D 1214.  
 No. 45 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 13 (for 13 opp. to 13 ?): Thursday, the 6th October A D 1216(?)  
 No 44 (Vol VIII p 275)—Year 14 opp to 13: Wednesday, the 29th March A D. 1217

##### B—Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya I.

(Between the 29th March and the 4th September A.D 1216.)

- No 6 (Vol VI p 304).—Year 7 Monday, the 13th March A D 1223  
 No 5 (Vol VI p. 303)—Year 9 Friday, the 28th March A D 1225  
 No 46 (Vol VIII, p 276)—Year 15: Tuesday, the 3rd December A D 1230.

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps Between the 7th October and the 29th November A D 1190

No 3 (Vol VI p 302)—Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 4th September A D 1234

No 4 (Vol VI p 303)—Year opp to year opp to 17 Monday, the 19th February A D 1235

**C—Māravarman Sundara-Pāndya II**

(Between the 15th June A D 1238 and the 18th January A D 1239 )

No 63 (Vol IX p 223).—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th May A D 1245

No. 10 (Vol VI p 305)—Year 11 Sunday, the 25th April A.D 1249

Nos 7 and 8 (Vol VI p 304)—Year opp to year opp. to 11 Wednesday, the 18th January A D 1251

No 9 (Vol. VI p 305)—Year opp to year opp to 11, Wednesday, the 14th June A D 1251.<sup>1</sup>

**D—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya I.**

(Between the 20th and the 28th April A D 1251 )

No 11 (Vol VI p 306)—Year 2 Thursday, the 27th March A D 1253

No 12 (Vol VI p. 306)—Year 2 Saturday, the 19th April A D 1253

No 13 (Vol VI p. 306)—Year 3 Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1253

No 17 (Vol VI p 307)—Year 7 Sunday, the 7th October A D 1257<sup>2</sup>

No 14 (Vol VI p 307)—Year 9 Tuesday, the 29th April A D 1259

No 15 (Vol VI p. 307)—Year 9 Sunday, the 15th June A D 1259

No 16 (Vol VI p 307)—Year 10 Wednesday, the 28th April A D 1260.

No 18 (Vol VI p 308)—Year 11 Tuesday, the 19th July A D 1261<sup>3</sup>

**E—Vira-Pāndya.**

(Between the 11th November A D 1252 and the 13th July A D 1253 )

No 32 (Vol VII. p 11)—Year 7 Sunday, the 13th July A D 1259

No 31 (Vol VII p 10)—Year 15 Thursday, the 10th November A D. 1267.

**F.—Māravarman Kulasékharā I.**

(Between the 2nd and the 27th June A D 1268 )

No 20 (Vol VI p 309)—Year 10 Wednesday, the 5th January A D 1278

No 48 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 22 Monday, the 27th June A D 1289

No 64 (Vol IX p 223)—Year 23 Friday, the 1st June A D 1291

No 21 (Vol VI. p 309)—Year 26 Wednesday, the 18th November A D. 1293<sup>4</sup>

No 19 (Vol VI p 308)—Year 27 Friday, the 10th December A D 1294.

No 49 (Vol. VIII p 277)—Year 30 Wednesday, the 31st July A D 1297

No 65 (Vol. IX p 224)—Year opp to 30 · Saturday, the 5th July A.D 1298

No 50 (Vol VIII p 277).—Year 34 Saturday, the 8th July A D 1301.<sup>5</sup>

No 51 (Vol VIII p 278)—Year 29 (for 39) Saturday, the 9th July A.D. 1306

No. 22 (Vol. VI. p 310)—Year 40 Saturday, the 24th February A D 1308.

No 47 (Vol VIII p 276)—Year 40, Śaka 1229 Monday, the 18th March A.D. 1308

<sup>1</sup> The month of Mīna is wrongly quoted instead of Mithuna

<sup>2</sup> In the date, which is intrinsically wrong, the month of Kanyā is quoted instead of Tula

<sup>3</sup> Thursday appears to have been wrongly quoted instead of Tuesday

<sup>4</sup> The 2nd śaka is wrongly quoted, or misread, instead of the 3rd.

<sup>5</sup> The 3rd śaka is wrongly quoted instead of the 2nd



## G.—Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāndya II

(Between the 13th September A D. 1275 and the 15th May A D 1278)

- No 25 (Vol VII p. 311) —Year 6 Monday, the 21st July A D 1281.  
 No 52 (Vol VIII p. 278) —Year 10 Monday, the 23rd July A D 1285  
 No 54 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 12 Wednesday, the 27th August A D 1287<sup>1</sup>  
 No 26 (Vol VI p. 311) —Year 12 Friday, the 12th September A D, 1287<sup>2</sup>  
 No 53 (Vol VIII p 279) —Year 11 (for 12) Wednesday, the 29th October A D 1287  
 No 23 (Vol VI p 310). —Year 13 (for 14) Monday, the 1st August A D 1289  
 No 24 (Vol VI p 310) —Year 13 (for 14) Friday, the 5th August A D 1289.  
 No 27 (Vol VI p. 312) —Year opp to 14 Monday, the 15th May A D 1290  
 No. 55 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 2 opp to 13 Monday, the 28th August A.D 1290<sup>3</sup>  
 No 56 (Vol VIII p 280) —Year 9 for 10(?) Friday, the 29th March A D 1286(?)<sup>4</sup>

## H.—Māraavarman Kulasēkhara II.

(Between the 6th and the 29th March A D 1314.)

- No 29 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 4 Saturday, the 23rd July A D 1317  
 No 30 (Vol VI p 313) —Year 5 Monday, the 5th March A D 1319<sup>5</sup>  
 No 28 (Vol VI p 312) —Year 8 Saturday, the 14th November A D 1321  
 No. 66 (Vol IX p 224) —Year 12 Friday, the 29th March A.D 1325<sup>6</sup>

## I.—Māraavarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 1st December A D. 1334 and the 1st November A D. 1335.)

- No 33 (Vol VII p. 11) —Year 6, Śaka 1262 Wednesday, the 1st November A D 1340  
 No 34 (Vol VII p 11) —Year 8 (for 18) Friday, the 30th November A.D. 1352.

## J —Jatāvarman Parākrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 5th February A.D. 1367 and the 9th January A.D. 1358.)

- No 67 (Vol IX p 225). —Year 7 opp to 5 Sunday, the 4th February A D 1369.  
 No. 35 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 10 opp to 5, Śaka 1293 Friday, the 9th January A.D 1372.

## K —Kōṅṅeraṅgaikondāṅ Vikrama-Pāndya.

(Between the 13th January and the 27th July A D. 1401)

- No 59 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 4 Sunday, the 15th February A D 1405 (?).<sup>7</sup>  
 No 58 (Vol, VIII p 281) —Year 8 Friday, the 27th July A D 1408.  
 No. 57 (Vol. VIII p. 281) —Year 15, opp to 2, Śaka 1339 Wednesday, the 12th January A D 1418

<sup>1</sup> The 31st solar day is wrongly quoted instead of the 30th<sup>2</sup> The 13th *tithi* is wrongly quoted instead of the 3rd<sup>3</sup> The [first day of the] month of Kanyā is wrongly quoted instead of [the last day of] Simha.<sup>4</sup> This date may possibly be one of the 8th year of J Sundara Pāṅḍya I, corresponding to Friday, the 29th March A D 1259<sup>5</sup> The date is intrinsically wrong The month of Simha is wrongly quoted instead of Mīna, and the *nakshatra* Pushya (*Pāṣat'va nāli*) instead of Pūrva Phalguni (*Pāvattis nāli*)<sup>6</sup> The *nakshatra* Dhaniśthā (*Aṅgittattu nāli*) is wrongly quoted instead of Hasta (*Aṅgittattu nāli*).<sup>7</sup> In the original date, which is intrinsically wrong, the first fortnight is wrongly quoted instead of the second, and the 3rd *tithi* instead of the 2nd.

**L —Jatilavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Arīkēsari-dēva**

(Between the 18th June and the 18th July A D 1422 )

- No 37 (Vol VII p 13) —Year opp to 31 Thursday, the 19th July A D 1453<sup>1</sup>  
 No 36 (Vol VII p. 12) —Year 2 opp to 31, Śāka 1377 Monday, the 24th March A D 1455  
 No 38 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 4 opp to 31 Wednesday, the 15th March A.D 1457  
 No 39 (Vol VII p 13) —Year 8 opp to 31, Śāka 1381 Wednesday, the 17th June A D 1461<sup>2</sup>

**M —Māṅavarman Vira-Pāndya**

(Between the 13th March and the 28th July A D 1443)

- No 60 (Vol VIII p 282) —Year 11 opp to 2 Monday, the 28th July A D 1455  
 No 61 (Vol VIII p 283) —Year 14 Sunday, the 16th January A D 1457.  
 No. 62 (Vol. VIII p. 283) —Year 14 Saturday, the 12th March A.D 1457

**N.—Jatilavarman Parākrama-Pāndya Kulasēkhara**

(Between the 15th November A D 1479 and the 14th November A D 1480)

- No 40 (Vol VII p 14) —Year 20, Śāka 1421 Thursday, the 14th November A D 1499

**O —Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāndya III.**

(Between the 2nd June A D. 1531 and the 1st June A D. 1532.)

- No 42 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 22 opp to 2, Śāka 1477. Saturday, the 1st June A D 1555

**P.—Jatilavarman Śrivalabha.**

(Between the 26th November A D 1534 and the 26th November A.D. 1535 )

- No 41 (Vol VII p 15) —Year 3, Śāka 1459 Wednesday, the 26th November A.D. 1537

**Q —Jatilavarman Śrivalabha Ativirarāma.**

(Between the 23rd August A D. 1562 and the 22nd August A D 1563 )

- No 43 (Vol VII. p 16) —Year 5, Śāka 1489 Friday, the 22nd August 1567

**No. 31 — TIRUMALAI ROCK INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRA-CHOLA I**

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALD)

When, more than twenty years ago, I started epigraphical work in the Madras Presidency, I prepared with my own hands an inked estampage of the inscription which is here re-edited. After Mr Venkayya had joined my office in Bangalore, we spent a considerable time in reading and translating this record — one of the first early Chōla documents we tried to make out in a reliable manner. The Tamil text of it as printed in *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol I p 98, does not contain any misreadings<sup>3</sup>. But the translation on p 99 needs revision in the light of the other Chōla inscriptions which were published later on, and a facsimile of this beautifully

<sup>1</sup> Monday is wrongly quoted instead of Thursday<sup>2</sup> Śāka 1381 is wrongly quoted instead of 1383, and the 23rd solar day wrongly instead of the 21st<sup>3</sup> Only the date in line 12 should be '13' (instead of '12'), the same correction has to be made in the heading of the Plate facing p 232 below

engraved and well preserved rock inscription was hitherto missing. I therefore republish it now in Roman characters with a fresh translation, and with a collytype of a careful inked estampage which was prepared recently under Rai Bahadur Venkayya's personal supervision.

The inscription is engraved on a smooth piece of rock near a rock-cut Jama figure on the top of the hill of Tirumalai near Pōjūr in the North Arcot district. The language is Tamil, and the alphabet is likewise Tamil, interspersed with a few Grantha words and letters (*svasti*, *svī*, l. 1, *śhai* of *uśhaya*, l. 9, *Mahi*<sup>2</sup>, l. 10, *Sri-Rājēndra-Chōlādēva* and *ja* of *Jayangonḍa*, l. 12, *sri*, *Jēna* and *dēva*, l. 13, *vyāpāri*, l. 13 f.)

The inscription is dated in the 13th year of the reign of the Chōla king *Parakēsarivarman* alias *Rājēndra-Chōlādēva* I (l. 12), who ascended the throne in A. D. 1012<sup>1</sup>. Its first eleven lines consist of a passage in Tamil verse which describes the conquests of the king, and the first words of which (*Tiru manṇi*, etc.) are quoted — as pointed out by Mr. Venkayya — in *Perundēvaṅār's* commentary on the *Vīrasōḷiyam*<sup>2</sup>.

The list of conquests opens with *Idaḍḍuṇ-ṇādu* (l. 1 f.), i. e. the country of *Yedatore* in the Mysore district, and *Vanavāsi*, i. e. *Banavāsi* in the North Canara district. The next item, the city of *Kollipākkai*, must have been included in the Western Chālukya kingdom. For it was set on fire by *Rājādhirāja* I. in the course of a war against *Sōmēśvara* I and *Vikramāditya* VI,<sup>3</sup> and it is mentioned as *Kollipāke* in an inscription of *Jayasimha* II<sup>4</sup>. *Manna-kataka* is identified by Mr. Rice with the city of *Manne* in the *Nelamangala tāluka* of the *Bangalore* district<sup>5</sup>.

*Īḥam* (l. 2) or *Īḥa-maṅḍala* (l. 3) is the Tamil designation of the island of *Ceylon*. *Rājēndra-Chōla* I. boasts of having deprived its king of his own crown, the crowns of his queens, and two other trinkets which the *Pāṇḍya* king had previously deposited with the king of *Ceylon* — a crown and the 'necklace of *Indra*'. Mr. Venkayya has pointed out that the *Mahāvamsa* (chapter LIII) also refers to the crown of the *Pāṇḍya*, which had been left with the king of *Ceylon* and was taken from him by the *Chōlas*,<sup>6</sup> and that the 'necklace of *Indra*' is alluded to in several *Pāṇḍya* inscriptions<sup>7</sup>.

The *Kērala* (l. 3) is the king of *Malabar*. *Śāndimattivu* (l. 5), i. e. the island of *Sāntamēt* (?), is unknown. *Muśaṅgi* is perhaps identical with the fort of *Uchchaṅgi* in the *Bellary* district.<sup>8</sup> *Jayasimha* of *Ratta-pādu* (l. 6), who was put to flight at *Muśaṅgi*, is the *Western Chālukya* king *Jayasimha* II.<sup>9</sup>

*Śakkaragōttam*, i. e. *Chakrakōtta*, is shown by the inscriptions of *Kulōttunga* I. to have belonged to the dominions of the king of *Dhārā*.<sup>10</sup> *Madura-maṇḍala* (l. 7) need not be connected with *Madhurā*, the capital of the *Pāṇḍya* king, who has been already accounted for (l. 3), but may be meant for the district of the northern *Mathurā* on the *Yamunā*. The three next geographical names cannot be identified.

At *Āḍuṇagar* (?) *Rājēndra-Chōla* I. captured *Indraratha* of the race of the *Moon* (l. 8). As suggested by Prof. Kielhorn,<sup>11</sup> this prince may be identical with that *Indraratha* who is mentioned in the *Udaypur* inscription as an enemy of *Bhōjadēva* of *Dhārā*.

<sup>1</sup> *South Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 196, above, Vol. VIII p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. III p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III p. 261. Compare also Vol. VI pp. 224, 225 and 227 (*Kollipākkā*).

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.* Vol. III p. 10 of the Introduction.

<sup>6</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p. 73.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 63 f., *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII p. 72 and note 78.

<sup>8</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol. II. p. 94, note 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. I p. 96.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 132.

<sup>11</sup> *List of Southern Inscr.* p. 120, note 3.

Odda-vishaya (1 9) is the province of Orissa, and Kōsala-nādu is probably Southern Kōsala,<sup>1</sup> Tandabutti, i.e. Daudabhukti and its ruler Dharmapala are unknown from other sources. The same is the case with Rarasua, who ruled over Tukkanaladam (1 10), i.e. Dakshina-Virāta<sup>2</sup> or Southern Berar, and with Gōvinda-chandra,<sup>3</sup> the ruler of Vangāla-dēśa, i.e. the Bengal country Mahipala, whom the Chola king deprived of his elephants and women, is identified by Prof. Kildhorn with the Pāla king Mahipala I.<sup>4</sup>

The list of conquests closes with Uttalādam (1 11), i.e. Uttara-Virāta or Northern Berar, and the Gangā, i.e. the river Ganges.

The short passage in Tamil prose with which the inscription ends (ll 12-14) records its actual purpose — a gift of money for a lamp and for offerings to the Jaina temple on the hill by the wife of a merchant of Mallyūr in Karaivali, a subdivision of Perumbanappādi. The temple was called Sri-Kundavai-Jinalaya (1 13), i.e. the Jina temple of Kundavai. This name suggests that the shrine owed its foundation to Kundavai, the daughter of Parāntaka II, elder sister of Rājārāja I (and consequently the paternal aunt of Rājendra-Chola I) and wife of Vallavaraya Vandyadōvai.<sup>5</sup> The sacred hill (Tirumalai) is stated to have formed part of Vaigavūr, a *palluchchandam*, i.e. 'a village belonging to a Jaina temple,'<sup>6</sup> in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision of Pangala-nādu, a district of Jayangonda-Chōla-mandala. Mallyūr is the modern Gudimallūr near Arcot.<sup>7</sup> The remaining geographical names mentioned in this paragraph have been discussed in *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 89, and above, Vol VII p 192.

In conclusion I would like to add a few words on the later conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I which are registered in the Tanjore inscription No 20. Mr Venkayya has shown that my former identification of Kadāram with a place in the Madura district<sup>8</sup> must be wrong, because the Chōla king despatched an expedition to it on ships by sea, and because two of the localities mentioned in connection with this expedition, Nakkavaram and Pappālam, are, respectively, the Nicobar Islands and a port in Burma.<sup>9</sup> Among the remaining items we read in line 9 of the Tanjore inscription *maraiśi-viśayamum*, and in line 11 *kalav-ttakkor űgalaḷ talai-ttakkolamum*. The second of them, Takkōlam, may be identical with Ptolemy's Τακωλα ἑμπόριον which Colonel Gerini places at Takōpa on the western coast of the Malay Peninsula.<sup>10</sup> Instead of the first, which I had translated by 'Vijayam of great fame,' an inscription at Kandyūr near Tanjore reads *marai-śriśivishayamum*, 'the prosperous Śrīvishaya.'<sup>11</sup> This may be the correct reading, for according to the larger Leiden grant (1 80) Śrīvishaya was the name of the country ruled over by the king of Kataha or Kadāram.

<sup>1</sup> *South Ind Inscr* Vol. I p 97

<sup>2</sup> In his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-1907*, p 87 f, Mr Venkayya has shown that the Tamil term *Iḍḍa* does not correspond to the Sanskrit *Lāṭa* (Gujarāt), but to *Varaṭa* (Berar)

<sup>3</sup> Page 34 of Dr Bunnell's *South-Indian Palaeography* (2nd ed) contains the following note — "The great inscription at Tanjore (11th century) mentions a Śērāmān, but also a king of Karuvai (or Karū) and a Gōvinda chandra (king of Kanāḍa)." — *Kanāḍa* (= Kannada or Karnata?) is nothing but a misreading of the word *Takkanalādam*, which happens to precede the name *Gōvindaśandan* (1 10), and *Karuvai*, here represented as referring to Karuvūr, is probably derived from *Adinagaravai* (1 8). I am not drawing attention to these mis-takes in order to gloss over them, but to prevent their being quoted as reliable facts.

<sup>4</sup> *List of Southern Inscr* p 120, note 4

<sup>5</sup> *South-Ind. Inscr* Vol. II p 68. For three other princesses named Kundavai see *Ind Ant* Vol XXIII p 298, note 13, and *South-Ind Inscr* Vol III p 100

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol VII p 116, note 1

<sup>7</sup> See Mr. Venkayya's *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-1906*, p 86 f, Nos 418, 416 and 419

<sup>8</sup> *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 106

<sup>9</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, p 17. Compare *South Ind Inscr* Vol. III p 194 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Journ R. As. Soc* 1904, p 247

<sup>11</sup> See my *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1894-95*, p 4

## TEXT

- 1 Svasti sif [||\*] Tiru manai valarav-ira-nila-madandiyum pôr-chchaya-ppāvaiyuñ=  
ju ttani-chchelvaiyu...dan poi-un-dēviya=agi i b-uru ned-udiyal ūhul  
Idaidu-
- 2 rai-nādun=dūnai-vana-vēli-ppada Vanavāsīyuñ=juh-chchūl-madit-Kolhppākkaiyu=  
nānark-ai-u-munan Mannaikkadakkamum poi-u-gadal ilatt-araśāda-mudiyum  
ānga-
- 3 var dēviya=ōay-elin-mudiyu-munn-avaī pakkal-Ttēnnavar vaitta śundara-  
mudiyum Indiran=āramun-den-dīrai Īla-mandala-mulavadum eṇi-badaī=  
Kkeralar
- 4 mūaiamaiyu=chūddun-gula-danam=āgiya palar pugal mudiyuñ=Jengadir-mālaiyuñ=  
jang-a lu-vol u-tol-b-ran-givai=pal-balan-di(di)ruñ=jēruvi=chena-
- 5 vi<sup>1</sup> nubatt-ō-u-g il-araśāgalai katta Paraśūrdman mēv-ai uñ=Jāndimattivv-aran<sup>2</sup>  
kaiñch muttiya śem-boṇ-Rura-ttagu-mudiyum bayar-godu palu mḡa  
Musangiyil mu-
- 6 dug-itt-olitta Śayaśi(śi)ngan<sup>3</sup> āla-pperum-bugalodum pid-iyal Irattabādi ēl-araī  
ilakkamun=ava-vedu-kkula-pperu-malaigalum vikkuama-vīrar Śakkaragōttamu-
- 7 mudra bada-v illai Madura-mandalamum kā-mīdai-valaiya=Nāmanaikkōnamum  
veñ-jil u-vā hāi Pañjappallyum pās-udai-ppala=nan-Māśuni-dēśamum ayaivi-
- 8 l-van-gi(gi)rttiyā-Ādinagar-avaiyir=Chandiran=rol-gulatt=Iradaranaī<sup>4</sup> vilay=  
amaikkalattu=kkilayodum pid[it]tu=ppala-danattōdu nīrai kula-dana-kkuvai-
- 9 yuñ<sup>5</sup> itti-u uñ=jēri-milay=ā<sup>6</sup> Otta-vishaiyamum būśurai śēr nal-Kkōśalai-nādun=  
Ḍanmābālanai vem-munaiy=aiṭtu vand-urai-sōlai=Ttandayu(bu)ttiyum=  
Ira-na-
- 10 sūraṅgai mūran=ura-ttākki=thkk-anaī-gi)rtti-Ttakkanalādamun=Gōvindaśandan  
ppiv=ilnd=oda=ttangāda-sāral Vangāla-dēśamun=dōdu-gadaiy-changugottāṅ<sup>6</sup>  
Mahibalanai
- 11 veñ-jama[r\*] valāgatt-añjvitt=ai uñ on-dīyal yānaiyum pendir-bandāramu=  
nūtila-nedun-gadai=Utt[ra]lādamum veṇi-maṇar-ṛitta-tteṇi-bunaiy=Kangaiyu=  
mā-p-
- 12 poi-u-dandār=konda kō=Pparagēśaribapmar=āna udaiyār Śrī-Rā.jēndra-  
Chōlādēvarku yāndu 13āvadu [Ja]yangonda-Sōla-mandalattu Pangala-  
nāttu naduvil
- 13 va[g]ai Mugai-nāttu=ppalichchendam Vaigavūr-Ttirumalai Śrī-Kundavai-  
Jinālayattu dēvaṅku=Pperumbānappādi=Kkaraivali Malliyūr irukkum vyā-
- 14 pāri Nannappayan manavātti Śāmundappai vaitta tūnanadvilakku onirukku=  
kkōśu nubadum [tru]vamudakku vaitta kāśu pattum [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(L 12) In the 13th year (of the reign) of king Pa.akēśarivarman *alias* the lord Śrī-Rā.jēndra-Chōlādēva, who,—

<sup>1</sup> Read =chēnavi

<sup>2</sup> Read <sup>o</sup>ttō-aran

<sup>3</sup> Other inscriptions read *ajapp arum*, see *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II p 93, note 5

<sup>4</sup> Read =*Juarapādānai*. That this is the original reading, becomes more than probable in the following manner — (1) The doubtful word may be expected to rhyme on *Chandīya*, the third word before it (2) The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads =*Indravarānai* (3) *Indrarātha* is the only correct Sanskrit name I can think of, which would account for both corrupt readings

<sup>5</sup> The Tanjore inscription No 20 reads *itt-aruñ-jēri mīnai*

<sup>6</sup> Read, as in the Tanjore inscription No 20, *tōdu galar-changuv ottaī*

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, arranged in approximately 14 horizontal lines. The text is highly stylized and difficult to decipher due to the image quality. The lines are numbered on the left side.

(L 1) in *(his)* life of high prosperity, while Thru (Lakshmi), having become constant, was increasing, *(and)* while the goddess of the great earth, the goddess of victory in battle, and the matchless goddess of fame rejoiced to have become his great queens,—

(L 11) seized by *(his)* great, warlike army *(the following)* :—

(L 1) Idairurai-nādu, Vaḡavāsi, *(round which)* a fence of continuous forests was spreading,<sup>1</sup> Kollippākka, whose walls were surrounded with brushwood,<sup>2</sup> Mannai-kkadakkam, whose strength was unapproachable,<sup>3</sup> the crown of the king of Īlam *(on)* the tempestuous ocean, the exceedingly fine crowns of the queens of that *(king)*, the beautiful crown<sup>4</sup> and the necklace of India, which the king of the South *(i.e.* the Pāndya) had previously deposited with *(the king of Īlam)*, the whole Īla-mandala *(on)* the transparent sea, the crown praised by many and the garland of the Sun, family-treasures which the arrow-shooting *(king of)* Kērala rightfully wore, many ancient islands, whose old, great guard was the ocean which makes the conches resound, the crown of pure gold, worthy of Thru (Lakshmi), which Paraśurāma, having considered the fortifications of Śāndimattivu impregnable, had deposited *(there)*, when, in anger, *(he)* bound the kings twenty-one times in battle, the seven and a half lakshas of Irattabādi, *(which was)* strong by nature, *(and which he took)*, together with unmeasurable fame, *(from)* Jayasimha, who, out of fear and full of vengeance, turned his back at Muśang and hid himself, the principal great mountains *(which contained)* the nine treasures *(of Kuvēra)*,<sup>5</sup> Śakkaragōttam, whose warriors were brave, Madura-maṇḍala, whose forts *(bore)* banners *(which touched)* the clouds, Nāmanaikkōnam, which was surrounded by dense groves, Pañchappalli, whose warriors *(bore)* cruel bows, the good Māsunidēsa, whose fruits were fresh, a large heap of family-treasures, together with many *(other)* treasures, *(which he carried away)* after having captured Indraratha of the old race of the Moon, together with *(his)* family, in a fight which took place in the hall *(at)* Ādinagar, *(a city)* which was famous for unceasing abundance, Oḍḍa-vishaya, which was difficult to approach, *(and which he subdued in)* close fights, the good Kōśalai-nādu, where Brāhmanas assembled, Tandabuthi, in whose gardens bees abounded, *(and which he acquired)* after having destroyed Dharmapāla *(in)* a hot battle, Takkanalādam, whose fame reached *(all)* directions, *(and which he occupied)* after having forcibly attacked Ranaśūra, Vangāla-dēsa, where the rain-wind never stopped, *(and from which)* Gōvindhachandra fled, having descended *(from his)* male elephant,<sup>6</sup> elephants of rare strength and treasures of women, *(which he seized)* after having been pleased to put to flight on a hot battle-field Mahipāla, decked *(as he was)* with ear-rings, slippers and bracelets, Uṭṭiralādam, as rich in pearls as the ocean, and the Gaṅgā, whose waters dashed against bathing-places *(tirtha)* covered with sand,—

(L 12) Chāmundappai, the wife of the merchant Nannappaya, who resided *(at)* Malliyūr *(in)* Karavai, *(a subdivision)* of Perumbānappādi, deposited twenty *lāṅṅus* for one perpetual lamp and ten *lāṅṅus* for offerings to the god of the Śrī-Kundavai-Jinālaya *(on)* the holy mountain (Tirumalai) of Vaḡavūr, a *pāllochandaṁ* in Mugai-nādu, a subdivision *(vagai)* in the middle of Paṅgaḷa-nādu, *(a district)* of Jayangonda-Chōḷa-maṇḍala

<sup>1</sup> It seems most natural to take *paḍar* as a verb. It may also mean 'a road' or may be the nom. plur. of the Sanskrit *bhāta*, 'a warror.'

<sup>2</sup> This was perhaps done by the besieging Chōla army when setting fire to the city. Among the meanings of *kuḷḷi*: the *Dictionnaire Tanouil-Français* notes the following — 'brouilles, menu bois sans pour brûler.'

<sup>3</sup> Other inscriptions read *nannayk-arum-aran*, 'whose fortifications were unapproachable.'

<sup>4</sup> It seems more simple to take the first member of *śundara-mudā* as an adjective, than to translate the compound by 'the crown of Sundara.'

<sup>5</sup> See *South-Ind. Inscr.* Vol II p. 05, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *paḡaḍ=śud=ōḍa*, *ibid.* Vol II p. 34, text line 7 f.

## No 32—MAMBALLI PLATE OF SRIVALLAVANGODAI, KOLLAM 140.

By T A GOPINATHA RAO, M A, MADRAS

The copper plate on which the subjoined inscription is engraved, belongs to the Mamballi bhandāratil of the Mamballi *matha* and was secured for me for publication by Mr S. Pravinada Pillai, High Court Vakil, Trevandrum. Besides this plate, there are five other odd plates belonging to the same *matha*, which bear fragments of inscriptions of the Kijappérūr<sup>1</sup> dynasty of the Vēnādu kings. In one of them occurs the name Śrī-Vīra-Dēvadāian-Kēralavarman of Kijappérūr<sup>2</sup>.

The plate measures  $10\frac{3}{8}'' \times 3\frac{3}{8}''$  and has a hole on the left margin. It does not appear to have possessed a ring or seal. At the left end of the plate, the owner has engraved, in modern Malayālam characters, the word Mamballi. Excepting this single word and a few Grantha letters interspersed in the document, the inscription is written in the Vatteluttu alī habbet. The words *svasti* and *śrī* in line 1, the letter *śrī* occurring in the name Śrīvallavangōdai in lines 7, 18 and 19, *raksho* and *rakshā* occurring in the words *rakshochchu* and *rakshābhū* in l 12 are in Grantha characters. The consonant *k* retains the earlier form, without a loop at the bottom, this form differs from the later ones which are scarcely distinguishable from the symbol for *ch*. The letter *pū* (of *pāngū* in l 3), whilst it has the common form in all other instances, looks like the Grantha letter *hra*. The language of the inscription is Tamil, tinged here and there with the colloquialisms of the Malabar Coast e.g. *irundaruvy-ēdattu varochchu*, (= at the place where they were pleased to be seated), in l 5, *paṭṭāra-gakkollai for paṭṭāragarkk-aiḷla* (= belonging to the *bhāṭṭāraka*) in lines 6 and 12, *ari* for *arisi* (= rice) in l 9, *Murungayūr* for *Murungayūr* in l 21, *Sannaran* for *Sangaran* in l 22, *rakshochchu* for *rakshitu* in l. 12. The phrase *nāpūllocheydu* is contracted in the modern Malayālam language into *nāpūllochē*.

This is the earliest known record dated in the Kollam era, and belongs to the reign of the Vēnādu king Śrīvallavangōdai.<sup>3</sup> It is dated in the 149th year of the Kollam era,

<sup>1</sup> [Kijappérūr is annexed as the house-name of the Vēnād (Travancore) princes in later inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXV p 190). It is a village about 8 miles to the north-east of Āṅṅal, which is the hereditary domain of H H the Senior Rani of Travancore (Mr Nagamaja's *Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 579). The country round Āṅṅal seems to have been known as Kūpādēśa in ancient times. The late Mr Sundaram Pillai was of opinion that Vēnādu and Kūpādēśa were two distinct principalities and that the latter was at some stage of its history annexed by the rulers of the former. The Vēnādu Kings are said to have assumed the family name Kijappérūr after this annexation — V Venkaya.]

<sup>2</sup> [This name occurs without the title *vīra* in a Vatteluttu inscription from Viranam in the Travancore State. The late Professor Sundaram Pillai has called the king Kēralavarman II and assigned A D 1198 for his date (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXIV p 283) — V V.]

<sup>3</sup> [In the name Śrīvallavangōdai *kōdas* was perhaps an epithet of the rulers of Vēnādu. The first part of the name, *vē* Śrīvallavaṅ (Śrīvallabha) may be that of the king to whom Vēnādu was feudatory. Such a combination of names is frequently met with in Tamil inscriptions. If the name Śrīvallavangōdai be a similar compound, Śrīvallavaṅ or Śrīvallabha might be the name of a Pāṇḍya king. The Pāṇḍya king, who probably reigned about this time, was Vīra-Pāṇḍya, with whom the Chōla Āḍitya II is said to have fought in his youth. Vīra Pāṇḍya himself claims to have taken "the head of the Chōla (king)", and a number of his inscriptions have been found at Suchindram in South Travancore. But we have at present no reason to suppose that he bore the name Śrīvallabha, although the designation was common enough among the Pāṇḍyas. On the other hand, the Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa* refers to an invasion of Ceylon in the period A D 975-991 by Vallabha, the Chōla king (Mr. Wijesinha's *Translation*, Chapter LIV, p 85). It is, however, doubtful if the Chōlas were powerful enough to undertake an expedition against Ceylon at the time of which we are now speaking. As far as the chronology of the Sinhalese chronicle is not beyond question, we cannot suppose that the ruler of Travancore mentioned in the Mamballi plate was a Chōla feudatory. The history of the Chōlas is very little known. Consequently it is uncertain to which dynasty the Śrīvallabha, whose feudatory the Vēnādu ruler might have been in A D. 973, belonged — V V.]



on a Sunday corresponding to the *Aśvati*-nakshatra in the month *Vriśchika* when the planet Jupiter stood in the constellation *Tulā*. Professor Kielhorn kindly contributes the following remarks on the date —“ If the date were correctly recorded, it would correspond, for the year 149 of the Kollam era, to Sunday, the 9th November A D 973, which was the 15th day of the month of *Vriśchika*, and on which [the 11th *tithi* of the bright half of *Margaśira* ended 11 h 12 m, while] the *nakshatra* was *Rēvati* for 16 h 25 m, after mean sunrise, and *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for the rest of the day. On the same day Jupiter's mean longitude was 191° 44', and his true longitude 195° 27', *ie* in either case Jupiter was in the sign *Tulā* ”

“ The difficulty here is, that the day should have been described as the day of the *nakshatra* *Aśvini*, when this *nakshatra* only commenced 16 h 25 m after mean sunrise, and I have no doubt whatever that either *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) has been quoted erroneously instead of *Rēvati*, or Sunday instead of Monday. If the week-day were Monday,<sup>1</sup> the date would regularly correspond to Monday, the 10th November A D 973, the 16th day of *Vriśchika*, when the *nakshatra* was *Aśvini* (*Aśvati*) for 16 h. 25 m, after mean sunrise, and when Jupiter of course still was in the sign *Tulā* ”

The inscription informs us that *Umayammai* of *Tirukkalayapuram*, daughter of *Ādichchan*, set up a *bhaṭṭāka* (image) in the temple at *Ayurūr*. The king *Śrīvallavangōdai* made a gift of land to *Umayammai* for the purpose of keeping up the services of the *bhaṭṭāka* set up in the *Ayurūr* temple, and she, in her turn, made over the subject matter of the gift to the *Tiruchchengunrūr* temple, in order that it might be placed under the management of the *Poduvāls* of that temple. From the produce of the land so given, the *Poduvāls* of the temple of *Tiruchchengunrūr* had to supply to the temple daily 4 *nāḷis* of rice for daily offerings and annually 200 *paraṅis* (of 9 *nāḷis* each) of paddy.<sup>2</sup> If the word *uḍar* used in l 18 was really meant to be used in the sense of ‘of or belonging to,’ the inscription would warrant us to draw the conclusion that *Umayammai* was a near relation of *Śrīvallavangōdai* — either mother or wife. It would then be more probable to consider her as his wife than as his mother, as the passage *Śrīvallavangōdary-uḍar Ādichchan=Umayammai* means *Ādichchan Umayammai belonging to Śrīvallavangōdai*. She might perhaps be the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āditya II*,<sup>3</sup> to whose time this record belongs. If, on the other hand, *uḍar* be a mistake for *uḍar* then no sort of relationship need exist between the two.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription employs several peculiar terms which require some explanation each. The word *aṭṭappēru* (ll 8 and 19) implies ‘acquisition by the pouring of water.’ This mode of acquisition differs from others, such as purchase, *etc*.<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the expressions *kīḷḷu* and *uḍary-iḍu* is not definitely known. *Kīḷḷ-iḍu* literally means ‘that which is placed under,’<sup>6</sup> and *uḍary-iḍu*, ‘that which is placed in the middle.’ A piece of land placed under the management of a person was perhaps called a *kīḷḷu* with reference to that person. If this person sublet to a third party, the person subletting seems to be the *uḍary-iḍan*, *ie* he is the middle man between the owner of the property and the sub-tenant. It is in this sense that the passages of the inscription, in which these terms occur have been translated. The name *poduvāl* was given to a class of people who were eligible for service in temples. It has now

<sup>1</sup> [According to the Editor's footnote 4 on p 236, the name of the week day is engraved over an erasure — F K]

<sup>2</sup> [See below, p 238, note 3 — V V]

<sup>3</sup> [The record may belong either to the reign of *Āditya II* or of his successor *Madhurāntaka*. If *Umayammai* was the daughter of the *Chōḷa* king *Āditya II*, it is difficult to understand why he is described as a native of *Tirukkalayapuram*. In all probability she was a private individual — V V]

<sup>4</sup> [See below, p 238, note 10 — V, V] <sup>5</sup> [See below, p 237, note 12 — V, V]

<sup>6</sup> [Compare *Hultzsch, Ind Ant* Vol XX p. 292 — V V]

become the name of a sub-caste among the Ambalavāsi section of the Malayālis. Then again, the word *ānilan* is explained variously as a trustee of an endowed temple, *magistrat de la ville*, or a patron or founder of a temple. I believe it is used here in the first two meanings. The term *adishkari* occurs in the inscriptions of the Tamil and Malayālam countries, and is used in the sense of 'an officer in charge of a division,' and it is in this sense the term is used in line 23 of the present record. The phrase *mukkūlvattam* implies, according to Dr. Gundert, a Bhagavati temple. If this be the sense in which it is employed in our inscription, then the *bhattāraha* set up by Umayammai might be taken to be Bhagavati. But its literal meaning, 'the three-fourths of a *vattam* (encut or group of villages),' and the use of the *bhattāraha* instead of *bhattārahi* preclude the possibility of its being a Bhagavati temple in the present instance. How *mukkūlvattam* came to mean a Bhagavati temple is not known. The meaning of the expressions *Śīrūrānada* and *Śīrūrānada-ttandam* is not clear. Hence they have been tentatively translated as "the custom obtaining in small towns" and "the fine levied in accordance with the custom obtaining in small towns."

The places mentioned in this inscription are—Kollam, Tirukkalayapuram, Ayirūr, Tiruchchengunrūr, Idaiyāmanam, Murunnaiyūr, Manalmūku, Pupalūr and Kudagōttūr. Of these Kollam, Ayirūr and Tiruchchengunrūr are the modern Quilon, Ayirūr and Chengunrūr<sup>3</sup> (the head-quarters of the tāluka of the same name) in North Travancore. Idaiyāmanam might be identified with Edaman, a station on the Maniyachi-Quilon branch of the South Indian Railway, and Punalūr is another station on the same line. I am not able to identify the rest.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## First Side

- 1 Svasti śri [||\*] Kollan-dōnri nūru-nāppattonbadām-āndu Tul-
- 2 ttul Viyāla-ninpa Munchcha ōyirū [Nāyu-ānda]<sup>4</sup>
- 3 Achevadi r-nna[!]<sup>5</sup> Kollattu=p[pu]ngāvin kōyilul=uya-
- 4 nya kottalul Tiruchchengunrūr=pparada=pperu-makkal kūtta-
- 5 n=gūdi irundarūiy=edattu<sup>6</sup> vaichchu Tirukkalayapuratt=Ādichchan=  
Umayammai
- 6 Ayurūiy=pirāttai-śeyda pattāragariyum pattāragarkkolla<sup>6</sup> pūmyum  
Ādi-
- 7 chehan=Umayammaikku [ni]rōd=atti-kkoduttān Vēnād=udaiya Śrīvallavangōda  
[||\*] Ādich-
- 8 chan=Umayammai tāt=attipēru kondadu Tiruchchengunrūr=ppattāraga-
- 9 rkkū=kkil-īdāy=chevīrūr nadaiy=odu kūda nānāli=chechey[da]rū tiruva-  
mndi-
- 10 nukkum [o]nbadi=pāli=pparayāl irunūru parai=cheche[y]du nel āndu-
- 11 varai kuduppūāga=ppoluvāl kaiyyil nīrōd=atti-kkoduttāl [||\*] Ayurūr  
nu-
- 12 kkāl vattamum pattārakolla<sup>7</sup> idaiy-īdum rakshichchu kodutu rakshā-  
pōgan=

<sup>1</sup> [The word *adishkari* is also used in the sense of 'minister,' *South-Ind Inscr* Vol II, p 92, and above Vol VII p 196.—V V.]

<sup>2</sup> [According to Mr. Nagamaya the village is called Chengannur (*Travancore Manual*, Vol III p 681) and there is a large and famous pagoda dedicated to the goddess Bhagavati, in which there is celebrated annually a festival lasting for 28 days.—V V.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original copper plate

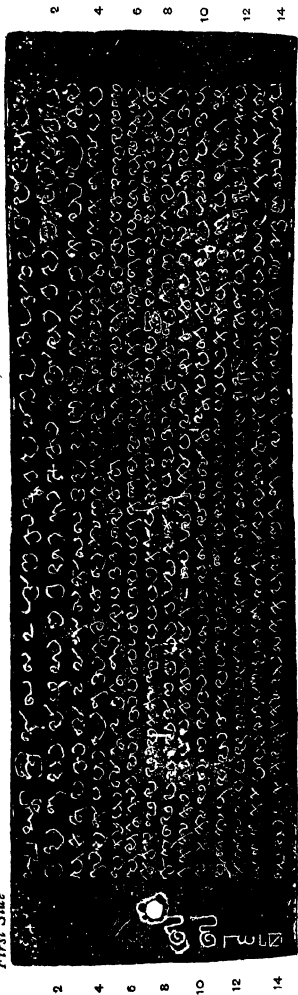
<sup>4</sup> Read *irundarūiyay idattu*

<sup>5</sup> Read *pattāragarkkūlla*

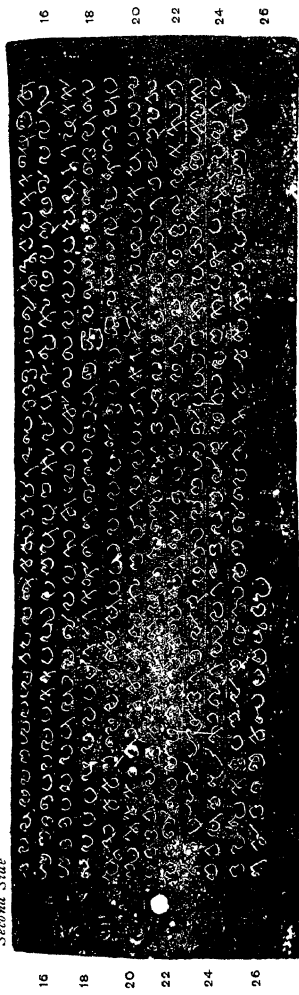
<sup>6</sup> This portion is engraved over an erasure

<sup>7</sup> Read *pattāragarkkūlla*

*First Side*



*Second Side*



STEN KONOW

SCALE 0 80

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH



13 gollakkadavīyar poduvālmāi [||\*] 1-ppariśu śeyda kil ittil ūrālaiāga 1-  
14 day-idaiāga pukku vilakkavum porul kavaram perār [||\*] 1 idā[nnāh]l-onju

Second Side

15 śeyyumavan 2yēppēru-vagai chehirūr-nadai-ttandam irunūru-kkalaṅju  
16 pon tinda-ppada-kkadavīyan [||\*] avanku<sup>3</sup> pēdu tāngumavanum ippari-  
17 śē tandappaduvidu [||\*] 1-ppariśu mēṛ-chollappatta Ayurū mukkā-  
18 l-vaṭṭamum pattāragarkk=olla<sup>4</sup> iday-iduñ=Śrīvallavangōday=udai-  
19 Âdichehan=Umayammai attu-ppēru kondadu [||\*] Śrīvallavangōday=u-  
20 dan-irukka=Truchochengunrūr=ppattāragarkku kil-idāga athy-e-<sup>5</sup>  
21 datt-ariyuñ=jādukkal Mūṇṇayūr=Teṭvam=Bavittaran nānum-ari-  
22 van [||\*] Idaiyāmanattu Śannaran=Gandan nānum-aṟivan [||\*] Manalmūkki[n]  
23 Kandan=Dāmōdaran nānum-aṟivan [||\*] Vēnāttīṅku adigāiāñ=jeygi-  
24 nṛa Punalūr(i) Iravi Parandavan nānum-aṟivan [||\*] Kudagōttūr-  
Pparan-  
25 davan=Gandan nānum-aṟivan [||\*] iravi Truchochengunrūr=ppoduvā-  
26 l Śāt[ta]ñ=Jadayān-eluttu [||\*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 7) Hail! Prosperity! In the year one hundred and forty-nine after Kollam appeared, on a Sunday corresponding<sup>6</sup> to the Achohvasi (*āśvati-nakṣatra*) in the month of Mīricheṅgam (Vriścika), when Jupiter stood in Tulā—while<sup>7</sup> the great men of the *parudai*<sup>8</sup> (assembly) of Truchochengunrūr were pleased to be assembled<sup>9</sup> on this day in the high hall of the palace (situated) in the flower garden of Kollam, Śrīvallavangōdai, (the king) of Vēnādu gave, by the pouring of water, to Âdichehan=Umayammai of Tirukkalayapuram, the *baṭṭārakar*<sup>10</sup> set up by Âdichehan-Umayammai at Ayurūr, and the lands belonging to the *baṭṭārakar*.

(Ll 8 to 11) Âdichehan=Umayammai gave, as *kil-idu* to the *baṭṭārakar* of Truchochengunrūr, by pouring water in the hands of the *poduvāl*,<sup>11</sup> what she acquired by gift,<sup>12</sup> so that (he)

<sup>1</sup> [The reading seems to be *id[ai] nāyil onru* If *na:* has to be taken as *nā* it would be quite different from the other *nā*s which occur in the inscription and resemble the modern Tamil *nā*—V V]

<sup>2</sup> [The reading seems to be *vevērū*—V V]

<sup>3</sup> Read *avanukku*

<sup>4</sup> Read *pattāragarkkuḷa*

<sup>5</sup> Read *athiyay-idattu*

<sup>6</sup> [The original has *Nāyir-ānda Achohvasi*, which would mean in Tamil 'the (*nakṣatra*) *Āśvati* (*Āśvini*) which was governed by *Nāyiru* (the Sun)'. If then the week day be Sunday, *Nāyir-ānda* would correspond to the modern *Nāyir-dācha* and the word *dācha* which Dr Gundert derives from the root *dīu* 'to sink' may, in that case, be derived from the root *dī* 'to rule'—V V]

<sup>7</sup> [The expression *idattu varchohu* of the original seems to be used in the sense of the modern Malayālam *idattil vechohu* which appears to be almost synonymous with the Tamil *idattil*—V V]

<sup>8</sup> [The word *parudai* occurs also in the form *parada:* and is a *taḍḍhava* of the Sanskrit *pariśat*—V V]

<sup>9</sup> [The original has "were assembled and were pleased to be seated"—V V]

<sup>10</sup> [It was evidently the image of the god that was made over to Âdichehan Umayammai, see below, p 238, note 10—V V]

<sup>11</sup> [According to Dr Gundert, *poduvāl* means "a class of half-Brahmans, temple servants" and *aṟappoduvāl* with *pānūḍl* officiate as priests and administrators of temple property—V V]

<sup>12</sup> [*Āṭṭirpūru* is evidently the same as *āṭṭipēru* which, according to Dr Gundert, means "complete purchase of a free h. l. d." Mr Nagamaya defines the term as 'the out and out surrender of the jenm's rights by sale (*Tiravancore Manual*, Vol III, p vii).—V V]

might supply, according to the rate current in small towns,<sup>1</sup> four *nāli* of rice<sup>2</sup> for (daily) offerings, and two hundred *para*s of paddy at nine *nāli* per *para*, annually<sup>3</sup>

(Li 11 to 13) The *poduvils* shall protect the *mukkāl-vattam*<sup>4</sup> of Ayurūr and the *ḍaḍiyḍu* of the *bhaḍḍāhā*, and take (a fraction of the produce) as remuneration for the protection (afforded)<sup>5</sup>

(Li 13 to 14) The *ūrḍāras* shall not enter as<sup>6</sup> *ḍaḍiyḍars* in the *kilḷḍu* (which is the subject of) this transaction,<sup>7</sup> and shall neither dismiss (the *kilḷḍars*) nor collect the rent

(Li 14 to 16) He that reduces this to a fourth<sup>8</sup> shall, consistently with the custom obtaining in small towns, be subject to the general fine of two hundred *kalaṅju* of gold<sup>9</sup>

(Li 16 to 17) He that abets the former shall also be subject to a fine in the same way

(Li 17 to 19) Both the *mukkāl-vattam* of Ayurūr and the *ḍaḍiyḍu* belonging to the *bhaḍḍāraḥar*, mentioned above, are thus the acquisitions in gift of Ādicchān-Umayammai (of, or) related to Śrīvallavangōḍai<sup>10</sup>

(Li 19 to 22) (The following are the signatures of) the *siddhus* who were present at the time when Ādicchān-Umayammai, while she was with Śrīvallavangōḍai, made this gift of

<sup>1</sup> [I take *chūrār nāḍaiyḍu kūḍa* as meaning "together with the shrine at Sīḡūr" *Nāḍai* (*nāḍa*) is used for 'temple' in South Malabar according to Dr Gundert, and there is a temple at Quilon called Gaṇapatināḍa meaning 'shrine or temple of Gaṇapati' — V. V.]

<sup>2</sup> [I would read in the original *chēvaḍ-ara* (l. 9) and *chēvaḍu nel* (l. 10) and take *chēvaḍu nel* as equivalent to *tennel* which occurs in the Ambāsamudraṃ inscription of Varaguṇa Mahārāja (above, p. 90) and which according to Winslow means "superior kind of rice, of a yellowish hue — as *teṅṅḍu*" — V. V.]

<sup>3</sup> [As the dative *ṭṭuvamūḍuvūkkum* is used and as the purpose for which the 200 *para*s of paddy had to be supplied is not stated, it looks as if the paddy was to be converted into rice and used for offerings. In this case, there is something wrong in the calculation here made. At the rate of four *nāli* of rice per day the quantity required for a year or 360 days comes to 1,440 *nāli* of rice or 160 *para* according to the equivalent of the *para* given in line 10. How 160 *para* of rice can be obtained from 200 *para* of paddy it is difficult to understand. According to the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājārāja I, 2½ times the quantity of paddy was required to obtain a given measure of rice, and 3 times the quantity according to the Ambāsamudraṃ inscription of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja — V. V.]

<sup>4</sup> [The word *mukkāl-vattam* occurs in the Trunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman, where Professor Holtzsch has translated it by 'tempel' (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 292). According to Dr Gundert the term denotes in Travancore 'a temple of Konganūr'. An inscription at Tiruvāliśvaram near Ambāsamudraṃ in the Tinnevely district mentions *Tirugurādāna* ('dāhanam') *pāṇṇa* *śvaganār* *ṭṭuvamūkkāl-vattam*, where *ṭṭuvamūkkāl-vattam* appears to mean 'the holy shrine' of the god Śiva (No. 120 of the A. A. Superintendent's collection for 1905) — V. V.]

<sup>5</sup> [According to Dr Gundert *rakēḍa-bhōgam* is synonymous with *rāja-bhōgam*, which denotes the ruler's share. From certain Tellicherry records (1796-1799) it appears that this share amounted to one fifth (of the revenue) — V. V.]

<sup>6</sup> [The word *āga* here translated 'as' occurs in a similar context in the Trunelli plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman (Ind. Ant. Vol. XX p. 290, text line 17). It is apparently synonymous with the Tamil *āḍadu* or *āḍu* and the Malayālam *āgatt* — V. V.]

<sup>7</sup> [*ṭṭuvamū* means 'in this manner, thus'. I would translate the passage thus "Neither the *ūrḍāras* nor the *ḍaḍiyḍars* shall be entitled to interfere and disturb the *kilḷḍu* thus settled or to seize (any) property" — V. V.]

<sup>8</sup> [It is he who contributes to the dwindling of this charity

<sup>9</sup> [I would translate the passage as follows "He who does any injury to this (contract) shall individually pay a fine of two hundred *kalaṅju* (to) the shrine at Sīḡūr" See notes 1 and 2 on p. 237 and note 1 above — V. V.]

<sup>10</sup> [Instead of *Ayurūr-ṭṭuvamū* *śeyda* *paṭṭāragar* of line 6, we have here *Ayurūr* *mukkāl-vattam* which to a certain extent confirms the meaning 'shrine' of *mukkāl-vattam*. Instead of *paṭṭāragarkkōḷḷa* *pāṇṇ* in line 6, we have here *paṭṭāragarkkōḷḷa* *ḍaḍiyḍu*, which denotes the interest which the Ayurūr shrine possessed in the land acquired by Ādicchān-Umayammai from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Consequently, the sentence repeats the statement made in lines 6 to 7 that Ādicchān-Umayammai had obtained the concession from Śrīvallavangōḍai. Accordingly, it seems to me that *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-nāḍai* at the end of l. 18 is a simple clerical mistake for *Śrīvallavangōḍaiy-ḍaḍ*. If any such relationship as would be implied by the use of the word *nāḍai* were intended, it would be more natural to expect it noted when Ādicchān-Umayammai is mentioned for the first time. Besides, it would be unusual for the mother or wife of Śrīvallavangōḍai to enter into a transaction of this nature with him. — V. V.]

British Museum inscription of Kanishka.



Scale 9

2 3 4 5





land as *vāyāyīḍu* to the *bhātāraka* of Truchchengunṛ —<sup>1</sup> I, Dēvam-<sup>2</sup>Pavittiraṇ of Murunnayūr, also know,<sup>3</sup>

(Ll 22) I, Sannaran Kandan of Idayāmanam, also know,

(Ll 22 to 23) I, Kandan Dāmōderan of Manalmūḱku, also know,

(Ll 23 to 24) I, Iravi-Parandavan<sup>4</sup> of Punalūr, the *adnikāra* of Vēnādu, also know,

(Ll 24 to 25) I, Parandavan-Kandan of Kudagōttūr, also know

(Ll 25 to 26) This is the writing of Śāttan-Śadayān, the *poḍuvōl* of Truchchengunṛ

### No 33 —THREE EARLY BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

By PROFESSOR H LUDERS, PH D, ROSTOCK

#### I —BRITISH MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA

On the occasion of a visit to the British Museum in the autumn of 1906, I discovered in one of the cases of the Northern Gallery the stone bearing the subjoined inscription, which, as far as I know, has never been published before. At my request impressions were taken, from which I have prepared the transcript. Subsequently Dr Fleet kindly sent me the photograph of the stone reproduced in the accompanying plate.

Nothing seems to be known about the origin of the stone, but the characters, the language and the date of the inscription prove that it comes from Northern India.

The sculpture at the top of the stone represents a man and a woman sitting on a bench. The woman to the left, wearing a loin-cloth and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the ankles and in the lobes of the ear, rests her left elbow on the knee of her left leg which she has placed on the top of the bench, and turns her laughing face to the spectator. The male person also is wearing a necklace, bracelets, ear-drops, and a *dhoti* covering the knees. He is sitting astride, and with the right hand he touches, or points to, a sort of stand placed between the two persons on the bench and bearing what would seem to be a cushion adorned by three small square marks and supporting some bell-shaped object. Right over the head of the man there appears something which at first sight looks almost like a club, but which in my opinion probably is the mutilated head of a cobra. As the stone is broken off immediately above the head of the female person, it is quite possible that her head also was overshadowed by a similar representation of a serpent's head, and it seems to me very probable therefore that the sculpture represents a Nāga and his wife.

The writing is Brāhmī of the earlier Kuchaṇa type. The subscript *ya* is expressed by the full sign, and the *sha* shows the old form with the small cross-bar. The language is the usual mixed dialect. The inscription, which is dated in the tenth year of mahārāja dēvaputraṇ Kanishka, records the gift of a temple. Details will be discussed below.

<sup>1</sup> [In the original the name *Ādichoṇa-Umayamma* is not repeated as it is represented in the translation. It looks as if Śrīvallavangōḍai was seated with the members of the assembly of Truchchengunṛ in the palace at Kollam (ll 4-5) while making the gift to *Ādichoṇa Umayamma*. Accordingly I would translate this sentence as follows:—“(The following are) the *śādhū* who know (the transaction entered into) at the place at which (*Ādichoṇa Umayamma*)—while Śrīvallavangōḍai was sitting with (the assembly?) — granted the *kūḷḍu* (of the land?) to the lord (*bhātāraka*) of Truchchengunṛ.” The same fact is referred to in lines 8 and 9—V V.]

<sup>2</sup> [The name of the man was apparently Dēvap Pavittiraṇ — V V.]

<sup>3</sup> I.e. the terms of this transaction and bear witness to the same.

<sup>4</sup> [Parandavan is apparently a *taddhava* of the Sanskrit *Paramāva* — V V.]

## TEXT.

- 1 Siddha[m]<sup>1</sup> maharājasya dēva[putiasya]<sup>2</sup>  
 2 Kānīshkasya savatsaiś [10]<sup>3</sup>  
 3 gr̥ 2 dī 9 ātāyē purvay[ā]<sup>4</sup>  
 4 [n]tarāyam<sup>5</sup> na[va]r:kāyam<sup>6</sup> [h]ā-  
 5 [īmya]n=[d]jata[nu]? priyatām dēvi<sup>8</sup> gr̥ā[masya]<sup>9</sup>

## REMARKS

1 The *anusvāra* is indistinct because it is crossed by the line forming the base of the sculpture — 2 The reading of the bracketed characters is certain, though the surface of the stone has peeled off at the corner — 3 This figure also has suffered from the peeling off of the surface, but the reading is beyond doubt — 4 The *ś* is very indistinct, and the correct reading may possibly be *purvaya* or *purvayān* — 5 At first sight one might feel inclined to read *nitarāyam*, but the base-line of the first letter is quite straight, whereas *na* has a distinctly curved base I feel therefore sure that what appears to be the continuation of the base-line to the left, is merely due to a flaw in the stone — 6 The two convergent side-lines of the *va* are not very distinct, just as in the same letter in line 3, and there appears a vertical in the middle which makes the letter look almost like *na*. But this line is far too thin to really form part of the letter and must be accidental — 7 The bracketed letters of these two words are more or less damaged, but the reading seems to be sure — 8 The *ś*-stroke is added to the top of the letter, whereas in *dś* in the first line it is added in the middle — 9 The last two letters are damaged, but only the *ya* can be said to be conjectural

## TRANSLATION

Success<sup>1</sup> In the year 10 of the *mahārāja dēvaputra* Kānīshka, in the second (month of) summer, on the ninth day,—on that (date specified as) above a temple was given in the northern *navamukhi* (?) May the goddess of the village be pleased<sup>1</sup>

## NOTES

The orthography of the inscription is very irregular, double consonants, long vowels and the *anusvāra* being frequently not expressed in writing A long *ā* appears in the word *hārmīya* According to the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* the same form is found also in the *Taittī Ār VI, 6, 2* instead of the ordinary *harmīya* occurring in the corresponding verse in *Aitharvay XVIII, 4, 55* In *hārmīyan=datam* the final *m* is converted into the nasal before the following *mte*, which is rare in inscriptions in this dialect Another instance is found in the concluding words of the Mathurā inscription, above Vol I p 386, No 8 *priyatām=bhaqavān=Rashabhasrīh*, which at the same time help us to understand the phrase found at the end of the present record *priyatām dēvi grāmasya*.

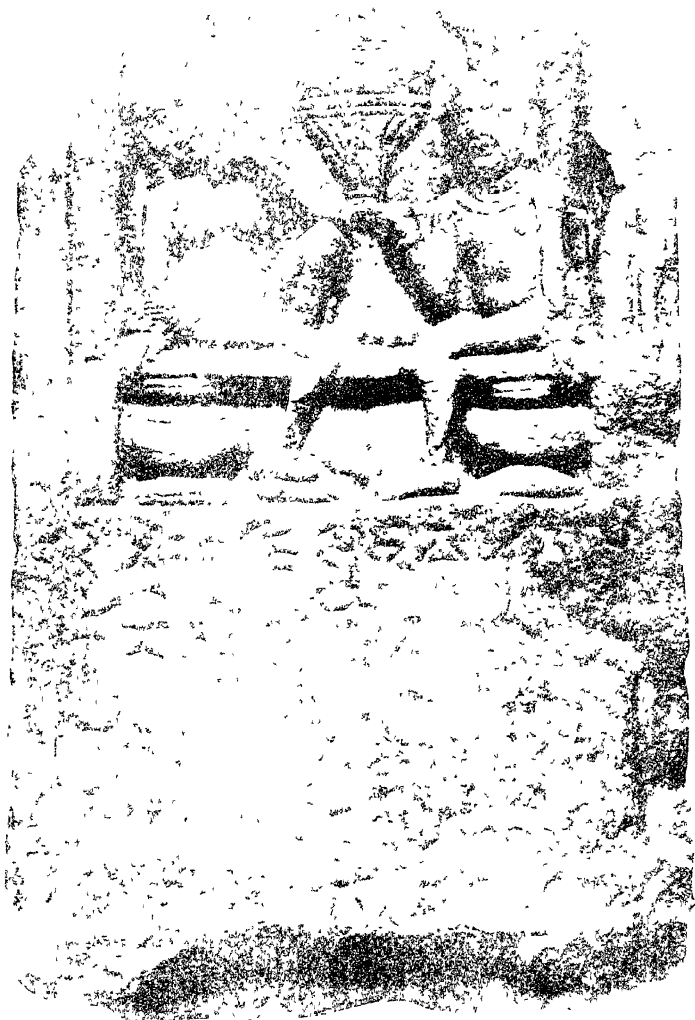
Of greater interest is the spelling of the king's name, *Kānīshka*, with a long vowel in the first syllable and a lingual *n* With regard to the latter point, the seven Brāhmī inscriptions that have preserved the name are in perfect agreement<sup>1</sup> In the Kharōshthī inscriptions of Suś Vihār<sup>2</sup> and Zeda<sup>3</sup> the name is read as *Kanishka*, in that of Mamkyāla as *Kaneshka*,<sup>4</sup> but I am by no means sure whether in the two last mentioned inscriptions the readings *Kanishka* and

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscr of S 5, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 34 ff, No 4, Mathurā inscr of S 7, above Vol I p 391, No 19, Mathurā inscr of S 9, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol I p 178, No 2, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 37, No 6, Mathurā inscr, *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 25, Sarnāth inscr of S 3, above Vol VIII p 176 No 8\*, Sarnāth inscr of S 3, above Vol. III p 179, No 3\*

<sup>2</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol X p 326

<sup>3</sup> *Journ As* Ser VIII Vol XV p 187

<sup>4</sup> *Journ As* Ser IX Vol VII p 8



E. Hultsch

Collotype by Gebr. Pfäffner

From a photograph supplied by Dr. Fleet.



*Kaneshka* would not be preferable. On the whole, contemporary records certainly are in favour of the spelling with the lingual *n*, and I would therefore propose to use *Kanishka* as the common form of the name. The spelling with the long vowel in the first syllable as in the present inscription is unusual, but it does not stand quite alone. In the Sârâth inscription, No 3<sup>a</sup>, the editor, it is true, reads *Kanishlasya*, but the photo-lithograph<sup>1</sup> distinctly shows *Kânishlasya*.

Turning to the special object of the inscription, we may infer from the concluding words that the temple was dedicated to a goddess, and the representation of the two Nâgas above the inscription makes it not unlikely, I think, that the goddess intended was a Nâgî. That during the Kushana period there existed temples for the worship of serpents in Northern India, is well attested by the two Mathurâ inscriptions<sup>2</sup> which mention the temple (*st[h]âna*) of the *nâgêndîa* Dadhikarna and a servant at the temple of the same Dadhikarna (*Dadhikârî namâdikulika*).

The most difficult words of the inscription are *utârîyam navamîkâdyam*. I have thought for some time that they might be part of the date and mean 'on the following (i.e. intercalated) month (lunar day)', but for two reasons this idea must be given up. Firstly, such a statement would be in the wrong place after *âyâs puvayâ*, and secondly, as Professor Kuhn informs me, *utârî* is never used in the sense of *adhika* or *dvitîya*<sup>3</sup>. The words must therefore be connected with *udrmyan-datam*, and as a form ending in *-âyam* can hardly be anything else but the locative singular of a stem in *â*, *utârîâ navamîkâ* would seem to denote either the locality where the temple was erected or, possibly, the goddess to whom it was dedicated. However, these explanations are far from satisfactory. Neither has *navamîkâ* the appearance of being the name of a locality, nor does *utârîâ navamîkâ* in the least sound like the name of a goddess or a Nâgî. I am at present unable to solve this difficulty.

## II—MATHURÂ STONE INSCRIPTION, DATED SAMVAT 74.

This inscription is engraved on a stone-slab discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in the Jail Mound at Mathurâ. It was first edited in 1870, together with facsimiles, by Rajendralala Mitra in the *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIX Part I p. 129, No. 15 and by Dowson in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc. New Ser.* Vol. V p. 183, No. 4. In 1873 Cunningham published it again with a facsimile in the *Arch. Surv. Rep.* Vol. III p. 32, No. 8, and in 1904 I have treated it myself in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII p. 106, No. 20. I edit it here again for a special reason. When I was in Oxford in 1905, Professor Hoernle kindly made over to me the collection of impressions, rubbings and drawings of inscriptions formed by him when preparing the second volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, which was to contain the 'Indo-Scythic' inscriptions. In this collection there is also the impression which I have used for the present edition. It cannot be said to be first rate and, as unfortunately most of the impressions of this collection, it has been tampered with in some places by pencilling out parts of letters that in the impression itself are more or less effaced. Nevertheless the impression is of the greatest value as shown by the following note written on the margin, probably by General Cunningham himself: 'The only impression now available—The stone has been lost at Agra.' Under these circumstances it seemed to me desirable to publish the accompanying reproduction of the impression, which in spite of its shortcomings naturally is far superior to the drawings published hitherto. Professor Hoernle's collection contains besides two facsimiles. The one is an eye-copy in red and blue pencil on a slightly reduced scale, made according to a marginal note by Captain Watts, Royal Engineers, the other is a pencil-tracing on transparent paper, perhaps made from the stone itself, but afterwards gone over with China ink, blue and red pencil, and practically of no value.

<sup>1</sup> [I have some weeks ago examined the original and the *â* is quite certain.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I p. 390, No. 18, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIII p. 102, No. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Hultsch writes to me that he is never less inclined to connect *utârîyam navamîkâdyam* with the date, but he would take *utârî* in the sense of *uchyamâna*, *ugari-lîkîta*, 'above-mentioned.'

The inscription is divided by a blank space into two parts. The upper portion, containing eight lines, is complete with the exception of some letters at the end of the first two lines, which have disappeared by the breaking off of the right corner of the stone. Of the lower portion which in Dawson's and Cunningham's facsimiles has been omitted altogether, nothing is left but faint traces of some characters in the first line. The characters are Brahmi of the Kusbana type. The *śka* appears in the older form with the small cross-bar, but the subscript *ya* shows the cursive form. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is dated in the year 74 of a mahārāja rā[ātrāja] dēvaputra whose name began with Vāsu, but owing to its fragmentary state its real purport cannot be made out.

## TEXT.

- 1 Mahārājasya<sup>1</sup> r[ā] . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 2 sya devaputrasya Vāsu . . .<sup>3</sup>  
 3 savatsarī<sup>4</sup> 70<sup>5</sup> 4 vaisham[ā]<sup>6</sup>  
 4 śe prathamē divasē  
 5 tris[ā]<sup>7</sup> 30 asyam<sup>8</sup> purvvyam<sup>9</sup>  
 6 Talakīya[ya]<sup>10</sup> mahadānda-  
 7 nāyasya<sup>11</sup> Vā-  
 8 mas[ya]<sup>12</sup> k[shā]t[rā]<sup>13</sup> Mhi-  
 9 . . . [mahadānda]<sup>14</sup>.

## REMARKS

1 The *ā*-stroke is distinctly visible in the impression, although it does not appear in Capt. Watts' eye-copy—2 The *ā*-stroke is uncertain. Restore *ātrāja*.—3 The *ā*-stroke is quite distinct though here again it is omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. As regards the restoring of the line, I refer to the remarks below—4 The *ā*-stroke, omitted in Capt. Watts' eye-copy, is quite distinct—5 Owing to a flaw in the stone, a small portion of the lower left cross-bar of the symbol has disappeared. In the impression somebody has tried to restore the missing portion by adding in pencil a hook turning upwards, but there is nothing to warrant this restoration. There can be no doubt that the symbol had the shape of a plain St. Andrew's cross, just as in other inscriptions. The lower right cross-bar also has been pencilled over in the impression, but this is of no consequence as it is perfectly distinct. The meaning of the symbol will be discussed below—6 The upper portion of the *m* and the *ā* are not quite distinct—7 The *ś*-stroke is indistinct, and the *śa* has suffered from a hole in the paper—8 The apparent curving of the tail of the *a* has been caused by pencilling. In Capt. Watts' eye copy the tail is quite straight—9 Above the *pu* there is a distinct stroke which must be accidental—10 There are some strokes behind and below the *ta*, but they are not noticed in Capt. Watts' eye-copy and may be accidental. The *ś*-stroke is not very distinct, and the reading *Talukiyam* would be possible—11 Capt. Watts expressly states that there are no traces of letters before the *nā* of line 7 and the *ś* of line 8. The *nā* has been pencilled over so as to look almost like *śā*, but there can be no doubt that it is *nā*, and as such it appears also in Capt. Watts' eye-copy—12 The *ya* is damaged, but certain—13 The *k* of the first and the *r* of the second syllable are damaged, but certain. The *ś* of *kshā* is very faint and not given in Capt. Watts' eye-copy. The last syllable may also be *trā* as in Capt. Watts' eye copy—14 Of this word only faint traces are visible in the impression, and the reading rests almost entirely on Capt. Watts' eye-copy. Instead of *da* Capt. Watts gives *dā*.

## TRANSLATION.

In the year 74 of the mahārāja rā[ātrāja] dēvaputra Vāsu . . . , in the first month of the rainy season, on the thirteenth day, 30,—on that (date specified as) above, in the field (?) of the great general Vāhina at Talakīya (or Talakī?) Mhi . . .

Mathura inscription of Samvat 74.



E. Hultzsch

Collotype by Gebr. Plettner





## NOTES.

The orthography shows the usual features. The lengthening of the vowel in *dāṇḍa* appears again in the same word in the Set-Mahet inscription, above Vol VIII, p 181, and we may further compare such forms as *āntāvāsava* and *āntāvāsaviyā* in the Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 198 f, Nos 1 and 4.

As regards the date, the first symbol of the date of the year requires a fuller consideration, as it has been differently interpreted. As already stated above, it has the shape of a St Andrew's cross. Cunningham<sup>1</sup> originally read it as 40, and he was followed by Dowson, who in editing the Mathurā inscriptions everywhere adopted Cunningham's readings of the dates.<sup>2</sup> In 1891 Buhler expressed his belief that the sign really represented 70,<sup>3</sup> and this opinion was endorsed in the following year by Cunningham in his paper on the coins of the Kushanas in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser III Vol XII p 50, note 6.

I accordingly read the symbol as 70 when I published the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, and I am still convinced that Buhler was right, but in order to settle this question definitely, it will be necessary to examine the other Northern Brāhmī inscriptions where the same sign occurs. They are the following seven, all of which come from Mathurā or its neighbourhood —

(1) Mathurā inscription of the time of *svāmīn mahāshatrapa Śodāsa*, *Ep. Ind* Vol II p 199, No 2, and Plate. In the *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p. 177, Buhler read the symbol as 40, adding 70 in brackets. In the *Ep. Ind*, *loc cit*, Buhler again gave 40 in the text, but added in a note that the symbol might possibly be 70. And lastly in *Ep. Ind* Vol IV p 55, note 2, he stated that he would now remove the alternative reading 42, which he had thought admissible at first.

(2) Kāman inscription, *Ep. Ind* Vol. II. p 212, No. 42, and Plate. Here Buhler rendered the sign by 70 in the text, but added in a footnote that it might also be read as 40.

(3) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As. Soc* Vol XXXIX. Part I, p 130, No. 17, and Plate, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser. Vol V p 183, No 5, and Plate, *Arch Surv Rep.* Vol III p 33, No 11, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 102.

(4) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX Part I p 127, No 1, and Plate, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 182, No 1, and Plate, *Arch. Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 12, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have adopted this reading in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 11.

(5) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX Part I p 127, No 2, and Plate, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 183, No 2, and Plate, *Arch Surv. Rep* Vol III p 34, No. 13, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40, and I have followed them in *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII, p 102, No 13.

(6) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Beng As Soc* Vol XXXIX. Part I. p 130, No 18, and Plate. The facsimile is very poor. In the *Ind Ant.* Vol XXXIII p 101, No 12, I have read the sign as 40, but I have pointed out also that the inscription is possibly identical with that referred to under No. 3.

(7) Mathurā inscription, *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 184, No 7, and Plate, *Arch Surv Rep.* Vol III. p. 34, No. 14, and Plate. Cunningham and Dowson read the sign as 40.

<sup>1</sup> The absurd opinions of Rajendralala Mitra may be passed over in silence.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Cunningham's remarks, *Journ. Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Ind* Vol I p 873, note 7.

It thus appears that the symbol has hitherto been treated sometimes as 40 and sometimes as 70, but it will be readily conceded, I think, that it is impossible to assign two different values to the same sign in inscriptions of the same locality and the same period. But before we can decide which of the two interpretations is the correct one, we shall have to examine also the other symbols supposed to represent either 40 or 70 in the early Brāhmī inscriptions of Northern India. The following inscriptions, which for convenience sake I number in continuation of the list given above, must be taken into consideration —

(8) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 9, and Plate. The symbol resembles the ligature *pta* and was read by Bühler as 40.

(9) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 387, No 10, and Plate. The general appearance of the symbol is the same as in No 8, but its lower part is not quite distinct in the photo-lithograph. Bühler read the sign as 40.

(10) Mathurā inscription, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 33, No 10, and Plate, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 396, No 30, and Plate. The symbol generally has the same form as that in No 8, but its lower part is a little more cursive. Cunningham and Bühler read it as 40.

(11) Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja* Huviksha, *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 34, No 15, and Plate. The symbol is the same as in No 8. Cunningham read it as 40, and I have followed him in my treatment of the record in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 103, No 14.

(12) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 204, No 20, and Plate, p 321, and Plate. The upper part of the symbol is the same as in Nos 8—11, but its lower part is a distinct loop. Bühler read the sign as 70.

(13) Mathurā inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol I p 387, No 11, and Plate. As Bühler expressly states in a footnote that the symbol is a plain *pta*, it may have been so in the impression before him. In the photo-lithograph, however, it does not bear the slightest resemblance to that sign, but looks exactly like the letter *ba*. Bühler read the symbol as 40.

(14) Sāichū inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Shāhū Vāsashka, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f, and Plate. The symbol found here has quite a peculiar shape. Provided that the vertical standing behind it does not belong to it, but is part of the following sign for 8, it resembles the usual sign for 20. As such it was read also at first by Bühler, but at Cunningham's suggestion he afterwards took it to be 70. The reading of the sign was then discussed at length by Dr Fleet in a paper in the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326 ff, and he came to the conclusion that it was 20. But later on, when Mr Vincent Smith in his *Early History of India*, p 238, had suggested that the symbol might be read as 60, Dr Fleet admitted the possibility of this interpretation, see *Journ Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357<sup>1</sup>.

Leaving aside for the present the symbols found in the last three inscriptions, it appears that there are two symbols, the St. Andrew's cross and the *pta*, one of which must represent 70 and the other 40. Now in the inscription which forms the subject of this paper the St. Andrew's cross cannot represent 40, as in that case the inscription would be dated in the year 44 in the reign of a king whose name begins with Vāsu, whereas we know that from 33–60 Huviksha was the reigning monarch in this part of the country. Here, therefore, the St. Andrew's cross must represent 70, and we must accordingly assign the same value to the symbol also in the inscriptions enumerated above under Nos. 1–7. We thus get the dates S. 72 for No. 1, S. 74 for

<sup>1</sup> Another sign that originally was read 40 by Bühler, is found in the Mathurā inscription of the time of *mahārāja rājātūāja* *dēvaputra* Huviksha, *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate. Later on Bühler declared that on further consideration he read the symbol as 60, and as such it has been treated since then everywhere; see *Ep Ind*, Vol. II, p 204, note 61.

No 2, and S 77 for Nos 3-7 The inscriptions themselves contain nothing to contradict this result No 4, it is true, mentions the *mahārāja vīśātaraśa deśaputra* Huvishka, but not in connection with the date, the inscription simply recording a gift to the *vihāra* of that king As to the date S. 72 for the *mahāvīśhātara* Solasa, I refer to the remarks of Dr Fleet in the *Journ Roy Asi Soc* 1907, p 1024 ff

If the St Andrew's cross represents 70, the sign resembling *pta* must be 40 The inscription No 8, therefore, would be dated in S 44, No 9 in S 45, No 10 in S 47, and No 11 in S 48, which is in accordance with the statements of Nos 8 and 11 that their dates fall into the reign of Huvishka or Huvishka

The symbol occurring in No 12 undoubtedly differs from either of the two symbols found in Nos 1-11, but whereas it bears no resemblance whatever to the cross-shaped sign, it is easily intelligible as a cursive development of the *pta* sign<sup>1</sup> In my opinion therefore this sign also must be taken as 40, and the inscription as being dated in S 49, not S 79 There is another point in favour of this interpretation The inscription records a gift made at the request of the venerable Vridhahasti (*Vīrīdhahastin*), a preacher in the *Kottiya* (*Kottīya*) *ganna*, the Vanā (*Vaṇi*) *sīlīni* There is another Mathurā inscription dated in S 60,<sup>2</sup> recording a gift made at the request of the *ganna*, the venerable Khauna, a pupil of this same Vridhahastin If Vridhahastin in S 60 had a pupil who had acquired the dignity of *ganna*, he must have been a man advanced in years at that time, and although, of course, it is not impossible that he was still alive in S 79, it would certainly seem more natural to find him as a spiritual adviser in S 49 and his pupil in the same capacity eleven years later on, in S 60

Little can be said about the symbol occurring in No 13 The form appearing in the photolithograph is quite peculiar and unlike any other symbol in the inscriptions from Mathurā or elsewhere, but in accordance with Bühler's statement, it may be provisionally taken as 40

As regards the symbol in No 14, I agree with Dr Fleet that there is no reason whatever why it should be 70, as even the sign in No 12, which Bühler cited in support of this interpretation, is to be read not 70, but 40 On the other hand, I feel sure that it is not 20 I have lately received through Dr Konow impressions of an inscription running round the base of a pillar preserved in the Mathurā Museum The inscription, which is in Brāhmī characters of the Kushana type, is partly worn, but the date is quite distinct Now the sign for the tens in the date of the year is the same as that in the Sañchi inscription, showing again the vertical, which is thus proved to be an integral part of it and not to belong to the following sign And although unfortunately the text of the inscription contains nothing that would enable us to form a positive opinion on the value of the symbol, we may safely assert that it cannot be 20, as we find this number expressed by the usual sign in the date of the day Lastly also the proposal to treat the symbol as 60 cannot be said to be convincing, the sign that has hitherto been read as 60 in the inscriptions of the Kushana period<sup>3</sup> certainly being entirely different I do not want to offer a new hypothesis In my opinion we shall have to wait for fresh materials before we can hope to arrive at a satisfactory result in this question In how far the restoring of the king's name in our inscription of S 74 is influenced by this uncertainty, will be shown below

I know that the results arrived at above are partly not in harmony with those deduced from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas The numeral signs occurring in the legends of those coins are given in table IX, col V, of Bühler's *Indische Palaographie* from Professor Rapson's table in

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the symbol found in No 9 forms the intermediate stage between the *pta* and the looped sign As I have stated above, its lower part is not quite distinct in the photolithograph, but it does not seem to me impossible that here also it consists not of the usual fork, but of a loop, though a much smaller one than in No 12

<sup>2</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate

<sup>3</sup> *Ep Ind* Vol I p 386, No 8, and Plate, Vol II p 204, No 19, and Plate, *Arch. Surv. Rep* Vol. XX, p 87, and Plate V, fig 6

the *Journ Roy As Soc* 1890, Plate to p 6-9 Here the St Andrew's cross has been entered as 40, and a sign much resembling the *phi* and another looped sign almost exactly like that of No 12 as 70 I do not wish to throw any doubts on the correctness of these readings, but I content that for such questions inscriptions must be treated separately according to time and locality

[Rajendralala Mitra, Dowson and Cunningham agreed in restoring the name of the king as *Vīśu[ī]śāśya*] When I edited the inscription from the facsimiles published by my predecessors I drew attention to the circumstance that the available space is hardly sufficient for the three *aśāśyaśāśya*, and I proposed to restore the name as *Vīśushāśya*, as this name of the king seemed to be attested by two other inscriptions of S 76 and S 78,<sup>1</sup> whereas the first undoubted record of Vāsudēva's reign was dated in S 80 What I said about the difficulty of supplying three syllables is confirmed by the impression now before me, although owing to the frequent irregularity of the writing in these inscriptions it is impossible to speak on this point with absolute certainty But the evidence for the existence of a king Vāsushka in S 76 and S 78 is not so strong as it seemed to be formerly As I have tried to show above, the date of the Sāñchi inscription mentioning a king Vāśahka<sup>2</sup> is quite uncertain, and the Mathurā inscription mentioned by Führer as being dated in S 76 and recording repairs in the reign of Vāsushka has not yet been published As Dr Konow informs me, it cannot even be found now, Führer's trenches having been filled up again a long time ago and the exact spot where the inscription was found being no more known Under these circumstances a decision is of course impossible for the present If Führer's statement after all should prove correct, I should unhesitatingly restore *Vīśu* to *Vīśushāśya*, otherwise the reading *Vīśudēvasya* will have to be accepted.

The rest of the inscription calls for few remarks *Talakiya* or *Talaki* seems to be the name of a locality, but I am unable to identify it The title *mahādandanāyaka* is frequent in the inscriptions of the Gupta period and later times In the Kushana inscriptions it has not yet been found before, but the subordinate title of *dandanāyaka* occurs in the Manikyāla inscription,<sup>3</sup> where the correct reading in l 2 is, not *Laladada-nayago*, but *Lala-dadamayago*

### III—MATHURĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ŚONDĀSA.

This inscription was first published, together with a facsimile, in 1870 by Professor Dowson in the *Journ Roy As Soc* New Ser Vol V p 188, No 29 In 1873 it was published again with a facsimile by Cunningham in the *Arch Surv Rep* Vol III p 30, No 1 And in 1904 I have tried to edit the text from those two facsimiles in the *Ind Ant* Vol XXXIII p 149, No 24 For the present edition of the record I have made use of an impression found in Professor Hoernle's collection described above

Cunningham states that the stone bearing the inscription was found in the Jail Mound at Mathurā. According to Dowson, it has been cut through and the first part of it has been carried off On the other hand, the facsimiles distinctly showed that something was missing at the right end, and thus I was led to suppose that the stone was damaged on both sides This, however, is not the case Nothing is missing at the beginning of the writing on the left, and on the right also only one letter has been cut off at the end of the first two lines With this exception the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation

<sup>1</sup> Mathurā inscription of S 76, mentioned by Führer, *Progress Report* for 1895-96, Sāñchi inscriptions of S 78, edited by Bühler, *Ep Ind* Vol II p 369 f

<sup>2</sup> This is the reading suggested by Dr Fleet, *Journ Roy As Soc* 1903, p 326, but he is himself inclined to look upon this form as a mere variant of Vāsushka, if the existence of such a name should be proved, see *Journ. Roy As Soc* 1905, p 357 f

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. As Ser.* IX. Vol VII p 8 f

The characters are of the so-called archaic type of the Mathurā inscriptions, see especially the letters *da*, *śa* and *śha*, and the subscript *ya*. The language is the mixed dialect. The inscription is not dated. It records various gifts of a Brahman of the Śégrava (*Śargrava*) *gōtra*, the treasurer of *śvāmin mahākshatrapa* Śōmdāsa. For details I refer to the remarks below.

## TEXT.

1 Svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasyā Śōmdāsasyā<sup>1</sup> gamjavarēna brāhmanēna Śégrava-  
sagōtrēna [p]<sup>2</sup>

2 raṇi imāśhām yamada-pushkaraniṇam paśchamā pushkarani udapānō ārāmō<sup>3</sup>  
stambhō<sup>1</sup>

3 [śilā]pattō<sup>4</sup> cha-

## REMARKS.

1 As to the reading of this name see the remarks below.—2 Little is left of the *pa*, but the reading is certain. Restore *pushka-*.—3 The outlines of the letters *ni udapānō ārāmō* are more or less touched up with pencil, but the reading is perfectly certain.—4 The reading *śilā* is certain, although the letters are entirely spoiled by being gone over with pencil.

## TRANSLATION

By the treasurer of the lord, the *mahākshatrapa* Śōmdāsa, a Brāhman of the Śégrava (*Śargrava*) *gōtra*, a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar and this stone-slab (*was caused to be made*)

## NOTES

As regards the language, the most interesting form is *imāśhām*. Apparently in the dialect of Mathurā the genitives plur. of the pronoun were, as in Pāli, *imēsam* and *imāsam*, and the author of the inscription translated the latter form into *imāśhām* as he was wont to render *imēsam* by *imāśhām*. The nominative sing. masc. of the same pronoun is found at the end of line 2, but unfortunately nothing is left of it but the initial *i*. The word *pushkarani* shows in the third syllable the vocalisation of the Pāli *poḷḷharani*. *Yamaḍa* corresponds to Skt *yamala* or *yamala*, as the word would be written in Southern manuscripts. The construction of the inscription is rather peculiar, the verb or participle on which the instrumentals *brāhmanēna*, etc., depend, being omitted.

The first point to command attention is the name of the *mahākshatrapa*, which is generally supposed to be Śōdāsa. In the present inscription there is a distinct sign above the *śo*. It must have been found also in the impressions used by Dowson and Cunningham, as the former reads *Śāmdāsasya* (for *Śāmdāsasya*) and the latter *Sauḍāsasya* (for *Sauḍāsasya*), although the facsimiles show no trace whatever of *anusvāra* or *au*. The sign cannot be the stroke denoting *au*, as it does not touch the upper line of the *śo*, but is separated from it by a distinct blank space. It can only be an *anusvāra* of the same bulky shape as that in *gamjavarēna* and in *pushkaraniṇam*.

The form Śōmdāsa has not yet been recognised anywhere else. In the second Brāhmī inscription at Mathurā mentioning this *mahākshatrapa*<sup>1</sup> Bühler read *Soḍāsasa*, but the photograph by no means excludes the reading *Śōmdāsasa*. Right above the *śo* there is a white spot scarcely less distinct than that above the *ma* of *hamaśtamadēś* which Bühler read as *anusvāra*. In the Mathurā lion-capital inscription<sup>2</sup> Mr Thomas reads the name as *Suḍasa* and *Suḍasa*, and with regard to coins, Professor Rapson has stated in the *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* 1903, p. 289, note 3, that whenever the name is legible, the first *akṣhara* seems to be *śo*, and that the alternative forms *Śu*<sup>o</sup> and *Sau*<sup>o</sup>, given by Bhagvanlal and Cunningham respectively, cannot be

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 199, No. 2

<sup>2</sup> *Adobe*, Vol. IX. pp. 143, 144.

certainly read on any of the specimens of the British Museum. But even if a re-examination should prove the readings *Sodāsa* and *Sudāsa* to be correct, this would not invalidate the reading of the present inscription. Everybody familiar with the records of this period knows how often an *anusāra* is omitted in writing, and that on that account the reading *Somdāsa*, even if found once only, carries more weight than the reading *Sodāsa* occurring ten times. In my opinion therefore *Somdāsa* must be accepted as the general form of the name.

Scarcely less interesting is the designation of the donor. Dowson and Cunningham read *gaṇavāśna*, and Bühler, *Vienna Or Journ* Vol V p 177, proposed to alter the unintelligible syllables *gaya* into *rajā*, 'during the reign'. The new reading *gaṇavāśna* shows that *gaṇavāśna*, 'treasurer,' which hitherto was known only from the *Biharānand* V, 177 and Kshēmaśūdras *Lāṅgprakāśa*, was an official title in India already in much earlier times. As recognised by Beaufey,<sup>1</sup> *gaṇavāśna* is the Persian *ganjavāz*, and the use of this title is a new proof of the strong Parthian influence that made itself felt in Northern India from the time of Aśoka to the beginning of the Gupta empire.<sup>2</sup>

The donor calls himself by his *gōtra* name Śāgrava, which in correct Sanskrit would be Śaṅgrava. According to the *Grāhapīṭha* the Śaṅgrava *gōtra* is referred to by Pāṇini in II, 4, 117 and IV, 1, 104. I have also no doubt that Professor Kern is right in identifying *Saṅgrava* with Pāli *Siggava*,<sup>3</sup> the name of the patriarch who conferred the *upasampādā* ordination on the great Tissa Moggaliputta.<sup>4</sup>

No 34—PATHARI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF PARABALA,  
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 917

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN, CIE, GÖTTINGEN<sup>5</sup>

Pathari in Long 78° 15' and Lat 23° 56', is the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Bhopāl Agency of Central India.<sup>6</sup> Its antiquities were first described, in 1814, by Captain J. D. Cunningham, in the *Journal As Soc Bengal*, Vol XVII, Part I, p 305 ff. After stating that the locality of which he is treating includes two good-sized reservoirs or *talabs*, and that the present town of Pathari and the smaller lake are distinguished by a single pillar and a solitary temple, Captain Cunningham on page 310 proceeds thus—'Near to the western side of the smaller lake stands the wand or pillar, now called of Bheem Sen. It is composed of a single block about 36 feet in height and 2½ thick. The shaft is square in section for a height of 8 feet, and it then becomes circular. On one side of the square portion of the shaft there is a long inscription, much obliterated, and of which I failed to make even a tolerable impression.'

The pillar and its inscription were again noticed in 1880, by General Sir A. Cunningham, in his *Archaeol. Survey of India*, Vol X, p 70, thus—'Inside the town, on the top of the slope, there is a tall monolith with a bell-shaped capital. The shaft is circular, rising from a base 8 feet

<sup>1</sup> See the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* s v.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* 1893, p 289 ff., Professor Rapson has described a coin that shows a general similarity to those of Śāṅgāsa. With the exception of the last three *akṣaras* the inscription is not quite certain. Professor Rapson reads *brāhman[us] so(?)da ra(?)tha(?) na*. Would it be too bold to conjecture that the *brāhmana* mentioned here may have some connection with the *brāhmana* Śaṅgrava, the *gāṇavāśna* of Śāṅgāsa, and that the reading must be altered accordingly?

<sup>3</sup> *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in India*, Vol II p 266.

<sup>4</sup> See *Dīpan* V, 57, 69, etc.

<sup>5</sup> [The proofs of this and all subsequent papers by the late Professor Kielhorn have been read by me.—S. K.]

<sup>6</sup> Constable's *Hand Atlas of India*, Plate 27 D a.

3 inches high and 2 feet 9 inches square. On the northern face there is a long inscription of 38 lines of small letters. It opens with an invocation to Lakshmi-Nariyana,<sup>1</sup> but the greater part of the record is so much worn as to be quite illegible. Many of the letters here and there are in good order, and from their shapes I would assign the monument to somewhere about A D 600. Close by this pillar there is a small temple, with Vishnu sitting on Garuda over the door-way.

In October 1894 I received from Professor Hultzsch two impressions of the inscription, prepared by Mr H Cousens, Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, and an excellent photograph<sup>2</sup> of it, taken by the same gentleman, was given to me two or three years afterwards by Dr Fleet. From these materials I have already published a short account of the contents of the inscription and the tentative text of nine verses of it, in the *Nachrichten der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* for 1901, Part I, p 519 ff. A repeated examination of the same materials now enables me to place before the reader, with some confidence, by far the greater part of this record, which, though troublesome to read, is not so illegible as it may have seemed to be on the original stone.

The inscription contains 38 lines of writing which covers a space of about 2 feet broad by 2 feet 7 inches high. It has certainly suffered greatly from exposure to the weather, especially in the middle and at the end of the lines all the way down, and for nearly the whole length of the last seven lines. But fortunately<sup>3</sup> all proper names of importance may be read with absolute certainty, at any rate all those that occur in lines 1—31, and the same remark applies to the date of the inscription at the end of line 31. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in the topmost lines, but less in the lower part down to line 31, while it is somewhat larger again in lines 32—38. The inscription was written and engraved with great care and skill. The characters belong to the northern alphabet such as, speaking generally, we find it in the Gwalior inscription of the reign of Bhôjadêva of the [Vikrama] year 943, published with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* Vol I p 159 f. With our present knowledge of Indian epigraphy, we should assign them at once to about the 9th century A D. They include the rare sign for *jh*, which has not come out well either in the impressions or in the photograph, in the word *jhapti* towards the end of line 15. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The text is remarkably correct, and in respect of orthography the only points worth noticing here are that the sign for *v* is used for both *v* and *b*, and that the words *aihsa* and *dhvansa* are written *ans* and *dhvansa*, in lines 2 and 8.

The inscription consists of two parts. The first (and chief) part comprises lines 1—31, the second lines 32—38. This second part appears to be really a separate inscription, added by way of a postscript, which may record the installation of an image of Vishnu, but the exact purpose of which, owing to the damaged condition of lines 32—38, I have not been able to ascertain. What I may state with confidence is that, after the words *Om namah* in the commencement of line 32, there are five verses, two in the Sragdharâ metre, one in the Vasantatilakâ metre, one in the Upajâti metre, and the fifth perhaps in the same metre. So far as I can judge, the first and probably the second of these five verses contain some historical information, and it would therefore seem desirable to have a cast taken of this part of the inscription, which would enable one to decipher more of the text than I have succeeded in making out from the impressions and the photograph.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first verse of the inscription commences with the words *Lakshmi-nramdhraptina*, which were apparently misread as *Lakshmi-Narâyana*.

<sup>2</sup> The accompanying facsimile has been prepared under the superintendence of Prof. Hultzsch from Mr Cousens' photograph. A facsimile of the impressions would have been quite useless.

<sup>3</sup> Exposed as the pillar has been to all the effects of the Indian climate for more than a thousand years it seems wonderful that of these small letters, which were not deeply engraved, many should have been preserved so well as we find them to be.

<sup>4</sup> I am sanguine enough to hope that it will indeed some day be possible to make out the names which are hidden now in the second part of our inscription. It will then perhaps also be found that this part likewise ends with a date in the 9th century of the Vikrama era, of which in my opinion there are traces in the second half of line 38.

The first part (lines 1—31) also commences with *Om namah* and ends with a date which will be given below. Between the two there are 32 verses, the text of more than two-thirds of which may be given with perfect certainty, while there is no doubt about the general meaning of any of the rest. The verses form a *prastāva*, the main object of which is to record (in verses 25 and 26) that the king Parabala of some Rāshtrakūta family founded a temple of Śaṅgī (Hari, Vishnu), before which he erected the Garuda-crested pillar on which the inscription is engraved. The *prastāva* opens with four verses which invoke the protection of, and glorify, the god Vishnu, under the names of Murāri, Krishna and Hari. It then (in verses 5—7) relates that formerly there was a king Jējja, under whom 'this Rāshtrakūta *vamśa*' was flourishing, and whose (unnamed) elder brother, after defeating thousands of Kārṇāṭa soldiers with their arrays of elephants, obtained the Lāta kingdom. Jējja's son was Karkarāja (v 11), who put to flight<sup>1</sup> the king Nāgāvalōka and invaded his home (vv 14 and 15). And Karkarāja's son was Parabala, represented as ruling the land when the inscription was composed (V 18). The rest records that the pillar was actually set up by the king's chief minister, whose name is not clear in the impressions, and that the *prastāva* was composed by Harsha (v 29) and engraved by the *sūtradhāra* Sāhila (v 31), while the last verse 32 contains the usual prayer that the king's pious work and his fame may endure for ever. — The date at the end of line 31 is *śamvatī 917 Chaitra-sudi 6 Śukrā, v e* "Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra of the year 917". In this date the numeral figures for the year are particularly clear, and cannot be read in any other way. The figure for 9 is the same as *e g* in line 6 of the Dēōgadh pillar inscription of the time of Bhōjadēva of the [Vikrama] year 919 (*Archaeol Surv of India*, Vol X, Plate xxxiii 2), and in line 22 of the Garmha plate of Jayādityadēva II of the [Vikrama] year 927 (*Journ As Soc. Beng* Vol LXX Part I Plate 1). The date must of course be referred to the Vikrama era. It is one of the earliest dates of that era which admit of exact verification and corresponds regularly, for the expired *Kārttikāśī* Vikrama year 917, to Friday, the 21st March A.D. 861, when the 6th *tithi* of the bright half of Chaitra ended 16 h 44 m after mean sunrise.

The *prastāva* will, I think, be admitted to contain some rather pretty verses<sup>2</sup>. Its author, so far as I can judge, was well acquainted, amongst other poetical works, with Māgha's *Śisupāla vadha*, and in the composition of at least one verse he undoubtedly drew his inspiration from that poem<sup>3</sup>. I refer to verse 16, which may be compared with Śis XIX 52. The former is —

*Sakalāhrita-sarvāṅgā nānābharanabhūshitāḥ |*  
*drśyanti ripavō yasya nānābharanabhūshitāḥ ||*

"With their limbs all out to pieces (and thus)<sup>4</sup> decorated with manifold ornaments (*ābharana*), his enemies are seen to abide on various battle-fields (*rana-bhū*)"

And Māgha's verse is —

*Śastravanamaya-śrīmad-alamkaranabhūshitāḥ |*  
*dadrśō śnyō Rāvanavad-alamkaranabhūshitāḥ ||*

"Decorated with glorious ornaments (*alamkaraṇa*) which consisted in the wounds inflicted by weapons, another looked like Rāvaṇa, though abiding on a battle-field (*rana-bhū*) that was not connected with Lankā."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The original apparently mentions the place where Nāgāvalōka was put to flight, but the name of it cannot be read with confidence. See verse 14 and the translation of it below.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *e g* verses 13, 15, 20 and 30.

<sup>3</sup> The *prastāva* somewhat pointedly ends with the word *śrīmattī*, which, in the case of an author who had studied the *Śṛyāṅka mahākāvya* does not seem to me to be without significance.

<sup>4</sup> Compare the following note.

<sup>5</sup> Mallinātha explains *sarvāṅgāḥ rana-bhūṣaṇatōṣa Ravana śvādyam Lankāśambhāṇa-virūḍhīḥ vyaśrīka śty-arthāḥ | upamā vyaśrīka-yamakānām samkaraḥ |*



Here we not merely have, at the end of each half verse, the synonymous words *abharana-bhūshita* and *alamkaranabhūshita*, either of them similarly used in a double meaning, but we also find a form of the same verb (*drśyantē* and *dadrśē*) in exactly the same position in both verses. At the same time the manner in which the verse of the *Sūsupālavāha* commences, clearly shows how we ought to interpret the first half of Harsha's verse the ornaments with which the enemies were decorated consisted in the wounds inflicted on them when their limbs were cut to pieces. I am aware that what I have pointed out here is not of any great value now, because we have lately learnt from another inscription that Māgha lived long before the middle of the 9th century A D

Among the contents of the *prafasti* there are three points of particular interest. The first obviously is, that the inscription is one — the only one hitherto discovered — of a Rāshtrakūṭa king Parabala, for whom it furnishes a date in A D 861. The second point is, that Parabala's father Karkarāja defeated, and invaded the territory of, a king Nāgāvalōka. And to these may be added the statement that an unnamed elder brother of Karkarāja's father Jējja, after defeating certain Karnāṭas, took possession of the Lāta kingdom.

As regards the first point, we knew indeed from the very earliest Sanskrit inscription brought to the notice of European scholars — the Mungur plate of Dēvapāla<sup>1</sup> translated by Sir Charles Wilkins in 1731 — that the Pala king Dharmapāla married ' Ranpādēvī, a daughter of the glorious Parabala, the ornament of the Rāshtrakūṭa family,' but as the name Parabala could not be traced in any subsequent inscription, scholars conjectured that it was a *birūda* of one of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhēd, perhaps of Gōvīndarāja III or Amōghavarsha I, according to the notions which they had formed regarding the time of Dharmapāla. Now there can not remain any reasonable doubt that the Rāshtrakūṭa Parabala of our Pathari inscription is identical with the Parabala of the Mungur plate, a daughter of whom was married by Dharmapāla. But it does not follow that Dharmapāla's reign must therefore be taken to have commenced so late as the middle of the 9th century. Many Indian kings have had unusually long reigns, and at present we know nothing about the length of Parabala's reign, while all that we know for certain in this respect regarding Dharmapāla is that he reigned for at least 32 years. The zeal and activity displayed by the officials of the Archaeological Survey in the search for epigraphical documents encourage us to hope that before long we shall be in possession of materials that will definitely fix both the exact time of Dharmapāla's reign and the chronology of events generally which took place in Northern India during the 8th and 9th centuries.

The king Nāgāvalōka<sup>2</sup> who was defeated by Parabala's father Karkarāja seems to have been a ruler of some importance. I have no doubt that he is identical with that Nāgāvalōka who is mentioned in verse 13 of the Harsha inscription of Vīgraharāja,<sup>3</sup> in terms which would imply that he was the overlord, and who certainly was a contemporary, of the Chāhamāna Gūvaka I of Śākambhari, whom in my Synchronistic Table for Northern India I have roughly placed at the commencement of the 9th century. There has lately been discovered a copper-plate inscription of a Chāhamāna *Mahāśamanīdēvapatī*, which records a grant that was made at Bhīgukachchha in the increasing reign of victory of the glorious Nāgāvalōka, and which apparently is dated in the [Vikrama] year 813 (corresponding to about A D 756).<sup>4</sup> I owe a photograph of it to the kindness of Mr Gaurishankar Hiraachand Ojha, but would wait for impressions before expressing an opinion regarding its genuineness and value.

<sup>1</sup> See *As Res* Vol. I. p. 138, and *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p. 253

<sup>2</sup> I need hardly point out that this name looks like the well-known *birūdas* ending in *valōka* of certain Rāshtrakūṭa kings (*Khādōvalōka*, *Vīkrāmvalōka*, etc.)

<sup>3</sup> See above Vol II. p. 121, line 12 of the text, where the actual reading of the original is *śrīman-Nāgāvalōka-pravaranyapa*

<sup>4</sup> If the grant is genuine, the donation recorded in it was probably made on the 28th October A.D 756

Nor can I say anything definite at present regarding the conquest of the Lâta kingdom by the elder brother of Parabala's grandfather Jêjja. The known names of chiefs connected with Lâta from about the middle of the 8th century and the available dates will be found above, Vol VIII App II p 4. It will be seen there that we have no date, and know little about Lâta, between A D 757 and A.D. 812, which is just the period in which, judging from the date of the present inscription, we should have to place Jêjja and his elder brother.

In the text which follows I have indicated by marks of interrogation all passages about which I am myself doubtful, and have left blanks where I could have put in only a purely conjectural reading. Others may be able to supply what is wanting or to find the correct readings where I have failed to do so. I know that I have shunned no trouble and may perhaps be permitted to say—

Harshêna nûnam rachitâ prasastir=  
vidhêr=vasâd=asma-talê vilinâ |  
prakâsit=êyam pramadâch=ohhramêna  
satâm mudam samtatam-âtanôtu ||

## TEXT 1

- 1 Om<sup>1</sup> namah || <sup>2</sup>Lakshmi-nîramdhrapîna[sta]nakalâsa-la[sa]-t-pallavâ Vritra-sâtrâs=  
ttalâlôkyasvâmya-dîkshâvidhu-varaguravô=[r]-i-  
2 shtanâsa-prachandâh | dôrdandâh Kêsikêsâgraha-ruchiruru[t-â]ghushta  
h[?]marânsadêâ<sup>4</sup> Daityêbha-sthûlakumbha[stha]-  
3 ladalana-d[r]-îdhâh pâmtu vas-tê Murâhêh ||[1\*] <sup>5</sup>Vâ(bâ)lârkkâ[chohchav]-  
chakrav[âka]vimala-yyâl[â]hat-âvêshîtitâ<sup>6</sup> karua[â]lamvi(mba)ta kumdalâ  
jaladhara-  
4 chohhêdâvadâta-chohhavih | satkârtâsavarakûta-nirggata iva snigdhêndranlôpala-  
stambhah<sup>8</sup> skandhaga-pedarâgayugalah Krishnô=stu  
5 vah sîryasê ||[2\*] <sup>9</sup>Tribhuvanabhavana-stambhō nabhastalâmbhōdhi-sâtur=agha-  
dahansh | vra(bra)hmâmdamanda(da)lâmvu(bu)jadanda-ruchir- jjayati<sup>10</sup> Ha-  
6 ri-charanah ||[3\*] <sup>11</sup>Ahimakarachakra-kualayavilasatkamal-âlayah sa-dâna[vakâ]yah |  
jalândhir=iva Harir=avatât=purâna-purushô=pi yah sadâ nava-kâ-  
7 yah<sup>13</sup> ||[4\*] <sup>12</sup>Râj=âsid=varachakkralâmchhita-karô lakshmi-sanâthah purâ druptâri-  
prava(ba)ladvishat-pramathanas=ch-â[dhâ]ra-bhûtô bhuvah | vâ(bâ)hûdasta-  
mahidharô [nara]-  
8 ka-hâ tungadvipadhvansakrit=<sup>14</sup>Kamsârâtu-samô=py=akrishnatannbhrih=chhri-Jêjja  
âryyah stu[ta]h ||[5\*] <sup>15</sup>[Ra]mya-prasâtur=achchhdras=tungabh  
prithur=akamtakah | sîri-Râshîtra[kû]-  
9 ta-vamô=yam sampiddhō yatra bhûbhîti ||[6\*] <sup>16</sup>Jitvâ [vikata]karighatî-  
pra[bhuta]ra-Karupâtâbhatasahasrâ[ra] | [prithu ?] L[â]t-âkhyam râshîtram  
lavdham(bdham) yasy=âgrajen=âjau ||[7\*] <sup>17</sup>[Vana]-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions and a photograph supplied by Mr Cousins

<sup>2</sup> Metre Sragdharâ

<sup>4</sup> Read <sup>5</sup>erdânsadêâ

<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol

<sup>5</sup> Metre. Sârdûlavikrîdita.

<sup>6</sup> Compare *Sârngyavêsha-phamkâushûka*, above Vol II p 4, v 22

<sup>7</sup> Originally -kumdalâ seems to have been engraved.

<sup>8</sup> Compare *Sîrûpâlavadha* III. 11

<sup>8</sup> Metre Âryâ

<sup>10</sup> Originally -ruchîr= was engraved.—Compare above Vol I p 40, verse 2 *vra(bra)hmâmdamanda-lamalôpalandla-lâm vi(bi)bhîrat*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre Âryâgiti.

<sup>12</sup> Compare *Sîrûpâlavadha* xiv 70: *navasî budhâ yath purâna-purushah prachakshatî*

<sup>13</sup> Metre Sârdûlavikrîdita

<sup>14</sup> Read <sup>15</sup>dânsakrit=

<sup>15</sup> Metre. Sîkka (Anushtubh).

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Âryâ.

<sup>17</sup> Metre Mâlinî.

- 10 mahisham-asahyam vājunō lōla-nētrā madagalita-kapōlā dantīnah sūham-  
ngram | [jvalitapavana?] -kirnā vaim-viśh Kṛitāntam raua-śirasī yam-ēkam  
mōcirē naika-rūpam || [8\*]
- 11 <sup>1</sup>Ekō-p-itas=tataba kurvann-srātū-[ku]lam-ākulam | chāruchāmīkar-ōpē[tō n]ilā-  
rūpam vi(bi)bha[ritā] yah ||[9\*] <sup>2</sup>[Prāpt-ōchchhṛayā?] ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪  
prakampā[n]-mukt-āl[bh]ih svamahima-prāpādanāya | [dāsī?]nta[rānyu-].
- 12 puzatā vikalā dīśānu yasya dhvajā iva sadā ripa[rvō] bhramanti ||[10\*]  
Tasy-ātmapō ripuva(ba)-[ā]nta ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ h<sup>s</sup> śrī-Karṅkarāja itī  
samyatī lavdha(bdha)-kīrtih | P[ārth-āgran ?]i-
- 13 r=iva va(ba)bhūva<sup>4</sup> nīrasta-śalyō duśāsānāriva(ba)la-śāsana-bhīmasē[na]h ||  
[11\*] <sup>5</sup>Vī[kshipta?] -[vai?]m- . . . ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ nā | ya[t-ka]rēna  
ranāmbhōdhi-mathanē<sup>6</sup> Mandarāyitam ||[12\*] <sup>7</sup>Vidhvasta[va]-
- 14 riva[nitā]-nayanapranāli-samsakta-kajjalayutās-ujala-pra[vāha]h | śēshohyamānam=api  
chandramarīchi-[hāri] sphītam va(ba)bhūva [nanu] yasya yasō-tichitram ||[13\*]  
<sup>8</sup>Durvārārāt-mattadvī[rada]-
- 15 ghanaghatātopasamghanā-chandē samgrāmō [hrishta-yō]dhē [tura]gakhurajaś-  
chhanna-dikchakrav[ālō] | [valga?]t-pādhvaj[ā]lau | kshatarudhī[rasa]ritprājya-  
sāmantachakrē chakrē Nāgāvalōkam [jha]nta ∪<sup>9</sup>
- 16 lav[a]nē<sup>10</sup> yah parāvrīta-mūrtim ||[14\*] <sup>11</sup>Durvāravairivaravācana-  
kumbha[mukta]-muktāphalapra[kara]-nirmaladantamālā | Nāgāvalōkanripa-  
[vēsma]ni viprakēnē yasy-ōddhatam prahasat-iva kripāna-p[ālō] ||[15\*]
- 17 <sup>12</sup>Śakalikṛita-sarvvāngā nānābharanabhūshitāh | drīsyantē rīpavō yasya  
nānābharapabhūshitāh [16\*] <sup>13</sup>Yasy-ōtpalochchhavi[mu]śhā s[v]ajal-ōnātēna<sup>14</sup>  
khadgēna tumgatarā-bhū[mibhri]-
- 18 [tām] sū[rassu] | dhārānīpāta-janītar-asrījām<sup>15</sup> pravāhair-yuddhē  
mahāpralaya[kāla?]ghaua-[pratīth] <sup>16</sup> ||[17\*] <sup>17</sup>Ahimakara iv-ādya tyakta-  
dōshānushangō humakara iva jā[ta]h
- 19 sūddha-mūrtih kalāvān | parava(ba)ladalan-ōgrō=nugra-chakshuh pratāpī  
Parava(ba)la itī puttras-tasya [śāst]=īha bhū[mim] ||[18\*]  
<sup>18</sup>[Tyaktvā?]māyām-adambhāñ=cha saktā-kārttasvarāh sadā | bhūm[jatō] śrī-<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh)

<sup>2</sup> Metre of verses 10 and 11 Vasantatilakā

<sup>3</sup> The original possibly has <sup>o</sup>lntaka śva mūrtīah

<sup>4</sup> Originally vbhāva or vdbhāva was engraved

<sup>5</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) — I am unable to restore the first half of this verse with any confidence, but the meaning probably is that the king's hand in battle took away fortune from his adversary Compare *Gupta Inscrip* p 203, l 7

<sup>6</sup> Originally ranēmbhōdhi- was engraved

<sup>7</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā. — Compare *Śisupālavādhā* XV 80

<sup>8</sup> Metre Sragdhārā

<sup>9</sup> The *akshara* which is missing here I am unable to restore with confidence

<sup>10</sup> Of these three *aksharas* the first and the last seem to be certain, and the second is either *va* or *sv*

<sup>11</sup> Metre Vasantatilakā

<sup>12</sup> Metre Ślōka (Anushtubh) See above, p 250

<sup>13</sup> Metre - Vasantatilakā.

<sup>14</sup> The water of the sword-blade (*asvādhārā-jala*, *khadgadhārā-payas*, *khadgadhārdmbhā*) is often spoken of by poets, compare e.g. *Śhānti*, pp 84 and 183, and above Vol II, p 307, v 21

<sup>15</sup> The plural of *asrī* is similarly used in *Śisupālavādhā* xvii, 55 (*asrījā*)

<sup>16</sup> I have little doubt that this is the correct reading; in the original a medial *s* was originally engraved before the *akshara* which I read as *pra*, but it has clearly been struck out

<sup>17</sup> Metre Mālinī. <sup>18</sup> Metre. Ślōka (Anushtubh).

<sup>19</sup> This word, being repeated at the commencement of the next line, is superfluous here. *Śrīphala* is used in the double sense of 'the fruit of his prosperity' and 'Bilva fruit.'

(V 18) Now his son **Parabala** rules here the land, he who has discarded addiction to sin and is therefore like the sun which has severed its connection with the night, who is born of pure body and is versed in all arts, and is therefore like the moon when she has risen with a bright form and with all her digits, who, terrible in cutting up the forces of adversaries, is gentle-looking, and full of prowess

(V 24) At the head of battle the fortune of royalty—her garland of pearls covered with the blood streaming from the temples of elephants that were split by the round-pointed shafts of her strong bow drawn with a twang of the string, and with rows of arrows resting on her creeper-like arms—conquered for him *pilūdhvaja* banners

(V 25) He caused to be built this temple of Śaṃi,<sup>1</sup> resembling the peak of the mountain of snow, the white flag on the bright top of which bears the lustre of the river of the gods

(V 26) And like the pillar which was formerly (erected?) on the mountain of Garudadhvaja(?),<sup>2</sup> exactly so was this large Garuda-bannered pillar caused to be erected by that king before (the temple of) Hari<sup>1</sup>

(V 27) Repeatedly deliberating whether this is Vishnu's foot making three strides, or the body of Sthān<sup>3</sup> shaped like a post, or (the serpent) Śēsha pulled out of a hole in the ground by the enemy of the serpent-king,<sup>4</sup> the gods on viewing it find out that it is a pillar of pure stone proclaiming the fame of king **Parabala**

(V 28) His prime minister was [Ksh<sup>2</sup>]i . . . , administrator of all laws, bright like gold and true of speech, to be saluted with (bowing of) the head by king **Parabala**. He set up before (the temple of) the destroyer<sup>5</sup> of Madhu this Garuda-marked pillar, which with its stone arm raised aloft defies all ages—a pillar of him who has paralyzed his foes<sup>6</sup>

(Line 31) The year 917, Friday, the 6th of the bright half of Chaitra.

#### No. 35 — ANMAKONDA INSCRIPTION OF PROLA,

The Chalukya-Vikrama year Forty-Two

By H KRISHNA SASTRI, B A

On a hillock to the south of **Hanumkondā**<sup>7</sup> (Anmakonda) near Warangal in the Nizam's State, stands the small temple of **Padmākṣhi** which, unlike other buildings attributable to the **Kākatīya** period,<sup>8</sup> is devoid of any architectural pretensions. The rock close to which the temple stands, bears on a portion of its dressed surface, sculptures of

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Vishnu

<sup>2</sup> I am not sure about the meaning of these words, the text of which is doubtful in the original *Garuda Dhvayadri* might be equivalent to *Krishnagiri*

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Siva

<sup>4</sup> These words clearly indicate that there was a figure of Garuda on the top of the pillar

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Vishnu

<sup>6</sup> In my opinion, this might refer either to the king or to the god Vishnu

<sup>7</sup> This is the form given in Mr Cousens' *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the Nizam's Territories*, p 46

<sup>8</sup> The thousand-pillared temple in the middle of the village of Anmakonda was built by Prola's son Rudra in or about A D 1162-68 (*Ind Ant* Vol XI p 9 f) and contains some excellently sculptured door posts. The four gateways which now stand in the open air at Warangal might have belonged to the palace of the Kākatīya kings at that place (*Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1901-2, p 4). Mr Cousens, however, thinks that the gateways must have belonged to a great temple in the centre of Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the*

some **Jaina** images seated in a row. In front of the temple is an inscribed quadrangular pillar of black granite bearing in relief within a countersunk square, at the top of each of its four faces, the figure of a squatting **Jaina** ascetic with his arms folded over his lap crosswise. On the east face of the pillar this figure is flanked by a cow and calf on one side and a dagger and shield (?) on the other. The north face of the pillar bears representations of the sun and moon on the right and left sides, respectively, of the squatting **Jaina** figure. From these sculptures and from the inscription on the pillar, which is published below, it appears that the **Padmakshi** temple was originally dedicated to the **Jaina** goddess **Kadalalāya** and that the pillar was set up there by the lady who built the *basadi* (**Jaina** temple). At present the **Brāhmanas** of **Anmakonda**, who have somehow got possession of the temple, worship the goddess in it under the name **Padmakshi**, which they believe to be synonymous with **Durgā**.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear how or when the ownership of the temple passed from the **Jainas** to the **Brāhmanas**,

**Anmakonda**, or, as it is called in the subjoined inscription, **Anmakundā** (l 16) or **Ammakunde** (l 75), was originally the capital of the **Kākatya** kings and was situated in the **Andhra** country.<sup>3</sup> The neighbouring town of **Warangal** (**Ōrumgallu** in **Telugu** or **Ēkasālīnagara** in **Sanskrit**) became the seat of government about the end of **Ganapati's** reign and continued as such until the collapse of the **Kākatya** family.<sup>4</sup> **Anmakonda** and **Warangal** are now stations

*Nizam's Territories*, p 47) The temples near the **Rāmappā** Lake in the **Warangal** district are (*ibid* p 49) of the same type as the great temple at **Hauumkondā**, but more profusely sculptured. The principal temple of this group appears to have been built in A D 1213-14 by **Rudra** of **Recharla**, who was a dependant of the **Kākatya** king **Ganapati**. The village **Upapalle** in the **Yelgandal** district, is also reported to contain some ruined temples attributable to the **Kākatya** period (*ibid* p 74). The *vimāna* of the **Tripurāntakēśvara** temple at **Tripurāntakam** in the **Kurnool** district was constructed in A D 1254-55 under the orders of the **Kākatya** king **Ganapati** (*Epigraphical collection for 1905*, No 169). The **Padmakshi** temple at **Anmakonda** is the earliest known structural monument of the **Kākatya** period and this may account for its being plain and devoid of the display of art which is quite characteristic of the later structures of the dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> **Jaina** remains are mostly to be seen in the western portion of the **Nizam's** Dominions, which borders on the **Bombay** Presidency. **Anmakonda** is almost on the eastern border; see the map accompanying *Mr Cousens' Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H. H. the Nizam's Territories*.

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1901-2*, paragraph 7. The goddess **Padmakshi** to whom the temple is dedicated must be one of the twenty-four *Śāsanādēvīs* of the **Jaina** mythology. **Ambā** or **Ambukā**, the *Śāsanādēvī* of the 22nd **Ti** **thānaka** **Neminnātha**, is supposed to be a form of **Durgā**. **Padmāvatī** was the *Śāsanādēvī* of **Pārśvanātha** (*Dr Burgess' Archaeol Surv of Western India*, Vol V p 45 f and p 46, note 2). It might, therefore, be supposed that the goddess consecrated by **Malama** in the *basadi* at **Anmakonda** was either **Ambikā** or **Padmāvatī**—called, in **Kanarese**, **Kadalalāya**, the meaning of which I have not been able to trace.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol III, p 82, and footnote 4.

<sup>4</sup> The **Ganapēśvaram** inscription of the time of **Ganapati** states (v 9) that **Rudra**, son of **Prōla**, destroyed many towns and founded quarters named after these towns in the city of **Ōrumgallu** and peopled them with their respective inhabitants, while in the devastated towns he built celebrated temples of **Rudrēśvara** and settled fresh inhabitants. If there be any truth in this statement, it may be inferred that **Warangal**, which was already in existence as an important city (see l 95 of the subjoined inscription also), was greatly improved by **Rudra**. **Rēcharla**, **Rudra**, a general of **Ganapati** (see above, p 256, note 3) is said to have put to flight king **Nāgati** and founded the temple of **Rudrēśvara** at the city of **Ōrumgallu** (**Warangal**)—perhaps after his own name **Ōrumgallu** or **Ōrugallu**, which was thus improved by the **Kākatya** king **Rudra**, appears to have occupied only a subordinate position in the time of **Prōla**, **Rudra** and **Ganapati**, while **Anmakonda** was the capital. No 278 of the *Epigraphical collection for 1905-06* which belongs to the time of **Rudra** and is dated in **Śāka-Samvat** 1107, **Viśvāvasu** (= A D 1185-89) states that the *mahāmandalēśvara* **Kākatya** **Rudradēva-Mahārāja** was "the lord of **Anmakonda**, the best of towns." Nos 195 and 223 of the same collection belong to **Ganapati** and are both dated in **Śāka-Samvat** 1174, **Paridhāvin** (= A D 1252-53). The former refers to **Ganapati** as "the lord of **Anmakonda**, the best of towns." In **Śāka-Samvat** 1175 **Ganapati** still called himself the lord of **Anmakonda** (*Mr Butterworth's Nellore Inscriptions*, O 28). **Bā** N. 231 of the *Epigraphical collection for 1905*, dated in **Śāka-Samvat** 1176, **Ananda**, distinctly states that **Ganapati** was ruling with **Ōrumgallu** as his capital. Whether his successor **Rudradēva** (or, as she is called in inscriptions, **Rudradēva-Mahārāja**) reigned from the newly established capital **Warangal** or not, it is difficult to say. Her successor **Pratāparudra** ruled over almost the whole of the **Telugu** country and portions even of the **Tamil** country from his throne at **Ōrumgallu**. He is generally known as **Ōrumgallu** **Pratāparudrādēva**, or **Pratāparudrādēva** of **Ōrumgallu**.

on the Hyderabad-Bezvada section of the Nizam's State Railway and seem to have been included about the beginning of the twelfth century A D in the district of Sabbi-sāyina 'the Sabbi one thousand,' which formed part of the Western Chālukya empire, and to have been conferred by Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI on his feudatory the Kākātīya chief Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta<sup>1</sup> Sabbi-sāyina is not mentioned in other published records and, consequently, its extent cannot be defined until more lithic records from that part of the Nizam's Dommons are published<sup>2</sup>

The subjoined inscription<sup>3</sup> engraved on the four faces of the pillar above referred to, is written in bold and clear Kanarese characters of the twelfth century A D The written surface measures roughly in breadth 1' 3½" on the east and west faces and 1' 2½" on the north and south faces, while in height it is 3' 6", 3' 5½", 3' 7", and 3' 3½" respectively, on the east, north, west and south faces The sculptures which the four faces of the pillar bear have been noted already Verse 1, which contains the invocation, and the imprecatory verses (11 and 12) are in the Sanskrit language Lines 89 to 91 contain an incomplete Sanskrit verse which is evidently meant to be a quotation The rest of the inscription is in Kanarese prose (ll 6 to 24, 70 to 88, 91 to 99, and 111 and 112) and poetry (verses 2 to 10) The writing calls for very few remarks The *anusvāra* is sometimes, as in ancient records, written at the top of the right side of the letter (ll 1, 3, and 4), and sometimes, as at present, written on the right side of the letter (ll 86, 98, 100 and 102) The *vīrāma* occurs once in l 62 where it is marked by a wavy vertical line added to the top of the letter The *ś*-sign, which is almost similar in form to the *vīrāma*, is also attached to the top of the letter, but is horizontal, In ll 40 and 55, however, the *ś* of *śa* in the word *perggade* and *ś* of *yē* in the word *hridayāsvart*, are marked differently by a curved line attached to the left bottom corner of the letter and drawn horizontally to its right In other cases this sign along with the *ś*-sign first described, marks the *ai*-sign An attempt is made to distinguish the long *ś* from the short *ś* but it is not throughout kept up. Among consonants it may be noted, that the length of the horizontal stroke in the middle, which in the case of *pa* ought to be shorter than in that of *sha*, is in some instances lengthened so far as to make *pa* look almost like *sha* The forms *kramā*<sup>o</sup> for *kramā*<sup>o</sup> in l 20 and *yeyā*<sup>o</sup> for *yajā*<sup>o</sup> in l 103 are due to the peculiarities of Kanarese pronunciation

The record begins with an invocation addressed to the feet of Jinendra (v 1) and refers in ll 6 to 24 to the reign of the *mahārājādīharāja, paramēśvara* and *paramabhāṭtūrala*, the [Westein] Chālukya king Tribhuvanamallaśva [Vikramāditya VI] and his feudatory the *mahāmāṇḍalēśvara* Kākātī Bēta (l 19), who had acquired the five great sounds (*pañchamahāśabda*) and who was 'the lord of Anmakundā (l 16), the best of towns' The hereditary minister of Kākātī Bētarasa (l 30) was the *donādādhinātha* Varja (v 2). Verse 3 states that Varja brought his master the *maṇḍalika* Kākātī Bēta (ll 32 and 37) to the feet of the Chālukya (l 33) emperor<sup>4</sup> (*chakrva*) (*viz* Vikramāditya VI) and made him rule the district of

<sup>1</sup> See verse 3 below

<sup>2</sup> Sabbi or Chiebbi thurya, a small district over which the Western Ganga king Pañchaladeva was ruling in A D 971, and which took its name from the village of Chaboi or Chhabbi in the Hubli taluka of the Dharwar district (Dr Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties*, p 307) seems to be different from the Sabbi-sāyina district which was ruled by the Kākātīya chief Bēta

<sup>3</sup> No 106 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902 Mr Cousens refers to this as No 4 of the inscriptions at Hanumkonda and Warangal (*Lists of Antiquarian Remains in H H the Nizam's Territories*, p 48)

<sup>4</sup> In footnote 7 on p 91 of Vol VI above, Professor Linders questions the propriety of the title *chakrva* (*chakravartin*) as applied to Vikramāditya VI, in an inscription at Sravana-Belgola, dated in Śaka Samvat 1081 He presumes that the title *chakrva* is based on the analogy of the epithets *aravayachakravartin*, *pradīpachakravartin* and *Chālukyachakravartin* assumed respectively by three of Vikramāditya's successors, *viz* Sōmēśvara III, Jagadkammalla II and Talā III The title *Chālukya chakrva* applied to Vikramāditya VI in the subjoined inscription leaves no doubt that this imperial *śrīvāda* originated with him,

Sabhi-sāyina (l 34 f) as a feudatory of that monarch. According to verses 4 and 5 Vajra's son by Yākamabbe (l 38 f) was the *pergade* Bēta, who became the minister of Kākatī Prōla (l 43). The only act of this Bēta which the inscription records, is that he constructed ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his native village (v 5). The wife of this minister Bēta—the son of Yākamāmbikā (l 53 f)—was Māilama (vv 6, 7 and 8). Lines 70 to 87 state that she built the Kadalalāya-basādī on the top of the hill (v 9) and that—in the Chālukya-Vikrama (l 76) year forty-two, which corresponded to the cyclic year Hēmalamba, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti, which fell on Monday, the 15th day of the dark half of Pausya, while the king Kākatīya Polalarasa (l 73), son of the *mandalika* Tribhuvanamalla (l 72) was ruling at Ammakunde (l 75),—she gave for the benefit of that temple six *mattar* (l 86) of land below the tank built and named after herself, by her husband Bētana-pergade (l 81).<sup>1</sup> The pillar that bears the inscription was also set up by Māilama on the same occasion (l 87). Lines 88 to 99 register a gift of ten *mattar* (l 98 f) of land to the same temple by the *mahāmandalāsvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādī (ll 92 to 94), a member of the family of Mādha[va]rman (l 91) ' (who possessed a fabulous army) of eight thousand elephants, ten crores of horses and numberless foot-soldiers'. The land which Mēlarasa granted was situated below the Kūchikere tank, which belonged to Ōumgallu (l 95). This town was under the control of Mēlarasa at the time of the grant. Lines 111 to 112 record the assignment of a *pāga* (*hāga*) coin to the temple sweeper Bōya-Padda, to be paid, apparently from the proceeds of either of the two grants mentioned above.

The late Professor Kielhorn kindly contributed the following remarks on the date of the inscription—"Ch V 42= Ś 1039 exp = Hēmalamba. The date regularly corresponds to Monday, the 24th December A D 1117. On this day the Uttarāyana-samkrānti took place 14 h 55 m after mean sunrise, during the 15th *tithi* of the dark half of Pausya, which commenced 0 h 38 m after mean sunrise, and ended 0 h 13 m before mean sunrise of the following day."

Seven inscriptions of the Kākatīya dynasty have been published so far.<sup>2</sup> The earliest of these belongs to the time of Rudra,<sup>3</sup> five to that of Gaṅapati,<sup>4</sup> and one to that of Prāṭāparudra. The first of these and the Kāñchi inscription of Ganapati<sup>5</sup> supplement one another in supplying the full name of the first historical person of the Kākatīya dynasty, viz. Tribhuvanamalla Bēta. The Chēbrōlu record of Ganapati<sup>6</sup> and the subjoined inscription give, instead of Bēta, the form Bēta. The former of these two records and the unpublished Pākhal inscription of about the time of Ganapati<sup>7</sup> mention a certain Durjaya in the Kākatīya ancestry—the one, as the father of Bēta and the other as the father of Prōla. The Pākhal inscription further states that

*chakra* is also used in the sense of 'provincial chief,' above, Vol IV, p 96

<sup>1</sup> This tank is, perhaps, to be identified with the one at the foot of the hillock on which the Padmākhil temple is situated.

<sup>2</sup> Nos 534 to 539 and No 1066 of Appendix to Vol VII above

<sup>3</sup> This is his Anmakonda inscription of Śaka Samvat 1084, published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XI pp 9 ff. An unpublished record at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 273 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) gives for him the date Śaka Samvat 1107. The initial date of the next king Ganapati being now fixed at Śaka-Samvat 1121 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, paragraph 48) it follows that Rudra must have ruled from at least Śaka 1084 to 1121. However, the events recorded in the Anmakonda inscription of Rudra presume a much earlier date for his accession than Śaka 1084.

<sup>4</sup> These range in date between Śaka 1135 and Śaka 1172. The earliest inscription of Gaṅapati found at Tripurāntakam is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1181 which was probably his 10th year. He must have been ruling the country round Bezvāda already in Śaka 1123, see below, p 282, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XXI p 197 ff

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol V p 142 ff

<sup>7</sup> No 82 of the Epigraphical collection for 1902-03. This is not dated, but records the construction of the (Pākhal) tank by Jagadāla Mummaḍi, son of Bayana-Nāyaka, a minister of the Kākatīya king Gaṅapati. One is tempted to connect Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar State in the Central Provinces, with the chief Jagadāla-Mummaḍi. The tradition that the kings of Bastar trace their descent from the Kākatīya king Prāṭāparudra (above, p 154 f) lends further support to the chief's connection with Jagdalpur.

**Karikāla-Chōla** of the solar race was one of the predecessors of Durjaya. The Kāñchi epigraph quoted above, which also traces the Kākatīyas, as the Chēbrōlu and the Pākhal inscriptions do, to the Sun, Manu, Ikshvāku, and other mythical kings of the Raghu family, does not give the names of either Karikāla-Chōla or of Durjaya. The appearance of these two names in the Kākatīya genealogy is at present difficult to explain satisfactorily. But two facts which may be of some use in this connection have to be registered before passing on to the historical portion of the genealogy. As regards the mention of the mythical king Karikāla-Chōla as an ancestor of the Kākatīyas, attention may be drawn to the fact that the Telugu-Chōdas who invariably claim connection with this mythical Chōla king, became feudatories of the Kākatīyas in the time of Ganapati<sup>1</sup>. With regard to Durjaya, the name occurs among the ancestors of two of the contemporary local families of the Telugu country<sup>2</sup>. The first historical ancestor of the Kākatīya family was Tribhuvanamalla-Bēta. He appears to have been a powerful chief who held sway over some portions of the Andhra country before he became a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas and the governor of the Sabbi one thousand district. The surname Tribhuvanamalla which occurs here as well as in the Kāñchi and Anmakonda inscriptions, was probably borrowed from his overlord Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.

Bēta's son and successor was Prōla, Prōlerāja, Prōdarāja or Polalarasa, whose surname Jagatikēśarīn is known to us from the Kāñchi inscription of his grandson Ganapati. The importance of the subjoined epigraph consists in its being the earliest Kākatīya record and the only one of Prōla found so far. Like his father Bēta, Prōla appears to have continued as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI<sup>3</sup>. The Anmakonda inscription of his son<sup>4</sup> Rudra and the Ganapāsavaram record of his grandson Ganapati, mention in detail the military exploits of Prōla. These have been fully discussed by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch<sup>5</sup>. One of the opponents of Prōla was Tailapadēva called "the crest-jewel of the Chālukyas" in the Anmakonda inscription. Dr. Fleet has identified him with the Western Chālukya king Taila III (A. D. 1150-51 to 1162-63). This implies a pretty long reign for Prōla from at least the Chālukya-Vikrama year 42 (= A. D. 1117), the date of the present record, to at least A. D. 1150-51, the first year of Taila III, unless we suppose that Prōla fought with Taila while the latter was yet a prince<sup>6</sup>. That Rudra, son of Prōla, successfully averted a usurpation of the Chālukya throne after the death of Taila III, by a certain Bhīma

<sup>1</sup> See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1899-1900, p. 18, Genealogical Table of the Chōdas of the Telugu country, remarks under Ōpitisiddhi II and paragraph 53.

<sup>2</sup> The Kondapadnati chief Buddharāja and the mahāmandalēśvara Nambaya—two petty chieftains of the Telugu country on the southern side of the Krishna river—bore the surname 'the lion of the mountain—the Durjaya family' (above, Vol. VI p. 268 and footnote 6, and p. 269). We know from Telugu records that a family of chiefs known by the name Chāgi was contemporaneous with the Kondapadnatis. Nos. 253 and 271 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897 give two or three names in the ancestry of this family and call it the Durjaya-kula born from the feet of Vishnu. No. 265 of the same collection, which is dated in Śaka Samvat 1148 and which belongs to the time of Chāgi Ganapaya Mahārāja who was probably a member of this Chāgi Durjaya-kula, quotes a verse at the beginning in praise of the king which is almost identical with verse 7 of the Yenamadala inscription describing the Kākatīya king Ganapati (above, Vol. III p. 97 f., text ll. 31 to 36). Unfortunately the inscription is seriously damaged, otherwise, it might, perhaps, have been possible to prove that the local chiefs of the Chāgi Durjaya-kula were borrowed from the royal Kākatīya family of Warangal not only names, but some times even the description of the members of its family.

<sup>3</sup> This may be inferred from the use of the Chālukya-Vikrama era in the date portion of the subjoined record.

<sup>4</sup> The Pākhal inscription referred to above, states that Rudra was born in the family of Prōla, which is quite against the testimony of other Kākatīya inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI p. 10 and above, Vol. III p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> The second alternative seems to be the more probable one, for Prōla is actually stated to have captured Taila in battle and to have ruled him out of 'loyalty and love' (*bhakti-anuragāt*). This may imply the existence of a sovereign on the Chālukya throne different from Taila. *Chālukya-chōdamani* seems to have been a title of Western Chālukya princes who, before succeeding to the throne, generally served as governors of provinces.



whose capital was at Vardhamānanagari,<sup>1</sup> shows the extent of the power wielded by this feudatory family in the last days of the Chālukyas. Prōla's other enemies referred to in the Anmakonda inscription were Jagaddēva, Gōvinda (or Gōvindadandēsa, as he is called in the Ganapēsvaram inscription), Gunda and Udaya or Chōdōdaya. Jagaddēva has been identified with Tribhuvanamalla Jagaddēva, the Śāntara chief of Patli-Pombuchchapura, who was a feudatory, first of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. and then of his grandson Jagadēkamalla II. He must have "stood encompassing the city of Anmakonda" on behalf of the Chālukya emperor in order to avenge himself upon Prōla, who, it may be supposed, was trying to throw off his allegiance to the Chālukyas. It was, probably, as the first step in this direction, that Prōla inflicted the defeat on prince Tala III as stated above. Indeed, Prōla appears to have extended his military operations into the modern Kistna district as well. For, the next opponent of his was Gunda, the lord of the city of Manthena or Mantrakūta which is probably identical with the village of Mantena<sup>2</sup> in the Nazvid Zamindāri of the Godavari district. Gōvinda or Gōvindadandēsa, I would identify with the Gōvindarāja of the Abūr inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> who was the nephew of Anantapāla, the general of Vikramāditya VI—and with the *dandandīyaka* Gōvindarasa, who in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 51, corresponding to A D 1126-27 was ruling the Kondapaḷli three hundred district according to an unpublished inscription at Tripurāntakam.<sup>4</sup> Here we are told that this *dandandīyaka* Gōvindarasa "burnt Bengipura (Vēngi?)" and conquered Gonka.<sup>5</sup> This Gonka is apparently identical with the Velanāndu chief Gonka II, father of Rājendra-Chōdā<sup>6</sup> Udaya or Chōdōdaya, whom Prōla first defeated and then reinstated in his dominions, is according to Professor Hultzsch perhaps "to be connected with Kulōttunga-Chōdā-Gonka

Vira Nolamba Pallava Permānadi Jayasnghadēva, younger brother of Tribhuvanamalla-Vikramāditya VI, had such a brnda. Perhaps Tala's defeat by Prōla took place while the former was a prince, somewhere in the latter part of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II.

<sup>1</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XI p 11. Vardhamānanagari is said to have been burnt by Rudra after marching 'a few steps' from his capital Anmakonda. Dr Fleet suggests, accordingly, that it should be looked for somewhere in the Nizam's dominions not far from Anmakonda. There are two places with either of which Vardhamānanagari may be identified. One is Vardhanapet, about 20 miles south west of Anmakonda and the other is Waddamari, about 50 miles south west of Anmakonda in the direction of Kālāna. A later chief of Vardhamānanagari is mentioned in an inscription engraved on the fort wall at Raichur, as a feudatory of Pratāparudra. The record is dated in A D. 1294 which is the earliest date for Pratāparudra derived from inscriptions (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, Part II, paragraph 44). I quote this from a brief note on the inscription made by the Officer in charge of Archaeological Researches in Mysore in his Annual Report for the year ending 30th June 1907, paragraph 56.

<sup>2</sup> There is a place called Mantani in the Yelgandal district of the Nizam's State which is about 60 miles north of Anmakonda.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol V p 213 ff.

<sup>4</sup> No 258 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905.

<sup>5</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, paragraph 40.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol IV p 35. On p 38 of the same volume, Professor Hultzsch refers to the brnda *Chālukya rājya-dhavana mūlastambha* of Gonka II and states that he was a tributary to one of the two branches of the Chālukya dynasty. I think that, in spite of the fact that the Velanāndu chiefs became the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas subsequent to the death of Kulōttunga Chōdā I (*ibid* p 37), the title borne by Gonka II was a formal hereditary title and did refer only to the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. No 227 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district records a gift by Velanāṅṅi Gonka in Saka Samvat 1028 (=A D 1105-07). This Gonka is identical with Gonka I in the Genealogical Table of the Velanāṅṅi chiefs. The inscription states that he bore the title *Chālukya rājya dhavana mūlastambha*, but does not mention the overlord to whom he was subordinate. No 151 of 1897, however, which is dated in Saka Samvat 998, the cyclic year Nala, corresponding to the [7]th year of Vishnuvardhana Mahārāja [Kulōttunga Chōdā I.] registers a grant by Velanānti Gonkara (= Gonka I), the commander of all forces (*samasta sēndāhsapati*) of the king. This shows that the title *Chālukya rājya-dhavana mūlastambha* assumed by Gonka I when he had become more or less independent in the Telugu country, meant that he was a supporter of the Eastern Chālukya kingdom. We also learn from No 151 of 1897 that Gonka I was the son of Gundambikā. He was a *trishatītara sahasrānt-nātha* 'the lord of the one thousand and three hundred country' (No 277 of 1905), while his grandson Gonka II was a *trishatītara shatsahasrānt-nātha*, 'the lord of the six thousand and three hundred country' (No 274 of 1898).

of Velanāndu<sup>1</sup> Thus Prōla who, in his early career, was a Chālukya feudatory, appears to have gradually grown powerful and to have thrown off the imperial yoke in the latter part of the reign of the Western Chalukya king Jagadēkamalla II, preparing, thereby, the way for Rudra's extensive conquests, which according to the Anmakonda inscription, reached in the east to the shore of the salt sea and in the south as far as Śrīśaila<sup>2</sup>

The other facts mentioned in the subjoined inscription do not call for any remarks Mēlarasa of Ugravādi who belonged to the family of Mādhavavarman, is not known from other inscriptions A feudatory family of the time of the Vijayanagara king Krishnarāya, whose members claim to have been lords of Bezvāda and were ruling a portion of the Udayagiri-rājya, traces its origin to a certain Mādhavavarman of the Solar race and the Vasuśthagōtra<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful if this Mādhavavarman could be connected with the mythical Madhavavarman referred to in the subjoined inscription as an ancestor of Mēlarasa of Ugravadi.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

##### East Face

- 1 Śrīmaḥ Jinēndra-pada-padmanava-
- 2 śēsha-bhavyān-avyāt-trilōka-nri-
- 3 patīndra-munīndra-vamdyam | niḥ-
- 4 śēsha dōsha-parīkhamdana chamda-kā-
- 5 ndam ratna-traya-prabhavam=udgha-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol III p 83 If this surmise of Professor Hultzsch is granted, Chōdōlaya may be identified with the Velanāndu chief Kulōtunga Chōda-Gonka III (No 17 of the Genealogical Table of the Velanāndu chiefs on p 85 of above, Vol IV) whose inscriptions range between A D 1188 and A D 1157 And the word *Chōdōlaya*, which literally means 'one who is) born of Chōda' may very aptly be applied to Kulōtunga-Chōda-Gonka III, whose father Velanānti Bājendra Chōda is called Chōda of Velanāndu in one of his inscriptions at Pālakōl, dated in A D 1185 (No 524 of the Epigraphical collection for 1893) and is referred to as king Chōdi in an inscription at Nidubrolu, dated in A D 1182 (No 163 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897, text line 27 f), and probably also in the Ganapēsvaram inscription as king Chōdi, the overlord of the Ajya chief Nārāyana I who was the grandfather of Jāyana, the general of Ganapati This identification of Chōdōlaya with Gonka III whose latest date as stated above, is A D 1157, if correct, would render probable the statement made in the Anmakonda inscription that Chōdōlaya died out of fear of Prōla's successor Rudra, who burnt his city

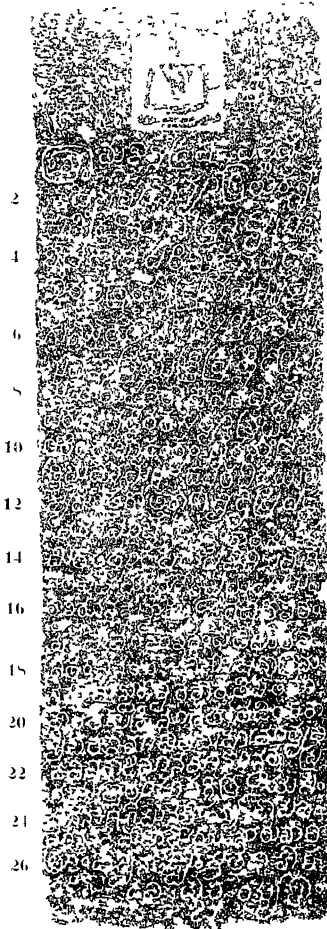
<sup>2</sup> This is no boast so far as the southern boundary of Rudra's dominions is concerned The existence of an inscription of his time at Tripurāntakam in the Kurnool district (No 278 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) clearly shows that the actual southern boundary of his kingdom extended even beyond Śrīśaila Rudra appears to have strengthened his position in the Telugu country by a political intermarriage in the race of Kandhōlaya Chōda (above, Vol III p 83) Ganapati did likewise by taking to wives Nārāmbā and Pērāmbā, the two sisters of his general Jāyana (*śōdā* p 84) A Tripurāntakam inscription (No 204 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905) states that Ganapati's sister Mēlāmbikā married Vakkaḍimalla Rudra, the second son of Buddha 'lord of Nātvāti-vishaya' The same relationship is established by an inscription at Bezvāda which is dated in Śaka-Samvat 1123 (above, Vol VI p 159, text line 8) where Nātvādi Rudra (*not* his father Buddha as Professor Hultzsch takes it) is called the *mayasā* 'brother-in-law' of Ganapati Ganapati's daughter Ganapāmbā was given in marriage to the Kōta chief Bēta of Amarāvati (above, Vol III p 94) The Kōta chief Kēta II, whose mother Sabbamā was the sister of the Velanāndu chief Gonka III (above, Vol VI p 148), had five queens who were selected from the several petty families which at that time appear to have divided among themselves the country south of the Krishna river Two unpublished inscriptions from Amarāvati in the Guntur district (Nos 261 and 262 of the Epigraphical collection for 1897) give the names of these five queens as Viñjāma of the family of the chiefs of Ongunimārga (perhaps identical with Ongērūmārga over which Nambaya of the Durjaya family was ruling, see above, Vol VI p 224); Sabbamā of the family ruling the country "to the west of the hill," i.e. the Kondapaḍmaṣa, Pārvaṭi of the family of the chiefs of Kōna-Kandravādi, \āgamā of the family of the chiefs of Kākati and Komaramā, another princess of the Kondapaḍmaṣa family It is doubtful if the Kākati family here mentioned has to be connected with the Kākatis of Warangal or if it has to be distinguished as a purely local family which adopted the name Kākati in consequence of its relationship with the Kākatis either directly or indirectly

<sup>3</sup> *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 78*

<sup>4</sup> From two ink impressions prepared by me in 1902.

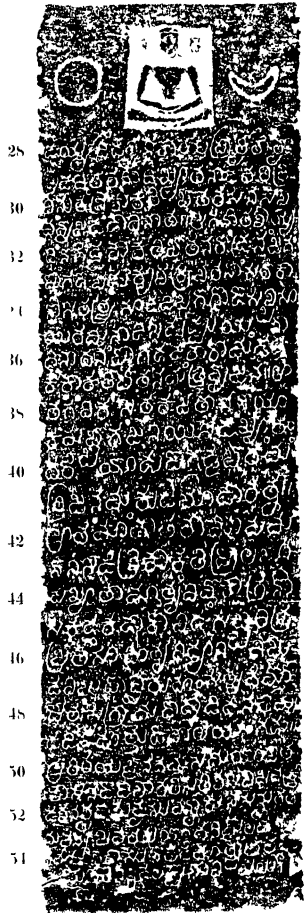
Anmakonda inscription of Prola — Chalukya Vikrama 42

East face



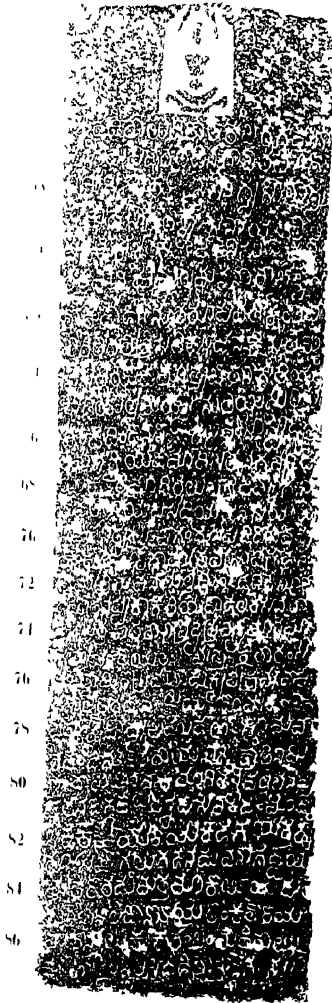
Sten Konow

North face

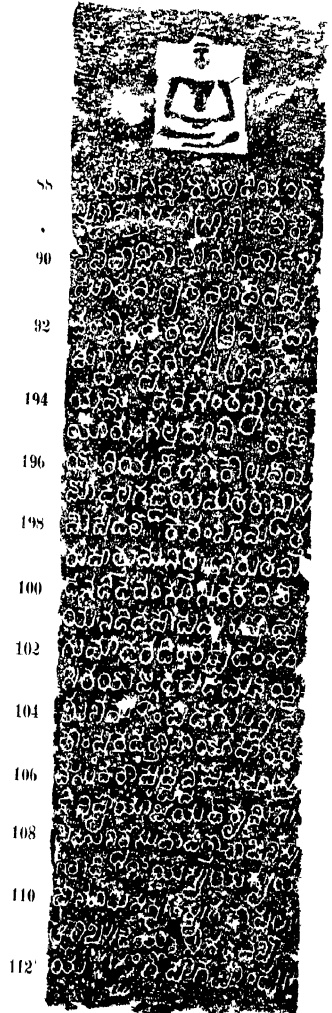


Collotype by Gebr Plettner

West face



South face



6 gun-alkatānam || [1\*] Svasti samasta-  
 7 bhuvanāśīaya śrī-pri(pri)thvivallabha  
 8 mahāīājādhirāja paramēśvara  
 9 paramabhāttāraka Satyāśraya-ku-  
 10 la-talakam Chāluky-ābhāyanam śrīma-  
 11 t-[T]ribhuvanamalladēvara vijaya-rā-  
 12 jyam-uttarōttar-ābhividdhi-pravardha-  
 13 mānam-ā-chamdr-ārka tārom salutta-  
 14 m-ne [11\*] Tat-pādapadm-ōpajīvi samadhi-  
 15 gatapanchamahāśabda mahāmam[da]-  
 16 lēśvaian-Anmakundā-puavar-ēśvaram  
 17 parama-Māhēśvaram pati-hita-cha-  
 18 ritam vīma[ya]-vibhūshanam śrīma-  
 19 n-mahāmandalēśvara[m] Kākati-Bēta-[bhū]-  
 20 pāla-kula-kr(m)āgatam tadīya-īā-  
 21 jya-bhara-nrūpita-mahāmātya-pā-  
 22 davi-virājamāna mān-ōnnata pra-  
 23 bhū-mamtrō[t]sāha-śakti-traya-sam-  
 24 panna-ā[gr] || Ghana-sauryy-ātōpa[di]m  
 25 māntanada mahameyam chāru chāri-  
 26 tradim[d-o]pīna telpim sat-kalā-kausa-  
 27 ladī[n-o]david-āścharyya-[sau]m-

## North Face

28 daryyadim-d-a[rithi]nikāya-prārtit ārttha-  
 29 [pra]da-vitarana-[vi]khyātan-ādam dharitri-  
 30 [vi]nutam śrī-Kākati-Bētarasana sachī-  
 31 vam Vaija-damdādbinātha || [2\*] Aganta-sauryya-  
 32 dim negadda(īda) Kākati-Bēta-narēmdranam jagam  
 33 pongale<sup>1</sup> Chalukya-chakri-charanam sale kā-  
 34 msi tat-prasādādim bagegole Sabbī-sā-  
 35 yiraman-āhsī[d-u]dgha-yaśō-  
 36 dhimāthanam pogaladar-āro mamda[ī]-  
 37 ka-Kākati-Bētana mamtri Vaijana || [3\*] Ā-  
 38 tamgam vikasita-kamjāt-anane Yā-  
 39 kamabbegam janyisidam khyātam  
 40 dhareyolu perggade Bētam mam-  
 41 tu-jana-makuta-chūdāratna || [4\*]  
 42 Ātam Mām[dh]āta Rāmōpama-  
 43 n-ensīda śrī-Kākati-Prōla-bhū-  
 44 pa-khyāt-āmātyam vivēk-āgram<sup>2</sup>  
 45 sakala-kalā-kōvidam saoh-charitra-  
 46 pritam sāhitya-vidyā-m[dh] bu-  
 47 da(dha)-vibudh-ōrvviruham satya-dharm-ō-  
 48 pētam sva-grāmādōi-mādīdan-sri-ma-  
 49 dadim hattu dēvālayamga<sup>3</sup> || [5\*]  
 50 Atāsaya-Jaina-dharmma samay-ōchita-  
 51 Śāsanadēvi Bhārati-sati śasi(śi)-bumba-va[ktra]-

<sup>1</sup> Read *pogaje*.<sup>2</sup> In the translation I have taken this word to be synonymous with *vedky-agra*.<sup>3</sup> About the *u* here and ll 55, 68, and 69, which Dr Fleet thinks to be a form of the *urdma*, see above,

- 52 dasana clchhade śuddha-suvainna(nna)-kumbha-sannut-t-  
 53 nuvaranna(rnna)-pivara-[pa]yōdhai: Mailla[ma Yā]-  
 54 [ka]māmbikā-su[ta]-tad-amātya-[Bē]ta-[hri]-  
 55 day-śvānu mśchala-Lakshmi bhāvisala[||][o\*]

## West Face

- 56 Padadimd-ā-lulit-ālakam barega[m=am]g-o-  
 57 pāmgamam paucha-ratnadin=amg-ōchitam-āge  
 58 nirmmisi sura-stri bh[ā]gya-saubhagya-  
 59 samma[da]-suuru[da]ryyaman-āydu tīvi  
 60 padadam Kamjāta-samjātan-i su[dati]-  
 61 ratnaman=emdu Maalamanan-ār-ār-bba[nri](nui)sa-  
 62 1-llōkadol || [7\*] Nuta-ī ūpavati kalā[va]-  
 63 ti rat-Ratu Śrī satī Ghatāntaki-satu Vā-  
 64 ni-satiy=emd-amātya-Bētana satiyam  
 65 kshitiy=ellam=eyde nutiyusut-irku[m ||] [8\*]  
 66 Mudadimd=ene negalda [Ra]m-āspade Mai-  
 67 lama bhaktiyimde mādisi tanag=abhyuda-  
 68 yakaram=āguralu bettada [mē]gana  
 69 Kadalalāya-basadiyan=eseyalu[||][9\*]  
 70 Adarke nitya-pūjagam dhūpa-dīpa-[m]vēdya-  
 71 kkam pūjārig-āh[ra]l-vastādigalgam  
 72 śrīmat-[T]ribhuvanamalla-māmdalika-bhū[pā]-  
 73 la-putran-appa Kākatya-Polalarasana rā-  
 74 jyam=ntta[r]-ōttar-ā[bh]vri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-ā-  
 75 g=Amnakumdeyal-a-chamdi-ār[kka]-tāram sa-  
 76 luttum=ire śrīmach-Chālukya-Vikrama-va[r]sha-  
 77 da nālvatt-erade(da)neya Hēma[ambi]-[sam]-  
 78 vatsara Paushya-bahula 15 Sōmavā-  
 79 rad-amdin-Uttarāyana-samkrānti-nimi-  
 80 ttam dhara-pūrvaakam-āgi tan[na] vallabhan-appa  
 81 Bētana-perggade tanna pesaiṁdam madī-  
 82 sda kejey-ēriya kelagan=eiadum  
 83 hās are-ga[l\*]ngala nadu(du)vana gardhde(rdde)[ya]  
 84 mattar=eiadum mattam=ā-kejeya pa-  
 85 du(du)vana nela doneya tenkal=ereya  
 86 mattar=nnālukum kaambam ma[ta]i=ālu(ru)-  
 87 mam kottu nurisidal=i-śā[sa]na-gambha ||

## South Face.

- 88 Mattam=i dharmmakke tellatya-āge[||\*]  
 89 A[shtau] danti-sahasāni daśa-kō-  
 90 ti cha vājnām=[\*] anantam pāda-sam-  
 91 ghātam=ity-ētē Mādha[va\*]varmma-  
 92 vams-ōdbbavar-appa śrīman-mahā-  
 93 manda[śvāran]=Ugravā[di]-  
 94 ya Mēlarasam tann=ā[h]ke-

<sup>1</sup> In the original the syllables *gdhāra* look like *gōhāmā*

- 95 y=Orungalla Kūchikere-  
 96 y-ēriya kelag[e] kālūveya  
 97 modala garddeya mattar=ond-ā sa-  
 98 mipadale karambam matta-  
 99 ru hattuman=itta || Nūrutam=ī-  
 100 dan=aladavam sāsira-kavi[le]-  
 101 yan=ah[da] pāpamam [po]rddu-  
 102 gum=ādaradim rakshi[si\*]dam sā-  
 103 sira-ye(ya)ñāda palaman=eydi  
 104 śubha[ma]m padegu[m\*] || [10\*] Sva da  
 105 ttam para-dattām va yō haetā  
 106 vasumāharām [\*] śhaṣṭu=vvārsha-sahasr[ā]-  
 107 ū viśthayām jīyatā krimih || [11\*]  
 108 Bahubhi=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Śa-  
 109 gar-ādibhiḥ [\*] yasya yasya ya-  
 110 dā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [12\*]  
 111 Allī basadiya kasam ge(ga)leva Bō-  
 112 ya-[Pa]ddamge pāga vomdu ||

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) May the lotus-foot of the blessed Jinēdra, which (like the lotus) is worthy of being praised by the lords of kings and the lords of ascetics (*residing*) in the three worlds, whose powerful doctrine completely destroys (all) sins (just as the powerful stem of the lotus completely cures the patient of his *dōshā*), which is the origin of the *ratna-traya*<sup>2</sup> (as the lotus is the birth-place of gems<sup>3</sup>) (*anī*) which has its attention fixed on excellent virtues (*guna*) only (as the stock of the lotus is made up entirely of delicate fibre), protect all *Bhavyas*!<sup>4</sup>

(Line 6 f) Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva,—the asylum of the whole world, the glorious *Prithivīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramāhātīdrala*, the front ornament of the *Satyāśraya* family, the jewel of the *Chājukyās*,—was flourishing with perpetual increase (to last) as long as the moon, sun, and stars.

(L 14 f) A dependent on his lotus-feet (was) the prosperous *mahāmanjālśvara*, the chief *Kākatī Bētarasa* who had acquired the five great sounds, (who was) a *mahāmanjālśvara*, the lord of *Anmakundā*—the best of towns, a great devotee of *Mahēśvara* (*Śiva*), (one) whose actions were (directed) for the good of (his) master (and) whose ornament was modesty.<sup>5</sup>

(L 20 f.) Resplendent in (his) position as the hereditary prime minister (*mahāmātya*) entrusted with the administration of the kingdom of that king (i.e. *Bēta*), great of self-respect (and) possessing the triple qualifications of pre-eminence, counsel and energy,

(V 2) the *danḍādāndītha* *Vaija*, minister of the glorious king *Kākatī Bēta*, worshipped by (all the people of) the world for (his) liberality which bestowed desired objects on crowds

<sup>1</sup> *Dōshā* is a medical term and means, according to Dr Kittel, 'black or red spots on the tongue foreboding death' It may be that according to Indian medical science, the lotus-stem is a powerful agent in removing this *dōshā*

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol VIII p 134, note 3

<sup>3</sup> These are the lotus seeds which as sacred beads are worn round the neck and are called *tāsare-man* (lotus-gems) in Sanskrit

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the Jain community, see Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II, p 69, paragraph 6

<sup>5</sup> The original appears to have *traya*: in which case the phrase may be translated "the jewel among the well-behaved," but as *traya-vibhāshana* is the form which generally occurs in inscriptions, I prefer to read *ya* instead of *ya*.

of supplicants, for (his) surpassing beauty which amazed (those who saw him), for his high proficiency in the sciences, for (his) refined goodness, for (his) charming behaviour, for the greatness of (his) pride<sup>1</sup> (and) for the display of (his) dauntless heroism,—became famous

(V 3) Who does not extol the minister of the *maṅḍalika* Kākati Bēta, Vaija, that master of prodigious fame, who by (his) immeasurable prowess made, amidst the applauses of the world, the renowned king Kākati Bēta to successfully visit the feet of the Chalukya emperor (*chakrin*), (and) to rule by the favour of that (emperor) the Sabbi (one) thousand (district) (in such a way) as to attract the attention (of the world)

(V 4) To him and to (his wife) the blooming lotus-faced Yākamabbe was born *pergade* Bēta who, famous (as he was) in the world, was a head-jewel in the diadems of the minister-class

(V 5) He (Bēta), the exalted minister of the prosperous king Kākati-Prōla, who was counted as equal to Māndhātā and Rāma, the foremost among the wise, proficient in all sciences, an admirer of good behaviour, a mine of literary lore, a celestial tree to learned men possessing truth and virtue, built, with great delight, ten houses for gods (i.e. temples) in his own village

(V 6) The wife of the minister Bēta, the son of [Yā]kamāmbikā, (was) Malama, whose face was (as pleasant as) the moon (and) whose lips were (red like) the *bumba* (fruit), the colour of whose body was praised as being fair (and her) full breasts as being golden pots, (who was) the (veritable) lady Bhārati, a Śāsanadēvi (*par excellence*) acceptable to the doctrines of the Jaina religion (and) decidedly, (the goddess) Lakshmi (but) without (the latter's) fickleness

(V 7) Who, who in this world does not extol Malama saying "The lotus-born (Brahman) having produced, out of the five gems (such) as best suited the portion of the body (under creation), the (several) limbs with (their) adjuncts from the feet right up to those tenuous curls, (and) having filled (them) with happiness, grace, joy (and) beauty (which he) culled from among the celestial nymphs,—(he) loved (to see) this gem of womankind (—his own creation) "

(V 8) The whole world would praise deservedly the wife of the minister Bēta saying "She possesses praiseworthy beauty, she is full of lustre, (she) is a Rati in dalliance, (she) is the lady Śrī (i.e. Lakshmi), (she) is the lady Ghatāntakī,<sup>2</sup> (she) is the lady Vānī (i.e. Sarasvatī) "

(V 9) The thus-praised abode of Ramā (i.e. Lakshmi)—Malama—having caused to be built with delight and devotion the resplendent *Kadalālāya-basadi* (temple) on the top of the hill in order that it may bring prosperity to her—

(L 70) for the daily worship, incense, lights (and) oblations (in the temple) (and) for food, clothing, etc., of the temple priest,—

(L 72) while the reign of Kākatiya Polalarasa, son of the glorious king, the *Maṅḍalika* Tribhuvanamalla, was continuously prosperous and successful, at Ammakunde, (to last) as long as the moon, sun and stars—in the forty-second year of the prosperous Chālukya-Vikrama years, corresponding to the Hēmaḷambi-samvatsara, on account of the Uttarāyana-samkrānti

<sup>1</sup> The word *māntana* is not found in Dr Kittel's *Kannada English Dictionary* Perhaps it is a poetical form for *mānatana*

<sup>2</sup> The Jaina saint Akalanika is said in the Mallishēna epitaph (above, Vol III p 200) to have overcome, along with the Buddha, the Buddhist goddess Tārā who had secretly descended into a pot as dwelling place According to the *Edyavāḷ katha* (Mr Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II p 45) Akalanika was helped in his disputation against the Buddha by the Jaina goddess Kūshmāṅḍinī and eventually kicked over the pot with his left foot and smashed it. In the present inscription Malama is apparently compared to the goddess Kūshmāṅḍinī who helped Akalanika to smash the pot in which the goddess Tārā had taken her abode



(which happened) on Monday, the 15th day of the dark fortnight of Paushya (of that year)—

(L 80) gave to that (temple), with libations of water, two *matrar* of wet land (lying) between two flat slabs below the *band* of the tank built in her name by her husband Bétanapergade, and four *matrar* of black-soil land (lying) south of the pond (*done*) on the west side of the same tank and six *matrar* of uncultivated land,<sup>1</sup> (and) set up this inscribed pillar

(L 88 f) And as a (subsidiary) gift to this charity the prosperous *mahāmanḍalāsvara* Mēlarasa of Ugravādi, who was born in the family of Mādha[vav]arma, (whose army consisted) of “eight thousand elephants, eight crores of horses and endless crowds of foot (soldiers) etc.,” gave one *matrar* of wet-land at the head of the canal below the *band* of Kūchikere (tank) which belonged to Orungallu (included) within his rule, (and) ten *matrar* of miscellaneous land close to the same (land)

(V 10) He that destroys this (charity) shall always incur the sin of having killed thousand tawny cows, (and) he that carefully protects it, shall ever enjoy (that) happiness (which is) acquired as the fruit of a thousand sacrifices (*yajña*)

[Ll 104 to 110 contain two of the usual imprecatory verses ]

(L 111 f) One *pāga*<sup>2</sup> (as assigned) to Bōya-Padda who removes the sweepings in that temple

## No 36.—BALAGHAT PLATES OF PRITHIVISHENA II

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F. KIELHOEN, C I E , GOTTINGEN

These plates were sent in May 1893 by the Deputy Commissioner of Bālāghāt, a district in the Nāgpur Division of the Central Provinces, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to which they now belong. In the letter which accompanied them, it was stated that they had been found in the district, ‘some time ago, hanging to a tree in the jungle’. They were entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle in 1905, with the request that I should edit the inscription which is engraved on them. Other work has prevented my doing so before now.

The plates are five in number, each between 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long by between 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and 4" high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii) the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate. This ring is circular, about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick and between 3" and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates came into my hands. On the ring described there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was meant to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it.<sup>3</sup>

The plates clearly were intended to record a grant of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II, but they actually give only the genealogy of the king and break off at the point where his order

<sup>1</sup> I have taken *karamām* to be synonymous with Tamil *karambu*, which, according to Dr Winslow, means ‘hard and sterile ground’.

<sup>2</sup> This small coin, more popularly pronounced *hāga*, is equal to ‘one-fourth of a *kaṅga*’.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the descriptions of the three sets of plates of Pravaraśūna II in *Gupta Inscr.* pp 285 and 248 and above, Vol III, p 268

commences. The four inscribed sides contain 35 lines<sup>1</sup> of well-engraved writing. The size of the letters is between  $\frac{1}{2}$ " and  $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The characters belong to the 'box-headed' variety of the southern class of alphabets and are similar to, but less angular than, those of the Duda plates of the Vakataka Pravarasēna II, published with a facsimile above, Vol III p 260. They include the subscript sign of the rare *ṣh*, in *Aṣṣhita*<sup>2</sup>, l 31, the sign of the *śivamāliya*, in *śivah Kumalā*<sup>3</sup>, l 30, and forms of the final *t*, in *samāt*, l 4, and of the final *ṭ* (which does not occur in the facsimile), in *vachanāt*, l 35<sup>4</sup>. The conjunct *nn* is everywhere written by a sign which is really the sign for *nn* (in *sanmucita*, l 6, *utpannasya*, l 23, and elsewhere), *nasara* is written by two hook-shaped lines (*e g* in *śunāh*, ll 11 and 20), the signs for *ḍ* and *ḍ* are well distinguished *e g* in *vāsahid*, l 1, and *śhḍasy*, l 2, and there are two forms of the letter *r*, *e g* in *vāsahid*, l 1, and *vachanāt*, l 35. — The language is somewhat ungrammatical, and the text is all in prose. In line 10 a passage of no less than 27 *aksharas* has through carelessness been omitted by the writer. As regards orthography, the rules of *samāh* are constantly neglected (as in the three cognate grants), the (long) *ā* is several times written where the vowel should be short, and (the short) *i* is throughout employed for both *i* and *ī*, the vowel *ri* used instead of *ri* in *-pauriṣāh*, l 16, and *-sviyah*, l 27, and instead of *ri* in *śi*, l 17 and 20. Besides, the dental and lingual nasals are confounded in *hānuya*, l 12, *manā*, l 13, and *-anusānāh*, l 20, the word *ansa* is written as *ansa* in line 6, and *vamsa* as *vansa* in lines 24, 27 and 33, *sh* is doubled after *r* in *vaśhā*, l 14, and *dh* before *y* in *-addhyāshā*, l 35. With *ṣ* *patir*-*abhya*<sup>5</sup> for *ṣ* *patir* *abhya*<sup>6</sup> in line 28, where the *r* of *ṣ* *patir* looks like a *samāh*-consonant, we may compare *-bbalam-aiṣvarya-* for *-bbalaṣvarya-* in line 15 of the Duda plates, above, Vol III p 261, where *m* is used in a similar way<sup>7</sup>.

With two exceptions, the text down to the word *Pravarasēnasya* in line 26 is practically identical with that of the three published grants<sup>4</sup> of the Vakātaka king Pravarasēna II; like those grants, it gives the genealogy of this king, commencing with Pravarasēna I, and enumerating after him his son's son Rudrasēna I, his son Prithivishēna I, his son Rudrasēna II, and his son (from Prabhāvātagupta, the daughter of the Mahānāyādharāja Devagupta) Pravarasēna II. Of the exceptions referred to, one is that our inscription commences with *Vāśahid*, 'from (his) residence Vēmbāra, in the place of which the Chamak and Duda plates of Pravarasēna II have *Pravarapurā*, 'from Pravarapura'. Our grant therefore was to have been issued from Vēmbāra, a place which I have not been able to identify. The other point of difference is that, while the grants of Pravarasēna II commence with *drishṭam*, or *drishṭam svastī*, or *drishṭam siddham*, this inscription contains no such expression, but at the beginning of line 1, before the word *Vēmbāra*, leaves an empty space just where one would have expected something like *drishṭam*. The omission and the vacant space, in my opinion, are rather significant. Contrary to what I have said in my remarks on the Duda plates, above, Vol III p. 259, I am convinced now that *drishṭam* (and the Prakrit *ditham* of the Mayyāvōlu and Hirahadagall plates<sup>5</sup>) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen,' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders<sup>6</sup>. Such a remark

<sup>1</sup> In preparing the accompanying facsimile, the last line on the first side of the second plate unfortunately was at first overlooked, it is really line 18, and the lines marked in the facsimile as lines 18-34 are really lines 19-35.

<sup>2</sup> There is a final *m* in line 27 (line 26 of the facsimile), but it seems to be out of place where it stands.

<sup>3</sup> Other passages where *m* looks distinctly like a *samāh*-consonant are *tāna manka* for *tānānka* in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XIX, p 809, line 10, and *prastāyastayā manyathā* for *prastāyastayā anyathā* in *Gupta Inscr.* p 267, line 13.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 267, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Nos 617 and 618 of my *Southern List*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare the remarks of the late Prof Bühler, above Vol I, pp 9 and 10, and of Prof. Hultzsch above, Vol VI, p 88. Sir W. H. Sleeman, speaking of certain kings of Oude, in his *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, Vol I, p 179, says that to their orders a seal was affixed in their presence bearing the inscription *mohāṣṭra shud*, 'it has been seen'. Like *drishṭam*, *jūṭam* is used in the body of an inscription in *Journ. As Soc. Bengal*, Vol LXIX, Part I, p 92, l 21 (*jūṭam-mahānātri śri-Māhākāva*).

could of course have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished, and it is missing here because our grant was not completed. The engraver apparently acted just as a writer or copyist of the grant would have done.

After Pravarasēna II our inscription in lines 26-35 mentions his son, the *Mahārāja* Narēndrasēna, and after him his son — born from the queen (*mahādevī*) Ajjhita-bhattārikā,<sup>1</sup> a daughter of the lord of Kuntala — the *Mahārāja* Prithivishēna [II], a devout worshipper of Bhagavat (Vishnu). Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence<sup>2</sup> in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune, his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava, and he held in check enemies bowed down by his prowess.' Prithivishēna II is described as 'being a receptacle of splendour and forbearance, who raised (his) sunken family.' The name *Prithivishēnasya*, in line 35 is followed by *rajanat*, 'at his command', but of the king's order only the words 'all superintendents' are given by these plates.

In the Vākātaka stone inscription published in *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, Vol IV p 124 ff, the verses 10 and 11, which would have given the names of the successors of Pravarasēna II, are unfortunately much mutilated. The name of Pravarasēna's son and successor, 'who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years of age, ruled well, has quite disappeared, and the son of that unknown king according to the published text was Devasena. As has been stated above, according to our grant Pravarasēna's son Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother), married a daughter of the king of Kuntala, and was succeeded by his son Prithivishēna II. The stone inscription in verse 8 records the defeat of a lord of Kuntala by apparently Prithivishēna I, and in verse 18 speaks of Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra . . . [as having been subjected by one of the later Vākātakas]. According to the present inscription Narēndrasēna had his commands honoured (or obeyed) by the lords of Kōsala, Mēkala and Mālava. The first and last of these three countries are well known. The situation of Mēkala (according to the Topographical List of the Brihatsamhitā in *Ind. Ant.* Vol XXII p 185, a mountain or a people) is indicated by the fact that the river Narmadā is called *Mhala kanyā*, 'the daughter of Mēkala, and that that river springs from the hill Amarakantak (in Long 81° 48' and Lat 22° 40') in the ancient Chōdi country.<sup>3</sup>

Here and in the cognate plates the Vākātaka kings have the title *mahārāja* followed by the word *śrī* prefixed to their names, and before the title there stands in each case the genitive *Vākātakānām*, e.g. *Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya*. Such passages have been hitherto translated as if the genitive *Vihāṭakānām* were governed by the title *mahārāja* 'the illustrious Pravarasēna, the great king of the Vākātakas,' or 'the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the illustrious Pravarasēna.' The matter is not of great importance, but it may be as well to state that from the grammarian's point of view such a construction would be objectionable. In my opinion, the genitive must be taken to qualify, not the title *mahārāja*, but the whole phrase *mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēna*, and more especially the word *Pravarasēna*, the chief component of the phrase, so that the meaning would be 'the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Pravarasēna of the Vākātakas,' i.e. 'of the family of the Vākātakas.'<sup>4</sup> I have already had occasion to point out that we similarly have the genitive *Mastrakānām* in the Valabhī plates, where there is no title by which this genitive could be governed, *Vishnukundānām* above, Vol IV p 195, l. 2, and

<sup>1</sup> The name *Ajjhastadēt* we also find in the Kāritalāi plates of the *Mahārāja* Jayasātha, *Gupta Inscr.* p 118.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the original text is not absolutely certain here.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Archæol. Survey of India*, Vol XVII, Plate I, and the verse cited by Dr Bhandarkar above, Vol IV, p 280.

<sup>4</sup> The same remark applies to the genitive *Bhāratvānām* in line 10 of the inscription.

*Kadambânâm* in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol VI p 26, l. 5 and Vol VII p 35, l. 4, and above, Vol VI p 14, l. 4, and p 18, l. 5

The inscription, not having been finished, contains no date of any kind, but it may be assigned with probability to about the second half of the 8th century A D

TEXT,<sup>1</sup>*First Plate*

- 1 . . . <sup>2</sup>Vēmbāra-vāsakād-agnishtëm-āptōryām-ōkthya-  
2 shōḍaśy-āstrātra-vājapēya-brihaspatisava-sādyā-  
3 skra-chatrasvamedha-yājñab<sup>3</sup> Vishnuvridhdha-sagōtra-  
4 sya samrāt<sup>4</sup> Vākātākānām-mahārāja-sri-<sup>5</sup>Pravarasē-  
5 nasya <sup>6</sup>sūnōs-sūnōh atyanta-Svāmi-Mahā-  
6 bhārava-bhaktasya<sup>7</sup> ansa-<sup>8</sup>bhāra-sannivēsita-<sup>9</sup>Śiva-  
7 ling-ōdvahana-Śiva-suparitushta samutpādita-  
8 rājavanśānām<sup>10</sup>-parākram-ādhgata-Bhāgratthy-āmala-<sup>11</sup>  
9 jala-<sup>12</sup>mūrdhnanbhishuktānān-dasāsavamedh-āva-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 10 bhṛttha-smātānām-Bhārasivānām-<sup>13</sup>mahārāja-sri-<sup>14</sup>Rudrase-  
11 nasya sūnōh atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-  
12 kārunya(nya)-śaurvya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhā-  
13 tmya-dhmatva pātrgatabhaktitva-dharmmāvājyitva-<sup>15</sup>man[ō]-<sup>16</sup>  
14 nairmmāly-ādir-<sup>17</sup>guna samuditasya varshsha-śata  
15 m-abhivarddhamāna-kōsa-danda-sādhana-santāna-putra-  
16 pantri(tri)ṇah Yudhishthura vrittēr-<sup>18</sup>Vākātākānām-mahā-  
17 rāja-sri(śri)-Prithuvishēnasya sūnō[h\*] bhagavata-  
18 s=Chakrapāṇē[h\*] prasād-ōpārjita-sri-<sup>19</sup>

*Second Plate, Second Side.*

- 19 samudayasya Vākātākānām-mahārāja-sri-<sup>20</sup>Rudra-  
20 sēnasya sūnōh <sup>21</sup>pūrvvarāj-ānuvritta-mā[r\*]gg-ānu(nu)sā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates

<sup>2</sup> At the commencement of this line there is an empty space sufficient for about three *aksharas*. One would have expected here the word *drishtam*, with which the three grants of Pravarasēna II begin

<sup>3</sup> This sign of *śeerga* is clearly visible in the original. Here and in other places below the rules of *samāhā* have not been observed

<sup>4</sup> The plates of Pravarasēna II have *samrātā* (?), *sashratā*, and *samrātāh*. Read *samrājāh* (or *samrājō*).

<sup>5</sup> Read *śri*-

<sup>6</sup> The *akshara* *sū* is clear in the original

<sup>7</sup> Here is a mark in the original which looks like the upper half of a *śeerga*

<sup>8</sup> Read *ansa*.

<sup>9</sup> In this word and everywhere below the conjunct *nn* is denoted by a sign which is really the sign for *nn*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śāśānām*-

<sup>11</sup> Read *Bhāgratthy amala*-

<sup>12</sup> Read *mūrdhābhāh*; compare *Gupta Inscr* p 237, l. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Here the words *mahārāja-śri-Bhārasēna-ānuvritta-sya Gautamputrasya pūtrasya Vākātākānām* of the cognate plates have erroneously been omitted

<sup>14</sup> Read *śri*-

<sup>15</sup> Read *dhimattva-pātrgatabhaktitva-dharmmāvājyitva*-

<sup>16</sup> Read *manō*-

<sup>17</sup> Read *nairmmāly-ādir*-

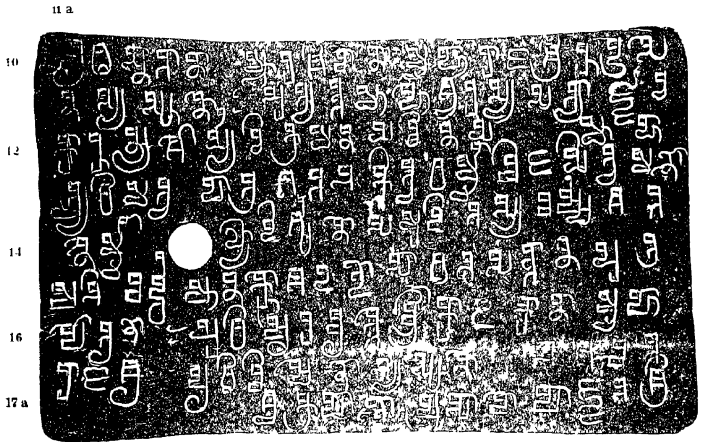
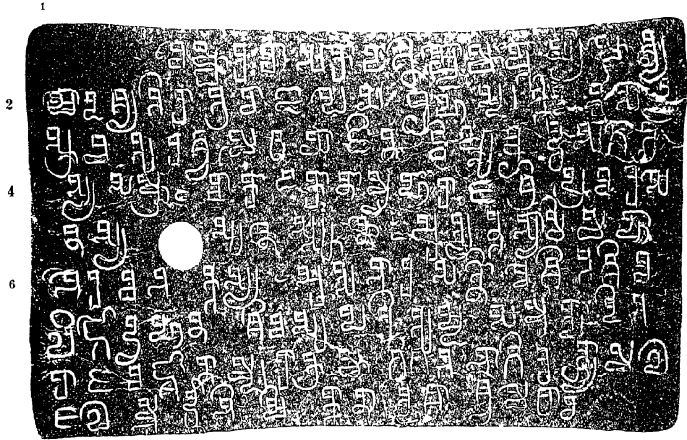
<sup>18</sup> Originally *svi*<sup>2</sup> was engraved.

<sup>19</sup> One would have expected *pradādd-updō*—Read *śri*-

<sup>20</sup> Read *śri*-

<sup>21</sup> Of the three grants of Pravarasēna II, only the Siwani grant has the passage from here to *śāśānām*, see *Gupta Inscr.*, p. 246, lines 14 and 15.

Balaghat plates of Prithivishena II



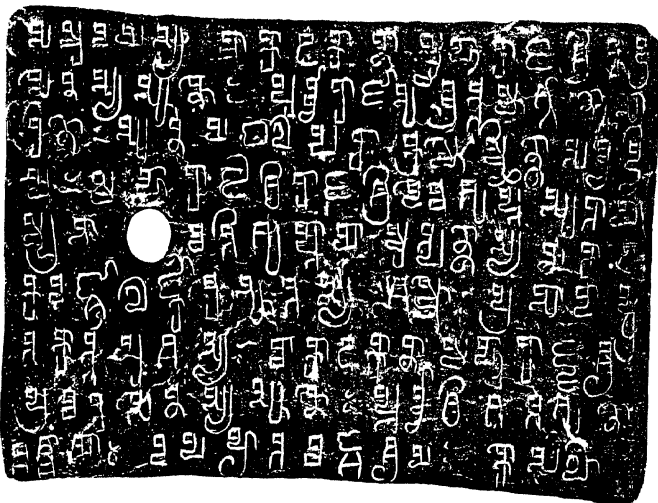
E. Hultzsch

Scale 95

Collotype by Gebr Plettner, Halle-Saale

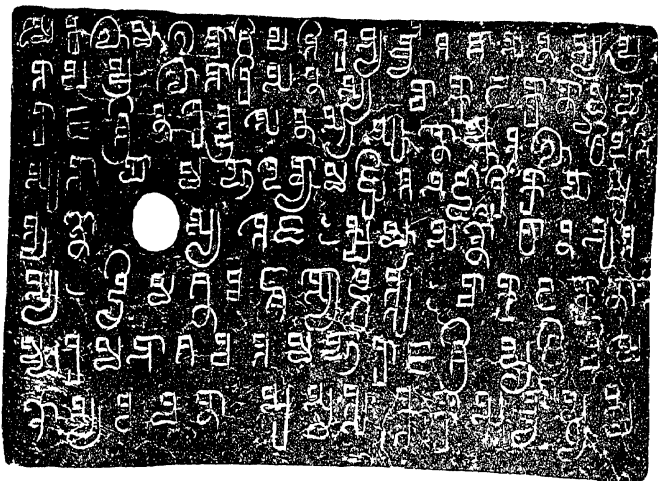
ub

17  
20  
22  
24  
26



III a

7  
30  
12  
11



- 21 *riṣaḥ sunaya-bala-parākram-ōmohhinna-<sup>1</sup>sarvadvī-*  
 22 *śah mahārājādhrāja-śrī-<sup>2</sup>Dēvagupta-sutāyā-*  
 23 *m-Prabhāvatīguptāyāu-utpannasya Vākāṭa-*  
 24 <sup>3</sup>*kavanś-ālankārabhūtasya Śambhōh prasādād-dhra(dhri)-*  
 25 <sup>4</sup>*ta-kārttayugasya <sup>5</sup>Vākātakānā[m<sup>6</sup>]-mahārājja(ja)-śrī(śrī)-*  
 26 *Pravarasēnasya sūnōh pūrvvādīgata-guṇa-*  
 27 <sup>6</sup>*vī]śvā[sā ?]d=apahṛita-vanśśrīyaḥ<sup>7</sup> Kōśalā-<sup>8</sup>*

## Third Plate

- 28 *Mākalā<sup>9</sup>-Mālav-ādhipatī-abhyarohata-<sup>10</sup>śāsanasya pra-*  
 29 *tāpa-pralāṭārisanasya<sup>11</sup> Vākātakānām-mahā-*  
 30 *rāja-śrī-<sup>12</sup>Narēndrasēnasya sūnōh-Kuntalādhipatī-*  
 31 *sutāyā[m<sup>13</sup>]-mahādēvyām-Ajjhita-bhattārikāyām-u-*  
 32 *tpannasya tājah-kshamā-sannihānabhūta-<sup>14</sup>*  
 33 *śya<sup>14</sup> dvimagna vanśasy<sup>15</sup>-ōddhartuh Vākātakānā-*  
 34 *m-paramabhāgavata-mahārāja śrī<sup>16</sup>-Prithivishē-*  
 35 *nasya vachanā<sup>17</sup> asmatsantakā<sup>18</sup> sarv-ādhyakṣaḥ*

## No 37 —ORISSA PLATES OF VIDYADHARABHANJADEVA.

BY THE LATE PROFESSOR F KIELHORN, C.I.E., GOTTINGEN

There is no information as to where or when these plates were first obtained. In 1887 they belonged to Mr C T Metcalfe, Commissioner of the Orissa Division, and the inscription which is engraved on them was published in that year, with a facsimile, by the late Dr. Bājēndralāl Mitra, in the *Journ As Soc. Beng*, Vol LVI Part I, p. 154 ff In November 1895 the plates were presented by the Commissioner of Orissa, through Mr C L Griesbach, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and they have now been entrusted to me by Dr Hoernle, with the request to re-edit the inscription.

There are three substantial copper-plates, the edges of which are slightly raised, and of which each measures between  $6\frac{1}{8}$ " and  $6\frac{1}{2}$ " long by between  $3\frac{3}{8}$ " and  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " high They slide on a copper ring, which passes through a hole, which is about  $\frac{3}{8}$ " distant from the middle of

<sup>1</sup> Read -*śchōhōhinna-*

<sup>2</sup> Read -*śrī-*

<sup>3</sup> Read -*śvāsā-*

<sup>4</sup> Instead of this *ta-* the Chammaik and Sitwani grants of Pravarasēna II have *śi-*, which seems to me preferable

<sup>5</sup> Here some *śkshara* (perhaps the initial *ś*) was engraved, but has been erased.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is doubtful. The first *śkshara* of the line is *śr*, the superscript *ś* of which, though faint, is distinctly visible in the original, and the second appears to be *śd* The third *śkshara* looks more like *śd* than *ś*, and is followed by a sign which looks like a form of final *ś*, and has probably been struck out. The *ś* and what follows is clear

<sup>7</sup> Read -*vānśśrīyaḥ*

<sup>8</sup> Read *Kōśalā-*

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps *Mōśalā-* has actually been engraved, read *Mākalā-*

<sup>10</sup> Read -*praty-abhyarohata-*

<sup>11</sup> Read -*pravatāritśāsanasya (?)*

<sup>12</sup> Read -*śrī-*

<sup>13</sup> Read -*śhōśā-*

<sup>14</sup> Here again there is a mark which looks like part of the *śvāsā*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *m(?)magna-vānśasy-*

<sup>16</sup> Read -*śrī-*

<sup>17</sup> This final *ś*, the sign for which is very small, is really visible in the original plates. In *Epist. Indog. p. 267*, l. 17, the text has *vachand* [i<sup>18</sup>]

<sup>18</sup> Read *śantakā-*, and compare above, Vol. III, p. 261, l. 18.

the proper right margin of each plate. The ring, which had already been cut when the plates came into my hands, is between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter, and on to it is soldered a roughly circular metal seal, between  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The seal contains in relief on a countersunk surface, in the upper half, a couching lion facing to the proper right, and in the lower half the legend

*śrī-Vidyādhara-  
bhāṣṭradēvasya*

in northern characters which are between  $\frac{3}{16}$ " and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " high

Before the plates were used for the grant now engraved on them, they had already served for another grant, the four last lines of which, though faint, are almost completely legible on the first side of the first plate, and of the writing of which more or less distinct traces remain also on the other sides of the plates. The characters of this earlier grant belong to what I have elsewhere<sup>1</sup> called the Gauṣām variety of the northern alphabet, and the lines with which it ended, compared with the end of the Gumsūr grant<sup>2</sup> of Nētrībhaṣṭya, published in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol VI p 689 f and Plate xxxiii, would seem to show that the grant was issued by a chief of the same family. The four lines (on the first side of the first plate), so far as I am able to read them, are —

- L 1 Svayam-ādīśtō rājā dūtako-tra [Mār]tandah || Likhitam-cha<sup>3</sup>  
sāndhvi-  
2. grahika-Ārka[dēvāna]<sup>4</sup> || Lāñchitam [rā]jī-śrī-Mānīkya-mahādē-  
3 vyā || Ūtkīrnam ch-āksha[sā]h-Kumāra[dattēna] || samvat . .  
4 di<sup>5</sup> . . . ||

The grant now recorded on these plates is engraved on the second side of the first plate and on both sides of the two others. The engraving is deep and well done, and in a perfect state of preservation. In three places (in lines 10, 22 and 35) there is some doubt about the actual wording of the text, either because the engraver altered what he had originally engraved, or because portions of the letters of the earlier grant spoken of above are mixed up with the new writing, the rest may be read without any difficulty. The size of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{16}$ " the characters belong to that variety of the northern alphabet which we find, *eg* on the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarma, treated of above, Vol VII p 101 f. Of the consonant signs the most characteristic are those for *h* (*eg* in *Harasya Śēshāhēra*, l 4), *ṣ* and *ṣṣ* (*eg* in *prīṣṭa*, l 9, and *vṛghastā*, l 6), and *n* (*eg* in *vāna-prāna*, l 1), of which the last, in combination with palatals, also serves for the palatal nasal (*eg* in *Bhāṣṭyamālā*, l 14, *uktañ-cha*, l 27, and *lāñchitāñ*, l 35). Among other conjuncts attention may be drawn to the signs for *lesh*, *gg*, *ghh*,

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol VII, p 101

<sup>2</sup> The published text, which was furnished to Mr Prinsep by Kamalākānta Vidyāmānara, is quite correct. According to Mr Prinsep's lithograph of Lieutenant Kittoe's copy, the passage with which we are concerned here, so far as I can make it out, would be *svayam-ādīśtō rājā dūtako-tra bhāṣṭa-śrī-Stambhāntak* *lāñchitāñ-cha sādhitvagrahikā* *Ār[ā]kka* *ūtkīrnam* *ch-āksha[sā]h-Kumāra[dattēna]* *ch-ākshatāñ Durggadēvāñ* *lāñchitam* . . . *śamvat* (?) *Māgha-sud* . . .

<sup>3</sup> Read *likhitāñ-cha*

<sup>4</sup> Read *grahik-Ārka*

<sup>5</sup> Read *śamvat*, the three *ākṣaras* by which this word is followed are illegible

<sup>6</sup> This *ḍ* is followed by a sign which possibly is a letter-numeral for 10, and before the sign of punctuation there is another sign which looks like the symbol for *ōm*. The two signs show fairly well in the accompanying facsimile. I may add that there are letter numerals also in the last line of the Bāmanghāt grant of Ranabhaṣṭya, published with a facsimile in *Journ. As Soc Beng* Vol XL Part I p 165 f, and in lines 35 and 36 of one of the Gauṣām grants of Dañḍimādhēv, above, Vol VI p 189 and Plate

<sup>7</sup> The same sign for *h* (which is not given by our paleographic Tables) we find in the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarma, in the Gumsūr plates of Nētrībhaṣṭya, and on the second side of the plate of Dañḍimādhēv, above, Vol VI p 188. It was also used in the grant originally engraved on these plates. A similar form of *h* we find in several varieties of the southern alphabet.



*dbh* and *mbh* (e.g. in *-vikshôbha-daksham*, l 1, *°vargga*, l 10, *-Digbhañjādśvasya*, l 12, =*udbhā-* at the end of line 4, and *-Stambhādēva*, l. 36) There is a special sign for final *ṭ*, in *-ānyat*, l 18, *nyat*, at the commencement of line 19, *yāvat*, l. 21, and *°rādāhāt* for *°rādāhāt*, l 22 Of initial vowels the text contains only *a* (for *ā*), *ṣ*, *u* and *ḷ*, in *achandrāḥ*, l 21, *wa*, ll 5 and 6, *ṭis*, l 33, *Upamany[u-]*, l 23, *urikurnna*, l 38, and *ētād*, l 19 As regards medial vowels, *ā* is sometimes denoted by a short superscript stroke or by a small hook on the right of the consonant-sign, as in *lābhañja*<sup>o</sup> at the commencement of line 13, and in *Bhañjāmala*<sup>o</sup>, l 14, and there are two signs<sup>1</sup> of the subscript *u*, one of which may be seen e.g. in *jayatu*, l 1, and *bhuvana*<sup>o</sup>, l 2, and the other in *-sura*<sup>o</sup>, l 7, *-rīpu*<sup>o</sup>, l 10, *Vaṅyulvakā-*, l 8, and *-vachubhṛ-*, l 27, etc., the former of the two signs is used also to denote medial *ū*, for which there is no separate sign in these plates Two forms of medial *ḷ* may be seen e.g. in *Śeṣhāhēr-a(ṣ)va yé*, l. 4, and *pra(prā)lēyāchala-*, l 5, and similarly two forms of medial *ḍ*, e.g. in *ḷiritayō vilō*<sup>o</sup>, l 35 The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes placed after the consonant-sign, as in *°padam yathārham*, l. 17. The signs of *vṛāma* and *avagraha* do not occur, and a sign of punctuation is found only in lines 20 and 25 (where in either case it is out of place) and at the end of the grant The language of the inscription is Sanskrit There are two verses in lines 1-8, and four imprecatory verses in lines 27-35, the rest of the text is in prose As regards orthography, the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*, *visarga* at the end of a word is ten times omitted, and single consonants are used instead of double ones in *chatusimā-* for *chatusimā-*, l 19, =*anurōdhā cha* for =*anurōdhāch=cha*, l 26, and five or six times in the words *data* and *dati* for *datta* and *datti* (lines 25, 28, 29, 31, 32 and perhaps 23) There is besides some confusion of the short and long vowels, especially in the case of *ṣ* and *ṭ*, where *ṭ* is used instead of *ṣ* no less than nine times (e.g. in *nīkaṣha*, l. 3, *rīpu*, l 10, *salīla*, l 21, etc.), and *ā*, as has been already stated, is everywhere written by the sign for *u* A few times the writer or engraver has omitted an *alekhā*, as in *Vidyādharabhañja*<sup>o</sup> for *Vidyādharabhañja*<sup>o</sup>, l 15, the chief name of the inscription which is correctly given on the seal, and altogether the grant has been written rather carelessly.

The inscription is one of the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva), the ornament of the spotless family of the Bhañjas,<sup>2</sup> the *Mahārāja Vidyādharabhañjadēva*, also called king *Dharmakalāśa*(P), who was a son of *Śilābhañjadēva*,<sup>3</sup> grandson of *Digbhañjadēva*,<sup>4</sup> and great-grandson of *Baṇabhañjadēva*; and its object is to record a grant which was issued by the king from *Vaṅjulvaka*<sup>5</sup> Like the Gumsūr grant of *Nētribhañjadēva Kalyāṅkalāśa*, it opens with two verses which glorify the (third) eye of *Hara* (Śiva) and invoke the protection of the waves of the divine *Gangā*. In lines 15-27 the king informs the *Sāmantas*, *Bhōgins*<sup>6</sup> and others, the [lords of] *vishayas*, and the people generally who dwell in the *Bamalava*, *vishaya*, that with pouring out of water he gave the village of *Tuṇḍurāva* in that district,

<sup>1</sup> Which of the two signs is used, depends on the consonant to which the sign is attached, thus, *k* and *n* always take the curve-shaped sign and *p* and *ṣ* always the straight or hook-shaped sign In line 17, where the curve-shaped *ṣ* is attached to *p*, the *akṣhara* intended to be denoted is *pṣ* (of *pṣjyāt*), not *pu*, the same remark applies to the *ṣ* of *śrādāhita*<sup>o</sup> (for *nradāhita*<sup>o</sup>) in line 11 But in the case of *bhu* and *bhā*, *ṣ* and *ḷ* are both denoted by the same (curve-shaped) sign

<sup>2</sup> Compare e.g. *Gaṅḍmalakulatilaka*, above, Vol III p 18, l 12, and *Kadamed(mā)malakulatilaka*, *ibid* p. 228, l. 22

<sup>3</sup> In line 5 of the Gañjām plates mentioned in Mr Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol II p 33, No 218 (and of which Dr Fleet has given me an impression), the name is spelt *Śilābhañjadēva* Above, Vol III. p. 353, l 38, a place *Śilābhañjapāt*, which was in *Ódra-dēva* (Orissa), is mentioned

<sup>4</sup> The name *Digbhañja* also occurs in the Bimanghātī plates of *Baṇabhañja*, where there can be no doubt about the reading of it

<sup>5</sup> The original has *vayaya-Vaṅyulvakāḥ*

<sup>6</sup> Compare e.g. above, Vol VI p 298, l 18: *-sāmantas-bhōgika-vishayapat-*; *ibid* p. 142, l 25 (in one of *Daṅḍimāhādēvi*'s grants) we have the term *bṛiṣhadbhōgins*

rent-free,<sup>1</sup> to the *bhāṭṭa* Dārūkhandī—a son of Śūridēva(?) and grandson of Gauriechandra—the *Upamanyu gūtra* and Bahvricha *sākhā* (of the Rgveda), and he enjoins future kings (*rājaka*) to protect this gift, and (in lines 27-35) quotes four imprecatory verses from the *dharmasūtras*.

The inscription (in lines 35-38) ends with four statements, introduced severally by the participles *lāñchhitam*, *pravṛṣitam*, *likhitam*, and *utkīrnam*. About the meaning of the two last there can be no doubt: the grant was written by the *sādhavagrahaka* (or minister of peace and war) Khambha, and engraved by the *akṣhasālīn*<sup>2</sup> (or goldsmith) Kumārahandra. The term *pravṛṣitam* I have not found in similar surroundings in any other grant, but since this word takes the place here of the phrase *svayam-ādṛśitō rājād dātako=tra* of the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṅja and of the earlier grant on these very plates<sup>3</sup> (where that phrase in both cases appears in company with *lāñchhitam*, *likhitam* and *utkīrnam*), I think that it must likewise be taken to refer to the business of the *dātaka* and that the words *pravṛṣitam* Kṣāvāna must be translated 'brought (to the donee's) home by (the messenger) Kṣāvāna'. The passage commencing with *lāñchhitam* I am unable to explain properly. According to Dr Fleet, above, Vol VII p. 227, *lāñchhana* denotes the device used on the seals of copper-plate charters, etc., and *lāñchhita* therefore probably means 'furnished with such a device' or 'marked with a seal' (*mudrayā mudritam*).<sup>4</sup> We find the word in the Bugda plates of Mādhavavarma, above, Vol. III p. 46, l. 50, *lāñchhitam Jayasīnghēna*, in the Gañjām plates of Prithivīvarmadēva, above, Vol IV p. 201, l. 35, *lāñchhitamān-cha śrī-mā(ma)hādēvyā*, in the grant which was originally engraved on these plates, above, p. 272, *lāñchhitam [rā]jñī-śrī-Mānīkya-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the queen, the glorious Mānīkya-mahādēvyā', and it occurs also in the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṅja, where the words by which it is followed cannot be made out with confidence.<sup>5</sup> In the present case our text appears to give us *lāñchhitam śrī-Trikalīṅga-mahādēvyā*, 'marked with a seal by the glorious Trikalīṅga-mahādēvyā',<sup>6</sup> which would be similar to what we find in the earlier grant on these plates, but these words are followed by *tējāḍikēna*, which may be corrupt and the meaning of which is quite obscure, and after that again we have the instrumental *śrībhāṭṭa-Stambhadēva-mantrīnā*, 'by the minister, the *bhāṭṭa* Stambhadēva',<sup>7</sup> which, for want of the meaning of the obscure word, I see no way of connecting with what precedes. It is curious that in at least two of the passages where the word *lāñchhitam* occurs the marking with the seal is stated to have been performed by a queen.

Our inscription contains no date of any kind, and for the present it seems impossible to fix its age even approximately, because we know nothing that is certain about the chiefs of the Bhāṅja family during the Middle Ages,<sup>8</sup> and possess no dated inscriptions with the same alphabet. With all due reserve I would say that the inscription may perhaps be assigned to the 12th or 13th century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> In the wording of the grant the expressions which are characteristic of the locality to which the grant belongs are *sambaddha* (in line 19, used in the sense of *sambaddha*), *sāśāhāra-purāharṣa vādhāna*, and *akaravēna* (for which by mistake *karavēna* has been engraved). Compare e.g. above, Vol III p. 46, l. 26, and Vol. VII p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> On this word, which in Sanskrit is generally spelt *akṣhasālīn* (e.g. in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII p. 276, l. 24, and Vol. XVIII p. 146, l. 26), see now Prof. Hultzsch, above, Vol VII p. 107, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 272 and note 2.

<sup>4</sup> According to Yājñavalkya I 819, the *śāstra* of a king should be *reasmudrāparivāhitaṁ* (i.e. *reasmudraya Garvā-cakṣatī-rāpya-ōpari-kaṭa-ōhitaṁ-sāhitaṁ*). And above, Vol III p. 302, l. 74, there is a verse according to which a charter becomes faultless when it is *mudrā-suddha*, 'faultless as regards the seal,' etc.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 272, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> Similar names are *Chōja-mahādēvi* and *Gaṅga-mahādēvi*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Gumsūr grant of Nēṭṛibhaṅja the *bhāṭṭa*, the illustrious Stambhadēva, is mentioned as *śāśaka*.

<sup>8</sup> A traditional date in the Śaka year 764 (A.D. 832) is given for one of the Bhāṅja (Bhūṣu) chiefs in Mr. Sewall's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 3.

As regards the localities, the inscription mentions Vañjulvaka, from where both this grant and the Gumsûr grant of Nêtrabhañja were issued, the Ramalavva *vishaya* and in it the village of Tuṇḍurâva. I have not found the names of these places on the sheets of the *Indian Atlas* where I have looked for them

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

## First Plate, Second Side

- 1 Om<sup>2</sup> [||\*] <sup>3</sup>Jayatu Kusumavâ(bâ)na-prâpa-vikshôbha-daksham svaki-  
 2 <sup>4</sup>raparivêshôrjityâ-<sup>5</sup>jñrñendulêkham [||\*] tribhuvanabhavan-â-  
 3 ntar-dyôtabhâsvat-pradîpam<sup>6</sup> kanakanî(n)kasha gauram vibhru<sup>7</sup> nêtram  
 4 Harasya [||\*] <sup>8</sup>Sêshâhêr-ava<sup>9</sup> yê phanâ[h\*] pravilasanta-udbhâ-  
 5 svarêndu-ivisha[h\*] prâ(prâ)lêyâchala-âṅgakôṭta(ṭa)ya iva tva-  
 6 ṅganti ya(yâ)=tyunnatâ[h\*] [||\*] nrittâtôpa-vighattâtâ iva bhujâ râ-  
 7 janti yê Sâ[m]bhavâs=tâ sarvvâgha-vighâtina[h\*] surasa-  
 8 rit[t\*]ôy-ôrmmayah pânt[u] vah [||\*] Svasti [||\*]Vijaya-Vañjulvaka.<sup>10</sup>

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 9 d=astî<sup>11</sup> śri-vijaya-nilyah prakatagunagana-gra-  
 10 sta-samasarî(n)puvargga[h\*]<sup>12</sup> <sup>13</sup>[śrî-Dharmma ?]kâlâsa-nâmâ râ-  
 11 jâ nirdhuta<sup>14</sup>.kalikalushakalmasha[h\*] śrî-Banabhañjadêva.<sup>15</sup>  
 12 sya prapautra[h\*] śrî-Digbhañjadêvasya<sup>16</sup> naptâ śrî-Śi-  
 13 lâbhañjadêvasya sutah paramamâhêsvarô mâtâpi-  
 14 tri-pâdânudhyâtô Bhañjâmalakula<sup>17</sup>.tlakô mahârâ-  
 15 ja-âi-Vidyâdha[r\*]bhañjadêvasya<sup>18</sup> kuśali Ramalavva.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates<sup>2</sup> Denoted by a symbol<sup>3</sup> Metre Mâlinî.<sup>4</sup> Originally *raparivê* was engraved, but the *e* of *pa* has been struck out.<sup>5</sup> Read *shaurjitya*—Compare *Taghuasâta* v 74 *svakrayaparivêshôbbhêda-tânydh pradîpâ*.<sup>6</sup> Read *pradîpâh*<sup>7</sup> Read *bâhru*; this word is synonymous with *pingala*, and Śiva is *pingalâksha*. Compare also above, Vol VI p 200, l 1 of the text.—The Gumsûr grant has *chêru*. [In a letter which never reached the author I suggested that *vêhru* is correct and should be translated "brow less"—S K]<sup>8</sup> Metre - Śârdûlavikrîṭta<sup>9</sup> Read *ava*.<sup>10</sup> These four *aksharas* are quite clear in the original. Dr Râjêndralâl's text has *Vajjalokâ*. The Gumsûr grant appears to have *Vâñjulokâ*, which by Kamalâkânta was misread *Vâñhalokâ*.<sup>11</sup> Read *t* | *Asi* *śrî*.<sup>12</sup> The *svarga* which I have added here and below before *śrî* is not absolutely necessary<sup>13</sup> The words in these brackets are conjectural. As will be seen from the facsimile, four *aksharas* were originally engraved here, but they were partly struck out or altered, and the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that remnants of letters which were originally engraved on these plates are mixed up with the new letters. I consider it certain that the first *akshara* is intended to be *śrî* (for *śrî*), and that the last contained the conjunct *nam*—The corresponding passage of the Gumsûr grant is *Asi jayâśrî-nilyah prakatagunâ-grasta-sarvasripugavâh* *śrî-Kalyânakalata nâmâ râjâ*<sup>14</sup> Read *nirdhêta*<sup>15</sup> In the facsimile the first *akshara* (*ra*) of this name might be read *era* (and was read so by Dr Râjêndralâl), but in the original it is distinctly *ra*, and what looks like *e* is a remnant of what was originally engraved on the plate<sup>16</sup> This name is clear in the original; and so is the next. Dr Râjêndralâl read the two names *Dvabhâñja* and *Śilêbhâñja*<sup>17</sup> Dr. Râjêndralâl read *Bhañjanala-kula*.<sup>18</sup> Read *âdas-va*.<sup>19</sup> The first three *aksharas* of this name are clear in the original; the last might be read *edâs*. Dr Râjêndralâl read *Vamalabhâñja*, but regarded the letters as doubtful.

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 16 vishay-ê yathâmvasî-sâmantâ-bhôgi-bhogyâdî<sup>1</sup>-vi-  
 17 shaya-janapadam yathârham mânayati pu(pâ)jayati vô(bô)-  
 18 dhayati-âdisâti <sup>2</sup>ch-ânyat sarvvatêh <sup>3</sup>ivam-asmâkam-a-  
 19 nyat<sup>4</sup> êtad[vis]haya-samvandhâ-<sup>5</sup>Tund[u]râsvagrâma<sup>6</sup> chatustimâ-  
 20 paryantah<sup>7</sup> grâmô=yam || mâtâpitrôr-âtmanas=cha puny-â-  
 21 bhivriddhayê <sup>8</sup>achandrârkkâ-samam kâlam yâvat sal(l)lâdhâ-  
 22 râ-purâbsarêna vidhnâ guç-ânurâdhât<sup>9</sup> karatvêna<sup>10</sup>[bhôgya f]  
 23 Upamanya-<sup>11</sup>lgbtâyâ datê-pravarâyâ<sup>12</sup> Ba(ba)hvrcha-syâkha-<sup>13</sup>

## Third Plate, First Side

- 24 ya Gôuchandrah<sup>14</sup> naptâ Sûridvâsya suta bhâtta-Dâru-  
 25 khandi || nâmnâ pratpâditô=stâbhîs=tad-êshâ dat=ddha.<sup>15</sup>  
 26 rmma-gauravâd=asmâkam=anuidhî.<sup>16</sup> cha bhavishyad-râjakai[h\*]  
 27 piatpâlanîy=êty=<sup>17</sup>uktâñ=cha dharmma-âstair-vvahubir=vva-  
 28 sudhâ data<sup>18</sup> râjabhi[h\*] Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya yadâ  
 29 bh(bh)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam [[h\*] Sva-dattâm para-datâ<sup>19</sup> vâ  
 30 yô harêta vasundharâm [h\*] sa vishtâyâ[m\*] kpmi<sup>20</sup> bhutvâ pi-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 31 tpbhi[h\*] saba pachyatê [[h\*] Mâ bh(bh)d=aphala-sankâ vah para-datê.<sup>21</sup>  
 32 ti pâthivâh [h\*] sva-dânat=phalam-ântyam<sup>22</sup> paradat-ânupâla-

<sup>1</sup> The akshara *bhô* of *bhogyâdî* has not come out well in the facsimile, but is quite clear in the original. In my opinion, the word *bhôgi* before *bhogyâdî* is superfluous and has been engraved by mistake, and for the following *vishaya-janapadam* I should have expected something like *vishayapattî-janapadam=cha*

<sup>2</sup> Read *cha*! *Anyat*—The Gumsûr grant apparently has —*âdisâti cha sarvvatêh ivam=asmâkam=anyat vidîtam=astu dhavatâm=êtadêshaya-*

<sup>3</sup> Originally *ivam*= was engraved, but the *v* of *iv* has been struck out

<sup>4</sup> This second =*anyat* is superfluous

<sup>5</sup> Read *sambandhâ-* (for *sambadâhâ-*)

<sup>6</sup> Read *°grâma=chatustimâ-*

<sup>7</sup> Read *paryantô* The following *grâmô=yam* and the sign of punctuation are superfluous

<sup>8</sup> Read *°dâhaya d-chandrârkkâ-sama-kâlam*, the following *yâvat* is superfluous

<sup>9</sup> Read *°râdhâtî*

<sup>10</sup> Instead of *karatvêna*, we require *akaratvêna*, which (like *akartkîtya*) occurs often in other inscriptions and is quite distinct in the lithograph of the Gumsûr grant (though Kanalikânta's text gives *âkararatvêna*) The following two *aksharas* are conjectural. In the Gumsûr grant *akaratvêna* is possibly followed by *dhânyagôbhîh* (for which the text has *dhânyâdri*)

<sup>11</sup> Read *Upamanyu-*

<sup>12</sup> As the word *dattâ* below is several times written *data*, this might stand for *dattî-* (or perhaps *dattia-*) *pravarâyâ*, but I am unable to explain the expression. In *Ind Ant*, Vol. XXI, p. 256, l. 48, we have *Upamanyava-sagôrdhaya | Aêliyana savarâsmachârinê dhâttâpravara-Vâhâkarâtîmsirdya*, where *dhâttâpravara* is equally obscure. The Upamanyavas had three *pravaras*—Vâsishtha, Âbharadvan and Indrapramadâ; compare Y. Müller, *History of Ancient Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 385

<sup>13</sup> Read *-âkhhâ-*

<sup>14</sup> *Gauriuchandrasya naptê Sûri(°)dvâsya sutâya bhâttâ-Dârukhandî-nâmni*

<sup>15</sup> Read *dattî=dhâ-*

<sup>16</sup> Read *°dhâcha*

<sup>17</sup> Read *-êti | Uktâñ=cha dharmma-âstairah | Bahubhir=*—Metre of the verses up to the commencement of line 33 *Shloka* (Anushubh)

<sup>18</sup> Read *dattê*

<sup>19</sup> Read *-dattâh*

<sup>20</sup> Read *°kpmi=°dhâtêd*

<sup>21</sup> Read *-dattâ-*

<sup>22</sup> Read *°dânayâh paradatî-*, as e.g. above, Vol. III, p. 45, l. 48, p. 843, l. 26, etc. Instead of *dnantyam* other grants have *dnandiyam* (above, Vol. III, p. 848, l. 19, p. 853, l. 45), or *snantam* (Vol. III, p. 357, l. 50), or *atyantam* (Vol. VIII, p. 142, l. 25)

Orissa plates of Vidyadharabhanjadeva

1 a

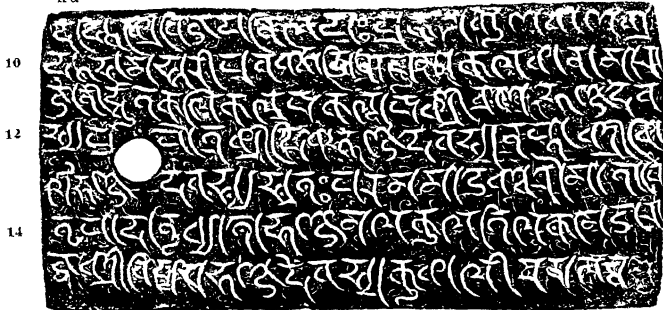


Collotype by Gebr. Pletner, Halle-Saale

1 b



11 a



E. Hultzsch

16  
18  
20  
22

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥

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26  
28  
30

अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥

32  
34  
36  
38

अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥  
 अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अहो भवति धर्मो जगत्सु ॥  
 यदा यदा धर्मो क्षीयति तदा तदा ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे भवति युद्धं महाबलीनाम् ॥  
 तदा तदा ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां ॥

- 33 na(nē)[|[\*] Iti<sup>1</sup> kamaladalāmva(mbu)vundu-lōlā[m\*] śrīyam-anuchī-  
 34 ntya man[n]shya-jīvitam=cha<sup>2</sup> [i\*] sakalam=i(i)dam=ndāhṛitān=cha vndhṛā<sup>3</sup>  
 35 na hī [pu]rūshah para-kīrtitayō vīlō[pyāh|[\*]Lāśūhītam śrī-Tri[ka?]n-<sup>4</sup>  
 36 űga-mā(ma)hādēvy[ā] tējadikēna<sup>5</sup> śrī-bhātta-Stambhādēva-mant[r]i(tri)ṅā<sup>6</sup>  
 37 pravēṣita[m\*] Kēśavēna<sup>7</sup> likhītam<sup>8</sup> śānddhivṛgrīhī-śrī-Khambhē-  
 38 na urtkīrṇa<sup>9</sup> ch=ākshasāli(li)-Kumāracharṇēna<sup>10</sup> thā<sup>11</sup> [||]

## No 33—GHATIYALA INSCRIPTIONS OF KAKKUKA, SAMVAT 918

By D R BHANDARKAR, M A, POONA.

The subjoined inscriptions are all engraved on a column standing *in situ* in Ghatiyālā, twenty-two miles west-north-west of Jōdhpur. The column is not far distant from an old ruined Jaina structure, now called *Mātā-ki-sāl*, which contains an inscription edited by Prof Kielhorn in the *Journ R As Soc* 1895, p 516. Further particulars in connection with these ruins will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907. Inscription No 1 is engraved on the eastern, and the remaining ones on the western, face of the pillar. The inscriptions are so weather-worn that it is not possible to take good impressions. With patience and perseverance, however, almost the whole of the inscriptions can be deciphered with certainty on the original stone itself.

Inscription No 1 contains 20 lines of writing, which covers a space of 2' 3½" high by 1' 6" broad. The characters agree with those of the inscription found in the *Mātā-ki-sāl*. The language is Sanskrit. The first seven lines are in prose. Lines 8—16 contain five verses. Then the date is given in prose in l 17. Then a verse occurs which is followed by a line in prose. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is only once denoted by the sign for *v*, in *kuṭumvakam*, l 8, consonants are doubled after *r*, *visarga* followed by *s* has been once changed to that letter in *śvvyās=utō*, l 7, the dental nasal has been used instead of an *anusvāra* before *ś* in *°vansa*, l 1, *t* is doubled in conjunction with a following *r*, and *visarga* has been omitted once before the following *sta* in *ayam=ustambhāta stambhō*, l 16.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Vinīyaka (Ganapati). Then is set forth in prose a genealogical list of the feudatory Pratihāra family which is brought down to Kakkuka, to whose reign the inscription belongs. It agrees with the lists furnished by the inscription in the *Mātā-ki sāl* and the epigraph of Bāuka found in the Jōdhpur city wall. It is followed up by five verses, the first two of which merely contain conventional praise of Kakkuka without giving any historical information. The third verse says that Kakkuka obtained great renown in the countries of Travani, Vā'la and Māda, amongst (the people known as) Ārya, in Gurjjaratṛā, and in Parvata in the Lāta country. Most of these names are repeated in verse 16 in the other

<sup>1</sup> Metre Pushpitāgrā.<sup>2</sup> Read *-īntam cha*<sup>3</sup> Read *°dudhāna*<sup>4</sup> Read *śrī-Trikālō*. A sign of the medial *s*, which was prefixed to the akshara *tri*, has been struck out. In the place of *ka* (?) another letter was originally engraved.<sup>5</sup> With the exception of the *ś* in brackets, the nine *akṣaras* at the beginning of the line are clear in the original.<sup>6</sup> The *vā* at the end of the line and the *vā* at the commencement of the next line, which show in the facsimile, seem to me to be remnants of the inscription which was previously engraved on these plates.<sup>7</sup> The *akṣaras* *śavō* of this word contain certain marks which were not engraved by the engraver of the present inscription and which were struck out by him.<sup>8</sup> Read *śānddhivṛgrāhī-śrī* or *śānddhivṛgrāhika-śrī*.<sup>9</sup> Read *urtkīrṇam*<sup>10</sup> Read *°chandrās*<sup>11</sup> For this mark, which is distinctly *thā*, compare e.g. *Ind Ant* Vol XVII, p 140, note 4b.

inscription of Kakkuka in the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl*. Thus, Travani is the same as Tamani there, and also occurs in this unaltered form in verse 18 of the Jôdhpur inscription of Bâuka. Similarly, Valla is mentioned in both these inscriptions. Mâda is given in the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription in conjunction with Maru (*Maru-Mâda*) Jêsalmêr is still called Mâda, and Maru proper can only be the Sheo, Mallâni and Pâchpadrâ districts of the Jôdhpur State. Ârya and Gurjaratrâ are doubtless the Ajja and Gurjaratâ of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription. Ârya is undentifiable, but is perhaps the same as that mentioned in Varâhamihra's *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. V, v. 42. Gurjaratrâ, as has been shown by me elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> comprised the districts of Dîdwânâ and Parbatsar of the Jôdhpur State. Lâta, as was also pointed out by me, embraced about this time the larger portion of the present Gujârât of the Bombay Presidency.<sup>2</sup> Parvata, which is apparently said to be in Lâta, is unknown to me. Does Parvata, however, here simply mean a mountain and refer to some such inroad of Kakkuka as that mentioned in the expression *gâhâna gôhândam gurvams* in verse 17 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* record? Or perhaps Parvata may be taken to be a distinct country, and connected with the *Pârvatîyas* of the *Brihat-samhitâ*, Cap. XVII v. 16.

Verse 4 of our inscription tells us that Kakkuka erected two columns, one at Rôhimsaka and the other at Maddôdara. Exactly the same information is conveyed by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* record, excepting that for Rohimsaka we have there Rôhimsakûpa. Rôhimsaka is undoubtedly the same as this Rôhimsakûpa or the Rôhimsakûpaka of our inscription No. 2, and is to be identified with Ghatyâjâ. Maddôdara, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is Manjôr, five miles north of Jôdhpur, which is locally believed to have been a seat of Pratihâra power and is full of very ancient ruins, and where a fragment of a Pratihâra inscription was discovered by me last season.<sup>3</sup> The next verse informs us that the column on which the inscription has been incised was erected by Kakkuka. Precisely the same information is given by verse 21 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription. Then follows the date Samvat 618 Chaitra-sûdi 2 buddhê Hasta-nakshatrê, the same as that mentioned in the latter inscription. And further we are told that here a market was established, and the village peopled with *mahâyana*, i. e. big folk. The very same thing is alluded to in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* record. The inscription really ends here so far as the purport of it is concerned, but a verse follows which has something of the character of a *subhâshata*. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that it was composed by Śrî-Kakkuka himself, as the line in prose at the end informs us.

Inscription No. II contains 11 lines of writing covering a space of 1' 3" high by 1' 2½" broad. Excepting the opening words *Om siddhîh*, it is in verse up to l. 9, and the rest in prose. The palæography and orthography do not call for any remarks other than those made in connection with inscription No. I. The first verse invokes the blessings of Vinâyaka (Ganapati) who, we are told, was placed on the column to ensure prosperity, and, as a matter of fact, the

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Bo. As. Soc.* Vol. XXI, pp. 414-415.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

<sup>3</sup> Another ancient name of Manjôr is Manjavyapura mentioned in verse 10 of the Jôdhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Bâuka. In the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle*, for the year ending 31st March 1907, p. 80, I have said that though this inscription stone was found in the city wall of Jôdhpur, it must originally have been at Manjôr, as all stones for the fortification of the fort had been brought from the latter place. This conclusion is confirmed by the first *pada* of the verse just referred to, which is *Manjavyapura-durgasams*. The word *sams* shows that the stone originally was at Manjavyapura, i. e. Manjôr. Manjavyapura, again, is spoken of both as a city and fort, and Manjôr remained so till the prince Jôdhâ removed his capital from there to Jôdhpur. Even to this day some of the portions of the ramparts of Manjôr have been preserved. As the verse in question states that certain Pratihâra brother princes erected ramparts round Manjavyapura fort, it is plain that it was in the possession of the feudatory Pratihâra princes. This is also corroborated by the fact mentioned in the text that last season I found a part of a stone inscription belonging to the Pratihâras. In it the name of Kakkuka could be distinctly read, and some reference to his son made therein could also be traced. But who that son was — whether Kakkuka or Bâuka — is not certain. The name Manjavyapura occurs even so late as V E 1319 in the Sândhâ hill inscription of Châhigadêva (above, Vol. IX., p. 78, l. 86).



pillar is surmounted at the top by a quadruple image of Ganapati, facing the cardinal directions. The next verse informs us that the village of Rôhinsakûpka (Ghatyâlâ) had formerly become unsafe on account of the Âbhîras (Ahirs),<sup>1</sup> and had consequently not been a place of residence for good people. Verses 3 and 4 tell us that Kakkuka, the favourite son of Kakkâ, of the Pratihâra race, constructed a market place decorated with variegated streets, went to the houses of Brâhmanas, Kshatriyas (*prakriti*)<sup>2</sup> and Vaiśyas, and, promising them means of livelihood, established the *mahâjana*, the big folk there. We thus fully understand what the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph and our inscription No. I mean by saying that Kakkuka established a *haffa* and *mahâjana* at Rohimsaka or Rohimsakûpa. Owing to its being infested by the Âbhîras, whose predatory instincts even to the present day are not quite extinct, the place must have become deserted, but it was re-peopled by Kakkuka by inducing men of the three principal castes to come and reside there, after he had defeated and ousted the Ahîras. The verse following expresses a wish for the permanence of the prosperity of the *mahâjana*, and of the fame of Kakkuka. Then follows the date Samvat 918 Chaitra Sudî 2 which, though the further details of it are not given, is, it will be seen, identical with that specified in our inscription No I and the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* epigraph. Next, we are informed that the inscription was written by a *Maga*, called Mâtîravarî, and was engraved by the goldsmith Krishnêsvara, doubtless the same who incised the Jodhpur inscription of the Pratihâra Banka. It is followed up by the name of the *sûtaradhâra* or mason who probably dressed the stone and erected the column, but the name is lost.

The fact that Mâtîravarî is called a *Maga* is very interesting. On the original stone the letters *ma* and *ga* are quite distinct, and, though *na* is not so distinct, it is clear enough. No reasonable doubt need, therefore, be entertained as to Mâtîravarî being spoken of as a *Maga*. *Maga* is another name for the *Śikhavîpiya* Brâhmanas, about whom the late Professor Weber wrote a very learned and exhaustive paper. Round about Jodhpur there is a class of Brâhmanas known as *Sêvaks*, most of whom are religious dependants of the Ôsvâl Śrâvaks. They call themselves Śâkadvîpa Brâhmanas, and know that their story is told in the *Nâmagrantha* of the *Sârîya-purâna* and also in the *Bhaviṣhya-purâna*. That the Śâkadvîpiyas were originally foreigners has been clearly shown by Professor Weber. But it is only our inscription that furnishes a specific date, *vis* V. E. 918, when we can positively assert that Magas lived and were known by this very name in Râjputânâ at least.

Inscription No. III is of two lines containing nothing but verse 5 of Inscription No I. Inscription No. IV consists of four lines containing two verses. They possess the flavour of *subhâshitas*, and have each one and the same last *pâda*, saying that six things are dear to Kakkuka. What those six things are has been specified in the verses themselves.

## No I.

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

- 1 षो विनायकाय नमः ॥ चासीयतीहारवन्मगुह-<sup>4</sup>
- 2 सहजः<sup>5</sup> श्रीहरिचन्द्रः [1\*] धनेन राज्ञीचक्रियमद्राया जा-
- 3 तः श्रीमान्मुतः श्रीरञ्जितः [1\*], अस्माच्छ्रीनरमटः [1\*] अ-

<sup>1</sup> For some remarks on Ahîras, see *Journ. Bo As Soc* Vol. XXI, pp 430-433, for fuller information still, see my monograph contributed to the *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*.

<sup>2</sup> *Prakriti*, which is the same as *payai* in verse 20 of the *Mâtâ-ki-sâl* inscription, here doubtless signifies the Kshatriya class, as it is distinguished both from the *vyra* (Brâhmana) and *vantîk* (Vaiśya) classes. This is rather an unusual sense of the word, and so far I have not seen it used in this sense anywhere else.

From the original stone.

<sup>4</sup> Read 'वंश'.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'सहज'.

- 4 तः श्रीनागभटः [1\*] भतः श्रीतातः [1\*] भतोपि श्रीयशोवर्धनः [1\*]  
 5 अस्माच्छ्रीचन्द्रुकः [1\*] भतश्च श्रीशोलुकः [1\*] अस्माच्छ्रीभक्तेः [1\*] भतः  
 6 श्रीभिक्षादित्य [1\*] भतः श्रीगुणान्वितः श्रीकक्कः [1\*] अनन  
 7 राज्ञीश्रीदुर्लभदेव्यास्तुतो जातः श्रीकक्कुकः ॥  
 8 सन्तः कुटुम्बकं<sup>1</sup> यस्य स्थिरः कामः सितं यशः ।  
 9 विपुला चपलं<sup>2</sup> बुद्धिराग्रही गुणसंग्रहे ॥ [१\*]  
 10 न्यायभंगे भवेत्कीपो रागीपि जनपाल[न] ।  
 11 गुरुभ्यश्च भय यस्य भूषणं दीनरक्षण ॥ [२\*] येन  
 12 प्राप्ता महाख्यातिस्त्रवण्यां वक्षमाडयोः । भार्ये-  
 13 षु गुर्जरन्नायां लाटदेशे च पर्वते ॥ [३\*] तेन महोदरे स्त-  
 14 न्मस्तथा रोहिम्सके कृतः । उभावप्युन्नतिं नीती स्वपचा-  
 15 विव जन्मदौ ॥ [४\*] श्रीमल्लकुकवीरेण कुलदीपेन  
 16 धीमता । अयमुस्तम्भित<sup>3</sup> स्तम्भो यशःस्तम्भ इवोन्नतः ॥ [५\*] संव-  
 17 त् ८१८ चैत्रशुदि २ बुधे हस्तनक्षत्रे । अक्ष हृष्टो महाजनश्च  
 18 स्थापितः ॥ श्री [1\*] यौवनं विविधैर्भोगैर्मध्यम च वयः  
 19 श्रिया । वृद्धभावश्च धर्मण यस्य याति स पुण्यवान् ॥ [६\*]  
 20 अयं श्लोकः श्रीकक्कुकैः स्वयंकृतः<sup>4</sup> ॥

No II

TEXT.<sup>5</sup>

- 1 श्रीं सिद्धिः [1\*] दिवा राक्षो च संध्यायां — — —  
 2 — सकुलं । सिद्धिं करोतु सर्वत्र स्तम्भधामा वि[ना]-  
 3 यक. ॥ [१\*] रोहिम्सकूपकग्रामः पृथ्व्यासीदना-  
 4 श्रय. । असेव्य. <sup>6</sup>साधुनीकानां आभोरजनदारुण. ॥ [२\*]  
 5 विचित्रवीथिसंपूर्णं<sup>7</sup> हृष्ट कृत्वा गृह्णाणि च । विप्रव-  
 6 णिग्रप्रकृतीनां गृह गत्वा प्रियं च ॥ [३\*] श्रीमल्लकस्य पुत्रेण  
 7 सप्रतीहारजातिना । कक्कुकैः स्थितिं दत्त्वा स्थापितोऽत्र महा-  
 8 जनः ॥ [४\*] महाजनस्य सङ्घृष्टिः लाभः<sup>8</sup> पूजा सुखं भृतिः । श्री-  
 9 कक्कुकस्य कुम्भामा कीर्त्तिर्भवतु शाश्वती ॥ [५\*] संवत् शते ८१८ चै

<sup>1</sup> Read कुटुम्बकं<sup>2</sup> Read ०युत्तम्भितplaced over *kr*<sup>2</sup>  
From the original stone<sup>3</sup> I do not understand the position of चपल here<sup>4</sup> Read अयं जनः, the *anuvada* of 'yam' must have been inadvertently<sup>5</sup> Read ०श्रीकानामाभौरः.<sup>6</sup> Read सङ्घृष्टिर्भः.

- 10 असुदि २ [१\*] लिखितं मगे[न] मातृरविषा [१\*] उक्तीर्यथै हेमकारिण  
[क]थ्ये-
- 11 श्रेण ॥ सूतधरोक्ष नि . . . . . विष्णु ॥

No. III.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री[मल्ल]कुक्कीरिण कुलदीपे[न] धीमता । अ-  
२ यमुत्तन्धित स्तम्भो यय[:\*]स्त[म्भ] इवीजतः ॥

No. IV

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 श्री[१\*] यज्ञकी काकलीगीतं शरद्वन्द्वश्च मासती ॥  
२ विनीता स्त्री सतां गोष्ठी ककुक्कस्य श्रुयाणि षट् [११\*]  
३ न्यायमार्गो श्रुरोर्भक्ति[:\*] पुत्रे स्त्रेः कृतज्ञता ॥  
४ प्रिया वाम्नागरो वेधः ककुक्कस्य पुयाणि<sup>४</sup> षट् ॥ [२]

## No. 39.—SARANGARH COPPER PLATES OF MAHA-SUDEVA.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., NAGPUR.

Sarangarh is the capital of a feudatory State of the same name in the Chhattisgarh division of the Central Provinces, 32 miles south of Raigarh, the capital of another State and a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The chiefs of these two States are Rāj-Gōpda. The plates in question are in the possession of the Rāj family and first came to my notice in the beginning of the year 1903 at my last visit to Sarangarh. As they were locked up and the keys were not available at the time, the then Superintendent of the State, Rai Sahib Ālam Chand, promised to send them to me when I asked for them, but my reversion to the executive duties before I could return to head-quarters, followed by Papdit Ālam Chand's retirement from service, left them where they were, until the present Superintendent, Munshi Akbar Khān, took active steps in the matter at the instance of Rai Bahadur Pandā Baijnath, B.A., Diwān of the Bastar State, and sent them on to me on the 7th January 1903. Thus the recovery of the plates first discovered over forty years ago is as much due to the interest of the above gentlemen as to the readiness of Rājā Jawāhar Singh to lend them for examination.

The exact date and the details of the first discovery are not now forthcoming, but the plates are said to have reached the Bengal Asiatic Society on the 7th December 1864.<sup>5</sup> Dr Rājendra Lal Mitra published them in that Society's Journal in 1866, where he stated that they were presented to the Society by Lieutenant G. Bowie of the Sambalpur Police Corps, but when Dr. Fleet wrote his Gupta inscriptions about 1888, and searched for the plates, he could not

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone<sup>2</sup> Read प्रियाणि.<sup>3</sup> Read श्रीरक्षि.<sup>4</sup> Read मित्राणि<sup>5</sup> See *Journ. Beng. Ac. Soc.* vol. XXV, p. 110 ff

find them. He then recorded that as the published version was not sufficiently reliable to be reproduced he was unable to include this inscription in his volume<sup>1</sup>

The fact appears to be that the plates were never presented to the Society. They were simply lent by and finally returned to the owner, the Śārangarh family, whose State was in those days included in the Sambalpur district, now transferred to Bengal

These facts combined with the absence of a facsimile copy of the record in Dr Rājendra Lal's notice, together with certain misreadings of the text, afford, I venture to think, sufficient reasons for re-editing this inscription.

There are two copper plates, each measuring  $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ , and the weight of the two together is 12 ozs.  $5\frac{1}{2}$  drs. About 1" from the proper right margin each plate has a hole, roundish on one side and squarish on the other, the diameter being about  $\frac{1}{8}''$ . These were intended for stringing the plates on the ring, the loss of which has deprived our inscription of its last portion, which must have been engraved on a third plate. The lost plate must have contained about 5 or 6 lines<sup>2</sup> which can almost be restored from other inscriptions of the same king, and of Mahā-Jayarāja, all of which are composed in exactly the same wordings, the names of villages granted and the donees being of course different. In our inscription only some of the imprecatory verses are lost as also the date at the end, which of course cannot be restored. Judging from other inscriptions of this king the date must have been in regnal years, so that it could not have been of much help beyond fixing the priority or otherwise of our inscription as compared with others.

The plates recovered are in an excellent state of preservation. One is inscribed on one side and the other on both in characters of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. The letters are very neatly and well formed, their average size being about  $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The accompanying plate gives a facsimile copy, from impressions kindly taken for me by Mr T. G. Green, Superintendent of the Government Press, Nagpur.

The language is Sanskrit prose except the usual imprecatory verses, here attributed to Vyāsa. As regards orthography, there is very little to be noticed beyond what has been already done by Dr Konow with regard to another inscription of the same king recently found at Khariar.<sup>3</sup> As the composition is almost identical, the peculiarities are common to both. The *upadhānāya* occurs in line 3 in *-pradaḥ-parama-*. The same sign, viz. 2 dots, has been used for *visarga* and a pause. Ordinarily *mātrās* for *u*, *ri* and *ḥi* alone are attached at the foot of letters, but in this inscription there is a curious example in line 12 where the sign for *ḥi* in *anumōditāḥ* is partly exhibited by a top and partly by a foot stroke, all other *ḥi*'s being represented by the top strokes for *ḍ* and *ḥ*, compare *vikramāḥpanata-* of line 1.

The inscription was issued from the town of Śarabhapura and records the grant of a village named Chullaṅgaraka situated in the *bhukī* or subdivision of Tuṅḍaraka by the Queen and the royal family of Rāja Mahā-Sudēva and assented to by him, to a number of learned priests, viz. Bhāskaravāmi, Prabhākaravāmi, Barbhariavāmi, Bōjasvāmi, Dattasvāmi, Vishṇusvāmi, Phalḡusvāmi, Svāmikīrttasvāmi and Śaṅkarasvāmi, all of the Kausika *gōtra*. One of these, Vishṇusvāmi, is apparently identical with the donee of the Khariar plates. He also belonged to the Kausika *gōtra* and received a village in the Khariar *zamindāri* from this king. Neither these two nor the third charter of this king, which was obtained from Raipur, throw any light on the dynasty to which he belonged or on

<sup>1</sup> *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 198, footnote 2.

<sup>2</sup> Eighteen lines of our inscription remain; the Khariar plates have 28 lines, the Ārang plates of Jayarāja 24, and the Raipur plates of Sudēva 28, but these last ones are much smaller in size than the others. Our plates are slightly bigger than all the three sets.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 170 and ff.



2 2  
 4 4  
 6 6

11 a

8 8  
 10 10  
 12 12

11 b

14 14  
 16 16  
 18 18

his date. Dr Konow has conjectured that the Śarabhapura kings might have been Rāshtrakūtas. They were ascendant in the Central Provinces about the 8th century to which period the characters of our inscription belong. But Dr Konow, for reasons pointed out by him, regards the identification as yet very doubtful.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription Śarabhapura, which recurs in the other two grants of Mahā-Sudēva, and in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja, has not yet been identified. I identify Tuṇḍaraka with the present Tūndrā, about 6 miles south of Secrī Nāīayan on the Mahānadi and about 35 miles west of Śārangarh. It is now included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil of the Raipur district. The village Chullandāraka must have been somewhere close to Tūndrā, but I am at present unable to trace it. If it exists we would now find the name in a form like Chulāndur, a characteristic Chattisgarhi name, some similar ones which I remember being Machāndur, Palāndur, Kachāndur, etc. It appears to me that another village granted by Mahā-Sudēva in his Raipur charter was not very far away from Tūndrā. It is called Śrīśāhikā,<sup>1</sup> which I take to be the present Sīrāhī, also included in the Balōdā Bazār tahsil, and situated about 25 miles south-west of Tūndrā. Mahā-Jayarāja of the Ārang plates, who belonged to the same dynasty, also seems to have granted a village in the same part of his kingdom, *vs* Pamvā,<sup>2</sup> which I identify with Pāmgarh,<sup>3</sup> about 21 miles north of Tūndrā and included in the Jānjgir tahsil of the Bilāspur district. Pamvā and Śrīśāhikā are stated to be included in the *Pārvardāshtra* or Eastern country, and we know from the Kharar plates that to the south the kingdom extended at least up to Kharar. This leads to the inference that the territories of Mahā-Sudēva included a large portion of Mahā-Kōsala, or roughly speaking Chattisgarh division.

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

## First Plate.

- 1 Ōmā svasti [I\*] Śarabhapurād-vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuta-chūdāmāni-  
prabhā-pra-  
2 sēkām̄bu-dhōtā<sup>5</sup>.pādayugalō ripu-vilāsini-sāmanti-ōddharapa-bēturu-vasva-  
3 vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ-paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitrī<sup>6</sup>.pād-ānuddhyātās-śrī-Mahā-Sudē-  
4 va-rājāḥ Tuṇḍaraka-bhuktīya-Chullandārakē prativāsi-kuṭumbinas=sa-  
5 māñśpayati [II\*] Vīditam=astu vō yath=śyam grāmāḥ tridāśpati-sādana-  
sukha-  
6 pratāshphākarō yāvād-ravi-śasi-tārā-kurapa-pratūhata-gbōrāndhakārām ja-

## Second Plate ; First Side

- 7 gad-avataḥphatō tāvad-upabhōgyas=sanidhis=ōpanidhir=sohāṭabhaṭapraprāvēsya-  
8 sarvva-kara-visarjyātāḥ rājya-mahādēvi<sup>7</sup>.rōjakulāḥ mātāpitrōr-ātmanas<sup>8</sup>=cha pu-  
9 ny-ābhuviddhaya<sup>9</sup> udakapūrvvarā<sup>10</sup> Kōśika-sāgōtra-trisahasra-vidya-Bhāskarasvāmī-  
10 Prabhākarasvāmī-Barbharasvāmī-Bōtasvāmī-Dattasvāmī-Vishvasvāmī-  
11 Phaligusvāmī-Svāmīkirttisvāmī-Śatkarasvāmīnā[m\*] tāmbraśśānanēn=āstisi-  
12 śitō bhūtv=śmābhīr=annamōditāḥ [II\*] Tē ytham=śvam=upalabhy=anāhām=śjñśśra-

<sup>1</sup> Gupta Inscriptions, p. 197.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 192.<sup>3</sup> The adjunct *garh* seems to have been added when a mud fort, which still exists, was built there<sup>4</sup> From the original plates.<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>6</sup> Read *-dhavta-*. [It is possible that the sign read as *ś* here and in *Kōśika*, l. 9, should be read as *śv*. The two *ś* signs are separated by an interval, which is not the case where *ś* is intended. This remark also applies to the other plates of this king.—S. K.]<sup>7</sup> Read *-pitri-*.<sup>8</sup> Read *-rōjakulāḥ*.<sup>9</sup> Read *-ātmanas-*.<sup>10</sup> Read *Kaustika-*.

## Second Plate; Second Side

- 13 na-vidhōyā bhātvā yathōcchatah bhōga-bhāgam-upanayantas=sukha[ni\*]  
 pratvatasyatha [||\*]  
 14 Bhavishyatās=oha bhūmpān=anudarṣayati || <sup>1</sup> Dānād=viśiṣṭam=anupālnaja[ni\*] pa-  
 15 rāgāmb<sup>2</sup> dharmmēshu mūchitadhīyaḥ=pravradanti dharmmam || ( ) taamā[ni\*]  
 dvijāya suvi-  
 16 śuddha-kula-śrutāya dattām bhuvan bhavatu vō matr-ēva gōptām ||  
 Tad=bhavadbhi-  
 17 r-apy-ēshā dattir=annpālayitavyā [||\*] Vyāsa-gītāmś=ch-ātra ślōkām=udāhara-  
 18 nti || <sup>3</sup>Agnēr=apatyāh prathamah suvarṇam (||) bhūr=vvaishnavi sūryyaunt<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION:†

Om! Hail! From Sarabhapura. The illustrious Mahā-Sudēva Rāja, whose two feet are washed by the water which is the flowing forth of the lustre from the crest jewels in the tiaras of the chiefs who have been subjugated by (his) prowess, who is the cause for the doing away with the parting of the hair of the women of his enemies, who is the giver of riches, of land and of cows, who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat, who meditates on the feet of his mother and father—issues a command to the householders living in Chullanḍaraka in the territorial sub-division (*bhukti*)<sup>6</sup> of Tuṇḍaraka:—

Be it known to you that this village, the source (by this grant of it) of (our) ensuring the happiness of the abode of (Indra), the lord of the gods—which has been conveyed by a copper charter accompanied with (pouring) of water, by the Royal Consort<sup>7</sup> and the Royal Family to Bhāskarasvāmī, who knows the three thousand<sup>8</sup> (verses?) Prabhākarasvāmī, Barbharisvāmī, Bōṣasvāmī, Dattasvāmī, Viśvasvāmī, Phalguvāmī, Svāmīkṛttasvāmī,<sup>9</sup> (and) Śankarasvāmī (all) of the Kauṭika *gōtra*, to be enjoyed as long as the world endures, having the terrible darkness dispelled by the rays of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, together with its treasures and deposits, not to be entered by the district officer<sup>10</sup> and soldiers, (and), free

<sup>1</sup> Metre Vasantatilaka<sup>2</sup> Read *parṇā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre Indravajrā.<sup>4</sup> The remaining portion of the verse is: -*śoḥa gdaḥ! dattā=trayaś=śoḥa bhavanti lōka yaḥ kṛdōkash gāh oha māhāh aka dadyati* †<sup>5</sup> I have freely adopted the language of other translators of similar inscriptions, especially of Drs. Konow and Fleet<sup>6</sup> *Bhukti* was an old territorial division, the exact meaning of which has not yet been ascertained. It occurs in other inscriptions (see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 218, note 5) and sometimes becomes permanently attached to names such as Jājābhukti, the ancient name of Baudelkhand, which was corrupted into Jājāsti in Al Bernūn's times (see above Vol. I, p. 218, and Sachau's *Al Bernūn's India*, Vol. I, p. 302).<sup>7</sup> Mr Venkaya suggests to take Rājyamahādēvi as the name of the queen.<sup>8</sup> The original is *trīśahasra vāya*, which Dr. Bājendralāl has taken to be a part of the proper name Bhāskarasvāmī, but I think it is an adjectival phrase enlorgising his learning which extended to the knowledge of three thousand of—what is not stated. Probably he knew three thousand *ślōkas* of some very important and difficult work, considered as a great achievement in those times.<sup>9</sup> [The proper form of the name is certainly *Kirītīndasia*, but the second part of the preceding name has been repeated by mistake.—S. K.]<sup>10</sup> The word is *oḍḍr*, usually translated 'irregular troops,' which translation I adopted in my Bejal and Nagholi plates. Dr Vogel, some time ago, kindly drew my attention to this point giving a more plausible explanation of the word. He wrote to me:—

On my first visit to the ancient Hill State of Chambe (Panjab) I learnt that the head of a pargana there has the title of *oḍḍr*, which is evidently derived from Sanskrit *oḍḍa*. The *oḍḍr* collects the villagers who have to do work (forced labour) on behalf of the State; he arranges for load carriers and supplies in case the Rāja or some traveller visits his district. I have little doubt that the *oḍḍa* of the copper plates is the same as the *oḍḍr* of the Chambe State. In the Chambe copper plates published in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey (1902-03) I have therefore rendered the word by 'district officer.' It was clearly a



from all taxes,—has been sanctioned by us, for the increase of the religious merit of (our) parents and of ourself. Being aware of this you should be obedient to their commands, and should dwell in happiness rendering in proper manner (their) share of the enjoyment

And he enjoins upon future kings:—The ancients whose minds are fixed upon religion say that the virtue that arises from the preservation (of a grant) is greater than (that which arises from making a grant); therefore your mind should verily incline to preserve land that has been given to a Brâhmap of very pure family and holy learning. Therefore this gift should be preserved by you also.

And they cite on this point the verses that were sung by Vyâsa.—Gold is the first offspring of fire; the earth belongs to the God Vishnu and (cows are) the daughters of the sun. (therefore the three worlds are given by him who gives gold, and a cow and land).<sup>1</sup>

NO. 40.—PATIAKELLA GRANT OF MAHARAJA SIVARAJA  
[GUPTA] SAMVAT 233.

By R. D. BANERJI.

This inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was discovered several years ago by a peasant in a cornfield in the zamindâri of Patâkellâ in the district of Cuttack in Orissa. It is the property of an Ôṛiyâ Brâhmap, who, I hear, regularly worships it. The Râja of Patâkellâ made it over to Bâbu Nagendra Nâtha Vasu, the Honorary Archæological Surveyor to the Mayûrbhañja Estate. Nagendra Bâbu made it over to me some six or seven months ago for decipherment.

The inscription is engraved on a single plate of copper, measuring  $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by  $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". To the left there is an oval projection,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " long, to which a lump of brass or bell metal is attached. On the top of this lump there is an oval cavity, showing traces of the seal. But no letters or symbols are discernible at present. Both sides of the plate are inscribed. Altogether there are eighteen lines of writing in this grant. The writing was fairly well executed, but its preservation is not very good. One corner of the plate is missing and has carried away portions of the dates with it. Fortunately the date can be made out correctly from the portions still remaining. In this grant the date was given twice. First of all we read in the second line *tryadhikâsittiyuttara* . . . and secondly at the end of the eighteenth line *Samvat 200* . . . Thus tens and hundreds are all fairly certain. I am indebted to Dr. Koow for the reading of the symbol for two hundred.

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets and are in every respect similar to those of the Munḍêsvari inscription of Udayasêna, from the Shâhâbâd district. The Munḍêsvari inscription is dated in the [Harsha] year 30 (635 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> The peculiarities of the characters of our grant are as follows:—

- (a) Among the ligatures the only noticeable feature is to be found in the *â* mark, which is expressed in two different ways while attached to the same letter *na*. Cf

privilege of importance that the head of the district was not allowed to interfere with the granted land, in other words, he was not allowed to collect labourers or to demand supplies, etc., on behalf of the State."

<sup>1</sup> These words which must have been engraved in the third plate have been supplied to make sense.

<sup>2</sup> The Munḍêsvari inscription has been found in two pieces. The second portion was presented to the Indian Museum so far back as 1891. The first portion containing the date was found among the *dâbras* around the temple and sent to the Indian Museum in 1904. For the Munḍêsvari temple, see *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (1896), p. 870. Dr. Bloch has referred to this inscription twice. See *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902-08*, p. 20, and *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1901-03*, pp. 42-43. The inscription will be published below, pp. 289 and ff.

*punyābhivṛddhayaś* in l. 8 with *vr̥hadbhōgikādāhikarāṇāny-śva*, l. 7. The *ś* mark is unusual in *-pārvaḥn-d-* in l. 9.

- (b) It is interesting to note that this Uttack grant shows a greater affinity to the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription than does the Gañjām grant of Śāśāṅka,<sup>1</sup> while the latter shows a marked affinity to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman of the Gupta year 269.<sup>2</sup> Thus the *ya* in the Bōdh Gayā inscription and the Gañjām plate is bipartite, while in the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription and the present grant it is of the usual early Gupta type, *i.e.* tripartite. Similarly the lingual *sha* in our grant and the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription shows a cursive base line unlike the acute angle type of the Bōdh Gayā and Gañjām inscriptions. This form of *sha* is also to be found in the Nepal inscription of the year 316.<sup>3</sup>
- (c) The presence of the acute angle is noticeable only in the dental *sa* and *ma*, as is also the case in the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription. But some letters show a well-defined acute angle at their lower extremities in alternative cases, *cf.* the *dha* in *-hārādāhigama-* (l. 5) with that in *-dīdhītt-* in l. 3, and *vr̥hadbhōgikādāhikarāṇāny-* in l. 7.
- (d) The characters of our grant differ from those of the Muṇḍēsvārī inscription in so far as the lingual *na* in the latter is exactly similar to the *na* of the early Gupta type, while the *na* in our grant has larger space between the right and left curves.
- (e) The characters of this grant show a greater affinity to the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription of the Gupta year 316 than to the contemporary Nepal inscriptions. The paleography of the epoch beginning with the last half of the 6th and ending with the first half of the 7th century A.D. can nowhere be studied with greater advantage than in Nepal. The inscriptions of the Harsha year 34, the Gupta year 316, the Harsha years 39 and 45 show very clearly the change which came over later Gupta characters in the last half of the 6th century and the 50 years following that. Thus the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription of the year 316 shows in its characters very little departure from those of the Maudasōr inscription of Yaśōdharman.<sup>4</sup> The Patan inscription of the year 34<sup>5</sup> exhibits a further step onwards, as it is more allied to the Gañjām grant of Śāśāṅka than our grant or the Gōlmāḍhītōl inscription. The next inscription, that of the Harsha year 39<sup>6</sup> and the short record of the year 45 of the same era, are inscribed in characters which are very much akin to the Bōdh Gayā inscription of Mahānāman and the Madhuban and Banskhera grants of Harshavardhana.
- (f) The letters *da* and *ṭa* resemble each other very closely. Thus, *vr̥hadbhōgikādāhikarāṇāny-*, l. 7, looks like *vr̥haḥbhōgikādāhikarāṇāny-*.
- (g) There is little difference between *va* and *cha*. Thus, *-chala-taraṅga-*, l. 1, looks like *-ala-taraṅga-*, while *Śivardjaḥ*, l. 5, looks like *Śikardjaḥ*.

As regards orthography two or three departures are noticeable, such as *-mahagara-*, l. 1, *-vanśa-* and *-āṣṭī-*, l. 2, *gēhattō*, l. 8.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant made by a feudatory chief named Śivārāja to a number of Brāhmins during the reign of his suzerain Śaggunyayana of southern Tōsal Śaggunyayana is styled *Paramamāhēśvara-Paramabhāṣṭraka-Paramādēvatādīdhāvata*, which clearly shows his imperial position. The title of the suzerain and the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI., p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 274, pl. XLIIA.

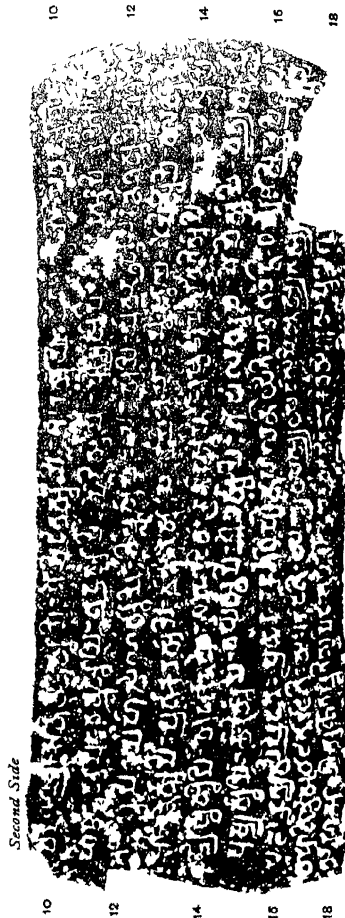
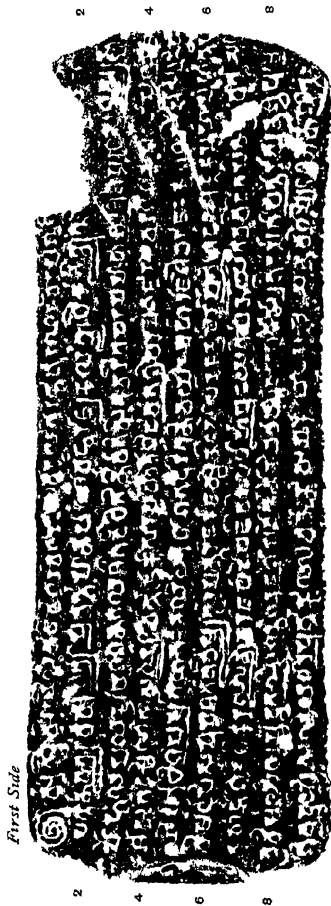
<sup>3</sup> Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 72, pl. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 160, pl. XXII.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 169, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX., p. 170, and Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, p. 77, pl. X.





donor points to Śaivism, but the names of several donees such as Viṣṇuvāmi, Rēvatīsvāmi, Gōpālasvāmi, etc., show a Vaiṣṇava taint. The document was issued from Vōrttanōka, which was the Imperial capital (l. 4) as well as the residence of the feudatory chief (l. 8). The grant consisted in the village Tanḍralvalu. It was given to several Brāhmins belonging to separate *gōtras* and *charanas*. The date has already been discussed. There can be little doubt about the fact that it is a Gupta year. Thus our grant was incised after the Bōdh Gayā inscription and before the Gañjām grant, the Nepal inscription of the year 316, and the Mandēsvari inscription. The second line mentions the kings of the Māna race, *Mānavantārājyakālē*. This dynasty has been mentioned in two 12th century inscriptions only, viz the Nawādā inscription of the Śaka year 1059,<sup>1</sup> which has been recently purchased by the Archaeological Survey and brought to the Indian Museum, and in the Dudhpau rock inscription.<sup>2</sup>

I am afraid it is beyond my power to identify the geographical position of the village mentioned in the Patīakellā grant. Neither the *viśhaya* nor the *bhukti* or the *manḍala* has been mentioned in the grant, but in lines 5-6, we find *asminn=ēva viśhayē*, which probably indicates that the name of the *viśhaya* was also Vōrttanōka.<sup>3</sup> I now edit the inscription from the original plate.—<sup>4</sup>

## TEXT.

## First Side.

- 1 Om<sup>5</sup> svasti [!\*] salila-nidhi-vēlā-vala[yita-cha]la-tarang-ābharapa-ruchura-maṅgura  
 2 pattana-vatyā[m] vasumatyā[m] pravarttamāna-Māpa-vaṅśa-rājya-kālē tryadhik-āsittya-  
 utta[ra] . . . . .  
 3 Maudgal-āmala-kulē gagana-tala-śītadīdhti-nivātē sita-charitē Paramamāhēśvara-  
 śri-Sagguyayyanē<sup>6</sup>  
 4 śāsati dakṣhiṇa-Tōśalyā[m] Vōrttanōkāt-paramadēvat-ādhdavata-śri-paramabhātī-  
 raka-charapa-kamal-āmala-kṣau-  
 5 pi<sup>7</sup>-hār-ādhighama-prahata(h)-kalyug-āgata-durita-nichaya(h)(yō) mahārāja-  
 Sivarājah kuśalī asminn=ēva  
 6 viśhayē samupagat-ābhaviśhyat-sāmanta-rāja-rājasthānīy-ōparika-kumārāmātya-  
 tadāyuktaka-mahāmahattara-  
 7 vphadbhōgikādhdikarapāny=ēva rājavādōpaivī yathārha[m] śrāvayati mānavatyā cha  
 viditam=a[stu] bhavātām ya[th=ā]-  
 8 ttra viśhayē sambaddha-Tanḍralvalu<sup>8</sup>-grāma(mō) Vōrttanōk-<sup>9</sup>[āvavāsa-  
 gē(P)]hattō-smābbhiḥ mātāpitrōr=ātmanas=cha pupy-ā-  
 9 bhuyiddhayē salila-dhārā-pūrvvakōp=āchandr-ārka-sama-kāly-ākshayamvi(nivī)-  
 dharmmēṇa<sup>10</sup> nānā-gōttra-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol II, p. 233<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol II, p. 346<sup>3</sup> [The locality cannot be far from Tōśalī, which we know from Śōka's Dhanu edicts, and which must be located in the neighbourhood of Dhanu. It seems more likely to explain *asminn=ēva viśhayē* as Tōśalī-viśhayē than as Vōrttanōkaviśhayē.—S. K.]<sup>4</sup> [It has proved impossible to get good impressions of the plate. The subjoined reproductions are the best that could be obtained.—S. K.]<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>6</sup> [I am unable to see Sagguyayyanē, but I cannot suggest a satisfactory reading, I think I see Śomōdhya-tyēnu.—S. K.]<sup>7</sup> [I read āmala-śrēpi.—S. K.]<sup>8</sup> [I see Tundilvalva grāma.—S. K.]<sup>9</sup> [I read Vōrttanōkē ch=ādasa . . . but cannot make out the rest.—S. K.]<sup>10</sup> Read -kālām-akshaya-. Compare above, Vol. VI, p. 139, Vol. VII, p. 101, note 1.

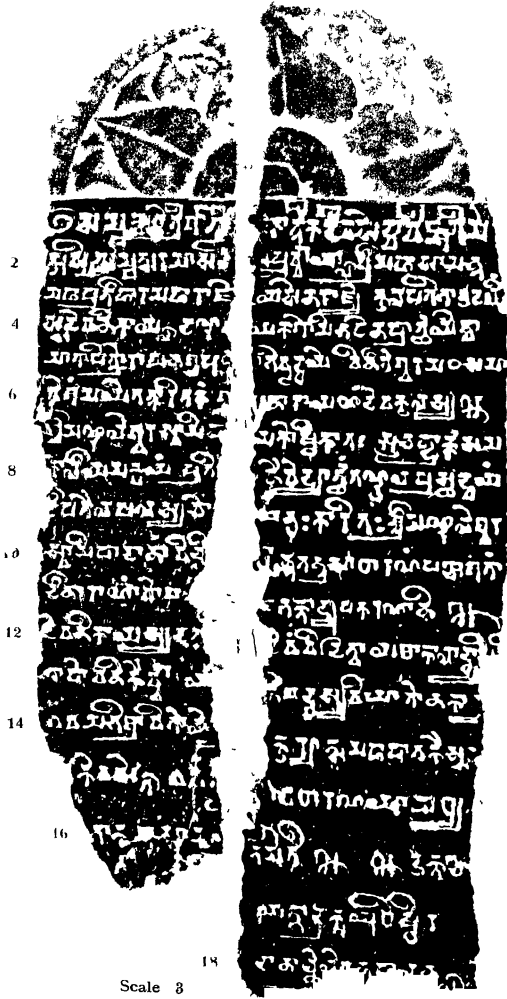
## Second Side.

- 10 charanébhya Anuruddhasvâmi-Gômidévasvâmi-Śūrasvâmi-Vôppasvâmi-Pitṛsvâmi-  
 11 Harungasvâmi-Chandrasvâmi-Bhadrasvâmi Chhêdisvâmi-Pushyasvâmi-. . . karasvâmi-Rôhîṇī  
 svâmi-  
 12 Vu(Bu)ddhasvâmi-Mahasépasvâmi-Vishṇusvâmi-Yadusvâmi-Mâtraḍasvâmi-Nâgasvâmi-  
 Bhôgasvâmi-  
 13 Ana[nta P]svâmi-Prabhâkarasvâmi-Nâva . . . rasvâmi-Dîpîsvâmi-Jam[vu]svâmi-Gômsîsvâmi-  
 Valasvâmi-  
 14 Jyêshthasvâmi-Adarśanadêva-Dhanadêva-Kumârasvâmi-Jyêshthasvâmi-Rêvâtisvâmi  
 Prâya(?)svâmi-  
 15 Pushyasvâmi-Chhêdisvâmi-Vappasvâmi-Śravasvâmi-Gôpâlasvâmi-Gômsîsvâmi-êbhayas-  
 tâmra-  
 16 -pattî-kṛtya sampradattâh [I\*] Pûrvvarâjakṛitô dharmam[ô]-nupâlaniyaiti(ya itî)  
 matvâ bhavadbhîh[I\*] Dharmmasâstrêshv=api trayatô [I\*]  
 17 Va(ba)hubhuv=vasudhâ dattâ râjabhîh -Sagarâdîbhîh [I\*] yasya yasya yadâ  
 bhûmîs=tasya tasya [tadâ phalâm] [I\*] [Shashṭîm] varsha-  
 18 sahasrâni svarggê tashthati bhûmîdâh [I\*] âkshêptâ ch=ânumantâ cha tány-  
 êva narakô vasêt [I\*] Samvat 200 . . . . .

## TRANSLATION.

In the [two hundred] and eighty-third year of the rule of the Mâns family on the earth, full of cities, which has the shores of the ocean as its bracelet, the moving waves as its trinkets and the radiant *mañgura* fishes as its . . . . In the spotless family of Mudgala, when the great worshipper of Mahêśvara (Śiva), the illustrious Śagguyayana, whose character was white and who was undisturbed like the moon in the sky, was ruling in southern Tôsali, *Mahârâja Śivarâja*, whom the accumulation of sins could not approach on account of his obtaining from the lotus-like feet of the Paramabhattachâra, the God of Gods, the spotless position of a ruler of the earth, being in good health, from Vôrttanôka honors all present and future feudatory chiefs, *Râjasthâniyas*, *Uparîkas*, officers of the heir-apparent, *Tadâdyuktakas*, great nobles, tax-collectors and other dependants of the king in this *vishaya* in due form and proleams:—"Be it known to you that the village Tançṭralvalu, belonging to this *vishaya*, from (the residential house at?) Vôrttanôka, for the increase of the merit of my father and mother and myself, after having poured out water, to last as long as the Sun and the Moon subsists, everlastingly, as a permanent endowment, is given by writing on copper plates to Anuruddhasvâmi, Gômidévasvâmi, Śūrasvâmi, Vôppasvâmi, Pitṛsvâmi, Harungasvâmi, Chandrasvâmi, Bhadrasvâmi, Chhêdisvâmi, Pushyasvâmi, . . . karasvâmi, Rôhîṇîsvâmi, Vu(Bu)ddhasvâmi, Mahasépasvâmi, Vishṇusvâmi, Yadusvâmi, Mâtraḍasvâmi, Nâgasvâmi, Bhôgasvâmi, Ana[nta]-svâmi, Prabhâkarasvâmi, Nâvarasvâmi, Dîpîsvâmi, Jam(vu)svâmi, Gômsîsvâmi, Valasvâmi, Jyêshthasvâmi, Adarśanadêva, Dhanadêva, Kumârasvâmi, Jyêshthasvâmi, Rêvâtisvâmi, Prâyasvâmi, Pushyasvâmi, Chhêdisvâmi, Vappasvâmi, Śravasvâmi, Gôpâlasvâmi, Gômsîsvâmi, belonging to various *gôtras* and *charanas*. A law laid down by former kings should be observed, thinking so (you should observe my gift). It is heard in the laws (two of the ordinary benedictory verses follow). Samvat 200.





Scale 8



No 41.—MUNDESVARI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASENA.  
THE [HARSHA] YEAR 30

By R. D BANERJI

This inscription was discovered among the débris which had accumulated around the temple of Mundêsvari in the Bhânuâ subdivision of the Shâhâbâd district<sup>1</sup> It seems that sometime after the incision of the inscription some ignorant person sawed it lengthwise in halves. The two halves of the inscription were discovered and brought to the Indian Museum at different dates The second half seems to have been discovered by the late Babu Purna Chandra Mukhârjî so far back as 1891-92 The first half, which is the more important part of the inscription, as it contains the date, was discovered in 1902<sup>2</sup> Impressions on tin foils were then sent to Dr Bloch The inscription was finally brought to the Indian Museum in the beginning of 1904 The two halves have now been joined together and placed on a masonry pedestal in the Inscription gallery of the Museum

The stone measures 2' 8" by 1' 1" and contains eighteen lines of well executed writing In the first half of the inscription the first fifteen lines are clear, but the sixteenth line has been much damaged and the seventeenth and eighteenth lines have been lost altogether With the exception of the last two lines, which contain one of the usual imprecatory verses, the whole of the inscription is in prose.

In a previous paper I have fully discussed the palæography of this inscription<sup>3</sup> The only orthographical peculiarities are the substitution of *ba* for *va* in *sambatsara*, and the use of *n* instead of *m* before *ś*. Letters with a superscribed *râpha* have been doubled Final forms of *m* are to be found in ll 2, 4 and 18, and of *t* in 1 15 The sign of *avagraha* has not been used at all, though it would have been in its place in ll 14 and 18 Note also the form *kâritakam* in l 6

The inscription records a grant of two *prasthas* of rice and a *pala* of oil to the god *Manjâlâtîvara* by a *kulapati*<sup>4</sup> named Bhâgudalana. It is dated in the year 30 in the reign of the *Mandâdmanîa*, *Mahâpratihâra*, *Mahârâja* Udayasena, who is not known from other sources Judging from the affinity of the characters of this inscription with those of the years 34 and 39 from Nepal,<sup>5</sup> the era is most probably that established by Harshavardhana The mutilation of the central portion of the inscription by sawing the stone into two halves has caused a series of gaps Some of these can be filled up, but lines 11 and 15 are quite unintelligible. I now edit the inscription from the original stone

TEXT

- 1 Om<sup>6</sup> Samba(mva)tsarê trîṣṣati[tamê] Kârttika-divasê dvâvîṣṣatimê
- 2 smin=samba(mva)tsara-mâsa-[diva]sa-pûrvvâyam śrî-Mahâśamanta-
- 3 Mahâpratihâra-Mahârâj-[Ôda]yasena-râjyê kulapati-Bhâgudalana-7
- 4 ssa dēvanikāyam daṇḍa[nā]yaka-Gōmibhaṣṇēna prârthayitvā
- 5 mâtâpîtrôr=âtmanas=cha pu[nyâ]bhuvuddhayê Vinitêsvara-mathasamâ-
- 6 vêsam matham=ôtat=kâritakam [śrî-]Nârâyana-dēvakulasya

<sup>1</sup> *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* (published by the Public Works Department, 1895) pp 270-371  
*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1902-08), pp. 42-48

<sup>2</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey, Bengal Circle, 1902*, p 20

<sup>3</sup> See above, p 285 f.

<sup>4</sup> A teacher who maintains ten thousand pupils at his own cost is termed a *kulapati*: See *Vâchaspathyâ bhâṣṇanam*

Bendall's *Journey to Nepal*, pp 72-78

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

The final *na* of this word has been added above the line

- 7 śrī-Maṇḍalésvara-svāmi-[pādā]ya kōshthikātaḥ ā-chandr-ārka-sama-  
 8 kāliyam-akshayam pratī[diṁsam] naivōdyārttham taṇḍula-prasṭha-dvayam  
 9 dīpa-taila-palasya oh-ō[pani]bandhaḥ kārttaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalésvara-  
 10 svāmi-pādānām vihochhi[tti-vi]śrānta-tantra-sādhāraṇam pañohāsātām  
 11 dīnārāpān gōba . . . ja-bhaktādy-upakaraṇāni<sup>1</sup>  
 12 dēvamkāyasya datta[m<sup>2</sup>-ētad-ē]vañ viditvā yathākāl-ādhyā[sabhī]-  
 13 r-āpōvanikar<sup>3</sup>-vā ya[thāmi]baddhasya vighātō na kā[rya]  
 14 ēvam-abhīrāvītō yō[=nyathā]kuryāt=sa mahāpātakaś=sa[ha]  
 15 [nara]kē vasēt ēvam . . . vadhārapayā madhya . . .  
 16 . . . . . bhāka . . . tam-nti || Ukta[ñ= cha]  
 17 . . . . . yatnād-raksha Yudhiṣṭhira  
 18 . . . . . dānāch-ohhréyō=nupālanam

## TRANSLATION

Hañ In the year 80, on the twenty-second day of Kārttika, on the above-mentioned year, month and day, in the reign of the great feudatory, the *Mahāpratiḥāra*, the *Mahārāja* [Udajyasēna, the *kulapati* Bhāgudalana, having applied to the Council of gods (PBrāhmaṇas) through the *daṇḍanāyaka* Gōmibhaṭa built this *maṣha* of the *dāvakula* of Nārāyaṇa, to increase the merit of his father and mother and of his own self, near the temple of Vintésvara. For the lord Maṇḍalésvara provision has been made every day, as long as the Sun and the Moon last, everlastingly, to provide two *prasṭhas* of rice for the votive offering and a *pala* of oil for the lamp from the treasury. Fifty *dīndras* current up to the frontiers . . . . . of the Lord Maṇḍalésvara- . . . . . with rice and other ingredients. Knowing it to be a gift of the Council of gods, the merchants who trade on the waters(?) and who arrive at the proper time<sup>4</sup> should not hinder this arrangement. Having heard this, whoever acts to the contrary shall live in hell with great sins . . . . . O' Yudhiṣṭhira, preserve with care . . . . . preservation is preferable to gifts.

## No 42—INSCRIPTION ON THE UMBRELLA STAFF OF THE BUDDHIST IMAGE FROM SAHET MAHET.

By T. BLOCH, Ph. D.

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Rākhāl Dās Banerji in April, 1908, in the Lucknow Museum. As Dr. Vogel tells me, it is a red sandstone slab, 3' 1" high, 11½" wide, and 4½" thick. "It is broken off at the top, just where the octagonal portion begins. Here the four corners are provided with an ornament in the Mathurā style. The lower portion of the slab is carved with a seated female figure, apparently unfinished. The back of the column is cut off straight." The photograph of the stone, supplied to me by Dr. Vogel, shows that this carving has been done at a later time, perhaps when the stone was intended to be used for some building. It has destroyed a good many letters in the second half of the inscription, while the first half has become almost entirely obliterated by sharpening knives on it.

However, enough remains to make it absolutely clear that the inscription was identical with the dedicatory epigraph on the pedestal of the large standing Bōdhisattva from Sahēt

<sup>1</sup> The sign at the end of this line has been added in order to fill up the vacant space.

<sup>2</sup> [I would read *dattāny-śtad.*—S. K.]

<sup>3</sup> [I read *idpōvanikar.*—S. K.]

<sup>4</sup> [I would translate, those who come and worship from time to time or the ascetics of the *tapōcāsa.*—S. K.]





Mahēt, which has been edited by me, above, Vol VIII pp 180-181 This fact is of considerable interest. First it shows that I was right in explaining the word *dāndaś-cha* in line 2 of the Sahēt Mahēt image inscription as "a staff for supporting the umbrella over the head of the Bōdhisattva" (l c p 180) Secondly,— and this is by far the most important point connected with this inscription,— we now know for certain that the Sahēt Mahēt statue was found by Cunningham *in situ*, or, in other words, that no possible doubt can be raised against the correctness of Cunningham's identification of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī. For although the records of the Lucknow Museum are not as clear as one would have expected them to be in regard to the provenance of the stone, Dr Vogel has pointed out to me some very conclusive evidence, which in my opinion makes it certain that the stone was found by Dr Hoey during his excavations at Sahēt Mahēt in 1885 The only possible doubt that could be, and has been, raised against the bearing of the Sahēt Mahēt, now Calcutta Museum, statue upon the question of the identity of Sahēt Mahēt with Śrāvastī, turned around this point did Cunningham find the Bōdhisattva image at Sahēt Mahēt in its original position, or had it been shifted to this place from somewhere else? Strange though such a transportation would appear to us *prima facie*, it still has been, as far as I know, an assumption that seemed to recommend itself to certain scholars. I am afraid their position has now become definitely weakened by the discoveries above referred to.

Unfortunately no further help is given to us by the new inscription for restoring the missing words in the beginning of the inscription on the pedestal of the Bōdhisattva statue in the Calcutta Museum. Only the two letters *vapu* in the beginning of line 2 show that I was right in restoring the second word in the Calcutta inscription as *dēvaputrasya*, and further in ascribing the Calcutta statue to the time of either Kanishka or Huvishka However, this is a very small matter, for which hardly any additional proof was required owing to the occurrence of the name of the *Trāpīṭaka* Bala, the donor of the Calcutta image, in a Mathurā inscription of the year 33 of Huvishka<sup>2</sup>

I now edit the inscription from impressions and a photograph, kindly supplied to me by Dr. Vogel.

## TEXT.

- 1 . . . . . [dā]
2. vapu[trasya] . . . . .
3. . . . . [v]ihār[ī]-
4. [sya] . . . . . [bhikshu]-
5. sya [Balasya trāpīṭa]kasya
6. dānad Bōdhi[sa]tvō chh[a]trāś<sup>3</sup> dāndaś-cha
7. Śrāvastiyē [Bhagavatō chār]ka[m]ē Kōsamba-
8. [kṛtyē śchā]r[yy]ā[nam Sarvā]s[t]ivādina[m]
9. [pa]r[ī]gra[hā].

## No. 43 — TWO BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM SARNATH.

By STEN KONOW.

During the excavations in Sarnāth in February 1907, I found a fragment of a stone umbrella lying between the bases of two small brick *stūpas* to the west of the main shrine exca-

<sup>1</sup> Dr Vogel informs me that Paṇḍit Dayā Rām Sahni has discovered additional proof, that even in the days of Gōvindaachandra of Kanauj, the traditional identity of the two places was still alive. See *Journ R As Soc* 1908, pp 971 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> It is doubtful, if the word was written *chādrāś*, as in the inscription on the pedestal. However, the next word clearly is *dāndaś-cha*, and not *dāndaś-cha*, as it is spelt on the pedestal of the statue.

vated by Mr Oertel in 1905. On the inner cavity of the fragment a Brâhmî inscription was engraved in four lines, the fourth running along the rim. The inscription, which is complete, covers the whole inner surface of the fragment, and the umbrella had therefore probably been broken when it was engraved.

The fragment is  $17\frac{1}{2}$ " long and  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " broad, and the umbrella to which it belongs must have had a diameter of nearly six feet. The letters are deeply cut, and their height varies from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches.

The characters are Brâhmî of the second or third century A.D. The forms of *ma* and *sa* are ancient, and the same is the case with *ya*. The shape of individual letters is not, however, constant. Thus the *na* of *imâni*, l. 1, differs from the *na* in *gimâni*, l. 4, the *du* in *dukkha* in lines 2, 3 and 4 has different shapes, the *dha* of *nirôdhi*, l. 3, is angular, while it has been rounded in l. 4, etc. The form of the compound *kkha* is of some interest, the *hha* being open at the bottom. In *bhikkhavô*, l. 1, however, the bottom line has apparently been added by mistake under the following *vô*. The two *kkhas* in l. 2 differ from each other and on the whole, the form of this ligature is not the same in any two places.

The language is the Pâli of Buddhist literature, but with several misspellings, and other mistakes. Thus in l. 2, we find *dukkhavô* instead of *bhikkhavô*, and *ariyasachcham*, l. 3 *ariyayachcham*, and in l. 4 *arisachcham*, all instead of *ariyasachcham*. These slips taken together with the uncertainty in the formation of the individual letters, can only be accounted for by the supposition that the inscription was cut by an engraver who did not understand the original. The occasional introduction of the Sanskrit *samâhâna-samulaya ariyaya(sa)chcham*, l. 3, points in the same direction.

The inscription contains a short enumeration of the four *ariyasachcham*, the fundamental doctrines of the Buddhas. These four truths form the essence of the famous Benares sermon, and our inscription is accordingly very appropriate in the spot where the Buddha first "turned the wheel of the law." In this connection it is of interest to note that the great majority of the statues unearthed in Sârânâth represent the Buddha in the *Dharmachakramudrâ*, delivering his first sermon. The enumeration of the four noble truths or axioms is of the same conventional kind which is so common in Pâli literature, and though I have not found the exact quotation, I do not doubt that the passage cut on the stone is meant as a quotation from the Canon. Our inscription therefore, furnishes a valuable *epigraphical* proof for the existence of a Pâli Canon in the second or third century A.D. It is also of interest as the first old Pâli inscription found

North India. I here take the word Pâli to mean the language of the Southern Canon, the only use of the word which I consider as justified.

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

- 1 Chatti[â]r-imâni bhikkhavô ar[is\*]yasachchamî
- 2 kutamâni chhattâri dukkha[m] di(bh)kkhavô arâ(m)yasachcha[m]
- 3 dukkhasamudaya<sup>2</sup> ariyaya(sa)chcham dukkhanirôdhô<sup>3</sup> ariyasachcham
- 4 dukkhanirôdha-gâmini cha<sup>4</sup> paṭipadâ ar[is\*]yasachchamî

#### TRANSLATION.

Four, ye monks, are the noble axioms. And which are these four? The axiom (about) suffering, ye monks, the axiom (about) the cause of suffering, the axiom (about) the suppression of suffering, and the axiom (about) the path leading to suppression of suffering.

<sup>1</sup> Taken from original stone.

<sup>2</sup> The stone perhaps has *nirôdha*.

<sup>3</sup> See page 244.

<sup>4</sup> The actual reading seems to be *châcham*.







Another inscription written in Pali was discovered during the excavations carried on by Mr Marshall and myself in the winter of 1908, on the back of a slab containing conventional representations of scenes of the Buddha's life I publish it here from impressions prepared in my office The writing covers a space of 12' x 9', and the height of the individual letters is  $\frac{1}{2}$ '-1'

The characters belong to the 4th, or, perhaps, the 3rd century A D The tripartite *ya* is almost identical with the *ya* of the Allahâbâd *prasasti*, while the *sa* has the older form with a hook, and not with a loop. The date of the inscription is of interest for the history of Buddhist iconography

The language is mixed Pali, the forms -*prabhavâ* in line 1, and -*śramanô*, l 6, not belonging to the dialect. The inscription contains the common formula *yô dhammâ*, etc.

TEXT.

- 1 Yô dhammâ hôtu-prabhavâ
- 2 tēsam hētum tathāga-
- 3 tō avōcha tēsam cha
- 4 yô nrôdhitō ô-
- 5 vam vâdî mahâ-
- 6 śramanô.

No. 44 —SPURIOUS LAPHA PLATE OF THE HAIHAYA KING PRITHVIDEVA  
SAMVAT 806

By HIRA LAL, B A, NAGPUR

At the request of Mr. C. U. Wills, I.C.S., Zamindârî Settlement Officer, Bilâspur District, I have examined a copper plate in the possession of a Zamindâr at Lâphâ, named Dahrâj Singh, who is over sixty years of age and whom I had the pleasure to meet He was good enough to lend it to me for taking an impression to accompany this note He informed me that the plate was given to one of his ancestors, who first came from Delhi and took service at Ratanpur as one of the gate-keepers of the Ratanpur Fort and also as a guard of the Rânî's palace He used to live in the Bhâjîmûdâpârâ, one of the quarters of Ratanpur town This portion of the town was eventually given to him as a *mû'âfi*, and afterwards the present copper plate grant is said to have been given bestowing on him 120 villages belonging to the Lâphâ Fort The present Zamindârî contains only 75 villages and the Zamindâr informed me that before Mr. Chusholm's settlement in the year 1868, there were only 60 villages in it

The plate is rectangular, measuring  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ", having a smooth surface, inscribed on one side only. There are two small holes on the top. The writing covers  $7\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $3\frac{1}{2}$ ", leaving out the *Śrî* at the top.

The record consists of 8 lines surmounted by a prefatory one, the middle portion of which is spaced down, apparently for ornamental purposes. This line and the word *Śrî* at the top together with *śrî* 5 at the commencement and *subham-astu* and the date in figures at the end are in prose. The rest is in verse, consisting of 5 *anushubh* *ślokas* which are numbered, except the last. There are altogether 206 letters including 9 figures

The style of writing is Ōṛiyâ, and there are not less than 25 letters which are distinctly borrowed from the alphabet of that language. All the *mâtrâs* or vowel signs have been marked according to what is in vogue in the present Ōṛiyâ writing. The letters *ya*, *da* and *va* have been invariably written in the Ōṛiyâ form The language is Sanskrit with spelling mistakes Thus in verse 2 we find *vârasîmantu-* instead of *vârasîmanta-*

The inscription purports to record the gift of 120 villages appertaining to the Lamphâ (Lâphâ) fort to a noble named Lungâ, who had come from Delhi, by the Haihaya king Prithvi dâva, on the 1st day of the dark fortnight of Mâgha in Samvat 806. For what services the gift was made and on what conditions, is not stated, but it was to be hereditary and it was given because the king's "mind was pleased with the Kauraviya"<sup>1</sup> which apparently means that he was pleased with the Kaur tribe, to which the donee belonged, presumably for their military services. What strikes one most at the first glance is the freshness of the metal, the clean cut and the modern characters, and this rouses suspicion. The intermixture of Ôriyâ letters is in itself suspicious. They might, however, be old and indicate that the plate is an old one. On looking for the date such an idea gets partially confirmed, but the suspicion again revives as soon as we learn from the Zamindâr that, since the grant was made, only 27 generations have supervened. The Zamindâr thinks the date to be of the Vikrama era, so that the plate would be about 1,159 years old. This would give, on the average, 43 years to a generation, which is absurd. A critical examination of the record affords as easy an evidence of its being spurious. The characters are in reality all modern, having been taken from the Hindi and Ôriyâ alphabets. The inscriptional alphabet of the Chhattisgarh Haihayas has a peculiarity of its own, not easily describable, but which distinguishes it from the modern alphabet. The most distinctive letters are *cha*, *ja*, *dha*, *bha* and *sa*, but in all instances where these letters occur in the present plate, they have no such distinctive features. The style of the record is also modern. I have not come across any Haihaya inscription with a *śrī* at the top, which modern writers usually put in. Again the word *śrī* *Krishnakundra*, which is apparently meant as an invocation, is a modernism, similar phrases being *śrī-Râma*, *śrī-Nandâ*, etc. In all Haihaya inscriptions, the invocation is *Om namah Śivâya*, i.e. I bow down to Śiva. The forger, who, I believe, had seen many of the Haihaya inscriptions, forgot the distinctive Haihaya invocation owing to the story of Śrī-Krishna being uppermost in his mind, and he thought that as Krishna was so well pleased with Mayurâdhivaja, the supposed ancestor of the Haihayas, an invocation to that deity would be most appropriate. The next phrase, calling the record *vijaya-lêkha* or the victorious writ, meaning royal record, is another novelty of the Ôriyâ type, in which, as in Dravidian languages, the addition of *vijaya* or victory to every act done by a high personage is a matter of etiquette. A *Râja* does not go, he conquers; *vijaya karuchhanit*, he does not eat, he conquers the kitchen, he does not answer the call of nature, he conquers the latrine, and so on. I have not come across any other grant being distinguished as *vijaya-lêkha*. The next phrase refers to a seal, which is nowhere to be found. The prefatory phrases done, the record proper again begins with a modernism, *vis śrī 5*. This reminds one of a Hindi letter-writer which was used in schools, some years ago, in which there was a couplet to the effect that 6 *śris* should be recorded for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or son. This must have occurred to the writer's mind, more particularly because he was, as I suppose, a school-master himself and was probably teaching the *Pattraśikshas* to his pupils.

Now with regard to the date, the Vikrama year 806 or 749 A.D. is impossible. It goes back to a period when probably the Haihayas had not at all come to Chhattisgarh. From inscriptions we have a date 1114 of Jâjalladêva<sup>2</sup> I, who was fifth in descent from Kalîngarâja, the first Haihaya, who is said to have conquered Dakshinâkêśala. Taking then the date of Kalîngarâja to be 1000 A.D., the present grant would have been made by the Haihayas 250 years before they began to rule in Chhattisgarh. Even if we suppose that it refers to the Kalachuri era, it would be equivalent to 1054 A.D., i.e. almost contemporaneous with the commencement of Haihaya rule. Prithvirâja was fourth in descent from Kalîngarâja and was the father of Jâjalladêva I. The date of this plate would place a difference of 60 years between

<sup>1</sup> [Perhaps *Kauraviya* is intended.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, p. 24.



विजयशिवि

श्रीशतकुमुदाचतनसा

श्रीकृष्णचिन्म

श्रीप॥ सखि श्रीमन्महानादीधिनो जः सि तिविके कनादा एधीद्विदीम  
 शोधनिगे ल्युद्रा सिपदभुज ॥ १ ॥ नरे इपात्राभा जितो विता स्तनश्रीमन्ना  
 सविजः ॥ नन्दराज उभवा कालिसेन्दुपिन्दो निगणो वृद्वा ॥ २ ॥ दिदीयति  
 मुस्तो र्मुद्रुनथ्या पानहनिब्बा ॥ ३ ॥ यत्तु तिवैशोपमांस्तानधी यद्र सि  
 धीः ॥ ४ ॥ लफा पदनिधिश्रीभयिशो जतनद्वन्तोभिगीन् ॥ सन्नेन  
 निसात्राष तोत्रान्ना धासिता दि ॥ ५ ॥ ६ ॥ ७ ॥ ८ ॥ ९ ॥ १० ॥ ११ ॥ १२ ॥ १३ ॥ १४ ॥  
 लन्नीया सद्यनिजेः ॥ मद्रती लिखितो तभपि ॥ १५ ॥ १६ ॥ १७ ॥ १८ ॥ १९ ॥ २० ॥  
 पा ॥ २१ ॥ २२ ॥ २३ ॥ २४ ॥ २५ ॥ २६ ॥ २७ ॥ २८ ॥ २९ ॥ ३० ॥

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SCALE 9

STEIN KONDW.

father and son, if we suppose that both records were written in the first year of their reigns This is again improbable These kings moreover had not then gone to Ratanpur

On the whole, I come to the conclusion for reasons stated above that this grant to Lungá is a lungá<sup>1</sup> affair and was perpetrated somewhere between 1860 and 1870 by a Sanskritist of Ratanpur, whom I do not desire to name out of respect for his Sanskrit learning I suppose 'chill penury' induced him to undertake a work which he would not have otherwise done The record does not show any adequate cause for the grant being made, and it is noteworthy that exactly double the number of villages of those which the Zamindári contained before Mr Chisholm's settlement were recorded as granted by the Haihaya Rája. It may be noted that when this record was written the change of the tribal name of the donee or his descendants from Kavar to Tawar had not been mooted or at least had not been seriously taken up, otherwise we should not have had the phrase *Kauraviya-prasannadhik* in verse 3 There is a family genealogy of the Láphá Zamindár, written in the year 1927 or 1870 A D , which shows that the tribal name had then been changed to Tawar

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

Śri.

Śri Kṛṣṇachandra

śri-lôkhaka-mudrá chaturasrá

vijayalékhi

- 1 Śri 5 || Svasti śrīman-mahārājādhrājāḥ kṣhī-nvêkarāṣṣṣ || (1) Pṛithividêvô ma-  
 2 hôddarāsi-mauliyudbhāsi-padāmva(bu)jāḥ || 1 || Haihayāmnarāja<sup>4</sup>-savitā sūra-sāmanta-  
 3 sāvītaḥ || (1) mahôdbhata-bhaṣṭākīrṇa-sainyô vaingayaprahā || 2 || Dily-igsta-  
 4 susūśīya<sup>5</sup> Luṅg-ākhyāya mahātmanô || (1) dādê vṛit<sup>7</sup> vamsaparām  
 Kauraviya-prasanna-  
 5 dhīḥ || 3 || Lāphā-durgam-ayī(pu) grāma-vimsôttarasātônmitām || (1) samvtsarê  
 6 ras-ābhr-āshṭ-ātītê Māgh-āsīt-ādikê || 4 || yê bhavishyamitā bhūpālāḥ pā-  
 7 lanīyā sad-ētī taiḥ || (1) maddattā likhitā tāmra-patrê Mādhavasūri-  
 8 nā || Śubham-āstu<sup>6</sup> || Māghê vadi || 1 || Sāmmansarê<sup>9</sup> 808

TRANSLATION.

Śri

The illustrious Kṛṣṇachandra.

The Victorious writ

The illustrious writer's regular seal

Śri 5. Hail.

(Verse 1.) The illustrious *Mahārājādhrāja Pṛithividēva*, the king of many countries (19) very intelligent (His) lotus feet are shuning with the diadems (of kings prostrating before him).

(V. 2) (He is as it were) the sun amongst the descendants of the Haihayas and is served by his brave feudatories. His army is full of very extraordinary soldiers. He is the destroyer of his enemies.

<sup>1</sup> The word in Hindi means " mischievous "

<sup>2</sup> Read *likhitā-ādhkārī*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *sūra-sāmanta*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *vṛitīā*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-astu*.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plate

<sup>4</sup> Read *Haihayāmbhāḥ*

<sup>5</sup> Read *śūśīya*

<sup>6</sup> Read *Sāmvatsarē*

(V 3-4) His mind being pleased with the Kauraviyas<sup>1</sup> (Kawars) he gave to the very brave noble named Lungā, who had come from Delhi, 120 villages with the Lamphā fort for maintenance from generation to generation, on the first day of the dark fortnight of the Māgha month in the expired year (symbolically expressed by) flavour (3) sky (0) and eight (8)

Future kings should always respect my gift written on the copper plate by Mādhan Sūri  
Let good fortune attend The first day of the dark fortnight of Māgha in the year 808

No 45 — ABHONA PLATES OF SANKARAGANA KALACHURI SAMVAT 347

By K B PATHAK, PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT, DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

These two plates belong to a Rajput family residing at Ābhōpa, a village in the Kelavana tāluka of the Nāsk district. I obtained them on loan through my friend Mr N C Kelkar. They are inscribed on one side only, and measure 9½" x 7". The writing is carefully engraved and is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to a variety of the southern alphabet which is well-known from the Sarsavī plates of Buddhārāja edited by Dr. Kielhorn in this Journal, Vol VI, pp 294 and ff. They include numerical symbols for 300, 40, 7, 10 and 5 in line 34. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and with the exception of five imprecatory and benedictive verbs in lines 28-33, the text is in prose.

The inscription is one of Śaṅkaragana, the son of Kṛishnarāja, of the family of the Katochhūris. It records an order of Śaṅkaragana, issued from his camp at Ujjayini, to the effect that he granted a hundred *nivartanas* of land in the village of Vallisikā situated in the district of Bhōgavardhana to a Brāhmaṇa named Ālmaṇasvāmin, of the Gautama gotra, belonging to the Taittiriya śikṣā, who was a resident of Kallāvana, at the request of Gōgga. The inscription is dated, in words and numerical symbol, on the 15th day of the bright half of Śrāvana of the year 347,<sup>2</sup> which must be referred to the Kalachuri era, so that the date corresponds to the 27th July A.D. 595.

The Katochhūri Śaṅkaragana is identical with the father of Buddhārāja, who issued the Sarsavī grant. The wording of the two inscriptions is practically identical, with the exception of the portion referring to the grants themselves. There is, of course, nothing in our inscription to correspond to lines 14-17 of the Sarsavī plates, which refer to Buddhārāja.

Of the localities occurring in our inscription, Kallāvana is the modern Kalavana in the Nāsk district. Vallisikā and Bhōgavardhana I cannot identify.

In line 20 of the present inscription we find the technical expression *a-chūṭa-bhāṭa-prāvṛṣyam*, which so frequently occurs in other inscriptions, and which has usually been rendered "not to be entered by irregular and regular soldiers." I invite the attention of Sanskrit scholars to the following passage, in which Śaṅkarachārya uses it,<sup>3</sup>—

*tasmāt tārikika-chūṭa-bhāṭa-rāj-dpravṛṣyam abhayaṁ durgam idam alpabuddhy-agamyam  
śāstra-guru-prasāda-rahitaṁ cha. Anandaśūna gives the following explanation,—  
advaitē virōdh-antar-ābhāvōpi tārikika-samaya-virōdhō-st-ity-ādāky-āha tasmād  
eti | pramāna-virōdh-ābhāvō tach-ahhād-ūrtiḥ | ūryanaryādāim bhūdā-*

<sup>1</sup> Or, if we read *Kauravyas*, "he gave to the very brave and noble Kaurava (Kawar) named Lungā."

<sup>2</sup> [In the photo-lithograph 347 has been wrongly printed instead of 347—M K.]

<sup>3</sup> *Bṛihadaranyakō a śikṣābhāṣyayā*, Anandasrama edition, pp. 311 and ff.

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W. BRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

SCALE 0.8

FROM IMPRESSIONS SUPPLIED BY D. R. BHANDARKAR

STEN KONOW

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nās chūjā evakshyanté | bhāṣās tu śivakā mthyā-bhushinas teshām suriśhām  
rājīnas tārkhās tu r apratīśyam anākramanyam idam bialmukhānam  
yūtat

## TEXT

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 श्री<sup>1</sup> स्वस्ति[॥\*] विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकाच्छरदुपगमप्रसन्नगनतलविमल-  
विपुले
- 2 विविधपुरुषरत्नगुणकिरणनिकरावभामिते महासत्त्वापाश्रयदुर्लभे गाभीर्यवति  
स्थित्य-
- 3 नुपालनपरे महोदधाविव कटञ्जरीणामन्वये सकलजनमनोहरया चन्द्र-  
कयेव कीर्त्या
- 4 भुवनमवभासयन्नाजन्मन एव पशुपतिसमाश्रयपरङ्कलङ्घदोषरहितङ्कलकुसुद-
- 5 वनलक्ष्मीविवोधनचन्द्रमा इव श्रीलक्ष्णराजो यस्मांश्रयविशेषलोभादिव सकन्ने-  
राभिगामिकै-
- 6 गितरैश्च गुणैरुपेतस्यम्पन्नप्रकृतिमण्डलो यथावदालन्याहितशक्तिसिद्धिर्वात च  
रुचिरव-
- 7 शक्तिभिन्ना नियतमस्त्रल्लितदानाः प्रथिमवलगरिमिशा वनवारणयूथपेनेवावि-
- 8 शङ्कं विचरता वनराजय इवावनमिता दिशो यस्य च शस्त्रमापन्नना-  
शाय विश्रुष्टपर-
- 9 भिमानभङ्गाय शिञ्चितं विनयाय विभक्त्यं एदानाय प्रदानं धर्माय  
धर्मः श्रेयोवा-
- 10 मये तस्य पुत्रः प्रथिव्यामप्रतिरथद्यतुर्दधिभलिलास्त्रादितयशा धनद्वेषेन्द्रा  
न्तक-
- 11 समप्रतापः स्वनाज्जलोपातोर्जितराजश्रीपरतावा(पा)तिशयोजनतसमप्रसामन्त-
- 12 मण्डलः परस्परपापीहितधर्मात्थकामनिषेवो प्रथतिमाञ्जुपरितोपगभीरोन्त
- 13 हृदयस्यम्यकप्रजापालनाधिगतभूरिद्रविणविश्वानावाभधर्मकिञ्चिरोत्सवा-
- 14 नां नृपतिर्ग्यानां प्रतिष्ठापयितात्युच्छितानामुन्मूलयिता दीनाम्ब-  
लपणसमभिल-
- 15 पितृमनोरथाधिकनिकामफलप्रदः पूर्वापरसमुद्रान्नादिदेशक्षामी मातापितृ-
- 16 पादानुध्यातः परमभास्त्रेश्वरः श्रीशङ्करगणः सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिष्वविषय-
- 17 पतिराष्ट्राममहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितमस्माभिः

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol

## Second Plate, First Sub

- 18 भोगवर्द्धनविषयान्तर्गतवह्निसिकाग्रामि उभयचत्वारिंशकनिवर्त्तनिना(नेन)  
 19 भूमिर्निवर्त्तनशतम् सर्व्यादानसंग्राह्यं सर्व्यदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहोण भूमि-  
 20 च्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रावेश्यमाचन्द्रार्कावर्णवह्नितितिस्थितिसमकालीन पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-  
 भोग्यं  
 21 कल्लानवास्तव्यगौतमसगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसन्नक्षचारी आह्वानस्वामिने वलिचरुवैश्व-  
 देवा-  
 22 निहोत्रादिक्रियोत्सर्षणाय मातापित्रोरत्नमन्थ पुष्ययशोभिहृष्टये गोमा-  
 विज्ञापनया  
 23 उदकातिमन्त्रेणातिसृष्टं यतोऽहंश्चैरन्यैर्ज्यागामिभ्यःपतिभोगपतिभिः प्रबलपवन-  
 24 प्रेरितोदधिजलतरङ्गचक्षुलं जीवलीकमभावानुगतानसारान्विभवान्दीर्घकालस्थेयस-  
 25 थ गुणानाकलय्य 'भोगसामान्यभृद्दानफलैःसुभिः शशिकररुचिरं चिराय  
 यशश्चोर्षुभि-  
 26 रयमन्महायोनुमन्तव्यं<पालयितव्यञ्च [1\*] यो वाज्ञानतिमिरपटलाहृतमति-  
 राच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्य-  
 27 मान वानुमोदत स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैश्च्युक्तस्तयादित्युक्तञ्च भगवता  
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [2\*]  
 28 षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च  
 तान्येव नरके वसत् ॥ विख्याट-  
 29 वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककौटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णाहयो हि ज्ञायन्ते भूमिदायं  
 हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्यं-  
 30 सुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यश्च यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा  
 फलम् ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां  
 31 द्विजातिभ्यो यद्वाद्वाश्च युधिष्ठिर [1\*] मर्षी महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयोनुपालन-  
 मपिच ॥ यानीह  
 32 दत्तानि .पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मात्थयशस्कराणि [1\*] निर्भुक्तमाख्यप्रति-  
 मानि तानि कौ नाम साधुः  
 33 पुनराददीत ॥ संवत्सरप्रतपये सप्तचत्वारिंशदुत्तरे आवथशुभपञ्चदश्यां  
 महापितृ-  
 34 पतिपाशुपतदूतकं खिखितमिदं महासन्धिविग्रहाधिकरवाधिकृतवाट्चखि-  
 नेति ॥ सं ३०० ४० ७ आवथ शु १० ३

TRANSLATION.<sup>1</sup>

Line 1. Om! Hail! From the victorious camp pitched at ŪjJayint. In the lineage of the Katechohûris, which, like the great ocean, is extensive and spotless as the firmament, clear on the approach of autumn, illumined by the mass of the rays of the excellences of many jewels of men (as the ocean is adorned by the rays of its gems); which is difficult to be crossed, because it is the home of men of great vigour (as the ocean is of large animals), full of gravity and desirous of keeping within the bounds of what is proper (just as the ocean is full of depth and desirous of keeping within its shores), there was the glorious Kṛishnarāja, who illumined the world with his fame, as the moon with light, agreeable to all men, who was from his birth solely devoted to Paśupati (Śiva), just as the moon solely rests on Śiva, who (though) free from defects, yet like the moon (who has a spot) revives the beauty (prosperity) of his family resembling a forest of night lotuses, who was resorted to by all virtues which attract<sup>2</sup> men to a king and by other qualities, as if through a desire to obtain a very suitable abode, who was endowed with all the constituent parts of royalty; who had properly enjoyed the fruits of his regal powers; who resplendent with his illustrious family, the flow of his liberality being ceaseless and the majesty of his power well-known, roaming fearlessly, subdued the regions, as the chief in a herd of wild elephants, with the ceaseless flow of its rutting juice, displaying the greatness of its strength, roaming about fearlessly breaks down rows of forests, whose sword was used to protect the helpless; whose wars were made to humble the pride of his enemies; whose learning aimed at modesty, who acquired wealth to make gifts, who made gifts in order to acquire religious merit, and acquired religious merit in order to obtain final bliss

(L. 10) His son, the glorious Saṅkaragana, a great devotee of Śiva, the lord of countries bounded by the eastern and western ocean, and other lands, who meditated on the feet of his parents, who had no rival in the world, whose fame was tasted by the waters of the four oceans; whose might was equal to that of Kubêra, Varuna, Indra and Yama, who acquired the fortune of great kings by the strength of his arm, to whom, by reason of the excess of his prowess, the circle of all feudatory kings bowed, who enjoyed religious merit, wealth and pleasure without allowing them to encroach upon one another, whose profound and lofty mind was satisfied with mere submission, who performed religious acts by giving away, in charity, the immense wealth acquired by properly protecting his subjects; who re-instated families of kings who had long been dethroned; who uprooted those that were too proud, who granted to the afflicted, the blind and the poor, the object of their desires which exceeded their sanguine expectations,— issues this order to all kings, feudatories, bhôgikas, heads of provinces, districts, and villages, officers and others —

Be it known to you. For the increase of the religious merit and fame of our parents and ourselves we have granted, at the request of Gôggâ,<sup>3</sup> with pouring out of water, a hundred *nivartanas* of land,—by a *nivartana* measuring forty on both sides,—in the village of Vallisikâ situated in the province of Bhôgavardhana, together with all receipts, free from all *ditya*, forced labour, and *prâtibhêdika*, according to the maxim of bhâmichhidra, not to be encroached upon by rogues and servants who tell lies,<sup>4</sup> to be enjoyed by a succession of sons and sons' sons for as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure,—to Âhmanasvâmin, a resident of Kallâvana belonging to the Gautama gôtra, and a student of the Taittiriya *sâkhâ*, for the maintenance of *bali*, *charu*, *vaisvâdeva*, *agnihôtra* and other rites,—wherefore future kings and governors, whether of our own family or others, reflecting that this world of living beings is as unstable as a wave of the waters of the ocean, moved by a strong gale, that

<sup>1</sup> [Compare the translation of the Sarsavgi plates and the notes accompanying it, above, Vol VI. pp. 299 and ff.—S. K.]

<sup>2</sup> *Kamandakya Nitira*, chap. IV verses 6-8

<sup>3</sup> Gôggâ was probably the name of the queen of Saṅkaragana.

<sup>4</sup> See the introductory remarks

riches are perishable and unsubstantial, and that virtues endure for a long time,—wishing to participate in the fruit of a gift of land, which is an object of enjoyment by all, and desiring to accumulate fame as bright as the rays of the moon for a long time, should consent to this our gift of land and preserve it. Whoever, with his mind covered by the veil of the darkness of ignorance should take it away, or allow it to be taken away, shall be guilty of the five great sins. And it is said by the venerable Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas —[Here follow five well-known imprecatory verses ]

(L. 33) In three hundred years increased by forty-seven, on the fifteenth day of the bright half of Śrāvāṇa, this edict, the *dātaka* of which is the *Mahāpīlupati* Pāśupata, was written by the *Mahāsandhivgrahādāhkaranaādāhkrta* Vātohalin Sam 800 40 7 Śrāvāṇa su 10 5

### No. 46.—ARIGOM SARADA INSCRIPTION

#### LAUKIKA SAMVAT 78

By STEN KONOW.

Ārigōm is a village in the Nāgām pargana, 74° 45' long., 33° 56' lat, about 15 miles south west of Śrinagar, as the crow flies. Dr. Stein, in his note on the *Itiyaturangini* I 340, identifies Ārigōm with Hādigrāma, where Gōpāditya is said to have established an *agrahāra*, and states that some remains of temples were traced there by Paṇḍit Kāśī Rām in 1891. Hādigrāma is further mentioned by Kalhaṇa (VIII, 672) as one of the strongholds of the Dāmara Prithvīhara. In the troubled times following on the accession of Jayasīkha in A D 1128, "Hādigrāma, where King Sussala and those of his side had lost their renown, was burned by Sujji, whose valour was mighty" (VIII, 1586), and the place is further mentioned in connexion with the murder of king Lōthana during the same period (VIII, 2195).

In June 1908, Paṇḍit Mukund Rām, who had with great courtesy been placed at my disposal by the Kashmir Darbar, was informed by a friend of the existence of an inscribed stone in the house of a Brāhmaṇ in Ārigōm, and at my request he went up to inspect it. According to information gathered by him on the spot, the stone in question was found about twelve years ago in a piece of uncultivated land near the Masūd Malik Sahib by a cultivator, who was digging there, and sold to a Brāhmaṇ for some corn. The Brāhmaṇ kept the stone for some time and did *pōdā* to it. But people who saw it, told him that the writing probably contained information about hidden treasure, and that the stone therefore properly belonged to the Mahārāja. He got frightened, and first hid the stone under the wall of his house, but later on he threw it into a pit at the entrance of his *gōśūlā* and covered it up with cow-dung. Paṇḍit Mukund Rām further informs me that images, pedestals, stones and brooks are found all over the place, and it is probable that excavations would yield interesting results.

The stone mentioned above is square, measuring 20" each way, and being 4½" high. On the top is a raised circle, apparently the base of an image. One of the four faces of the stone is inscribed with five lines in Śāradā letters.

The writing covers a space of 17½" × 3", and the height of the letters averages ¼". They are distributed over five lines, the fifth of which contains the date. The beginning of the first two lines and the last letter in lines 1-3 and the three last letters in line 4 have disappeared.

The characters are Śāradā, and they are very well cut. *Ja* has the older form as in the Bajnāth *prastāvi*. The final form of *m* occurs in line 3. The diphthong *ē* has been marked in two different ways, by means of a horizontal line above, as in *bhagavatē*, l. 1, or by a vertical before the consonant as in *tē*, l. 2. Similarly *ō* is sometimes marked by adding a horizontal above, sometimes by prefixing a vertical to the consonant accompanied by the sign for *ō*. Compare



Arigom Sarada inscription of Ramadeva, Laukika Samvat 73. The text is written in an ancient script and is partially obscured by a dark, irregular stain. The visible characters are arranged in a vertical column, reading from right to left. The text is highly stylized and difficult to decipher due to the damage and the nature of the script.

*Aryāvāśīkṛtīśvarāya*, 1 1, and *lōkanāthāya*, 1 2 A third method occurs in *lōkā* at the end of line 1, where a wavy line has been added above the sign for *la*. Of mutual vowels only *ā* occurs in *āryā*, 1 1. Among ligatures I may note *kyā*, 1 1, *kkra*, 1 3, *kva*, 1. 4, *ngā*, 1 2, *āya*, 1 3, *ryā*, 1 1, and perhaps *lhna*, 1 3. The numeral symbols for 7, 3 and 5 occur in line 5.

The language of this inscription is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation of *Avalōkitīśvara* in l. 1, and the date in l 5, the whole is in verse. There are altogether two verses. The first is apparently a *ślōka*. The second *pāda*, however, contains three syllables too much, but these *aksharas* are probably simply a repetition of part of *pāda* 1. The second verse is a *sārdhālavikrīṣṭa*. The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* built of *pakka* bricks, by *Rāmadēva*, the son of *Kulladēva*, in order to replace a wooden structure which had been built by a *vardya*, whose name I read *Ulhā*, and which had been burnt down by king *Simha*. This *Simha* must be identical with *Jayasimha* (from A D 1128), in whose reign *Hādigrāma* was burnt down by *Sujj*.<sup>1</sup> It then becomes highly probable that the *vardya* *Ulhā* is identical with *Ulhana*, the son of *Sahadēva*, who was a supporter of *Sujj*.<sup>2</sup> *Sahadēva* is described as a *Rājaputra*,<sup>3</sup> which fact can of course be well reconciled with his son *Ulhana*'s being a *vardya*. The constructor of the brick *vihāra* was *Rāmadēva*, whom I cannot identify. His father *Kulladēva* was perhaps in charge of the old wooden *vihāra*, if I am right in interpreting *tad-rata* (l. 4) as "devoted to, attached to him, viz, *ava*, *Avalōkitīśvara*."

The word *vihāra* is used with more than one meaning. In our inscription, however, there cannot be much doubt that it signifies a shrine, as it has been characterized as "the abode of *Lōkanātha*." The stone upon which this epigraph has been incised is most probably the actual base of the statue of *Lōkanātha* here alluded to. *Lōkanātha* is, of course, identical with *Avalōkitīśvara*, who is invoked in lines 1-2. Our inscription thus furnishes valuable proof of the fact that Buddhism was still lingering in Kashmir in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The mention of the materials used in building the old and the new shrines, is also of interest. We learn that the former was constructed from wood, while the latter was built from *pakka* bricks.

The old *vihāra* is stated to have been built in the vicinity of *Gaṅgēśvara*. This is now called *Gaṅḍēśvara*, and is the place where the present inscription was dug out. The modern corruption of the name is not of very old date. The old name was at least remembered about 40 years ago. This is proved by a *janmapatira*, which *Pandit Mukund Rām* found in *Ārigōm*, and which was written by *Pandit Ganēśa Khusrao* in *Laukika* *Samvat* 4939, i.e. A D 1862-63. It speaks of a person as *Gaṅḍēśvara-pādumūl* *Ārigrāmē vāstavya* residing in *Ārigōm* at the feet of *Gaṅḍēśvara*. *Gaṅḍēśvara* was originally probably a *Śiva* temple, and it is not unlikely that it could be identified by means of excavations.

The inscription is dated *Samvat* 73, *Mārga* *sūti* 5. This date must be subsequent to the burning of *Ārigōm* during the reign of *Jayasimha*. Now *Jayasimha*'s father was murdered in the *Laukika* year 4203, and the burning of *Ārigōm* took place in the first part of his reign. It is therefore as good as certain that we have to understand the date of our inscription as 4273 on the fifth tithi of the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśirsha*, corresponding to Sunday, the 16th November 1197.

## TEXT

1 ...<sup>4</sup> नमो भगवते आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय ॥ १[त्रै]लोकालोकभूताय लोका-  
[लो]-

<sup>1</sup> *Edjatarahyint*, VIII 1586<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem* vv 2066, 2092, 2097<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem* v 198<sup>4</sup> I cannot restore the beginningThe *akshara* preceding नमो looks like नै. *Pandit Mukund Rām* suggests to read नै<sup>5</sup> Metre *Ślōka*. There is something wrong in the second *pāda*

- 2 [ख].[स]भवच्छिदे [1\*] जमदानन्दधन्द्राय श्रीकनाथाय ते नमः ॥[१\*]  
 'मामाङ्गेश्वरसि[ख]-
- 3 धी [सुम]तिमान्वैद्योरुद्रुदेवाभिधसन्ने दारुमयं विहारममखं श्रीलोकनाथासु-  
 दम [1\*] तस्मिि[सं]-
- 4 इदृषेण कालवयतो दग्धेय पक्षेष्टिकायेष्टं तद्रतकुसदेवतनयोमुं रामदेवो  
 [व्यधात् ॥] [२\*]
- 5 सं ७३ मार्गं यति ५

## TRANSLATION.

Line 1 Salutation to the exalted noble Avalôkitêsvara.

(Verse 1). Salutation to thee, the Lord of the World, who hast become a light to the three worlds, . . . who destroys transmigration, the moon of delight to the world.

(V. 2) Formerly the *vaidya* Ulpadêva<sup>3</sup> by name made a spotless *sthâra* of wood, an abode for the Lord of the World, in the vicinity of the Gaugôsvara (temple). After this, by the will of fate, had been burned by king Sîmha, Râmadêva, the son of Kulladêva, who was devoted to him (Avalôkitêsvara), made yonder (*sthâra*) excellent with burnt bricks.

Line 5 Samvat 73, the 5th day of the bright (half) of Mârگا(Śirsha).

No. 47.—CHANDRAVATI PLATE OF CHANDRADEVA  
 SAMVAT 1148.

By STEW KONOW.

The plate containing this inscription was found on the inner slope of the left bank of the Ganges, near the water's edge, under the fort at Chandravati, in the Benares District. Mr. Chhote Lal, the District Engineer of Benares, informs me that, owing to the erosive action of the river, portions of the fort were undermined and fell down from time to time. The plate fell into the river along with the walls of the fort, and was seen and picked up by the Public Works Department's boatman, who deposited it in the District Engineer's office at Benares. In March 1908 it was then finally handed over to the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The plate, which is inscribed on one side only, measures 15½" x 11¼". The edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims. In the upper part of the plate is a hole, through which passes a ring, about ½" thick and 3" in diameter. On the ring slides a bell-shaped seal, 2½" from top to bottom. The surface of the seal is circular and 2¼" in diameter. It represents in relief, on a slightly countersunk surface, a Garuda, with the body of a man and the head of a bird, kneeling and facing the proper right. Across the centre is the legend *śrīvadach-(śrīmaoh)-Chandradêvâh*, and at the bottom a conch shell.

The plate contains 23 lines of writing. Parts of it are much worn, and the portion containing the date cannot be made out with certainty. The characters are Nâgarî, and the language is Sanskrit. With regard to orthography I shall only note that *va* is used both for *va* and for *va*, and that the dental sibilant is often used instead of the palatal one; thus, *astha-*

<sup>1</sup> Metro Śāridālavikīrīdita

<sup>2</sup> It is possible that the name should be read Alipadêva.



for *aitā*-, 1 1, -*vāṃsa*- for -*vāṃśa*-, 1 2. There are several other misspellings and slips, especially towards the end.

After the invocation to *Śrī* common in other plates of the same family, our inscription proceeds to give the genealogy of the donor in four verses, which are well known from other inscriptions. We are told that Yaśōvighraha had the son Mahichandra, whose son again was Chandradēva, the issuer of the present grant. The inscription then goes on in prose, stating that the victorious king Chandradēva issues the following order to all the people assembled, residing in the Vaḍagavā-village in the Vāvana-pattalā, and also to the *Rājas*, *Rājās*, *Iwarājas*, councillors, chaplains, warders of the gate, generals, treasurers, keepers of records, physicians, astrologers, superintendents of gynœceums, messengers, the officers in charge of elephants, horses, towns, mines, *sthānas* and *gōkulas*.

"Be it known to you that the aforesaid village, with its water and dry land, with its mines of iron and salt, with its fishing places, with its ravines and saline soil, with and including its groves of *mādhūka* and mango, grass and pasture land, with what is above and below, defined as to its four abutments, up to its proper boundaries, has today, on the day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika, Samvat 1148, been given by us for as long a time as moon and sun endure, with the pouring out of water from the palm of our hand, purified with *gōkarna*<sup>1</sup> and *kusa*-grass, to the Brāhmaṇ Varunāvayasarman (-śvarāśarman), the son of Varāhasvāmi, the grandson of Anarūha, of the Vasuṣṭha *gōtra*, and whose only *pravara* is Vasuṣṭha, for the increase of the merit and fame of our parents and ourselves, after having today bathed here in the neighbourhood of Sauri (Sauri)-Nārāyaṇa, after having duly satisfied the sacred texts, divinities, saints, men, beings, and groups of ancestors,<sup>2</sup> after having worshipped the sun whose splendour is skilled in rending the veil of darkness, after having worshipped Vāśudēva, the saviour of the three worlds, and after having sacrificed to the Fire an oblation with abundant milk, rice and sugar."

The first point here that is worthy of notice is the date, which is the earliest known for Chandradēva, the other copper plate of his time being dated in Samvat 1154.<sup>3</sup> It will be seen that the portion of it containing the *tithi* and the week day is illegible. Mr Chhote Lal, who has examined the original, writes about this point,—

"Ordinarily, it might be thought that the excessive corrosion and incrustation of rust at this particular part of the plate was purely accidental, but from a minute examination of the imperfect and damaged letters which are still discernible, I am led to conclude that the excessive incrustation at this point was due to the fact that the surface of the plate was already damaged by somebody in his endeavour to make a correction in the date. It is remarkable that the name of the place or that of the stream in which the donor took his bath, is not mentioned in the inscription. Nor is there any mention of the occasion (eclipse, *saṅkrānti*, etc.) at which the gift was made. It would appear that Śauri-Nārāyaṇa was in those days a very well-known place of pilgrimage requiring no further details to localise it, that the occasion *presumably* was the ordinary Kārttika-*snāna*, and that the date originally entered on the plate was *pañchadatyāśm gurau*, but was afterwards attempted to be corrected into *śkādasyāśm ravau*. The *ś* of the latter just overlaps the *pa* of the former; the *kā* of the latter being rather large has been so formed as to include the *chā* and to cover the space occupied by *da* of the former; while the space occupied by *śyāśm* of the former has been utilised for the rather clumsily large *da* of the latter. It will thus be seen that the space originally occupied by the word *pañchadatyāśm*, which was of normal size, was subsequently occupied by the much larger letters, *ś*, *kā* and *da*, and there being no more space available for the final syllable *śyāśm*, it was omitted. Similarly, the *ra* of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* XV p 10, Note 57.

<sup>2</sup> See *ibidem*, note 55.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* XVIII. pp. 9 and 2.

*raiau* overlaps the *gu* of *gurau* and *rau* of the latter has been deformed into something like *tau* of the former. Now the question arises, "Why was the date corrected?" The reason may be that the grant was originally intended to be made on the *purnimadasi*, on the occasion of a *lunar eclipse* which was expected to take place on that date. A little calculation will show that the eclipse did actually occur on the specified date (corresponding to Thursday, the 7th of November, 1090 A.D.), but as the time of its occurrence was early in the following morning (according to calculation), it must have been very doubtful whether it would be visible at the place visited by Chandradēva. This circumstance may have been anticipated, and it may have been decided to make the donation on the preceding *Prahōdhini Brādasi* (Sunday, the 3rd of November, 1090 A.D.) which was a most suitable day for the purpose, being the day on which Vishnu—the deity worshipped by Chandradēva—rises from his four months' sleep. I say all this may have been the cause of the alteration in the date, for there is no *a priori* reason against this supposition. But I consider it very unlikely that a Mahārāja, who changed his mind about the actual day of performing a religious ceremony, could have allowed a correction—and a clumsy correction at the best—to be made in the copper plate inscription recording the gift of a whole village, when the entire inscription could have been cut on a new plate in a day's time. The fact seems to be that it is no honour to a Brāhman to receive a gift on the occasion of an eclipse, and there are certain sects of Brāhmanas, e.g. Sarjuparis and Kanauyys, who would promptly excommunicate any member of their community who was known to have received a gift on account of an eclipse. The Brāhman who received the munificent gift from Chandradēva probably belonged to one of these sects, and, after the king had made the gift and departed, he seems to have thought of concealing his disgraceful conduct and to have caused the original and genuine date to be altered as explained above."

Mr. Ohote Lal further identifies *Vaḍagavā* with the present Baragaon, a village 14 miles north-west of Benares. He thinks it, however, also possible that it was the old name of Chandravatī, which was afterwards changed in honour of king Chandradēva.

After the mention of the grant, we find some of the usual imprecatory verses, and, at the end, the name of the writer, the *shaktura* Mahayanda.

## TEXT.

- 1 Om<sup>3</sup> svasti || <sup>1</sup>akum̄th-ōtkan̄tha-Vaikum̄tha-kan̄the-p̄tha-lāṭhat-kaṛaḥ | saṁrambhaḥ  
suratārambhā sa Śriyaḥ śrēyaś-estu vaḥ || <sup>2</sup>śaid-asi(śi)tadyu-
- 2 ti-vamsa(sa)-jāta-[kahmā]pāla-māḷsu divam̄ gataḥ | śākhād-Vivasvān-iva  
bhūrdhāmnā nāmnā Yaśōviraha ity-udāraḥ || <sup>3</sup>śat-śutō-bhūt(n)-Mañcham̄dra-
- 3 ś-cha[m<sup>4</sup>]dradhāma-nibham̄ nijam̄ | yēn-śpāram-akṣpāra-pārē vyāpārītam̄<sup>5</sup> yataḥ ||  
<sup>6</sup>śay-ābhūt-tanayō nay-nikarasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-mam̄dālā(mam̄dālō)  
7vidhaat-ōddhata-
- 4 dhira-yōdha-timirah śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ | yēn-ōdarāṭara-pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-  
śśēha-prajōpadraṅgam̄ śrimad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam̄-asaṁam̄ dōrvikra-
- 5 mōy-ārjitar̄ || <sup>8</sup>tīrthāni Kāśī-Kusik(-śik)-Ottarakōśal(sal)-Endra(h)stihānyakānu  
paripālayat-ābhigam̄yah(ya) | hēm-ātmatulyam̄-ansam̄(śam̄) dadatā dvyaśbyō
- 6 yēn-āmkitā vasumatī śataśa(sa)ś-tulābhīḥ || sa cha paramabhāṭṭāra-ka-mahārājā  
dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ra-paramam̄āhēśva(śva)ra-niyabhujōpā[r<sup>9</sup>]jīva-śrī-Ka-
- 7 nyakuvj(bj)-ādhipatya-śrī-Chandradēvō vjayī ||<sup>10</sup> Vāṅvaṅ-pattalāyām̄ Vaḍagavā  
grāmē niy[śinō]nikhila]-jana-padān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājū-ḥ-yuvā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Indravajrā.

Read *śidhaest*.

This sign of interpunction is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuśtubh.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Vasantatilaka.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Anuśtubh.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitā.

1. ...  
 2. ...  
 4. ...  
 6. ...  
 8. ...  
 10. ...  
 12. ...  
 14. ...  
 16. ...  
 18. ...  
 20. ...  
 22. ...

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SCALE 35

STER KONOY



- 8 ja-mamtri-purôhita-pratîhâra-sênâpati-bhâmdâgârik-âkshapatilika-bhushaka(ahag)-naumi-  
[ttik-âmtahpu]rika-dûta-kanturagapattânâ karasathângô[ku]-
- 9 lâdhikâmpurushân-âjñâpayâ(ya)ty-âdîsati cha yathâ viditam=astu bhavatâm  
yathôpâ[rilikh]ta-grâma[h\*] sa-jala-sthalah sa-lôha-lava-âkaraḥ sa-ma-
- 10 [t\*]sy-âkaraḥ sa-gartî-ôsharaḥ sa-madhûk-âmra-vana-vârikâ-trina-yûti-gôghara-  
paryamtaḥ sa-ôrdh[v\*]-âdhas=chatur-âghâta-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simâ-paryantaḥ  
[samvat]
- 11 1148 Kârttika su di . . . . . ady-êha Sau(śau)ri-nârâyana-samipê  
snâtvâ vidhivan=mamtra-dêva-pu(mu)ni-manuja-bhûta-putriganâms-tarppayivâ ti-
- 12 mira-patala-pâfana-pe[ṭu-ma]hasams(sam=)[ushpa-rôchi]sham samabhyarohya tribhu-  
vana-1trâtur=Vâsudevasya pûjâm vidhâya prachura-pâyasêna havistâ  
havirbhujam [hu]tvâ
- 13 mâtpûtrôr=âtmana[ś=cha] puṇya-pra(ya)[śô-bhuvriddhayê] 2 Vasishthâgôtrâya 2  
Vasishth-aka-pravarâya 3 Anarudha-paurâyâ Var[â\*]hasvâmi-putrâyâ 3  
Varupêsvaya(śvara)-
- 14 sa(śa)rimaṇâḥ vrâ(brâ)hmanâya gôkarsa(rpa)-kusalatâ-pûta-karatal-ôdakên-âsmâbhûh  
âchamdrârkkaḥ yâvavv(oh=oh)âsanikṛtya pradattâh | matvâ yathâdîyamâna-  
bhâgabbhō-
- 15 gâkara-pravaṇikara-turushkadârîḍa-kumaragadâgâka-prabhîrîn-samastâ [n\*]-niyatâc  
nyat-âdîyân-âjñâ(du)-vidhêyi-bhûya dâsyatha
- 16 itî || bhavanti oh-âtra paurâṇikâ[h\*] ślôkâh || || 3bhûmim yaḥ pratagrhpâḥ  
yâś=cha bhûmim prayachohhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmmâpau n-
- 17 yatu svargna(rgga)-gâmanan || sa(śa)mkham bhadrâsanân chochhatram4 varâsvâ  
(śvâ) varâśraṇâḥ | bhûmi-dânasya ohinâm phalam=5 a(â)tat=Paramdara ||  
shashṭ(h)im varsha-sahasrâ-
- 18 nî svarggê vasati bhûmudaḥ [1\*] âchohhettâ ch-ânumantâ cha tân[y=6]êva  
narakam(kê) vasêt || svadattâm paradatâm vâ yô harêd(śa)=vasumdharam |  
sa vishṭhâyâm kṛmir=bhûtvâ
- 19 putrâbhîḥ saha majjati || vârihnêshv-aranyêshu śushka-kôtara-vâsinah | kṛishpa-  
sarppâś=ra(cha) jâyantê dêva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hâriṇah || na visham vi[sha]m-  
ity-â-
- 20 hu[r\*] vra(bra)hma-svân visham=uchyata(tê) | visham=êkâknam hamti(r=)  
vra(bra)hmasvân puvrapautêkâkam(putrapautrikam) || 6rgâm-akâm svarêm-  
êkân bhûmêr-apy-êkam=anâgalm | harân(haran) narakam=âpnôti yâvad-â-
- 21 bhûta-sa[rh\*]plavân | tadâgânâm sahasrâpi 7savam(â)dhastânî cha | gavân  
kâ(kô)ti-pradânena(nêna) bhûmi-hartâ na suyat(śudhyati) || va(ba)hubhur=  
vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhîḥ Cha(Sa)ga-
- 22 râdibhi[h] || (1) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis-tasya tasya tadâ phalam || 8yân-  
sha dattâm purâ narê[n\*]dra[r\*] dânam 9varmmâpyassakarâpi [1\*] m-  
[rmâlyavânta-prati]-
- 23 mâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ punar-âdadhîta || || 10lakhtamm-udam  
tâtmrapajaka[rû\*] ṭhakkura-êri- Mahâpamda ||

1 The engraver originally wrote *tribhuvama*, but corrected it

2 These signs of interpunctation are superfluous.

3 Metre of this and the following verses: Anuṣṭubh.

4 The 4-stroke has been put over the *pu* of *Paramdara*.

5 Read *gâm-êkâm svargam-êkam cha*.

6 Read *afavmâdhasatâni*.

7 Read *âharndrikayâsas*.

8 Read *châtttram*.

9 Metre *Indravajri*

10 Read *lakhtam*.

No. 48 —BURHANPUR SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION OF ADIL SHAH.  
SAMVAT 1646.

By HIRA LAL, B.A., M.R.A.S., NAGPUR.

Burhānpūr in the Nimār district of the Central Provinces is an ancient historical site<sup>1</sup> It was the chief seat of the Fārūqī kings. They ruled over Khāndāsh, which name the Muhammadans derived from their title of Khān Their rule lasted from 1370 to 1600 A D, when it was displaced by the Mughals One of these Fārūqī kings built the Jam'a Masjid, in which besides Arabic inscriptions he had one carved in Sanskrit, which gives his genealogy and the date of the construction of the mosque This inscription is in the northern corner and is written within an arch, so that the lines, which are 6 in number, are of unequal length. They contain five verses, besides the invocation *Sri sṛṣṭīkartṛs namaḥ* in the commencement and the date in the end, both of which are in prose.

The letters are Nāgarī and are raised, not incised, in the same fashion as Persian letters are usually found carved. Orthography hardly calls for any remarks. The sign of *avagraha* has been omitted throughout. Over the *na* of *-khāna-* (l. 3) we find the Arabic sign of *tashdīd* or double consonant

The date is recorded in great detail, giving both the Vikrama and Śaka years, which are stated to be 1646 and 1511 respectively, the cyclic year being Virōdhi The mosque is stated to have been completed on Monday, the 11th of the bright fortnight of the month Pausa, the exact moment in *ghaṭī* and the *nakṣatra*, *lagna*, *yōga*, *karana*, etc., being added most precisely<sup>2</sup> The date in the Hijra era is given as 997 in Arabic above the inscription Its English equivalent was kindly calculated for me by the late Professor Kielhorn, C.I.E., who found it to be Monday, the 5th January 1590. The astrological details are unique in a Muhammadan mosque and show the religious tendency of the later Fārūqī kings. In Burhānpūr much of the beliefs of the two religions (Hinduism and Islām) got mixed up, traces of which are still conspicuously present there. As an instance may be cited the preachings of the *Pīrādas*, who are Musalmāns and who say that God will now become incarnate as *Nishkalakṣī*.<sup>3</sup> The Fārūqīs undoubtedly believed in astrology, as this inscription shows, and although the builder of the mosque took every care to erect it in the most auspicious moment completing it exactly in one year (as an Arabic inscription carved in the middle of the Masjid discloses) and wished by his pious act to ensure the long continuance of his dynasty, yet uncompromising destiny snatched away the crown from them, only ten years after the construction of the edifice. In fact Bahādur Khān, the builder's son, was so much infatuated with superstition, that, in spite of his possessing the impregnable Asīrghāḥ fort with ten years' provisions, enormous treasures and numerous horses and cattle, he felt convinced that he could not hold his own against Akbar, of whom he believed that he was a necromancer and that magicians accompanied him to reduce the fort A pestilence which broke out among the animals, was attributed to the black art, and he saw no way but to surrender to the mighty wizard. This mosque was thus destined to receive another inscription, which Akbar triumphantly caused to be carved recording his victory of Khāndāsh in A H 1009 (A D. 1600), annihilating the glory of the mosque builder's dynasty for ever This inscription is in Persian and is conspicuously inscribed on the outside wall of the left hand minār

<sup>1</sup> It was here that the famous Mumtāz Mahall (Arjumand Bānū Bēgum) breathed her last.

<sup>2</sup> For details see translation at the end

<sup>3</sup> I have seen some Sanskrit manuscripts in Persian character in the possession of some Maulvis of Burhānpūr, preserved as heirlooms from their ancestors, who apparently studied them under State encouragement. Unfortunately most of these valuable records have been destroyed by the fire of 1897 and 1906 which caused damage to the extent of about 57 lakhs besides loss of life.

The chief interest of our inscription lies in the genealogy of the Fāruqīs given in it. According to it the first king was Rāja Malik, whose son was Ghazni (Khān). His son was Kaisar Khān, whose son was Hasan, from whom was born Ādil Shāh, whose son was Mubārakh. Ādil Shāh, the constructor of the mosque, was the son of this Mubārakh. This genealogy differs from those given by Firsihta and Abul Fazl. According to the former Ādil Shāh was the 6th descendant from Malik Rāja, and according to the latter the 8th, while according to our inscription he was the 7th. The tables given below will show at a glance how matters stand —

Sanskrit inscription	Briggs' <i>Firsihta</i> , Vol IV, p. 280.	Jarrett's <i>Āin-i-Akbari</i> , Vol II, p. 226
Rāja Malik	Malik Rāja	Malik Rāja
Gazni (Khān).	Nasir Khān	Ghazni Khān, title Nasir Khān.
Kaisar Khān		Miran Shāh <i>alias</i> Ādil Shāh
		Mubārak Shāh Chaukhandi.
Hasan (Khān).	Hasan Khān.	Ādil Shāh Aynā <i>alias</i> Ahsan Khān.
Ādil Shāh.	Ādil Khān	Ādil Shāh
Mubārakh.	Mubārak	Mubārak Shāh
Ādil Shāh.	Rāja Ali Khān.	Rāja Ali Khān, title Ādil Shāh.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* states that "Bahādur Khān (who was the son of Rāja Ali Khān) was 9th in descent from Malik Rāj." This has led Colonel Jarrett,<sup>1</sup> as it would indeed lead others, to suppose that the list given there is genealogical and that Ahsan Khān, the fifth king, was identical with Hasan Khān, who, as a matter of fact, was never a king. Hasan Khān belonged to a collateral branch of the family, whose son became king on the failure of male issue in the main line.

The *Āin-i-Akbari* has mixed up the succession list with the genealogical table. Miran Shāh, the third descendant, was really a grandson of Malik Rāja, but the point missed is that he was not the direct ascendant of the last Ādil Shāh or Rāja Ali Khān. The crown first went in Miran Shāh's line up to Ādil Shāh Aynā, who was succeeded by his brother Dāwūd Khān, and the latter by his son Ghazni Khān, who was poisoned two days after ascending the throne. Abul Fazl does not mention Ghazni Khān at all, probably because his succession to the throne was only nominal. Ghazni Khān left no son,<sup>2</sup> and hence the crown went to Rāja Ali Khān's grand-son Ādil Shāh or Ādil Khān. The three kings Miran Shāh, Mubārak Shāh and Ādil Shāh Aynā were not thus direct ascendants of Rāja Ali Khān. The *Āin-i-Akbari* list should therefore be left out of consideration, and the question must be decided between our inscription and Firsihta's list. Briggs<sup>3</sup> takes Hasan to be the son of Nasir Khān, relying on Firsihta's assertion that "Ādil was the son of Hasan and grandson of Nasir Khān." If Hasan were the son of Nasir Khān, he would be the brother of Miran Shāh, who was crowned king after his father's death. We would, therefore, have to suppose that Miran's nephew came to the throne after the expiry of three

<sup>1</sup> See his *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, p. 226, footnote.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> Briggs' *Firsihta*, Vol. IV, p. 303.

generations, which is an unlikely supposition. There is nothing to show that Âdil Khân (Hasan's son) was extraordinarily long-lived.<sup>1</sup> It, therefore, seems very probable that there was an intervening generation between Nasir Khân and Hasan Khân, and the missing link is supplied by the Sanskrit inscription in the person of Kaiser Khân, son of Nasir and father of Hasan Khân. In the inscription Kaiser Khân is merely called a *vira* or hero and not a king, and although Hasan was also never a king, the epithet of *kahitva* was apparently added to his name by way of courtesy, to tickle the ruling prince. Regarding the sources of his information Firsihta records<sup>2</sup> that when he visited Burhânpur in A. H. 1013 (A. D. 1604), he asked Mirâk Âli Isfahâni if any history existed of the Fârûqi family. The Mirâk replied that he knew of none, but said that he once saw a genealogy<sup>3</sup> of the family down to Malik Râja, which he copied and took along with him. It would thus appear that no history of the kings later than Malik Râja existed at all. So the information he collected was apparently from traditions or other casual records, while the writer of the Sanskrit inscription must certainly have been supplied with information from the royal family, as it was intended to be a permanent record in one of the greatest works the king built. It is therefore, more reliable than Firsihta and leaves no room for doubt as to its authenticity. A revised genealogy of the Fârûqi kings will be found below on p. 310.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्री सृष्टिकर्त्रे नमः । प्रव्यक्त(ः) व्यापकं नित्यं गुणातीतं चिदात्मक  
[1\*] द्यत्कस्य(व्यक्तस्य) कारणं वन्दे व्यक्ताव्यक्तं तमीश्वर' ॥१॥ यावच्चन्द्र-  
क्षतारा-
- 2 दि क्षितिः स्यादंबरांगणै(षु) [1\*] तावत्फारुजिकवंशीसी चिरं वन्दतु  
भूतले ॥२॥ वंशेय तस्मिन्किल फारुकींद्री वभूव राजा मलिकाभि-  
धानः [1\*] तस्माभवच्छु-  
नु-
- 3 इदारचेताः कुक्षावतंसो गजनीमरेयः<sup>5</sup> ॥३॥ तस्माद्भूतकेसरखानवीरः पुत्र-  
स्सदीयो हसनक्षितीयः [1\*] तस्माद्भूदेदस्यारुभूपः पुत्रीभवत्तस्य  
सुभारखेदः ॥४॥

<sup>1</sup> The average for a generation in the line of which Ghazni Khân was the last, is 23 years, while in the line of Râja Âli Khân it is 29 years. According to the Sanskrit inscription the average for the latter is reduced to less than 26, taking the reckoning up to the death of Mirân Muhammad in 1576, but for the minority of whose son Hussain Khân, Râja Âli Khân would have had no opportunity to sit on his brother's throne.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that the visit was paid 14 years after our inscription was carved.

<sup>3</sup> Firsihta gives this as follows:—

Malik Râja, the son of Khân Jahân, the son of Âli Khân, the son of Uthmân Khân, the son of Simion Shâh, the son of Aahab Shâh, the son of Arman Shâh, the son of Ibrâhîm Shâh of Belkh, the son of Âdam Shâh, the son of Ahmad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Shâh, the son of Muhammad Shâh, the son of Âsim Shâh, the son of Aahgar, the son of Muhammad Ahmad, the son of the Imâm Nasir Abuljullâ, the son of Omar al-Farûq entitled Khalîfâ or representative of the last of the prophets.

<sup>4</sup> If anybody would assert that the Sanskrit composer might have made a mistake in understanding the genealogy, all doubts would vanish by reading the Arabic inscription on the top of the Sanskrit one reproduced in the accompanying plate. Line 3 as deciphered by Munshi Inâamullâh Kûân, Manager of the Mosque, reads as follows:— 'Âdil Shâh bin Muadrak Shâh bin 'Adil Shâh bin Hasan Khân bin Qassar Khân bin Ghâsi Khân bin Malik Khân al-Fârûqi al-'Adil.

<sup>5</sup> From my personal transcript from the original and two subsequent ones kindly supplied by Mr. B. Bal kishna Bhâte, Headmaster, Middle School, Burhânpur, and a photograph.

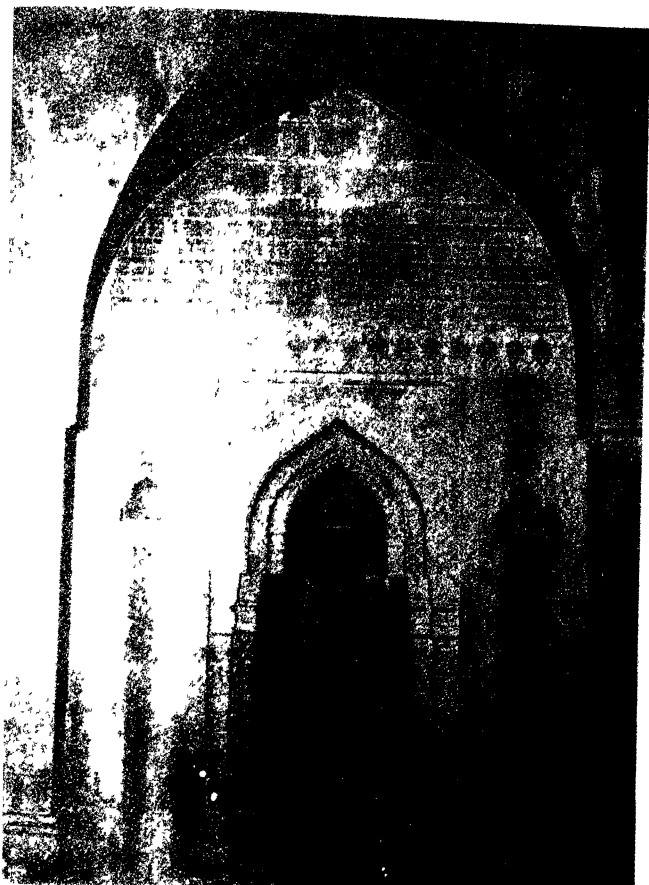
<sup>6</sup> Read 'क्षेत्रं नमः'

<sup>7</sup> This and the next verse are in the Anushtubh metre

<sup>8</sup> The s and the next are in the Upejati metre



Bathampur inscription of Adil Shah—Samvat 1646





- 4 तद्धनुः चित्तिपालमौलिमुकुटव्याघृष्टपादांबुजः सक्तीर्त्तिर्विलसत्प्रतापवशगा-  
मिभः चित्तीयेश्वरः ]।\*] यस्याहर्निशमानतिर्गुणगणातीते परे ब्रह्मणि  
श्रीमानेदलभूपति-
- 5 विजयते<sup>1</sup> भूपालचूडामणिः<sup>2</sup> ॥५॥ स्वस्ति श्री संवत् १६४६ वर्षे शक<sup>3</sup>  
१५११ विरोधिसंवत्सरे पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १० घटी २३ सवैका-  
दश्यां तिथौ सोमे [क]त्तिकाघटी ३३ राह<sup>4</sup> रोहि-
- 6 श्यां शुभ घटी ४२ योगे वणिजकरपेस्मिन् दिने राविगतघटी  
११ समये कन्यालग्न श्रीसुवारखशाहसुतश्री<sup>5</sup> ७ एदलशाहाराश्री  
मसीतिरिय निर्मिता स्वधर्मपालनार्थं ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(Line 1). Salutation to the glorious Creator of the world.

(Verse 1). I bow down to the Imperceptible, the (All-)pervading, eternal (one who is) past (all) qualities, whose essence is mind, who is the cause of what is manifest—to that God who is both manifest and non-manifest.

(V. 2) As long as the moon, the sun and the stars, etc., exist in the firmament, so long may this Fārūki family live happily on the face of the earth.

(V. 3). In that family there was first the lord of Fārūki by name Rājā Malik, whose son was king Ghazni<sup>6</sup> (Khān) who was of an exalted mind, the diadem of the family.

(V 4). From him was (born) the hero Kaiser Khān whose son was Hasan (Khān), the lord of the earth. From him was born king Ādil Shāh, whose son was lord Mubārakh.

(V. 5). Victorious is his son, the illustrious king Ādil, the crest jewel of (other) kings, whose lotus feet are rubbed by the diadems in the crowns of kings (prostrating themselves before him), (who is) of good reputation, and whose enemies have submitted to his prowess, (who is) the lord of kings (and) who bows day and night to the Supreme Being who is past all qualities

(Ll 5—6). Hail! Prosperity! This mosque was built by the king Śrī 7<sup>0</sup> Ādil Shāh, son of the illustrious Mubārakh Shāh, for fostering his own religion, in the Samvat year 1646, Śaka 1611, in the Virōdhi *samvatsara*, in the month of Pausha, in the bright fortnight, on the 10th *tiṭhi* (lasting for) 23 *ghaṭis*, followed by the eleventh *tiṭhi*, on Monday, in the Kṛittikā (*nakshatra* lasting for) 33 *ghaṭis* with (i. e. followed by) Bōhni in the Śubha *yōga* lasting up to *ghaṭi* 42, in the Vapija *kavana*, at the time when 11 *ghaṭis* of the night on this day had passed and in the Kanyā *lagna*.

<sup>1</sup> Read °विजयते.

<sup>2</sup> Metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

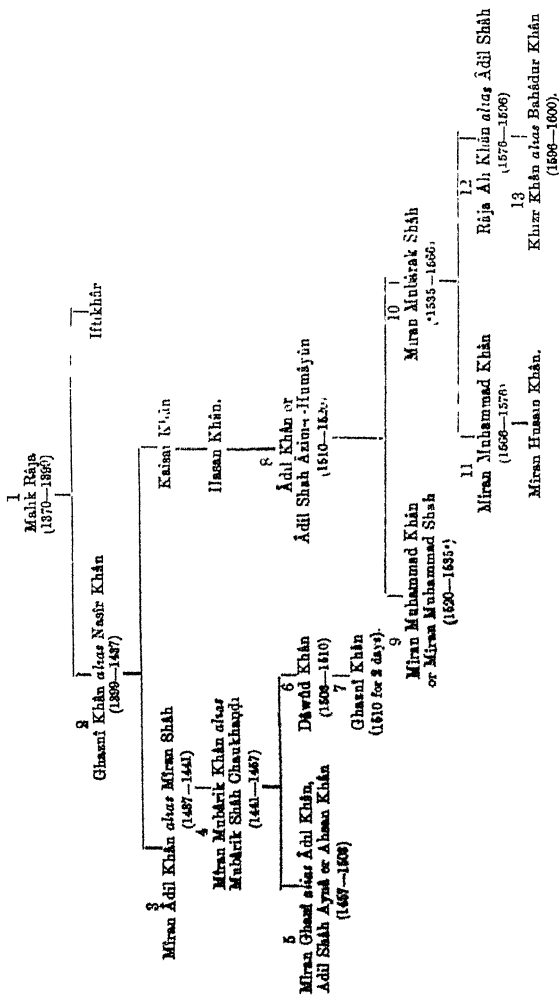
<sup>3</sup> Read शके

<sup>4</sup> Read राह

<sup>5</sup> This king is well-known by the name of Nasir Khān, the title which he adopted on ascending the throne. General Cunningham erroneously took Ghazni *narīshāh* to mean King of Ghazni (see his *Report*, Vol IX, p 117), not being aware that Ghazni was a personal name. Firāhta omitted this name, but Abul Fāzi has mentioned it (see Jarrett's *Asn-<sup>+</sup>-<sup>+</sup>Abbār*, Vol II., p. 226).

<sup>6</sup> The number of *śrīs* written for Rājās is usually 108, but here a single figure stands for the highest number, as 6 are written for a preceptor, 5 for a master, 4 for an enemy, 3 for a friend, 2 for a servant, and 1 for a wife or a son.

## Genealogy of the Fārūqī Kings of Khândesh.



*N.B.*—Figures on the top of names indicate the order of succession, and those within brackets the periods of their rule.

<sup>3</sup> This date is doubtful, possibly being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV, p. 148, which gives the date of his death as A. H. 948 whereas on p. 312 it is given as A. H. 947. As Bahādur Shāh al-tar Ĥumájūn died on 14th Feb. 1597 (522 y 144) Miran Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently

<sup>4</sup> This date is also doubtful, possibly being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV, p. 148, which gives the date of his death as A. H. 948 whereas on p. 312 it is given as A. H. 947. As Bahādur Shāh al-tar Ĥumájūn died on 14th Feb. 1597 (522 y 144) Miran Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently

<sup>5</sup> This date is also doubtful, possibly being inconsistent. See Briggs' translation Vol. IV, p. 148, which gives the date of his death as A. H. 948 whereas on p. 312 it is given as A. H. 947. As Bahādur Shāh al-tar Ĥumájūn died on 14th Feb. 1597 (522 y 144) Miran Muḥammad Shāh, who succeeded him also in Gujrat, was evidently

No 49.—NARAYANPAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF GUNDA MAHADEVI  
THE SAKA YEAR 1033

BY HIRA LAL, B A., M R A S, NAGPUR.

Nārāyanpāl is a village 23 miles north-west of Jagdalpur, the capital of the Bastar feudatory state attached to the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It is situated on the right bank of the "splendidly picturesque" Indrāvati, one of those minor rivers of India than which none is more interesting.<sup>1</sup> It "traverses the most untrodden regions of the peninsula. Here in the deepest recesses of the wild forests which cover the Mardian hills, is the home of the Gōnd races—one of the aboriginal Dravidian peoples, whose origin is indistinct, a people who still erect rudé stone monuments and use stone implements, unwitting of the procession of the centuries and the advance of civilization to their borders." And yet the very place which has today all the signs of a primeval forest, may a thousand years back have compared favourably with any of the civilized provinces of those times. At least such seems to be the irresistible conclusion from the discovery of the antiquarian remains left by the forgotten Nāgavamsi kings of that little known state. Nārāyanpāl is one of those places which enjoyed celebrity in their times, a place to which "people of various countries resorted," and which instead of having a long row of wooden peg gods, which now adorn the village turf, possessed the temple of Nārāyaṇa, "the basket of the gems of knowledge" which no doubt the residents duly picked up. The Indrāvati was to Bastar what the Narmadā has been to India, the separating boundary between the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples. It is therefore no surprise to find all the inscriptions to the north of the Indrāvati written in Nāgarī characters, while all to the south are written in Telugu. It appears that the Nāgavamsi kings, though ruling on both sides of the Indrāvati, had fixed that river as the ethnic or at least the linguistic boundary for the convenience of the Aryan and the Dravidian peoples under their sway. Our inscription being found in Nārāyanpāl on the north bank of the river is therefore in Sanskrit characters. Its discovery is due to the efforts of Rai Bahādūr Pandā Baijnāth, B A., who kindly sent me five impressions. Another impression has since been prepared by Mr Venkoba Rao of the Madras Archaeological Survey. I have made use of all these materials for my edition. The inscription is engraved on a stone slab, standing near the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which it belongs. In this temple there is still an exquisite image of Nārāyaṇa, 2' high. Above the ground the slab measures 7' 4" × 2' 3", and the writing covers a space 5' 9" × 2' 2", including the imprecatory figures and the additions to be referred to presently, but leaving out the top *Śrī mahā*. The original inscription apparently contained only 35 lines, beginning with *Svasti sahasra-phanḍanti* and ending with *maṅgala mahā-śrī*, underneath which the usual imprecatory figures of a cow and a calf, the dagger and shield, the sun and moon and the Śiva linga, the meanings of which I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> explained, were carved. The additional 11 lines, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d) by me, appear to be later additions, and are either interpolations or were inserted when the ownership of the land changed hands either by succession or otherwise. They generally give the names of persons to whom the land was apparently transferred. The lines marked (a), (b), (c) have been inserted in the blank spaces between or on the sides of the imprecatory figures. Under all these a straight line has been drawn, and the four lines marked (d) have been inserted. These give the name of a queen different from the donor of the inscription proper. This may have been done when the land changed hands after the death of the original donor, when, in the ordinary course, the successor of the donor would be shown as the transferor or grantor.

<sup>1</sup> *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol I (New Edition, 1907), page 44.

<sup>2</sup> Above, pp 164 and 175

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose, except the two imprecatory verses in lines 33 to 35, and the characters as stated before are Nagari. They are boldly written but the size is not uniform throughout. While in the top line *Sri-mahar*, they are as big as  $2\frac{1}{2}$ " the average size in the first four lines is  $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The engraver apparently finding them too big reduced them to 1" in line 5, but in subsequent lines he again began to increase the size maintaining an average of  $1\frac{1}{4}$ " throughout the rest, which forms the major portion of the inscription. In the later additions also, marked (a), (b), (c) and (d), the size varies. In (a) it is less than an inch and in (d) it is  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " and in (b) and (c) midway between these two.

As regards orthography, *b* is not distinguished from *v* and there is a confusion in the use of *s* and *ś*, for instance, we have on the one hand *Kāśyapa* (ll. 3, 13), *saranāgata* (ll. 6, 10, 16), *sāsana* (ll. 7, 37 (b) and 46 (d)), *Saha-* (l. 19), *-atuvu* (l. 34), *usāme dhu-* (l. 34), *sudhyats* (l. 35), on the other hand we have *svarggatī* (l. 17) and *śubhva* (ll. 1 and 34). The *anusvāra* is usually preferred to the class nasals, though the latter are sufficiently represented throughout. Letters with a superscribed *ripha* have been invariably doubled. The letters *ksha*, *dha*, *ra*, and, in most places, *bha* appear in their antiquated form, and the top *mātra* for *é*, *ó* and *au* is some times placed vertically before the letter to which it is attached, as in *-lhatu-* (l. 8), *paivra* *krīṣṭamāṅgi*, *pārthivāntra-* (ll. 8-9), *-mañjanyu-* (l. 10), *-muniñy-ā-* (l. 11), etc. In *Sōmēśvaradēva* (l. 17) *mē* has the top stroke, while *de* has the vertical stroke preceding *da*. In line 23 in *-śivtyudadh-* the *mātra* of *u* is peculiarly attached in the middle of the letter as at present attach it to the letter *ra* alone.

The inscription records the grant of the village *Nārāyaṇapura* to the god *Nārāyaṇa* and some land near the *Kharyuri* tank to the god *Lokēśvara*, and it is dated in the Śaka year 1088 on Wednesday, the full moon day of the *Kārttika* month in the *Khara samvatsara*, corresponding to the 18th October 1111 A.D. The donor was *Guṇḍa Mahādēvi*, the chief queen of the *Mahārāja Dhārāvārsha*, the mother of *Sōmēśvaradēva* and the grandmother of *Kanharadēva*, who was then ruling after the death of his father, as stated in line 17. The dynasty claims to be *Nāgavāmī* of the *Kāśyapa gōtra* and to have a tiger with a calf as their crest and to be the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of cities. There can be little doubt that it was connected with the *Sinda* family of *Yelburga*. The *brūdas* of the two are strikingly similar. The *Sindas* also claim to be *Nāgavamsōdbhava*, born of the race of the *Nāga* (cobra), and the lords of *Bhōgāvati*, which city is a mythical place in the nether world. The discoveries hitherto made show the existence of the rule of the family at the diagonally opposite corners of this state, viz. south-west and north east. I feel confident that if we could "explore the serpent city well," we should find at least a replica of it somewhere in the *Nizām's* dominions in a position intermediate between these two points. The *Rāmāyana* seems to confirm this, for *Rāma's* route to *Lankā* lay between the two and passed through *Bhōgāvati*.

As Dr Fleet<sup>1</sup> says, there appear to have been more branches than one of the *Sinda* family, and it appears to me that they were distinguished from each other by some variations in their crests (*lāṅghanas*) and banners (*dhvajas*, *patākus* or *kōtanus*). The *vyāghra-lāṅghana* (tiger-crest) seems to have been common to all, probably because the original ancestor of the dynasty which received its name after him, was believed to have been brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.<sup>2</sup> The *Bāgalkōṭ* branch had simply the tiger crest and the *phāṣṭhētana*, or banner of hooded serpents. The *Bastar* branch, or more properly the branch represented by our inscription, had a *savatsa-vyāghra-lāṅghana*, or a tiger with a calf or child, thus depicting probably the story of their origin in a clearer way. The banner is not mentioned. In *Bastar* there were apparently two branches, the other one being that of *Bhramarakōṭya-ma-*

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 572.

<sup>2</sup> *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 60, and above, Vol. III, p. 231.

śala,<sup>1</sup> whose *lāñchhana* was *dhanur-vyāghra* (bow and tiger) and whose *dhvaja* was *hamala-kadalī*, or lotus flower and plantain leaf. The Halavur<sup>2</sup> branch of the Banvāsī tract had the *vyāghra-mṛga-lāñchhana*, or crest of a tiger and a deer, and the *nīladhvaja*, or blue banner. To judge from their titles *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṣṭāraka Mahārāja*, the Bastar branch appears to have been more independent than the other branches of this dynasty. But more light is likely to be thrown on the history of the family when all the inscriptions found in Bastar have been deciphered. It would therefore be premature to discuss the subject here.

There is one phrase in this inscription, which to my mind appears so interesting that it should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. It is incidentally mentioned in line 32 where the land is said to be given *grāma-nīlaya-nāḍa-sarva-vādhā-parihārēna*, which apparently means "free from the interference of the dwelling-group and territorial assemblies, and all other molestations." This throws a sidelight on the village communities of those days. With regard to *nāḍa*, Mr Baden-Powell<sup>3</sup> says, "All over the south of India we have traces of the *nāḍu*, which was often a sort of county, and in some places there is a clearly surviving tradition of the purpose of this division. Thus in part of Madras known anciently as the Tondaimandalam, we find first a number of *kuffam*—the name probably indicating the fort which was the seat of the territorial chief, each of these primitive territories was afterwards reorganised into *nāḍu* and each *nāḍu* contained a number of villages (called *nattam*, i.e. the village site). The chief of the *nāḍu* was called *nāthan*.<sup>4</sup> In Malabār we have evidence of how these *nāḍu* divisions were governed by the *nāḍa-kuffam* or assembly of representative elders out of the family groups of *tara*, of the ruling class, in each *nāḍu*." It appears from our inscription that this *nāḍa* system was prevalent in Bastar and the word *nīlaya* apparently stands for *tara*, the original local term for "the family aggregate" of dwellings, consisting of the houses occupied by the members with a few humbler abodes for servants and artisans." *Tara* is said to mean street or hamlet. The *grāma* or village was also recognised, but apparently had no fiscal significance, beyond being a physical aggregate of clan areas with an exotic population. It will be noticed that Nārāyaṇapura is described as full of outsiders, who had come from different countries. These apparently contributed nothing to the income of the village, and in the business portion of the charter (ll 25 to 33) we therefore find no mention of the village, but only of the land given. The names of the owners of plots occupied by the family groups have been duly enumerated, and it is they who have been enjoined to pay the rents to the temple. The transaction has been ratified by eight persons, which was probably considered a requisite number<sup>5</sup> for such business. These probably formed the executive committee of the *nāḍa-kuffam* or territorial assembly. As would appear from the inscription, it consisted of the *pregaḍḍ* or minister, the *karana-kuffam* or Secretary of the assembly, the *bhanḍārī* or treasurer, the *sādhu* or priest, and four *nāyakas*, who, as has been already shown, were chiefs of *nāḍas*. One of these *nāyakas* is styled *bhāṭṭānāyaka*, perhaps a superior title to that of ordinary *nāyakas*. The mention of his name immediately after that of the minister indicates his superior position.

Our inscription mentions only one territorial name, viz the Nārāyaṇapura village, which is certainly the present Nārāyaṇpāl, where the inscription has been found, and where the temple of Nārāyaṇa, to which the village was dedicated, still exists. The tank *Kharjuribandha*, which was apparently named after the *kharjūr* or wild date trees on its banks, is difficult to locate at this distance of time, as these trees live for about fifty years<sup>6</sup> only.

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 174 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Indian Village Community*, p. 281.

<sup>3</sup> Baden-Powell, *Land Systems of British India*, Vol. III, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 168.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Dr Watt in his *Economic Dictionary*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 211, says "The age of a tree (wild date) can of course be at once counted by enumerating the notches and adding six or seven, the number of years passed before the first year's notch. I have counted more than 40 notches on a tree, but one rarely sees them so old as that."

## TEXT.

Śī mahā.

- 1 Om! Svasti sahasra(sra)-phanāmani-kirana-nikar-āvabhā[su]-  
 2 ra-Nāgavamś-ōdbhava Bhōgāvati-puravara-śvara-su-  
 3 vatsa-vyāghra-lāmohana-Kasya(sya)pa-gotra-prakṛti-kṛita-  
 4 vijaya-ghōshana-lavdha(bdha)-visva-viśvambhūna parāma śvara-para-  
 5 mahattānika-Mahōśvara-charaṇa-kamja-kinjalka-purija-purijata-bhāmarāyamāna  
 satya-Hariścham-  
 6 dra-sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-va-jra-pamjara-śīmad-rājubhūshana-mahā śja-Dhārāvashadeva-  
 pād[ā]-  
 7 nām pattamahādēvi jagad-ōka-mātā śā(śā)śama patita dārā nāma nāmātā(tō)  
 Gam-  
 8 gā-jala-[dhau]ta-parama-pavitra-kārittamāngi-Dhārāvasha-mahōśvar-ārddhāngi-pā  
 9 [rthi]vōndra-kul-ānganā Purvatī-bhasanī chira-lhā[gi]ra[thi] parama pativratā  
 10 dhāra(na)-Arāmdhuti(Aiun lhati) saujanya-Sarasva(svatī)-su(śa)rapāgata-rakshā  
 manī va(ba)mliu-chintāmani  
 11 sauvidy-ābhana[vy]a-Sāvitrī kāmā dāra dharitri śrīmad-G[ur]pāda-mahādēvi ā  
 12 sām puti-a-nāmā sahāsā-phan[ā]-manī-kirana-nikar-avai bhā[ra]-Nāgavamś<sup>1</sup>  
 13 dhava-Bhōgāvati-purā[var]-śva[ja]-savat-sv-āghra-lam[ī]lila-jam-Kā[rya](śya)pa-  
 gōti-piaku-  
 14 tī-kṛita-[vij]ya-ghōshana-[lavdha](bdha)-visva-v[ī]śvambhūna-paramēśvara parāma  
 bhattā-  
 15 raka-Mahōśvara charaṇa-kamja-kinjalka purija purijata-bhāmarāyamāna-sa-  
 16 tyā-Hariśchandra-sa(su)raṇ-āgata-va[ja]-p[ri]n[ī]<sup>2</sup>purā-patit[ā]gandhā-<sup>3</sup>bhāra-śīmad itya  
 17 bhāshana mahā śja-Someśvaradeva(vō) śva(sva)rg-gatō bhāshān pntasya  
 śśām up[ti]h  
 18 samastī itjāvalī-vi[ś]vāyama[pa]nī jīmud-vān-Kanharadevasya kalyāna-vijaya tā-  
 19 jyō Saka-nripa-kal atite dasa sata-trayat[ri]jms-ādiko<sup>4</sup> Khara-samvatsera  
 Kārtti-  
 20 ka-paurṇamāsyaām vuddhō(budha)-vā[rē] samsāra samudr-ō[ti]<sup>5</sup>tāraṇa-taiśmāya  
 jñ[ā]<sup>6</sup>na ratna-karāmidu-  
 21 ya svaigg-ārggal-ōdghāṣṭana-kāśya nāmanā[n]jārāyana dīvāya śrīmad-Gunda  
 mahād[ē]vyā  
 22 sakalam-a[n]itjameadhruvam-śā(śā)śvntam dīpshīvā svargg-ārggal-ōdghātan  
 ārtthā Nārāyaṇapurō  
 23 nāma grāmō nāmā-dōsiya-jan-ā[kir]pān chandrarikka-nihitj-udulhi-kālam yāva  
 24 pradattā | tathā śī-Lōkēśvaradēvya Kharjuriya(ba)mcha-samipasthā bhūmī  
 pradattā  
 25 Śīmat pragadā Ādityamāyenna<sup>7</sup> bhattānāyaka Prōptiyō<sup>8</sup> karaṇa  
 [Ku]driyama-  
 26 Viama nāyaka Sōmana nāyaka Rāmanākāna nāyaka M[ā]jāya bhārdājī  
 27 Aitana śāliu Vakōmaraya || Etōśām bhūmīh[ī] ukutina pradattā || [Sē]  
 māsa-śīśhthi<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps *danda*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Saka nripa kal-Atitē dasa śat, trayastri*.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *Adityamayenna*.

P. 101, l. 17, 26

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps *Kūtīyamavirama*.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps *Edgaramefti*.





श्रीमहादेव

कविप्रह्लाद उवाच ॥ महामुनिः प्रवृत्तः ॥  
महादेवो योऽहं कश्चिन्नोऽपि मया ॥  
पश्यन्नास्मिन्महादेवोऽपि मया ॥  
विष्णुस्यैवैवमस्मिन्महादेवोऽपि ॥  
महादेवोऽहं कश्चिन्नोऽपि मया ॥  
पश्यन्नास्मिन्महादेवोऽपि मया ॥  
विष्णुस्यैवैवमस्मिन्महादेवोऽपि ॥  
महादेवोऽहं कश्चिन्नोऽपि मया ॥  
पश्यन्नास्मिन्महादेवोऽपि मया ॥  
विष्णुस्यैवैवमस्मिन्महादेवोऽपि ॥

1  
0  
1  
40  
42

- 28 Chhá[drú] vámapa<sup>1</sup> śrōshthi Ghughi Śrīdhara sādhu Nānū kōsa[jā] Pālā[su]  
Pādmāsi-
- 29 nivrā māli Gōi[m]dapratra<sup>2</sup> tal[i]ka [Ja]sadhavala vāvū(bābū) Milāpi  
nāvējānam[du]
- 30 pālā[gh]ikā sa[mur]idārana Dhavala m[ā]nyā[sth]i śrī-V[ā]sadēva ētar-[gr]iha-ve]-
- 31 taka-r[ā]pēna śrīman-Nārayana-dēva-pādēshu sadā sth[ā]tavyam kaiaa cha  
dātavyam
- 32 śrī(i)mat-pamdata-Purushōttamāya gūāma-nlaya-nāda saivva-vā(bā)dhā parihāitēna  
ch mdr-ā-
- 33 rka-kālārā pradatta || Svadattām paadattām vā yō hatēd(rēta)=vasumdhārā[m]  
[i\*] sa vishthāyam kri-
- 34 mī(mur) [bhū]tvā kulajai[h] saha sīdati | Tadāgānām sabaśrō(stē)na as(as)-  
vamcdha-sata(satō)-
- 35 na cha [i\*] gō(ga)vām kōti-piadinēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyaṭi ||  
Mangala mahā śrī
- 36 (a) Sātīadhāa Rapavirāya bhūmi pradattā
- 37 (a) akarēna
- 36 (b) Adhikāi Chhādrūkasya bhūmi akarēna
- 37 (b) dattā || Brahmau[jhā]kasya bhūmi dattā sāsa(sāsa)-
- 38 (b) nam akarōpa Ma[ha]nṛṣaka-
- 39 (b) sya tathā [Kanharaśāi]
- 40 (b) Nāgāk[u]la[mdhya]ra ē-
- 41 (b) tēshām bhūmi aka-
- 42 (b) rōpa dattā pūi(pri)thunā
- 39 (c) Bhattāra-
- 40 (c) ka Bhāva-
- 41 (c) [dē]vāya
- 42 (c) bhūmi akarēna datā
- 43 (d) Svasti śīl-Dhārana-mahādēvi-[vayyā] sarvva vā(bā)[dhā]-parihāitēna aka[rē]-
- 44 (d) pa bhūmi dattā dēva śīl-Nārayanasy-āi thē Mahanaka Dēvadāsa
- 45 (d) [Jaggatī] || Sādhu Humasutta dē[danaṅitā?] Lakhmana Chaudhari
- 46 (d) [śrī]-Dhārana-mahādē bhūmi [dataru ara śrī dē sāsaana dattā<sup>3</sup>]  
bhūmi dattā | akarēpa

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1—6). Hail The *paṭṭa-mahādēvi* of the *Mahārāja Dhāravarshadēva*, who was born of the *Nāgavamsā*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood-jewels, who was the lord of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the *Kāśyapa gōtru*, who had made his shout of victory (universally) known, who had acquired the whole earth, the *Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of *Mahēsvaya*, who was a *Harsichandra* in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, a glorious ornament among kings,

(Lil 7—11) (she who was) the only mother of the world, called the turbaned queen consort (chief consort); whose head was wholly sanctified by being washed in the water of the Ganges, who was (as it were) half the body of *Dhāravarsha* (just as *Pārvatī* is half the body

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps *Chhādā brāhmana*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *Gōvīndapātra* [or *Gōvīndaputra* — S K]

<sup>3</sup> This perhaps stands for *dattā akarēna śrī dēvaana dēvya dattā*

of) Mahesvata, a noble lady of royal birth, resplendent (like) Pāvati, beautiful (like) the Ganges, who was exceedingly devoted to her husband, a lovely Arundhatī, a Sarasvatī of goodness; an amulet for those who sought her protection, a magical gem to her relatives, a new Sāvitrī of good bidding, capable of liberal support like the earth (was) Gunda-mahādēvi

(Ll 12—17) After the *Mahārājan Sōmēśvaradēva*, who was known as her son, who was born of the *Nāgavamsā*, resplendent with the mass of rays of thousand hood jewels, who was the lord of *Bhōgāvati*, the best of towns, whose crest was a tiger with a calf, who was of the *Kāsyapa gōtra*, who had made his shout of victory universally known; who had acquired the whole earth, the *Paramesvara*, *Paramabhūtaraka* who was like a bee rendered yellow by the collection of pollen of the lotus feet of Mahesvata, who was a Hansachandra in truthfulness, who was an adamantine cage (of safe refuge) to those who sought his protection, who was terrible to the refractory (or, rivals), a glorious ornament amongst kings,

(Ll 17—24) had gone to heaven, in the auspicious and victorious reign of his son, and her grandson, the illustrious hero *Kanharadēva*, resplendent in the row of all kings, when (the year) ten hundred increased by thirty-three of the era of the Śaka king had expired, in the *Khara samvatsari*, on the day of full moon of *Kārtika*, on a Wednesday, the village of *Nārāyanapura*, full of people come from various countries, was given by the illustrious *Gunda-mahādēvi* for so long as the moon, the sun, the earth, and the ocean endure, to the glorious god *Nārāyaṇa*, who is a ferry for crossing the ocean of transmigration, who is a basket (full) of the gems of knowledge, who opens the bolt of heaven's (door), seeing that everything is transient, unsteady and inconstant, in order to open the bolt of heaven's (door). Likewise the land near the *Kharjumbandha*-tank was given to the glorious god *Lōkōśvara*

(Ll 25—33) The illustrious minister *Ādityama Penna*, the *bhaffanāyaka* *Prōptayō*, the *karana* *Kudriyama Virama*<sup>1</sup>, the *nāyaka* *Sōmana*, the *nāyaka* *Rāmanākāsana*, the *nāyaka* *Mārayā*, the *bhāṇḍārī* *Aitana*, the *sādhu* *Vakōmārya*. The land of these was given revenue free. The *śrīcāhshin* *Sumara*, the *brāhmana* *Chhādrā*, the *śrīcāhshin* *Ghughi*, the *sādhu* *Śrī dhara*, the *kusajī* (cocoan producer) *Nānā*, the *māṭī* *Pālānu* *Padmāsinivirā*, the oilman *Gōvinda pātra*, the *bābū* *Jasadhavala*, *Milāpī* . . . . . the glorious *Vāsudēva*. these should always remain at the feet of the glorious *Nārāyaṇa* as *grahavojakas*, and the tribute should be paid to the illustrious *paṇḍit* *Purushōttama*. The land has been given free from all obstructions incumbent on the village, the *nisaya*, and the *nāḍa*, for so long a time as moon and sun endure (Here follow two imprecatory verses)

(L. 35). (Let) great happiness (attend). Hail.

(Ll. 36<sup>a</sup>—37<sup>a</sup>). Land is given to the *sātradhāra* *Ranavira*, free from taxes.

(Ll 36<sup>b</sup>—42<sup>b</sup>). The land of the *adhikārīn* *Chhādrūka* is given, free from taxes. (Also) that of *Brahmānjhāka* as a grant, free from taxes. The land of *Mahapāka*, *Kanharasāsi*, and *Nāgakulāmdhvara* is given, free from taxes.

(Ll. 39<sup>c</sup>—42<sup>c</sup>). To *bhaffāraka* *Bhāvādēva* land is given free from taxes.

(Ll 43<sup>d</sup>—46<sup>d</sup>) Hail The illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* gave land for the sake of the god, the illustrious *Nārāyaṇa* free from all obstructions, and free from taxes. (Witnesses are) *Mahapāka*, *Dēvadāsā*, *Jaggatī*, the *sādhu* *Himasutta* . . . . ., *Lakhmapa*, *Chhāddhart*. The land was given by the illustrious *Dhārāpa-Mahādēvi* free from taxes. The land was given by the queen consort free from taxes.

<sup>1</sup> We should perhaps read *karapa-kuffiyama Virama*, *Virama*, the writer of the *buffam*. Compare *Bader Powell, Indian Village Community*, p 167.

## No 50 —TIMMAPURAM PLATES OF VISHNUVARDHANA I VISHAMASIDDHI

By PROFESSOR E HULTZSCH, PH D , HALLE (SAALE)

This short inscription is on three copper-plates which were "discovered in the ground in October 1907 by one Sukuru Ramasvami while digging a hole in his vacant house site in the village of Timmapuram in the Sarvasiddhi taluka" and were sent by the Collector of the Visagapatam district to Rai Bahadr Venkayya, who describes them as follows —

"The plates measure  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches and are stung on an oval ring, the diameters of which are  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 3 inches. The ends of the ring are secured in the base of a nearly circular seal which measures between  $1\frac{3}{4}$  and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in diameter. In the centre of this seal is the legend [श्रीविष्णु]सिद्धि in the same alphabet in which the plates themselves are engraved. The third plate of the inscription is blank, and the grant itself ends in line 2 of the second side of the second plate."

The alphabet and orthography do not call for any special remarks. The final *i* occurs in line 1, the *upadhmaniya* in l. 5, and the Dravidian letter *ja* in l 11. The language is Sanskrit prose. The panegyric portion (ll. 1—11) is comparatively correct—probably because it was copied from a form preserved at the royal secretariat. The grant portion, however, must have been drafted by a person who knew very little Sanskrit. It contains a Prakrit word *chattāṭisa* (l 12) = Sanskrit *chaturviṃśat*, and several grave grammatical blunders which I have corrected in the footnotes.

The inscription records a grant by Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja surnamed Vishmasiddhi,<sup>1</sup> who was the younger brother of Satyāśraya-Vallabha-Mahārāja, the son of Kirtivarman, the grandson of Raṇavikrama, and the great-grandson of Raṇarāja of the Cha[lu]kyas family. This short pedigree establishes the identity of the donor of this grant with Vishnuvardhana I. Vishmasiddhi, the founder of the eastern branch of the Chalukya dynasty. That he was the younger brother of Satyāśraya, *i.e.* the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II, and the son of Kirtivarman (I), is stated in many Eastern Chalukya inscriptions, and his grandfather Raṇavikrama, *i.e.* Pulakēśin I., is mentioned also in his Sātārā plates.<sup>2</sup> The reference to his great-grandfather Raṇarāja is of some interest, because this name is known only from a few records of the Western Chalukyas.

Both Vishnuvardhana I. and his elder brother receive the title *Mahārāja*, but the second is stated to have 'subdued the circle of the whole earth' (l 5 f), while the former claims only to have 'humbled the circle of all the vassals' (l. 6 f). This distinction implies that, at the time of this grant, Vishnuvardhana I. was still a dependant of his elder brother, the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II. He professed to be a worshipper of Bhagavat (l 10), *i.e.* Viṣṇu, and resided at Piṣṭapura (l 1), the modern Piṭhāpuram in the Gōdāvari district. In the Aihole inscription<sup>3</sup> the capture of this fortress is ascribed to his elder brother and sovereign Pulakēśin II.

The grant portion differs from that of other records in two respects. It lacks at the end the usual imprecations and other particulars, and the donees are not mentioned by name, but simply stated to have been forty Brāhmanas of the Chhandōga school. The object of the grant was some land at Kumūlūra—a village which I am unable to identify—in the Palaki-vishaya.

<sup>1</sup> See note 6 on p 318

<sup>2</sup> This surname occurs both in line 8 and on the seal of the present grant. It forms also the legend of certain copper coins discovered in the Visagapatam district, see *Ind Ant* Vol XXV p. 322 f

<sup>3</sup> *Ind Ant* Vol XIX p 309.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI p 11, verse 27.

The same district seems to be referred to in the Chipurupalle plates of Vishnuvardhana I, where the name has been read doubtfully as 'Puki-vishnya,'<sup>1</sup> but, if the facsimile<sup>2</sup> can be trusted, the engraver has written in reality *P'uki-vishay*, which may be meant for *Pa'laki-vishayā*

TEXT.<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate

स्वस्ति<sup>4</sup> ॥

- 1 'श्रीमत्पिष्टपुरवासकात्' स्वभुजविजितदनुतनयम(र)हासेनेन म(र)हा-  
 2 सेनेनाभिवर्द्धितानान्भुवनमातृभिर्मातृभिरभिरक्षतानां<sup>5</sup> भानव्यस[गो]-  
 3 च्चाणां [ह्रा]रितिपुत्राणां<sup>6</sup> चक्यानामन्वययुत्तमयितुमसज्जदनु[भू]-  
 4 'तरणरागस्य रणरागस्य<sup>7</sup> 10 नसासङ्घविक्रमस्य रणविक्रमस्य पौ[त्रो]  
 5 विपुलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तिवर्मण] < प्रियसुतः शक्तिप्रययग्रिज्जतसकलमहीम-<sup>11</sup>  
 6 ङ्गलस्य सत्य[र\*]श्रयवज्जभमहाराजस्य प्रियानुजः स्वासिधार[र]नामित[स]-

## Second Plate, First Side.

- 7 मस्तसामन्तमण्डलः स्वरूपगुणयौवनश्रीया<sup>12</sup> दूरमतिश्र[यित]-  
 8 मकरध्वजः स्थलजलादिदुर्गविषमेष्वापि लम्बसिद्धित्वाद्द्विषमसिद्धिर[त्विर्]-  
 9 जन(ः)[नि]त्यप्रसूतकामधेनुः लोकातिशयविक्रमतया नरलोक[वि]-  
 10 [क्र]म[र\*]<sup>13</sup> परमभागवतः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुधर[र\*]तः श्रीविष्णु-  
 वर्द्ध[न]-  
 11 म(र)हाराजः (॥) पञ्चविषये (1<sup>4</sup>) कुम्भूलुरनामग्रामि पूर्वदिग्<sup>15</sup> क्षेत्रे च-  
 12 [त्वा]रि सङ्घननिव[र्त्त]नानि<sup>16</sup> छेदं कृत्वा (1) [पोटुशू]व[र\*]स्तव्याय(1)<sup>17</sup>  
 चत्त[र]लीस

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol XX. p 16, text line 18.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Barnell's *South Ind. Pal.*, 2nd ed., Plate xxvii.

<sup>3</sup> From two sets of ink-impressions received from Kasi Bahadur Venkayya

<sup>4</sup> This word is entered on the left margin of plate 1. opposite the beginning of line 4. The sign of punctuation after it runs into the following *akshara* न ) it resembles in shape the symbol called in Tamil *Pijjayar-suk*.

<sup>5</sup> The *t* of 'श्री' is obliterated.

<sup>6</sup> The final *t* of 'वासकात्' is entered at the top of the next *akshara* स. Another final *t* is entered at the top of the *r* of the preceding word 'पुर'; perhaps the writer wanted us to read 'पुरान्'.

<sup>7</sup> The three *aksharas* मातृभिः are engraved over रभिर, which was evidently done because they had been originally omitted through an oversight of the engraver.

<sup>8</sup> Read चसुक्या°.

<sup>9</sup> See note 4 above

<sup>10</sup> The न is engraved over मा; compare note 7 above

<sup>11</sup> Read °वमौ°.

<sup>12</sup> Read °प्रिया.

<sup>13</sup> The न seems to be engraved over स; compare notes 7 and 10 above. Instead of °विक्रमः I suspect 'विक्रमः' to be intended by the scribe.

<sup>14</sup> This mark of punctuation runs into the next *akshara* कु

<sup>15</sup> Read °दिशि.

<sup>16</sup> Read निवर्तनसुषुपापि.

<sup>17</sup> Read °वासयोऽयश्चारिणो ब्राह्मणेभ्यो नामासीन्नेभ्यश्चौनसब्रह्मचारिभ्यो यमनिवमपरेभ्यः षट्कथानिर्तेभ्यो वेदपारिषेभ्यो दत्तवान् ॥

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Collotype by Gebr. Pietzner

Full Size

From ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V Venkayya

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## Second Plate, Second Side.

- 13 ब्राह्मणः नानागत्र खन्दीगसब्रह्मचारिणे यमनियमपारगाय षट्[की]-  
 14 निरताय(1) वेदपारगाय दत्तः [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail! (Line 1) From (*his*) residence in the prosperous Pishtapura,—the great-grandson<sup>1</sup> of Banarāga, who repeatedly indulged in the passion of fighting in order to elevate the family of the Cha[lu]kyas, who were Hāntaputras, who belonged to the *gōtra* of the Mānavyas, who were protected by the Mātrīs, the mothers of the three worlds, (*and*) who were rendered prosperous by Mahāsēna,<sup>2</sup> who by his own arm had defeated the great army of the sons of Danu,<sup>3</sup>

(L 4)—the grandson of Raṇavikrama, whose valour was insuperable, the dear son of Kirtivarman, whose renown was extensive, (*and*) the dear younger brother of Saty[ā]śraya-Vallabha-Mahāśrāja, who had subdued the circle of the whole earth by the triad of (*regal*) powers,

(L 6)—the devout worshipper of Bhagavat, the very pious one, who meditated at the feet of (*his*) mother and father,—Śri-Vishnuvardhana-Mahārāja, who by the edge of his own sword humbled the circle of all the vassals, who by the splendour of his own beauty, virtues and youthfulness far surpassed Cupid,<sup>4</sup> who (*was surnamed*) Vishamasiddhi because he had obtained success (*siddhis*) in impassable straits (*vishama*) on land, on sea, *etc.*, who was a cow of plenty (*kāmadhēnu*) constantly yielding milk to suppliants, (*and*) who was the [Tri]vikrama (Vishnu) of the world of men because his valour surpassed (*that of all*) mankind,

(L 11)—has granted four thousand *nivartanas*<sup>5</sup> in the fields on the eastern side of the village named Kumūlūra in the Pajaki district (*vishaya*), having portioned (*them*) off, to forty Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*, residing in [Poṭunūka], belonging to the school of the Chhandōgas observing the greater and smaller rules, engaged in the six duties, (*and*) familiar with the Vēda.

## No. 51 — SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF KUMARADEVI

By STEN KONOW

The slab on which the inscription published below is incised was found during the excavations carried on by Mr. Marshall and myself in Sarnāth, in March 1908. It was dug out to the north of the Dhamēkh *stūpa*, to the south of the raised mound running east and west over the remnants of the old monasteries of the Gupta period. The writing covers almost the whole of the surface of the stone, *viz* 21" × 15½", and it is in a perfect state of preservation. The average size of the letters is ¼".

The characters are Nāgarī, of a very ornamental type, and the engraving has been done with considerable skill. Of individual letters, the form of the cerebral *ṣa* in *-bhaṣaḥ* and *kāṅṣapa-ṣkaḥ* in line 8 is worthy of notice. There are comparatively few orthographical peculiarities. *V* is used for *ḥ* throughout, and *na* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *śudhānśās-*, line 11. There are a few miswritings such as *harmmd-* for *dharmmd-*, l. 6; *prakṣhātī* for *prakhyaṭī*, l. 8, *vishmayakarō* for *vismaya-* and *asmādrīśaḥ* for *asmādrīśaḥ*, l. 13; *śmādrīśaḥ* for *śmādrīśaḥ*, l. 15, *na-* for *na-*, l. 22; *maḥībhujaḥ* for *maḥībhujaḥ*, l. 19, *etc.* The forms *Kumaraśēvi*,

<sup>1</sup> For other instances in which *soptā* has this meaning, see above, Vol. IV. p. 329 and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *I* is the god of war.

<sup>3</sup> *I* is the Dānavas or demons.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, 'the bearer of the *makara*-banner.'

<sup>5</sup> This would give 100 *nivartanas* for each of the 40 donees.



ll 11 and 22, and *vihāra* in ll. 23 and 26, on the other hand, are vouched for by the metre *Kumara* instead of *kumāra* is common in Maharashtra Prakrit, and a form *Kumaravāla* for the usual *Kumāravāla* occurs in Hémachandra's *Doṣamānāla*, l. 104, 88<sup>1</sup>. And *vihāra* instead of *vihāra* is justified by Pāṇini VI, 3 122

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the invocation to *Vasudhārā* in l 1, the whole of the inscription is in verse. There are altogether twenty six verses. Of these thirteen (Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23 and 24) are in the *Sardūlavikrīḍita*, five (Nos. 1, 10, 14, 15 and 20) in the *Mālinī*, four (Nos. 4, 16, 22 and 25) in the *Vasantatilakā*, three (Nos. 8, 9 and 26) in the *Aunshūbh*, and one (No. 2) in the *Stupdhā* metre.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *vihāra* by *Kumaradēvi*, one of the queens of *Gōvīndachandra* of Kanauj. The wording of verses 21-23, in which her gift is mentioned, is not quite clear. We are first told, in verse 21, that a *vihāra* was constructed, which apparently contained an image of the goddess *Vasudhārā*. The following verses are not quite clear. *Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya* has suggested the following explanation, which I think is a very plausible one. *Jambūki* drew up a copper plate, in which she represented to *Kumaradēvi* that the *Dharmachakra-Jina* originally set up by *Dharmāsoka* required to be repaired or set up again. This copper-plate must have contained information about the original setting up of the *Dharmachakra Jina* and further details about its maintenance and repairs. *Kumaradēvi*, who was apparently a stranger to the country round Benares, accepted her representation and raised her to the rank of "the foremost of *pattalikas*"<sup>2</sup>. Moreover, she restored the *Jina* or set up a new one and placed it in the *vihāra* built for *Vasudhārā*, or in another one constructed for the purpose, and the wish is expressed that, after having been placed there, he may remain there for ever. It seems necessary to infer that the *Śrīdharmachakra Jina*, which is said to have existed in *Dharmāsoka's* time, was an image of the Buddha, and that the *vihāra* built by the orders of Queen *Kumaradēvi* for him, was a shrine, a *gandhakūṭi*. It is difficult to explain the wish that he, i.e. the image, may reside there for ever, under any other supposition.

The inscription can be divided into four parts. After an invocation of *Vasudhārā* (v. 1) and the moon (v. 2) vv. 3-6 give some information about some rulers or generals of *Pīṭhi* or *Pithikā*. We learn that, in the lunar race, there arose a chief called *Vallabharāja*, the lord of broad *Pithukā* (v. 3). The following verse introduces the lord of *Pīṭhi* *Dēvarakṣhita*, without saying anything about his relationship to *Vallabharāja*. He is described as the full moon of the lotus of the *Ohhikkōra-vamsa*, and we are told that he even surpassed *Gajapati* in splendour. *Dēvarakṣhita* is again referred to as the lord of *Pīṭhi* in the second part of the inscription, and it therefore seems necessary to interpret vv. 5-6, which apparently refer to a son of his (*tasmād-āsa*, etc.) as an explanation of his relationship to *Vallabharāja*, who would then be his father.

The second part of the inscription, vv. 7-13, contains the information that *Dēvarakṣhita* was defeated by *Mahāra*, the maternal uncle of the *Gauḍa* king, who thus firmly established the throne of *Rāmapāla*, and subsequently bestowed his daughter *Sankaradēvi* on the *Pīṭhi* lord. Their daughter was *Kumaradēvi*, in whose praise the present inscription was written.

The third part, vv. 14-20, then contains the genealogy of the *Gahaḍavāla* family, to which *Kumaradēvi's* husband *Gōvīndachandra* belonged. It agrees with the list given in most inscriptions of this latter king, but does not carry us further back than to his grandfather. We are first introduced to *Chandra*, the *Chandradēva* of *Govindachandra's* inscriptions. His son

<sup>1</sup> See *Pischel, Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* § 81

<sup>2</sup> *Pattalika* is the feminine form of *pattalaka*, which occurs in the *Buguda* plates of *Mādhavarman*, above Vol. III, p. 44, l. 33, in connexion with *vasudevika*.

was Madanachandra, elsewhere known as Madanapāla, who again was the father of Gōvinda-chandra. He is said to have saved Benares from the wicked Turushka soldier.

The fourth part of the inscription (verses 21-23) specifies the gifts of Kumaradēvi, and her praise is sung in verse 24. Verses 25-26 then inform us that the inscription, which is here called a *prafasit*, was composed by the poet *śrī* Kunda, and engraved by Vāmana.

Gōvinda-chandra is the well-known king of Kanauj, whose inscriptions are dated between A.D. 1114 and 1154. Our inscription teaches us that he guarded Benares against the Turushkas, i.e. the Muhammadans. We do not know of any Muhammadan expedition against Benares in Gōvinda-chandra's time. In A.D. 1033 a Muhammadan army under Ahmad Nialtigin arrived at the town, but only stayed there for a day,<sup>1</sup> and there is no indication of a permanent settlement. We know, on the other hand, that Muslim settlers remained in the country about the Jamma from the days of Mahmud and down to the end of the 12th century.<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that Gōvinda-chandra took some action against such settlers, and the term *turushkadanda*, which occurs in many of his and his predecessors' inscriptions, gives us a hint as to the nature of this action. The word *turushkadanda* has been variously translated as "tax on aromatic reeds" and "Muhammadan amercements."<sup>3</sup> The information furnished by our inscription seems to show that it was in reality a tax on Muhammadans, the exact nature of which cannot, however, be determined.

Our inscription introduces us to a new queen of Gōvinda-chandra, Kumaradēvi, the granddaughter of Mahāpa. Three other queens are already known from inscriptions, viz. Nayanakēli-dēvi,<sup>4</sup> Gōsala-dēvi<sup>5</sup> and Dāhapa-dēvi.<sup>6</sup> While Gōvinda-chandra was himself an orthodox Hindū, his fourth wife Kumaradēvi was a Buddhist. According to information kindly supplied by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri, the king had still another Buddhist wife Vāsantadēvi, who is mentioned in the colophon of a manuscript of the *Ashṭasāhāsrīkū* in the Nepal Darbar Library (No 381 of the third collection). The colophon runs *-śrī-śrī-Kānyakubj-ādhyapaty-asvapaty-gajapati-narapati-rājya-trayādhipati-śrīmad-Gōvinda-chandra-dēvasya pratāpavastatah rājñi-śrī-pravara-Mahīyīna-yāyīnyāh paramōpāsikā-rājñi-Vāsantadēvyā dēyadharmō-yam*. It is possible that Vāsantadēvi and Kumaradēvi are one and the same person, one of the meanings of *vāsanta* being "youth" = *kumāra*. It is, however, more probable that they are two different persons.

Some information about Mahāpa, the father of Kumaradēvi's mother, and about the lord of Pithi, her father, can be gleaned from Sandhyākara Nandi's *Bhāmācharīya*, which work has been brought to light by Mahāmahōpādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstri.<sup>7</sup> We are there told that Mahāpa was the maternal uncle of the Gaṇḍa king Rāmapāla. Vīgrahapāla, the father of Rāmapāla, made a successful war against the Chōḍi king Karnā of Dāhāla, of whom we possess an inscription dated Kalachuri Samvat 493 = A.D. 1042.<sup>8</sup> Karnā's reign probably extended over a long period.<sup>9</sup> We cannot, therefore, determine when the war against Vīgrahapāla took place. We have an inscription of the time of Vīgrahapāla's grandfather Mahīpāla, dated A.D. 1026,<sup>10</sup> and Mahīpāla's son Nayapāla reigned at least 15 years.<sup>11</sup> Vīgrahapāla's accession cannot, therefore, be placed earlier than A.D. 1041. His son Rāmapāla, who was preceded on the throne by two brothers Mahīpāla II and Śūrapāla, was a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> See H. M. Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II 1869, pp. 112 and ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 260 and ff.

<sup>3</sup> See Führer, *Journal Bengal Society*, Vol. LVI. Pt I p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, Nos. 127 and 131.

<sup>6</sup> See Führer, loc. cit. p. 115, l. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1900, pp. 70 and ff.

<sup>8</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No 407.

<sup>9</sup> See Kielhorn, above, Vol. II pp. 302 and ff.

<sup>10</sup> Kielhorn, *Northern List*, No. 59.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 642.

Śaṅkarādēvi, the mother of Gōvīndachandra's queen Kumārādēvi. It therefore seems probable that Vīgrahapāla's accession should be placed about A. D. 1050, and Rāmapāla's reign in the last part of the eleventh century. Mahana, Śaṅkarādēvi's father, would then be a contemporary of both of them. The *Rāmācharita*, which calls him Mathana or Mahana, states that he was a Rāshtrakūta, and the maternal uncle of Rāmapāla. It therefore becomes probable that Vīgrahapāla married a Rāshtrakūta princess in addition to the daughter of the Chēdi king Karnā who was, according to the *Rāmācharita*, given to him after the war alluded to above. Mahana was Rāmapāla's right hand, and was of great assistance in the war against Bhīma. (Among the feudatories of the Pāla king in that war, the *Rāmācharita* mentions Vīraguna, the *rāja* of Pīthī who is described as the lord of the south. Dēvarakshita of Pīthī is also mentioned, but not as a feudatory. He must be identical with the Dēvarakshita of our inscription, and it becomes probable that the Pīthī ruler Vīraguna had originally stood on Rāmapāla's side, while Dēvarakshita later on rose against him. He hailed from Pīthī or Pīthikā, which according to the *Rāmācharita* was situated in the south. Now *pīth* or *pīthiki* is synonymous with *pītha*, and it is therefore possible that Pīthī is identical with Pīthāpuram.<sup>1</sup> We know that a branch of the Eastern Chalukyas reigned in Pīthāpuram in the second half of the twelfth century, and that the town had already been conquered by Pulikēsin II. No historical information is forthcoming about the earlier Chalukya princes of the Pīthāpuram branch. The real history of the family only seems to begin with Vijayāditya III, whose coronation took place A. D. 1158.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that the genealogy given in the Pīthāpuram inscriptions hardly can be correct. Mr. Sewell has drawn my attention to the fact that only four generations are enumerated between Bēta, who reigned in A. D. 925, and Vijayāditya III, who was crowned in A. D. 1158.

Before this branch became established in Pīthāpuram, the place was one of the strongholds of the Vēṅgi province of the Eastern Chalukyas. In the last part of the 11th century, the reigning king was Kulōttuṅga Chōḍadāva, who first was ruler in Vēṅgi but who in A. D. 1070 was anointed to the Chōḍa kingdom. Vēṅgi was then ruled by viceroys, first by his uncle Vijayāditya VII then by his sons Rājārāja (1077-78) and Vira Chōḍa (from 1078). Mr. Venkayya suggests that this latter viceroy may be identical with the Vīraguna of the *Rāmāpālācharita*. Dēvarakshita was then probably a general under the viceroy of Vēṅgi. He is said to have surpassed even the glory of Gajapati. As this epithet is used by some of the Eastern Gāṅgas, it is possible that it here refers to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. The *Kalīṅgatu Param*<sup>3</sup> describes an expedition undertaken by Kulōttuṅga I. against this king, and Dēvarakshita may have played a rôle in it. We do not know anything about the Chhakkra family, to which Dēvarakshita belonged.

The marriage of Dēvarakshita's daughter to king Gōvīndachandra perhaps accounts for the relationship between the Chōḍas and the Gāhaḍavālas commented on by Mr. Venkayya in his Annual Report for 1907-08, para. 58 and ff. An incomplete Gāhaḍavāla inscription has recently been found immediately after a record of Kulōttuṅgadāva of A. D. 1110-11, in Gaṅgaikōṇḍa chōḷapuram, which it is tempting to bring into connexion with Gōvīndachandra's marriage. Mr. Venkayya carries the acquaintance of the Gāhaḍavālas with the Chōḍa kings farther back to the expedition of Rājendra Chōḷa towards the kings on the banks of the Ganges, mentioned in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, and it seems very probable that this expedition led to the establishment of friendly relations with the north. Among the princes conquered by Rājendra Chōḷa was Dharmapāla of Daḍḍabhukti, and the lord of Daḍḍabhukti figures amongst the feudatory kings who, according to the *Rāmāpālācharita*, assisted Rāmapāla in his war against Bhīma.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the forms Pīthapura and Pīthāpari, above, Vol. IV p. 37, 357. Note 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Hultzsch, above, Vol. IV, p. 223.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 329 ff.

The relationship between the various persons mentioned in our inscription will be seen from the table which follows —

Vallabharāja of Pithī	Mahana, of the Rāshtrakūta family.	Chandra, of the Gahadavāla family.
Dēvarakshita, married	Śankaradēvi	Madanachandra
	Kumaradēvi, married	Gōvīndachandīa.

According to verse 25, the inscription was composed by Kunda, who describes himself as a lion to the *tīrthika*-elephants, a Rōhana mountain, full of the splendid gems of poetical composition, a poet in eight *bhāshās*, and an intimate friend of the king of Vanga. He is not elsewhere known. His name does not occur in the *Sādūktikarnāmra*,<sup>1</sup> nor, so far as I know, in any other anthology. The engraver was the *śilpīn* Vāmana

#### TEXT.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> नमो भगवत्यै शार्यवसुधारायै ॥ <sup>3</sup>समवतु वसुधारा धर्मपीयूषधारा-  
प्रशमितवहुविश्वोद्दामदुःखोरधारा । धनकनकसमृद्धिं भूर्भुवः श्रः<sup>4</sup> किरन्तो  
तद्-
- 2 स्थिलजनदेन्याम्याजयन्ती जगन्ति ॥ [१\*] <sup>5</sup>नेत्रैरुत्कण्ठितानां धरणसुपनयशा-  
रुचन्द्रोपसलानाम्मानग्रन्थिभिन्दिन् सह कुमुदवनीसुद्रया मानिनीनाम् ।  
दग्धन्दश्वेश्वरेणा[स्र]-
- 3 तनिकारकरैर्जीवयन् कामदेवं काम्नायं कौमुदीनां स जयति जगदाश्लोकदीप-  
प्रदीपः ॥ [२\*] <sup>6</sup>वशे तस्य नमस्यपीरुषञ्जुषि प्रस्कारकीर्त्तितुषि द्राक्  
शौचेन सु[राप]-
- 4 गामदसुषि प्रत्यर्थिलक्ष्मीरुषि । वीरो वल्लभराजनामविदितो मान्यः स  
भूमिभुजां जेतासीयुधुपीठिकापतिरतिप्रौढप्रतापोदयः ॥ [३\*] <sup>7</sup>किञ्चोरवंशकु-  
सुदोदयपूर्य-
- 5 चन्द्रः श्रीदेवरञ्चित इति प्रथितः प्रथिव्याम् । पीठीपतिर्गजपतेरपि राज्य-  
लक्ष्मीं लक्ष्म्या जिगाय जगदेकमनोरञ्चोः ॥ [४\*] <sup>8</sup>तस्मादास पयोनि-  
घेरिव विधु-
- 6 शार्वस्थलक्ष्मीविधुर्नैत्रानन्दससुद्रवर्हनविधुः कीर्त्तियुतिश्रीविधुः । सौजन्यैकनिधिः  
स्फुरद्गुणनिधिर्गाम्भीर्यवाराभिधिर्चम्पाद्वैतनिधिः<sup>9</sup> स च[ण्डि]म-
- 7 निधिः शस्त्रैकविद्यानिधिः ॥ [५\*] <sup>10</sup>दीनानामभिवाञ्छितैकफलदः प्रत्यक्ष-  
कल्पद्रुमो दृष्यहैरिगिरीन्द्रमेदनविधौ दुर्वारवज्रश्च यः । कामान[१\*]श्रद-

<sup>1</sup> Rajendra Lala Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vol. III pp 134 and ff <sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>4</sup> Read ख .

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Sragdharā.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Vasantatilakā

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita

<sup>9</sup> Read शम्भारित.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita

- 8 नव्वरोपग्रमने सिद्धौषधीपङ्क्तवो वाङ्मयस्य वभूव भूतलभुजामन्तसमत्कारिणः  
॥ [६\*] <sup>1</sup>गौडेहैतभटः सकाण्डपटिकः च्चैकचूडामपिः <sup>2</sup>प्रघातो
- 9 महणाङ्गपः च्चितिभुजाम्बान्योभवन्नातुलः । त(त्)ं जित्वा युधि देवरश्चि-  
तमघात् श्रीरामपालस्य यो लक्ष्मीं निर्जितवैरिरोधनतया देदीप्यमानो-  
दयाम् ॥ [७\*] <sup>3</sup>कन्या महण-
- 10 देवस्य तस्य कन्येव भूभृतः । सा पीठीपतिना तेन तेनेवोढा स्वयम्भू(भु)षा  
॥ [८\*] <sup>4</sup>ख्याता शङ्करदेवीति तारैव करुणाश्रया । व्यजेष्ट कल्पवृक्षाण-  
क्षता दानीयमेन या ॥ [९\*] <sup>5</sup>श-
- 11 जनि कुमरदेवो हन्त देवोव ताभ्यां शरदमलसुधाङ्गीशारुखैखिव रम्या ।  
दुरितजलधिमध्याङ्गीकसुहृत्कामा स्वयमिष्ट करुणार्त्ता तारिणीवावतीर्षा ॥  
[१०\*]
- 12 <sup>6</sup>याम्नेघाः प्रविधाय शिखरचनाचातुर्थ्यदर्पं व्याधाद्यहङ्गेष जितसुधारकिरणो  
द्वीयः स खस्योभवत् । रात्रावुहममातनोति मखिनो जातः कलङ्को ततस्त-
- 13 स्याः सुद(सुन्द)रिमा स <sup>7</sup>विश्वयकरो वाच्यः <sup>8</sup>किमस्मादृशैः ॥ [११\*] <sup>9</sup>चि-  
त्तलदृक्करङ्गभवधुवन्धस्फुरद्वायुराम् विभ्राया तनुसम्पदम्प्रविलसत्त्वान्याभिकान-  
श्रिया ।<sup>10</sup>
- 14 खिलस्त्रीरसमुद्रसाम्प्रक्षररीशावच्छलक्ष्मीसुषं सोषं शैलसुतामदस्य दधती सौभाग्य-  
गर्वेष सा ॥ [१२\*] <sup>11</sup>धर्माद्वैतमतिर्गुणाहितरतिः प्रारभ्यपुष्पाचित-
- 15 दानोदारधृतिर्मतङ्कजगतिर्नेत्रा(त्रा)भिरामाङ्कतिः । श्रास्त्रुन्वस्त नतिगनोदिततुतिः  
<sup>12</sup>कारुण्यकेलिस्त्रितिनित्वश्रीवसतिः क्षताधविहतिः स्फायद्गुणाङ्क-
- 16 तिः ॥ [१३\*] <sup>13</sup>जगति गह्ववाक्ने च्चव(वं)शे प्रसिद्धेजनि नरपतिचन्द्रचन्द्र(मा)-  
नामा नरेन्द्रः । यदसहजनृपाणाङ्गाभिनीवाष्पवाङ्केः(ः) शितितरमिदमासीद्या-  
सुन(नं) तू(त्रु)नमभः ॥ [१४\*] <sup>14</sup>नृ-
- 17 पतिमदनचन्द्रचम्भूपालचूडामणिरजनि स तस्माद्भिभेदेकातपत्र[म\*] । धरणि-  
तलमनन्यप्रौढतेडो(जो)नलन्वीः श्रियमपि च मघोनः स्वश्रियाधो दधानः  
॥ [१५\*] <sup>15</sup>वाराण-
- 18 श्रीं भुवनरक्षणदक्ष एको <sup>16</sup>दुष्टान्मुहृष्कसुमटादवितुं हरेष । उक्तो हरिस्व  
पुनरत्र वभूव तस्माद्भोविन्दचन्द्र इति प्रथिताभिधानः ॥ [१६\*] <sup>17</sup>वल्गाः  
कामदुष्टां कथा-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>7</sup> Read विश्वय°.

<sup>10</sup> The sign of interpunctation has been engraved in the beginning of next line.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>2</sup> Read प्रख्याती.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>8</sup> Read °न्याङ्गैः.

<sup>13</sup> Read °नतिव°. °नितिन°.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: Vasantakāṅk.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>15</sup> Metre: Mālinī.

<sup>18</sup> Read दुष्टाय°.

1 नानागव्यसासुव...  
 2 विलकने...  
 3 नानकर...  
 4 गनर...  
 5 द...  
 6 ज्ञा...  
 7 नि...  
 8 म...  
 9 म...  
 10 सु...  
 11 क...  
 12 य...  
 13 ग...  
 14 व...  
 15 य...  
 16 न...  
 17 य...  
 18 न...  
 19 न...  
 20 य...  
 21 त...  
 22 व...  
 23 य...  
 24 न...  
 25 न...  
 26 न...  
 27 पु...

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- 19 नपि पयःपूरस्थ<sup>1</sup> पातु न ते चित्रं प्रागलभन्त याचकमनःसन्तोषनिव्यव्यात् ।  
 त्यागैर्यस्य<sup>2</sup> महीभृजः प्रसुदिते तयाचकानाञ्चये स्वच्छन्दार्हितनिव्यनिर्भरपय-  
 20 पानीत्ववैरासते ॥ [१७\*]<sup>3</sup> यद्विद्देशिमहीभृजां पुरवरे प्रभ्रष्टहारावलीर्व्याधास्तन्मृग-  
 पाशवन्धमनसा गह्वन्ति नैव भ्रमात् । व्याधाः सस्तसुवर्षकुण्डलमहि-  
 भ्रान्त्या  
 21 तदत्यायतेर्दण्डैर्द्रागपसारयन्ति च भयप्रोक्त्वम्पिहस्तसजः ॥ [१८\*]<sup>4</sup> यस्योत्सन्नवि-  
 रोधिभूपतिपुरप्रासादपृष्ठोपरि प्रत्यग्रस्फुरदुग्रशय्यकवलव्यालोलवाजि-  
 22 व्रजः । आदित्यस्वभवत्स मन्यरयञ्चन्द्रोपि मन्दोभवत् घासप्रासविरूदलोभहरिणः,  
 रचन् पतन्तन्तः ॥ [१९\*]<sup>5</sup> अहह कुमरदेवी तेन र[1\*]ञ्चा प्रसिद्धा नि-  
 (त्रि)जगति  
 23 परिगीता श्रीरिवेहाच्युतेन । प्रविलसदवरोधि तस्य राज्ञोन्नानां नियतममुत-  
 रश्मेर्लेखिका तारकासु ॥ [२०\*]<sup>6</sup> वीहारो नवखण्डमण्डलमहीहारः कृतोय-  
 न्तया  
 24 तारिष्वा वसुधारया ननु वपुर्विभ्राणयालंकृतः । यं दृष्ट्वा प्रविचित्रशिर्यर-  
 नाचातुर्व्येसीमाश्रयं गोवीर्यैः सुदृश[ञ्च] विस्मयमगाद्भागुश्रुकर्मापि सः ॥ (1)  
 [२१\*]<sup>7</sup> श्रीधर्मचक्रजि-  
 25 नशासनसन्निवहं सा जम्बुकी<sup>8</sup> सकलपत्तिलिवाग्रभूता । तत्ताम्रशासनवर(रं)  
 प्रविधाय तस्यै दत्त्वा तया शशिरवी भुवि यावदास्ताम् ॥ [२२\*]  
<sup>10</sup> धर्माशोकनराधिपस्य समये श्रीध-  
 26 म(र्म)चक्रो जिना यादृक् तन्नयरचितः पुनरयञ्चक्रे ततोप्यद्भुतम् । वीहारः  
 स्थविरस्य तस्य च तया यद्वादयद्धारितस्तस्मिन्नेव समर्पितश्च वसतादा-  
 चन्द्रचण्ड्युति ॥ [२३\*]<sup>11</sup> तत्कीर्त्तिय-  
 27 रिपालयिष्यति जना यः कश्चिदुर्वीतले सा तस्याङ्घ्रियुगमणामपरमा यूय जिनाः  
 साक्षिणः । तस्याः कश्चिदनिश्चितो यदि यशोव्यालीपकारी खलः तं  
 पापीयसमा-  
 28 य शासति पुनस्ते लोकपाला क्रुधा ॥ [२४\*]<sup>12</sup> एकस्त्रीर्थिकवादिवारणघटा-  
 सङ्घट्टकण्ठीरवः साहित्यो[ज\*]ज्वलरत्नरीहणगिरियो द्वष्टभाषाकविः । स्थातो  
 वङ्गमहीभजः<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read पातुं<sup>2</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>3</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>4</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>5</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>6</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>7</sup> Read सुगः<sup>8</sup> Read मन्वहास<sup>0</sup> षट्सीमहरिणं<sup>9</sup> Metro: Vasantalaka<sup>10</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>11</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>12</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>13</sup> Metro: Mālika<sup>14</sup> Read "पराशिका"<sup>15</sup> Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita<sup>16</sup> Read सुगः; the final *varṅga* has been engraved in the beginning of line 29

29 प्रणयम्: श्रीकुन्दनामा कृती तस्याः सुन्दरवर्षगुम्फरचनारभ्यां प्रशस्तिं व्यधात्  
 ॥ [२५\*] <sup>1</sup> एषा प्रशस्तिरुत्कीर्षी वामनेन तु शिल्पिना । राजावर्त्तस्य  
 सापत्यन्दधाने प्रस्तरोत्तमे ॥ [२६\*]

## TRANSLATION.

Hail Obeasance to the exalted noble Vasudhārā.

(V. 1) May Vasudhārā protect the worlds, who abates the broad stream of unmited misery in the manifold universe by the nectar stream of *Idharma*, who pours out riches of wealth and gold over earth, skies and heaven, and who conquers all the misery of man in them.<sup>2</sup>

(V. 2) Victorious be that lover of the lotuses, the flashing torch for the illumination of the world, who causes oozing of the lovely moon-gums and (brings tears into) the eyes of longing people; who opens the knot of pride in haughty damsels and also the closed lotuses, who with his nectar-filled beams revives the god of love, who was burnt to ashes by *Īvara*, (who had been smitten (by him)).

(V. 3) In his (the moon's) lineage, which enjoys a valour worthy of homage; which is resplendent with shining fame, which speedily annihilates the pride of the river of the gods by its purity, which destroys the splendour of its adversaries, was a hero, known by the name of *Vallabharāja*, honoured among princes, the victorious lord of broad *Piṭhikā*, of increasing mighty prowess.

(Vv. 4-5) The full moon expanding the lotuses of the *Chhikkōra* family, known on earth as *Śrī-Dēvarakshita*, the lord of *Piṭhī* (who) surpassed even the splendour of *Gajapati* by his splendour, whose glory alone ravished the hearts of the world, was descended from him (*Vallabharāja*), as the moon from the ocean, a (veritable) *Vishnu* (*Vidhu*), to the *Lakshmi* of beauty, a (veritable) moon in causing the rise of the ocean, viz. ocular pleasure (as the moon raises the ocean); a second moon, the lustre of whose light was his fame (or, a second *Vishnu* with *Śrī* in the shape of the lustre of his fame), an incomparable treasure of goodness, a treasure of resplendent virtues; an ocean of profundity; a peerless store of religion, a store of energy, the only depository of the lore of arms, —

(V. 6) Who was the veritable celestial tree in bestowing desired objects on supplicants, who was an irresistible thunderbolt in accomplishing the splitting of the mighty mountains, viz. his haughty foes, a marvellous man, whose arm was like a sprout of a marvellous herb in healing the fever of Cupid in enamoured women, and death to kings.

(V. 7) In the *Gauḍa* country there was a peerless warrior, with his quiver,<sup>3</sup> this incomparable diadem of *kehotryas*, the *Āṅga* king *Mahana*, the venerable maternal uncle of kings. He conquered *Dēvarakshita* in war and maintained the glory of *Rāmapāla*, which rose in splendour because the obstruction caused by his foes was removed.

(V. 8) The daughter of this *Mahaḍāva* was like the daughter of the mountain (viz. *Pārvatī*), she was married to the lord of *Piṭhī* as (*Pārvatī*) to *Svayambhu*;

(V. 9) She was known as *Sanhkaradēvī*, full of mercy like *Tārā*, and she excelled the creepers of the wishing tree in her efforts to make gifts

(V. 10) To them, forsooth, was born *Kumaradēvī*, like a *dēt*, lovely like the charming streak of the spotless autumnal moon, as if *Tārā* herself, prompted by compassion, had descended to earth with a wish to free the world from the ocean of misery.

<sup>1</sup> Metre Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Venkaya suggests to read *dānyat-tyāgayanit*.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *kehotryas* is uncertain. The word is usually translated 'screen.' But this meaning



(V 11.) After having created her, Brahmā was filled with pride at his own cleverness in applying his art, excelled by her face the moon, being ashamed, remains in the air, rises at night becomes impure and subsequently full of spots, how can this her marvellous beauty be described by people like us ?

(V 12.) She, who in a wonderful way possesses a beautiful body, which is a glittering net for entrapping female antelopes, *vis.* the moving eyes, and which robs the wealth of beauty of the lense waves of the playful milky ocean by her brilliant charm of lovely splendour ; who does away with the infatuation of the daughter of the mountain (*i. e.* Pārvatī) by her proud grace

(V 13.) Her mind was set on religion alone, her desire was bent on virtues, she had undertaken to lay in a store of merit, she found a noble satisfaction in bestowing gifts, her gait was like that of an elephant, her appearance charming to the eye, she bowed down to the Buddha, and the people sang her praise, she took her stand in the play of commiseration, was her permanent abode of luck, annihilated sin, and took her pride in abundant virtues

(V 14.) In the royal Gahadavāla lineage, famous in the world, was born a king, Chandra by name, a moon (*chandra*) among rulers. By the streams of tears of the wives of the kings who could not resist him, the water of the Yamunā forsooth became darker

(V 15.) The king Madanachandra, a crest jewel amongst impetuous kings, was born from him, the lord who brought the circle of the earth under one sceptre, the splendour of the fire of his valor being great and mighty, and who even lowered the glory of Maghavan by his glory

(V 16.) Hari, who had been commissioned by Hara in order to protect Vārānasi from the wicked Turushka warrior, as the only one who was able to protect the earth, was again born from him, his name being renowned as Gōvindaachandra,

(V 17.) Wonderful, the calfs of the celestial cows could not formerly get even drops of the milk stream to drink, on account of its continuous use for satisfying the hearts of supplicants, but after the multitude of these supplicants had been gladdened through the liberality of that king, they sat down to the feast of drinking the milk which is always plentiful and applied according to their wishes.

(V 18.) In the excellent cities of his adversaries, hunters by mistake do not pick up fallen necklaces, thinking them to be nooses for the deer in it, and hunters quickly remove the fallen gold ear-ring with sticks, the garlands in their hands shaking with fear, mistaking it for a snake on account of its large size.

(V 19.) The chariot of the sun was delayed because its span of horses were greedy after the mouthful of fresh, shining, thick grass on the roofs of the palaces in the towns of his uprooted foes, and also the moon became slow, because he had to protect the gazelle (in his orb), which was falling down, having become covetous after the grass

(V 20.) Kumaradēvi, forsooth, was famous with that king, like Śrī with Viṣṇu, and her praises were sung in the three worlds, and in the splendid harem of that king, she was indeed like the streak of the moon amongst the stars.

(V 21.) This *vihāra*, an ornament to the earth, the round of which consists of nine segments, was made by her, and decorated as it were by Vasudhārā herself in the shape of Tāraṇī, and even the Creator himself was taken with wonder when he saw it accomplished with the highest skill in the applying of wonderful arts and looking handsome with (the images of) gods.

(V 22.) Having prepared that copper-plate grant, which recorded the gift to śrī-Dharma chakra Jina, for so long a time as moon and sun endure on earth, and having given it to her, that Jambukī was made (?) the foremost of all *pattālikās* by her (Kumaradēvi)

(V 23) This Lord of the Turning of the Wheel was restored by her in accordance with the way in which he existed in the days of Dharmaoka, the ruler of men, and even more wonderfully, and this *chakra* for that *sthanu* was elaborately created by her, and might he placed there, stay there as long as moon and sun (endure).

(V 24) If anyone on the surface of the world preserves her fame, she will be intent on bowing down at his pair of feet. You Jins shall be witnesses. But if any fool robs her fame, then those *lōkapālas* will quickly punish that wicked man in their wrath.

(V 25) The poet in eight *bhāshās* known as the trusted friend of the Banga-king, Śrī-Kunda by name, the learned who was the only hon to attack the crowds of the elephant like heretics, who was a Rōhana mountain of the flashing jewels of poetical composition, he made this eulogy of her, charming with strings of letters beautifully arranged.

(V 26) This *prasasti* has been engraved by the *salpa* Vamana on this excellent stone which rivals the *rājāvarta* (i.e. Jajpur Lazuli).

No 52 — KRISHNAPURAM PLATES OF SADASIVARAYA.

SAKA SAMVAT 1489

BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO, M. A., MADRAS, AND RAO SAHIB T. RAJAVIAH, B. A., REVENUE OFFICER, MADRAS COLONY.

The temple of Śrī Vēṅkatāchalapati to which this set of copper-plates belongs, is situated in the middle of Krishnāpuram, a village six miles south-east of Innurvally. The temple has some fine sculptures and a few inscriptions of later times. The copper-plates were kindly secured for us by Mr. N. Gōpālasvāmi Ayyangār, B. A., B. L., Deputy Collector, Kollēgāl, and we now edit them from impressions prepared under our supervision.

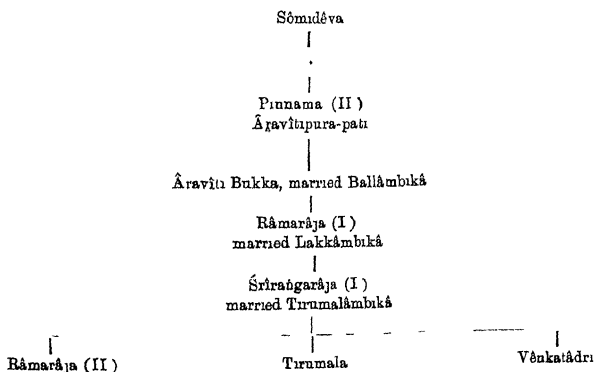
The plates are five in number, bound together by a ring which has also a seal loosely strung to it. The upper half of the surface of the seal bears the figure of a standing boy facing the proper right, near its face is a dagger placed with its point downwards, and over it are cut out the figures of sun and moon. The lower half has a design not uncommon to the Vijayanagara seals. On the top of the first plate and immediately above the inscription is engraved the *Srīvāshava nāmanam* (of the Tēṅḡal sect) flanked on either side with the conch and the discus (of Vishṇu). The plates (except the first) are numbered in Kannada-Telugu numerals engraved on the right-hand corner of the first side of each plate. The rims of the plates are raised, and the first and last plates are engraved on one side only.

The characters are Nandināgarī, and the language, excepting the obeisance to Ganapati at the beginning, is Sanskrit verse. The signature at the end is as usual, the name of the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, *Srī Vṛṣācakra*, and is written in the Kannada alphabet. There are a few orthographical peculiarities worth noticing. The long vowel *ē* is represented by the usual sign for *ē* with a secondary *r*-stroke on the top. This new long *ē*, as employed in our record, is the same as the vowel *ai* as written at the present day, but in the present inscription, this latter sound is represented by an ordinary short *e* with two secondary *e* symbols on it, e.g. *Aśvāvalīpura*—occurring in line 114, *Aśvakūḷa*—in line 145, *Ebrudārāyara*—in line 191, and *Ekava* in line 210. The Dravidian rough *r* is represented, as in other Vijayanagara plates written in the Nandināgarī alphabet, with a secondary *r* on the top of a common *r*, e.g. *Māru*—occurring in line 94, *Savaḷakkaraḥ*—in line 141, *-pāra*—in line 146, *Śrīvā*—in line 150, and *-Aravṛ*—in line 159. There are several minor errors in the inscription

such as omissions of letters, and of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, wrong repetitions of the same words and phrases, etc., these are noticed in footnotes under the text. The *virudas* of the king and of the chiefs are known from other sources.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Sadaśivarāya of Vidyānagari. It records that at the request of Tirumala, who was in his turn requested by Krishnappa Nāyaka or Krishnabhūpati as he is called in the inscription, Sadaśivarāya granted a number of villages to the god Tiruvēkatanātha set up at Krishnāpuram by Krishnappa Nāyaka. The first part of the inscription gives in detail the genealogy of king Sadaśiva which is identical with that given in the British Museum plates of the same king published by Prof. Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> and No. 58 of the Nāgamangala tāluk of the Mysore District, published by Mr. Rice<sup>2</sup>. Herein also Sadaśivarāya is described as being installed on the throne by the chief ministers at the instance of Rāmarāja, who is here, as in the other plates,<sup>3</sup> called his sister's husband. Later on (vv 84-95) the inscription details the pedigree of the family to which Tirumala belonged.

The genealogy begins with Nanda, who is said to have been born in the race of the moon. In his race was born Chalikka and in the latter's Bijjalēndra. Sōmidēva, who captured seven forts, was born in his line. His grandson was Pinnama "lord of Āravītipura." His son was Āravīti-Bukka, whose wife was Ballāmbikā. Their son was Rāmarāja who married Lakkāmbikā. To them was born Śrīrangarāja (I) and his wife was Tirumalāmbikā. Their sons were Rāmarāja (II), Tirumala (I) and Vēṅkatādrī. Tirumala is styled in the plates a Bhōja in poetry. Appended below is a genealogical tree of Tirumala's family —



We learn from the British Museum plates that Rāmarāja II, Tirumala and Vēṅkatādrī belonged to the same family, from which Kōṇḍarāja of that grant was descended (see table above, Vol IV, p. 4). Tirumala bears (vv 98-101) the family *virudas* of *antembaragarāma*,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV., p. 1

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IV., p. 219 of the Romanised text portion

<sup>3</sup> Compare the British Museum Plate Inscription, above, Vol IV, p. 3 f., No 7 of the Hassan tāluk. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V., Part I; and No. 186 of Chennapatna, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol IX. Compare Prof. Kielhorn's remarks on the meaning of "sister" in this connection

*śrīmanḍalāgaṇḍa, būradamaṇṇyavībhūta, ākaraṇṭarāha, Kalyāṇapurāṇātha* and *Vēṅpa-tribhūṇanimalla*<sup>1</sup> At the time at which the present grant was made, Rāmarāja, the powerful general and minister of Sadāsiva, and his brother Vēṅkaṭādi had both been dead two years, they having fallen in the famous battle of Tālikōta on the 23rd January A.D. 1566. Trumala, the second brother of Rāmarāja, now became the minister and commander and was the *de facto* king. In the course of the same or the beginning of the next year he was to become eventually the *de jure* king and founded the third dynasty of Vijayanagara.

Kṛṣṇanappa Nāyaka, at whose request the present grant was made, is described as the grandson of Nāgama Nāyaka and the son by Nāgama of Varanātha Nāyaka.<sup>2</sup> He has the *brūdas, Kāñchīpuravarādhisvara, Mōkalipattavaradhana, Samudraśahagandā, Samayakōḍhala, Aślavalīpuravarādhisvara, Pāṇḍyukulaśūpanīchirya* and *Dakṣiṇasamudrādhipati* (vv. 49-52).

In connection with the conquest of the Pāṇḍya country by the kings of Vijayanagara, we might notice that Narasa or Narasā Nāyaka, as he is more commonly called, is said to have subjugated Mānabhūsha, the king of Mādura.<sup>3</sup> We know that Narasā Nāyaka lived about the last quarter of the 15th century<sup>4</sup> and that Mānabhūsha or Anikera Parākrama Pāṇḍya began his reign in 1422 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and ruled for at least 42 years, i.e. till about 1466 A.D.<sup>6</sup> It is quite likely that this Pāṇḍya king was the one referred to as defeated by Narasā Nāyaka.

Our inscription is dated (vv. 44-45) in the Śaka year 1489, computed by the *nīdas* (9), *vāraṇas* (8), *vēdas* (4), and *śudu* (1), in the year Prabhava, on the Makara saṁkrānti corresponding to the new moon *tithi* of the month Pushya, on a Monday. Sadāsivarāja was then encamped on the island of Śīrangam and made the grant in the presence of the god Ranganātha. The last known date for Sadāsivarāja is 1537 A.D.,<sup>7</sup> some ten months earlier than that of our record, and hence it is likely that the king, after the disaster that befell him at Tālikōta two years previously, was spending his last years, Śrīvaishnava as he was, at the sacred shrine of Śīrangam. Of all Śrīvaishnava places of pilgrimage, Śīrangam is the most sacred, and the Tuluva kings of Vijayanagara, at least those beginning with Kṛṣṇaśarāya, were very staunch Śrīvaishnavas.<sup>8</sup> Achyutadēvarāja, during his expedition against the Truvadi kingdom, is described, in the *Achyutarāyābhūdayam* of Rājannāthakavi, as having halted at Śīrangam and sent the son of one Sagalarāja<sup>9</sup> to conquer the Truvadi rājya.<sup>10</sup> Hence it might not be wrong to suppose that Sadāsivarāja ended his days in Śīrangam, but we have not any positive proofs to support our surmise.

<sup>1</sup> Compare verses 144-146 of the British Museum plates, where Koṅḍarāja of this family wears amils *brūdas*, above, Vol. IV, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 53-54.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 11. The word has been treated as an ordinary noun by Profs. Hultzsch and Kielhorn.

<sup>4</sup> The Dēvulapalli plates give Ś. 1427 as a date falling in the reign of Immaṅgi-Nṛsiṁha; hence Narasā must have lived prior to this. See also footnote 7, above, Vol. VII, p. 79. [It should be noted that Immaṅgi Nṛsiṁha was a Śāiva, and not a Tuluva like Narasā. — B. K.]

<sup>5</sup> *Śendambī*, Vol. IV, p. 117, and above, p. 229.

<sup>6</sup> *Śendambī*, Vol. IV, p. 117.

<sup>7</sup> *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Nos. 43-46, p. 70.

<sup>8</sup> The Śāiva kings were the disciples of Tālichārya. See *Prapanasampritam*. Kṛṣṇadēva wrote *Amṛita mālyada, Vēṅkaṭasthīyam*, works relating to the life incidents of the Śrīvaishnava saint Periyāṭṭar and his daughter Āṅḍāl.

<sup>9</sup> This Sagalarāja was the father-in-law of Achyutadēva and father of his wife Varadāmbī. See *Achyutarāyābhūdayam*, Canto III, verse 48. The printed copy of this work reads the name as Salagarāja; see p. 77; but Mr. T. S. Kuppusāmi Śāstri reads it as Sagalarāja, and we follow him in calling the father-in-law of Achyuta, Sagalarāja.

<sup>10</sup> See *Achyutarāyābhūdayam*, Canto V., verse 64.

Krishnappa Nāyaka constructed a temple in the village of Krishnāpuram and built a *prākāra* round it and a tower as high as the Mandara mountain over its entrance. In front of the shrine he erected a *rangamanḍapa*, standing on pillars containing exquisite sculptures and decorated with rows of beautiful creepers. In this newly constructed temple he set up the image of the god Tiruvēnkatasthā. He built a big car for the deity and surrounded the temple with broad streets with a view to provide an easy circuit for the car. It was for the conduct of the daily *pūjās*, for offerings, lighting, for incense, flower-garlands, etc., and for the annual celebration of the car and the floating festivals, that he requested and got from Sadāsivaiyā the villages mentioned in the grant.

Though the Nāyakas are believed to have usurped the thrones of the Pāndyas, they still call themselves 'the establishers of the Pāndya dynasty'. In corroboration of the claim of the Nāyaka of Malura to the title of *Pāndyakulasthāpanāchāryas*, we see several hundreds of inscriptions belonging to the later Pāndyas, scattered over the country believed to have been ruled over by the Nāyakas, showing that they were also ruling simultaneously with the Nāyakas. One of the later Pāndyas, named Śrīvallabha, is described, in the Pudukkōttu plates of Atvirarāma Pāndya,<sup>1</sup> as having established the Pāndya kingdom. This Śrīvallabha must have been a contemporary of Narasā Nāyaka, for he is the brother of Mānabhūsha defeated by Narasā.<sup>2</sup> How he established the Pāndya kingdom and under what circumstances, is not apparent. But we see as a matter of fact the Pāndyas ruling in a semi-independent condition over their ancestral kingdom till at least 1585 A. D., what political relationship existed between them and the Nāyakas, we do not know.

At the end of the inscription, it is mentioned that Sabhāpati Svayambhū was the composer of the *śāsana*, and Virāṇāchārya, son of Virāṇa, was the engraver.

The places mentioned in the record are —

Kiļavēmbu *nādu* in the Pāndya *maṅḍalam*, Śrīvallamaṅgalaśāhādevi in the above *nādu*, Ardhatinripi (Arappuḷi P), Villamarāyaṇ Nedunḡalam, Savalakkāraṇ kuļam, Puļyangaḷa-āḍai, Pirāyankuļam, Bhūsuratāḷaka (Pargulam, a corruption perhaps of Pāppānkulam), Kaļhikuļam, Vēlakkuļam Sundarapāndyaṇ puḍukkāi, Aḷya\*ḡḡākuļam, Śrīkuļam, Śrīyāru Peryālanguļam, Kōkkantāmpārai (modern Kongandāmpārai), Paṇayanḡalam, Mutṭūr hill; Puttaṇēri, Āriyakuļam, Kōdikūļam, Kuttukkāi, Mutṭūr, Rāmāṅḡalam, Ittampattu, Śrīyālanguļam, Bāṭṭaikuļam, Muṇappunādu, Āḷkudi and Śrī-Krishnapuram.

Of these Vēmba-nādu comprises the northern portions of the Native State of Travancore and of the District of Tinnevely, and in the former state there is a large backwater lake known by the name of Vēmba-nādu-*nāyal* indicating the ancient name of the country where it is situated. We find the following names in the list of villages belonging to the Tinnevely tālukā of the same district and situated near Krishnāpuram — Pirāyānkulam, Pāppāṅkuļam,<sup>3</sup> Vēlankuļam, Sundarapāndyaṇ kāi, Kōḡandāmpārai, Paṇyāṅkuļam, Mutṭūr, Āriyakuļam, Muṇappanādu, and Krishnāpuram. The other places we are unable to identify.

#### TEXT.<sup>4</sup>

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । नमस्तुंगशिरशुबिचद्रचामर-
- 2 चारवे । बैलोक्यनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय श्रमवे ।(॥) [१\*] हरर्त्तिलाव-

<sup>1</sup> Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1906, p. 72

<sup>2</sup> [The Pudukkōttai grant mentions Mānābharaṇa as the brother of Śrīvallabha, and, besides, Mānābharaṇa, whom Mr Venkayya identifies with Arikkāraṇ Parākrama Pāndya. The identification of Mānābharaṇa with any of these two is far from being certain — S K.]

<sup>3</sup> It now goes popularly by the name Pāppāṅkuļam. This name means "the Brāhmaṇ's tank," and it has been translated into Sanskrit in the record.

From inked impressions prepared by Mr T. A. Gopinātha Rao.

- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस्य पातु वः । हेमाद्रिकलशा यत्र धात्री च्छत्र(त्र)त्रि  
 4 यं दधी ॥(॥[२\*] कल्याणायाम्स्तु तत्राम प्रत्युद्धतिमिरापह । यत्तल्लोय.  
 5 गजोद्धृतं हरिणापि च पूज्यते ॥(॥[३\*] अस्ति क्षीरमयाहेवैर्मथमाना-  
 6 न्नाहाबुधेः । नवनीतमिवोद्धृतमपनीततमो महः ॥(॥[४\*] तस्यासीत्-  
 7 'नुयस्तपोभिरतुलैरन्वर्थनामा बुधः पुण्येरेस्य पुरुखा भुजव-  
 8 [स्त्रि]रायद्विषां 'निघ्नतः । तस्यायुर्नष्टपोस्य तस्य परुषो युद्धे यया-  
 9 ति[\*] क्षिती । ख्यातस्तस्य तु तुर्वसुसंनिभः श्रीदेवयानीपतेः ॥(॥[५\*] तद्वे  
 10 देवकीजानिर्हिदीपे तिमभूपतिः । यशस्वी तुर्ववेद्रेषु यदोः कृष्ण  
 11 इवान्वये ॥(॥[६\*] ततोभुङ्क्त्वाजानिगीश्वरक्षितिपालकः । अचासमगु-  
 12 णधंशं मौक्त्रिदं महोभुजा ॥७\*] सरसाद्दभूत्तस्मान्नरसावनिपा-  
 13 लकः । देवकीनंदनात्कामो देवकीनंदनादिव ॥(॥[८\*] विविधसुकृ-  
 14 तोहामे रामेश्वरप्रमुखे 'मुहुर्मदितद्वय स्थाने स्थाने व्यपत्त य-  
 15 थाविधि [१\*] बुधपरिहृतो नानादानानि' यो भुवि षोडश त्रिभुवनज-  
 16 नोहीतं स्फीतं यशः पुनरुक्तय ॥९\*] 'न्वात्रेरीमाश बध्वा(ब्रु) बहकजल-  
 17 रयां तां विलक्ष्यैव शत्रु जीवयाह गृह्णीत्वा समिति भुजवला-  
 18 संचरान्धं तदीयं [१\*] कृत्वा श्रीरंगपृथं तदपि निजवशे पट्टं  
 19 यो बभसि (१) कीर्त्तिस्तंभ निष्ठाय त्रिभुवनभवनस्तूयमानापदा-  
 20 नः ॥(॥[१०\*] चेरं चोक्तं च पांशं तमपि च मधुरावज्ञभं मानभूषं वीर्यं-  
 21 दयं तुरुष्कं गजपतिनृपतिं चार्पि जित्वा तदान्यान् । अगं-  
 22 गातीरलंकाप्रथमचरमभूत्तटांतं जितान्तं ख्यातः क्षीणी-  
 23 पतीनां स्रजमिव शिरसां ग्रामन यो व्यतानीत् ॥(॥[११\*] तिप्याजीना-  
 24 गलादेव्योः कौसल्यास्त्रीसुमित्रयोः । देव्योरिव नृसिंहैद्रासत्सा-  
 25 त्यंङ्गिरथादिव<sup>१</sup> ॥(॥ [१२\*] वीरो<sup>२</sup> विजयो<sup>३</sup> नाम[स]लक्ष्मणाविव नादरं.  
 26 जातो वीरनृसिंहैद्रकृष्णारायमहोपतो ॥(॥ [१३\*] रंगक्षितीद्राच्युतदे-  
 27 वरायी रक्षाधुरीणाविव नंदसी<sup>४</sup> । श्रीबांभिकायां नरसक्षि-

Second Plate, First Side.

- 28 तींद्रादुभावभृताम्बुरगेंद्रसारौ<sup>५</sup> ॥(॥[१४\*] वीरश्रीनारसिंहस्य  
 29 विजयनगरे रत्नसिंहासनस्यः कीर्त्या नीत्वा निरस्यबृग-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'नय'.

<sup>२</sup> ति is corrected from त्रि.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'पति'.

<sup>४</sup> Read with the British Museum plates रामकृष्णौ.

<sup>५</sup> The British Museum plates read 'तासु रतेन्दु',—S. K.]

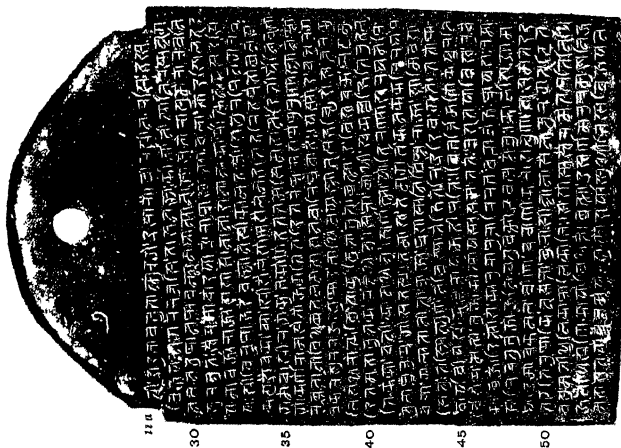
<sup>६</sup> Read 'रायद्विषां'.

<sup>७</sup> इ looks like तु

<sup>८</sup> Read नृ in the conjunct consonant न्ना, with the previous य.

<sup>९</sup> Read विजयिनी रामकृष्णाविव.

<sup>१०</sup> Read नंदनी.



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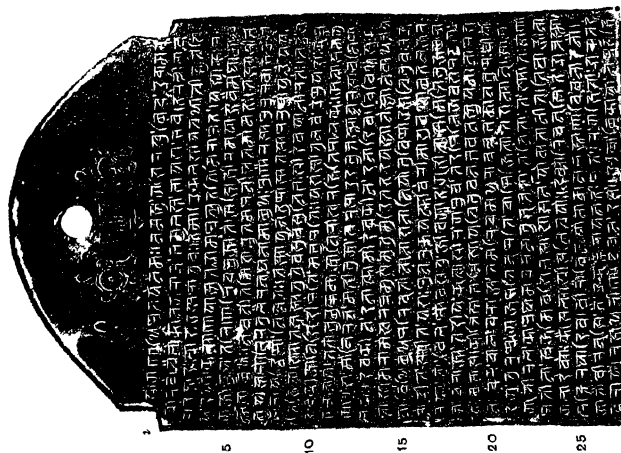
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W BRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

HALF SIZE

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPHATHA RAU, M. A.



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- 30 नऊनहुषानप्यव्यामयान्यान् । आ मेतीरा सुमेरीरवनि-  
 31 मुरनुतः खैरमा चोटयाद्रे (I) रा <sup>1</sup>[पा]श्वात्चलातादखिलहृद-  
 32 यमावर्ज्यं राज्यं शशास । (II)[१५\*] नानादानान्यकार्षीत्कनकसदसि  
 33 यः श्रीविरूपाक्षदेवस्थाने श्रीकाकहस्तीशितुरपि नगरे वै-  
 34 कटाद्री च कांच्यां । श्रीशैले शोणशैले<sup>2</sup> महति हरिहरेहोवके स-  
 35 गमे च (I) श्रीरंगे कुंभकीणे हततमसि महानदितोर्थे निवृत्तौ [१६\*]  
 36 गोकर्णे रामसेतो जगति तदितरेष्वप्यशेषेषु पुण्यस्थानेष्व-  
 37 रव्यनानाविधवह्कमहादानवारिप्रवाहैः । यस्योदचतुरग-  
 38 प्रकारखुररजःशुच्यदंभोधिसग्नश्चाभ्यत्यक्षच्छिदोद्यत्तर(त्तर)कु-  
 39 लिशग्रथोक्तता कंठिताभूत् । (II)[१७\*] ब्रह्मांडं विश्वचक्रं घटमु  
 40 दितमहाभूतकं रत्नधेनुं (I) सप्तबोधीं<sup>3</sup> कल्पक्षितिरुहल-  
 41 तिके कांचनीं कामधेनुं । स्वर्णध्मां यो हिरण्वाश्वरथमपि  
 42 तुलापूरुषं गोमहस्रं (I) हेमाश्रं हेमगर्भं कनककरिरथं प-  
 43 चलांगव्यतानीत् । (II) [१८\*] प्राज्य प्रशास्य निर्विघ्नं राज्यं व्यामिव शा-  
 44 सितुं [1\*] तस्मिन्गुणेन विख्याते क्षितिरेद्रे दिवं गते । (II)[१९\*] ततोप्य-  
 45 वायवोर्योः<sup>4</sup> श्रीकृष्णरायमहोपतिः । विभर्त्ति मणिकेयूरनि-  
 46 र्विशेषं महतीं भुजे । (II)[२०\*] कीर्त्या यस्य समंततः प्रयुतया<sup>5</sup> विश्वं<sup>6</sup> रुचै-  
 47 क्यं व्रजे (I)दिव्याशंख्य पुरा पुरारिरभवद्वाक्केच[ख\*]ः प्रायशः [1\*] पद्मान-  
 48 क्षोपि चतुर्भुजोऽजनि चतुर्वक्त्रोद्भवत्वन्नभूः<sup>7</sup> (I) काकी खड्गम-  
 49 'थाद्रमा च कमलं वीणां च वाणी करे । (II)[२१\*] शत्रूणां वासमेते दद-  
 50 त इति रुषा किं<sup>8</sup> न्<sup>9</sup> सप्तानुरासोन्नानासेनात्तुरगतृटित-<sup>10</sup>  
 51 वसुमतीधूकिकापाकिकाभिः । सशोस्य<sup>11</sup> खैरमेतत्पतिनिधि-<sup>12</sup>  
 52 जलाधिप्येष्णिका यो विधत्ते (I) ब्रह्मांडस्वर्णमेरुप्रमुखनिज-  
 53 महादानतोयैरमेयेः<sup>13</sup> । (II)[२२\*] स्तुत्यौदार्यस्सुधीभिस्त्र विजयन-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 54 गरे रत्नमिंहासनस्यः क्षमापालान्कृष्णरायक्षितिपतिरध-  
 55 रीकृत्य नीत्या नृगादोन् । आ पूर्वाद्रेरथास्तक्षितिधरकटकदा  
 56 च हेमाचलातादा सेतोरर्थिसार्थंश्रियमिह बह्कोकृत्य कोर्त्या

पा looks like प्र.

Read प्रसतं.

<sup>7</sup> Read °वादेसा.

Read °तुरंगपुटितं.

°दा looks like °स.

<sup>2</sup> य is corrected from ख.

<sup>3</sup> The व of श्व looks like च

Read नु instead of न्

<sup>11</sup> Read संशोष

<sup>3</sup> Read °नीधीं<sup>0</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Read म instead of व

<sup>9</sup> Read °श्री<sup>0</sup> instead of °श्री<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Read °त्यति

- 57 बभासे 1(II)[२३\*] कृतवति सुरलोकं लक्ष्मणाय मित्राय तदनु तदनु  
 58 आ पुष्यकमोच्युतंद्रः । अखिलमवनिर्लोकं स्वांशमेत्यारिजता  
 59 वि[ल]सति हरिचेता विहदिष्टप्रदाता 1(II)[२४\*] अंभोदेन निपीयमान-  
 60 सलिलोगस्थेन पीतोभिंतस्मो<sup>१</sup> राघवमायकान्निगिश्चया स-  
 61 तप्यमानः सदा । अंतस्थैर्वडवा(वा)मुखानलशिखाजास्रैविशुष्को  
 62 [ध्रु]वं (I) यद्दानांबुघनांबुंघिरयं पूर्णः समद्योतते<sup>२</sup> 1(II)[२५\*] समज  
 63 नि नरपालस्त्यधर्मप्रतिष्ठो विजयनगरराजद्रविसंज्ञा-  
 64 सनस्थः [1\*] नृगनरुनडुवादीनीचयन्नाजनीत्या<sup>३</sup> निरुपमभुज-  
 65 वीर्योदार्यभूगच्युतेंद्रः 1(II)[२६\*] क्षितिप्रतिष्ठापितकीर्तिदेहे प्राप्ते पदं  
 66 वैष्णवमच्युतेद्रे । अध्यास्य भद्रामनमस्य सूनुरीरो बभौ वैकट-  
 67 देवरायः 1(II)[२७\*] प्रशास्य राज्य प्रशवास्त्ररूपे<sup>४</sup> विह्विधौ वैकटरा-  
 68 यभूषे [1\*] अभागधयादधिरात्रजानामाखडलावाममयाधि-  
 69 टे 1(II)[२८\*] तिमांवावरगर्भमीतिकमणी रगक्षितीद्रासजः क्षत्रा-  
 70 करणेन पालितमहाकर्णोटराज्यत्रिया । शौर्योदार्यदयावता  
 71 स्वभगिनोभर्त्ता जग[क्षा]यिना<sup>५</sup> (I) रामक्ष्मापतिनाप्यमाखतिलकीः  
 72 क्लृमाभिषेकक्रमः 1(II)[२९\*] श्रीविद्यानगरोल्लामनि मङ्गामान्नाख्यैर्शि-  
 73 हासने (I) संतानद्रु[रि]व स्फुरस्फुरगिरौ संहृत्य [वि\*]विधिष्य<sup>६</sup> । आ से-  
 74 तोरपि चाहिमाद्रि रचयन्नाशो निजाप्राकराम्बर्वा<sup>७</sup> पालय-  
 75 ते सदाशिवमहारायचिराय क्षमा 1(II)[३०\*] विख्यातविक्रातिन-  
 76 यस्य यस्य पट्टाभिषेके नियतं प्रजानां । आनदशाणैरभिधि<sup>७</sup>  
 77 च्यमाना देवीपदं दर्शयते धविषी 1(II)[३१\*] गोत्रोहारविशारदं कुव-  
 78 लयापीडापहारोबुरं सत्यायक्तमति समस्तमुम[न\*]स्तीमावनै-  
 79 कायनं । संजातकृतित्भूरुचिं सविजयं संनंदकत्रीभरं<sup>८</sup> (I) यं  
 80 शंसति यशोदयाचितगुणं ज्ञाणावतारं बुधाः 1(II)[३२\*] विख्यातं वड-

Third Plate, First Side.

- 81 भोगशृंगविभवैरुहामदानोबुरं धर्मेष क्षुतिमाचतो-  
 82 पि भुवने दक्षं प्रणारक्षणे । प्रातां यस्य भुजं भुजंगमहि-  
 83 हिन्दंतिकूर्मीपदं (I) पातिव्रत्यपताकिकेति चरषो<sup>९</sup> जानंतु स-  
 84 र्वं जनाः 1(II)[३३\*] यत्केनाचूकिपाळी शकमयकसमुखाटने धूमरिशा

<sup>१</sup> Read 'किं' instead of 'मिं'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'प्रस'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'मिधिष्य'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'समृष्टी'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'शुविधा'.

<sup>६</sup> Read 'सुप्र'.

<sup>७</sup> श्री is corrected from 'म'.

<sup>८</sup> Read 'विधिष्य'.

<sup>९</sup> Read 'चरषी'.

- 85 रोमाञ्चो कीर्त्तिवध्वा इव भुवनमिदं सर्वमतवेह्यत्याः । [वि]-  
 86 णी नापीयसीव प्रकटितविह्वतेर्वीरलक्ष्या रणाय (1) शं-  
 87 ख्ये जीमूतपर्ण्डः<sup>1</sup> किल शकलखलस्त्रीमदावानलानां [11३४\*] तुगा-  
 88 मेव दयां पदावुजयुग शोणं च कृष्णां तनुं रक्ता(क्ता) नीलशिता<sup>2</sup>  
 89 त्रिवेण्णिमनवां बोक्षां गिर नर्मदा [1\*] तीक्ष्णानीति<sup>3</sup> [स]मावहल्य<sup>4</sup>  
 90 वयवैः शेषाद्विवासी विभुः प्रायो यस्य विशेषभक्तिमुदितः  
 91 पट्टाभिषेकाश्रये 1(11)[३५\*] <sup>5</sup>वोषधिपत्युपमायितगडस्त्रीषणरूप-  
 92 जितासमकाळः [1\*] <sup>7</sup>भाषगेतपुवरायरगडः पोषणनिर्भरभू-  
 93 नवखडः 1(11)[३६\*] राजाधिराजविरुदो राजराजसमाहतिः । खा-  
 94 राजराजमानश्रीः[\*] श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः 1(11)[३७\*] मूर्करायरगंडांकी  
 95 मेरुलघियशोभरः । शरणागतमदारः <sup>9</sup>पर[रा]जभयकरः 1(11)[३८\*]  
 96 करदाखिलभूपालः परदारसहोदरः । हिदुरायसरक्षाणस्त्रि-  
 97 धुराजगभीरर्धि<sup>9</sup> 1(11)[३९\*] विष्टपत्रयविख्यातो दृष्टशाईलमईनः ।  
 98 अरीभगंडभेकंडो हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः 1(11)[४०\*] वर्धमानापदानश्री-  
 99 रक्षनारीनटेश्वरः । इत्यादिवरुदैर्वदितत्या<sup>10</sup> नित्यमभिष्टुतः 1(11)[४१\*]  
 100 <sup>11</sup>कांभोजभोजकाकिंगकरहृटादिपार्थिवैः<sup>12</sup> । सौविदलपदं प्रा-  
 101 तैस्सदर्थितवृपोपदः 1(11)[४२\*] सोय नोतिविशारदः सुरतरुक्ष्णवर्षा<sup>13</sup>  
 102 विश्राणनस्सर्वीर्वीशनतस्सदाशिवमहारायन्मानायकः ।  
 103 बाह्यावंगदनिविशेषमखिलां सर्वसहामुहहन्विहृत्ताणप-  
 104 रायणो विजयते वीरप्रतापोन्नतः ॥ [४३\*] निधिवारणवेदेदुग-  
 105 पिते शकवसरे । प्रभवे वल्ल[रि\*] मासि पौषे मकरसकमे 1(11)[४४\*]

कृष्णपत्रे च पु-

- 106 ष्वायाममयां सोमवासरे । कावेर्याः पावने<sup>14</sup> तीरे रंगनाथस्य  
 107 सनिधौ 1(11)[४५\*] काश्यपान्वयरत्नेन शश्वतातुलकीर्त्तिना । शश्वदाराध-  
 108 नाहृष्टविश्वनाथापितश्रिया 1(11)[४६\*] धर्ममर्मविदा चाणकर्मठेन मनीषि-  
 109 णा । दुर्मदारिमहा(ही)पालशर्मदारिभुजौजसा 1(11)[४७\*] सत्यादृतांतर-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 110 गेण सल्लृत्याश्रयशोभिना । सहितेनाधिक भूत्या सर्व-  
 111 जग(गु)णशालिना 1(11)[४८\*] श्रीमत्कांचीपुरवराधीश्वरान्कोपशो-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'पतिः'.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'तीर्था'.

<sup>3</sup> Read 'भाषणे'.

<sup>4</sup> 'रुद्र'प्रतिखामभिः' in the British Museum plates

<sup>5</sup> Read 'कांभोज'.

<sup>6</sup> Originally 'पावनी' was written.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'सकल'.

<sup>8</sup> स is corrected from perhaps स.

<sup>9</sup> 'रा' is corrected from another letter

<sup>10</sup> Read 'पार्थि'

<sup>11</sup> Read 'पार्थि'

<sup>12</sup> Read 'चित्ता'.

<sup>13</sup> Read 'कोपशि'

<sup>14</sup> Read

- 112 भिना । भोकालिपटधर्जनविख्यातत्रिरुदश्रिता 1(11)[४६\*] समयद्वीह-
- 113 रगडख्यातिना मनुनीतिना । प्रख्यातसमयकीनाहलचिह्नैः
- 114 भास्वता 1(11)[५०\*] ऐलावकीपुरवराधीश्वरंकेन धीमता । मा[द्या]ति-
- 115 रुवटिच्छापससागहरणीजसा 1(11)[५१\*] यशस्विना<sup>1</sup> पाद्यकुलस्था<sup>2</sup>
- 116 पनाचार्यकीर्त्तिना । मानोन(न्येन) दक्षिणमहासमुद्राधीश्वरेण च 1(11)[५२\*]
- 117 नागमन्त्रापपौत्रेण नक्रनाभागकीर्त्तिना । श्रीविश्वनाथभूपा-
- 118 लसिधुशीतकभानुना 1(11)[५३\*] सुश्रीलनागमागर्भशुक्तिमुक्ताफलात्म-
- 119 ना । कृष्णभूपतिना युष्मकीर्त्तिना करुणा\*श्विना 1(11)[५४\*] परितः प्रण-  
वाकारप्र-
- 120 कारवलयंचित । कमनीयशिलास्तंभकदभोत्तञ्जिनांवर<sup>3</sup> 1(11)[५५\*] विघ-
- 121 कटविटंकाकीविराजद्रंगमंठपं । विधाय विपुलोत्तुंगगोप-
- 122 रं देवमंदिरं 1(11)[५६\*] विशालां रथवती<sup>4</sup> च स्यदन मंदरोपमं । तत्र प्रति
- 123 छातार्यश्रीतारकमंत्ररूपिण<sup>5</sup> 1(11) [५७\*] करुणारसकक्षीसवर्णालयचक्षु-
- 124 से(षे) । शरणागतगी[र्वी]णभरणाधीनचतमे 1(11) [५८\*] कालचक्रघटीयंनक
- 125 ह्यनाश्लिष्यकारिणे । कैवलयकल्पनतिकाकंदकोपन्नकीर्त्तये 1(11) [५९\*] कौस्तुभा-
- 126 र्णपाथोजपा[र्ष्वं] स्त्रीनाकिमोलया<sup>6</sup> । वनमालिकया चारुवचसे हतर-
- 127 चसे 1(11)[६०\*] इंदिराया 7जगम्भातुर्भदिरायितवचसे । 8च्छंदसामादिकंदाय
- 128 चंपकद्युतिवासरे(से) 1(11)[६१\*] शरण्याय वतामिंदुतरस्याकारचक्षुसे<sup>9</sup> । चिरण्या
- 129 सुरसंज्ञने<sup>10</sup> धरण्या शृङ्गमेधिने 1(11)[६२\*] 11कथादिविष्णुधारातिच्छिंसाविधपटी
- 130 यसे । संसारसागरौर्वाय पुंसामानमतां सतां 1(11)[६३\*] नयनीतसुये<sup>12</sup> नंदर
- 131 मणीशिखणीयतां । अभिनीतवते शखदपनीतमतातये 1(11)[६४\*] निरलो  
कवचो-
- 132 मूलसुरकीमधुरारवैः । तरकीकुर्वते गोपीश्वरकीलापरसुखी<sup>13</sup> 1(11)[६५\*] अ-
- 133 14श्लिक्कृष्णापुरे पूर्णसा(सा)लिङ्ग समुपेयुषे । तिरुचैकटनाथाय विश्वे प्रभ-
- 134 विश्वे 1(11)[६६\*] धूपदीपसुधाङ्गारनानापूपनिवेदनैः<sup>15</sup> । ज्ञानापुथ्योपहारेण नै
- 135 कदीपप्रदीपनैः 1(11)[६७\*] शृङ्गगीतमहावाद्यच्छत्र(त्र)चामरवैभवं । निलयैमि-  
त्तिका-

1 Read यशस्विं.

2 Read शीर्षे

3 Read शीर्षे

4 Read शीर्षे

5 Read शीर्षे

6 Read शीर्षे

7 Read पांथे

8 Read श्रितं and श्रितं

9 Read श्रितं

10 Read श्रितं

11 Read श्रितं

12 Read श्रितं

13 Read श्रितं

14 Read श्रितं

15 Read श्रितं

16 Read श्रितं

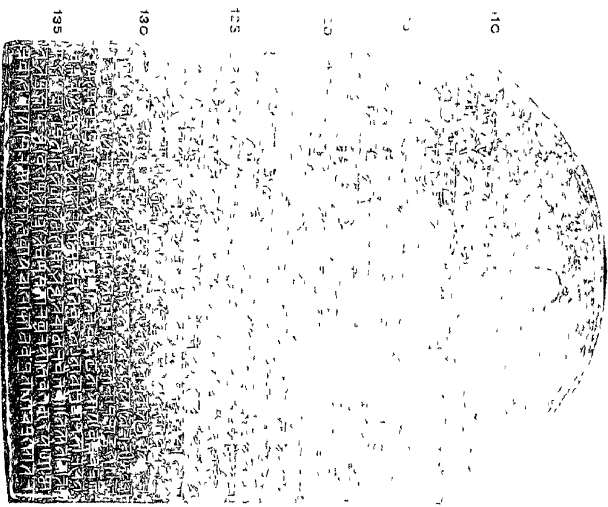
17 Read श्रितं

18 The second शा looks like श.

१७६  
 १७५  
 १८०  
 १८५  
 १९०  
 १९५

२००  
 २०५  
 २१०

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



110

115

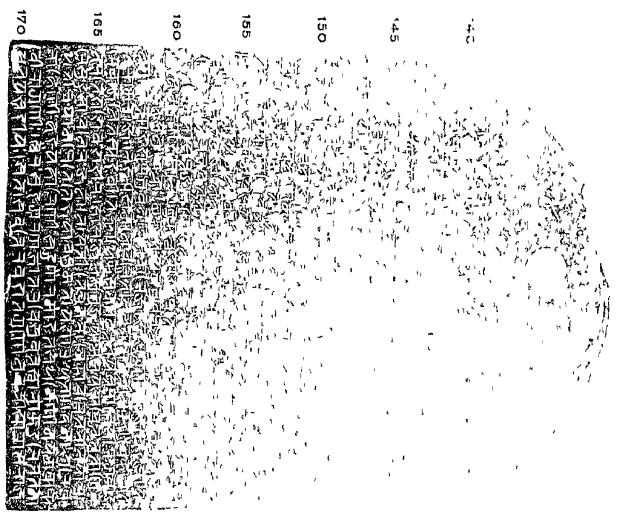
120

125

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STEN KONOW



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HALF SIZE

W GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH

FROM IMPRESSIONS BY T. A. GOPINATHA RAO M.A.

- 136 नंतपूजां कर्तुं विशेषतः । (॥)[६८\*] प्रतिवर्षसमारख्ययोत्सवसमृदये<sup>१</sup> । ग्रीष्म-  
 137 प्लवोत्सवायापि रम्ययात्रोत्सवाय च । (॥)[६८\*] श्रीकीर्तवैप्र(पु)नाडी च प्रख्यात प[र]-

## Fourth Plate, First Side

- 138 क्षमंडले । तां(ता)मपर्णीनदीतीरे पावने वासमाश्रितं । (॥)[७०\*] श्रव-  
 139 क्षमंगलख्यातचावटावपि विश्रुत । ख्याताहैतिचिणीवृक्षा-  
 140 दिमार्गशान्धतां श्रितं । (॥)[७१\*] धर्माहङ्गमरायस्य ख्यातादपि नेडु-  
 141 कुलात् । प्राथं श्रीश्रवळकार्कुकुसीमांचलादपि । (॥) [७२\*] पुळि-  
 142 यकुळोडैकुलपिरायन्कुलतोपि च । भूसुरतटागसीमांच-  
 143 लानान्नेयतां<sup>२</sup> श्रितं । (॥)[७३\*] श्रीमल्लक्कुळुग्रामसीमातादपि दक्षि[णं][१\*]  
 144 श्रीवेलकुळुकुल्याया नैरुतीं दिशमाश्रित । (॥)[७४\*] सुदरश्रीपाडा[पूत]-  
 145 कुल्यायाश्चापि पश्चिमं । <sup>३</sup>देनाकुळसीमांताहायवीमाश्रितं दिशं । (॥)[७५\*]  
 146 श्रीकुळैर्यारुपेर्यालकुळसीमांचलोत्तरं । कोळतांपारंपनयंकु-  
 147 क्योरुभयोरपि । (॥)[७६\*] अपि <sup>४</sup>सुत्तुर्मलाभिख्यागिरितीशान्धतां श्रितं । पु-  
 148 त्तेरिग्रामकेष ख्यातारियकुळेन च । (॥)[७७\*] कोटिकुळग्रामकेष कुत्तु-  
 149 क्कग्रामकेष च । सुत्तुरुग्रामकोपि<sup>५</sup> श्रीमद्रामकुळेन च । (॥)[७८] ईत्तपाडु-  
 150 ग्रामकेष शिरियालकुळेन च । शुक्लं पाटैकुलेनापि सयुत सस्य-  
 151 शोभितं । (॥)[७९\*] सुरप्पुनाडाक्कुटिभूत्रयोदशमान्वित । श्रीकृष्णापुर-  
 152 नामानं प्रख्यातं ग्राममुत्तमं । (॥)[८०\*] सर्वमा(नांचतुःस्त्रीमा)न्धं चतुःस्त्री(सी)-  
 153 मासंयुतं च समंततः । निधिनिलेपपाषाणसिद्धसाद्यजलान्वि-  
 154 तं । (॥)[८१\*] अक्षिष्यागामिसयुक्तं<sup>६</sup> देवभोग्यं सभूरुहं । वापीकूपतटा-  
 155 केष कश्चरारामैश्च सयुतं<sup>७</sup> । (॥)[८२\*] अनेन वैकटेशेन भोग्यमाचद्रता-  
 156 रकं । दानाधमनविक्रोतियोष्यं विनिमयोचितं । (॥)[८३\*] श्रोतांशो-  
 157 वैशरुहं समजनि नृपतिर्नदनामाथ जज्ञे तत्संतत्यां चलिक्क-  
 158 क्षितिपतिरभवतत्कुले<sup>८</sup> विष्णुलेंद्रः । तदंशं<sup>९</sup> सोमिदेवोल्लम-  
 159 क्तत विमतासमदुर्गाणि कृत्वा पौत्रस्त्यार्वीटीपुरपतिरदभू-  
 160 त्पिनमन्त्रोक्षिपात्<sup>१०</sup> । (॥) [८४\*] भूकल्पशास्त्री प्रति(धि)तावोडिबुक्कत्तमापी  
 161 भवदस्य स्तुतः । बङ्गाबिका तस्य बभूव पत्नी पुरदरस्वैव पुलोमकं<sup>११</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read 'समुच्चये'.<sup>२</sup> Read 'समुच्चये'.<sup>३</sup> The metre demands one more letter in this foot and hence w. pro. use to read the name of this village as ऐ[व]नाकुळ. [I would prefer to scan *Asind*.—B. K.]

Read 'मिष्य'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'शान्तिपापि ?'<sup>६</sup> Read 'सयुक्तं'.<sup>७</sup> Read 'कश्चरारामैश्च संयुतं'.<sup>८</sup> Read 'भवत्कुले'.<sup>९</sup> Read 'तदंशं'.<sup>१०</sup> Read 'वीचि'.<sup>११</sup> Read 'कथा'.

- 162 न्या ।(II) [८५\*] अस्मादशेषभुवन।वनवारिजाश्चाश्चुं(च्छुं)गारराजवदजाय-  
 163 त रामराजः । लक्ष्मीसमानचरिता ललनामतङ्गी लक्ष्मीविका रति-  
 164 रिवाजनि तस्य देवी ।(II)[८६\*] तस्याधिकैसम्भवत्तनयस्तपोभिः[\*] श्रीगराज  
 165 ऋपतिशशिवंशदीपः । आसंज्वलस्तु भुजघामसु यस्य चित्र नेत्राणि वै-  
 166 रिसुदृशां<sup>३</sup> च निरंजनानि ।(II)[८७\*] सतीं तिरुमलाविका(कां) चरितलीलयत्-  
 167 धतीप्रथामपि तितिक्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंधती । ह्रिमांशरिव  
 168 रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं मद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवाप्य  
 169 वीरान्मणीः ।(II)[८८\*] स्वैरं सुदूरभरणजातश्चिसृष्ट<sup>४</sup> स्वालोकदूरिततमा-  
 170 स्तनयस्तदीयः । अत्रासवृत्तिरवदातगुणानुवर्त्तो आ(श्री)रामराज-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 171 नरपालमणिर्विरेजे<sup>५</sup> ।(II)[८९\*] यस्मिन् प्रथामति मङ्गी जदैवि<sup>६</sup>.  
 172 कवीरे भंगो नदीपु पतंगेषु च पक्षपातः । वक्षीषु पक्षव-  
 173 रुचिर्वनितारतेषु नीवीविमोचनमभून्नियत प्रजानां ।(II)[९०\*] स-  
 174 त्यानुत्तैरिदरावहेस्मिन् संस्रके<sup>७</sup> संभूतसर्वलोकै । (श्रीरा)  
 175 श्रीरामराजे श्रितसत्वमैयं<sup>८</sup> श्रीरेः पदं श्राश्रतमभ्युपेत ।(II)[९१\*] त-  
 176 दनु भुवमशेषां पालयन्त्राजनीत्या तपनतनयजेता दा-  
 177 नरीत्या महत्या । भरतमहिषतभूमा भाति तस्यानुजन्मा व-  
 178 रतिरुमलराजसाहितीभोजराजः<sup>९</sup> ।(II)[९२\*] स्वैरं<sup>१०</sup>सङ्गतकंटको-  
 179 थ सुकृतोरुक्लष्टं विधायाखिलं भूकैदारसुदारदानसलिलो-<sup>११</sup>  
 180 सारैस्त्रमापूर्यं च । संवद्धानघ(कीर्त्ति)कीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं  
 181 तत्यालिकां विक्रमश्रीकातां भुजकायमानसिस्वरे<sup>१२</sup> धन्ने  
 182 हि यस्तुजसा ।(II)[९३\*] यस्यानुजन्मा विजयैकगर्भा रामाभिराम[ी]-  
 183 तुलवाङ्गुधामा । वीरो विरेजे<sup>३</sup> भुवि वैकटाद्रिराजः श्रि-  
 184 या निर्जितराजराजः ।(II)[९४\*] धर्ममर्मविधस्तस्य<sup>१४</sup> धरणीक-  
 185 ल्यशाखिनः । सोमवशावतंसस्य स्वाधीननयसंपदः ।(II)[९५\*] श्री-  
 186 विश्वनाथभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मना । लक्ष्म्यभूपतिनाने-  
 187 न ल[पा]कूपारचक्षुषा<sup>१५</sup> । (II)[९६\*] विन्नापितस्य विनयाद्विमतङ्गांत-<sup>१</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Read 'समानभव'.

<sup>२</sup> Read 'सुवत्त'.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'अगदेव'.

<sup>४</sup> Read 'स्माहितौ'.

<sup>५</sup> Read 'विस्वरे'.

<sup>६</sup> पा 18 corrected from था.

<sup>७</sup> Read 'रुपतिशशि'.

<sup>८</sup> The letters विरे are engraved over an erasure.

<sup>९</sup> A mistake for संपन्न लो.

<sup>१०</sup> Read संस्रतं.

<sup>११</sup> Read विरेजे.

<sup>१२</sup> Read 'वृत्त'.

<sup>१३</sup> Read 'सुदृशां'.

<sup>१४</sup> Read 'सप्तश्री'.

<sup>१५</sup> Read 'सखिभा'.

<sup>१६</sup> Read 'विदक्ष'.



- 188 भास्वतः । प्राच्यकर्णाठराज्यश्रीस्थापनाचार्यविश्रुतेः । १(॥)[६७\*] आ-  
 189 नेयगोत्रपाथोजमात्ताडस्य मनस्विनः । अतिब्रवरगंड-  
 190 स्य 'सिख्वंतच्छितिरक्षिणः । १(॥)[६८\*] 'वणितयशेसो नानावर्णश्रीमंड-  
 191 लीकगंडस्य । ऐ(ए)विश्वदरायराहुतवेख्यैकभुजंगविश्वद-  
 192 रितस्य १(॥)[६९\*] 'विष्ठा[त]विश्वदमनियविभाकृलीस्य विजय-  
 193 शीलस्य । विश्वभराभृतिस्फुटविश्वतधरणीवराह्वि-<sup>६</sup>  
 194 रुदस्य १(॥)[१००\*] कल्याणपुरनाथस्य शब्यारिसमतेजसः । वैगचि-  
 195 भुवनीमल्ललिगस्थिरयशोनिधेः । १(॥)[१०१\*] श्रीमन्तिरुमलक्ष्मापशे-  
 196 खरस्य दयांबुधेः । विन[यी\*]दार्पशीलस्य विन्नमिमलुपालयन् १(॥)[१०२\*]

## Fifth Plate

- 197 परीतः प्रयत्ने[\*] च्छिग्नेः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः । विविधै-  
 198 र्विवुधेः श्यौ(श्री)तपथिकैरथि(धि)कैर्गिरा १(॥)[१०३\*] सदाशिवमहारा-  
 199 यो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरष्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-  
 200 न्मुदा १(॥)[१०४\*]  
 201 सरससदाशिवरायश्चित्तिपतिवर्यस्य कीर्त्तिधुर्यस्य [१\*] शास-  
 202 नमिदं 'सरासनदानमथैरमितहेमदानरतेः' १(॥)[१०५\*] मृदुपदमिति  
 203 तांस्त्र(तास्त्र)शासनार्थं महितसदाशिवरायशासनेन । अभणदु-  
 204 गुण वचोमहिम्ना सरसतरेण सभापतिस्वर्यभूः १(॥)[१०६\*] सदाशिवमहा-  
 205 रायशासनाहीरणात्मजः । त्वष्टा श्रीवीरणाचार्यो व्यलिखतां-<sup>८</sup>  
 206 न्नशामनं (॥)[१०७\*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दाना[च्छे]यीनुपालनं । दानास्त्रगं-<sup>९</sup>  
 207 मवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं १(॥)[१०८\*] स्वदत्ताद्विगुण<sup>१०</sup> पुण्यं परदत्तालुपा-  
 208 लनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं <sup>११</sup>निस्फलं भवेत् १(॥)[१०९\*] स्वदत्ता परदत्तां  
 209 वा यो हरेति<sup>१२</sup> वसुंधरां । षष्टिर्वर्षसहस्राणि<sup>१३</sup> विष्टायां जायते क्रि(क्र)-  
 210 मिः १(॥)[११०\*] ऐ(ए)कैव भगिनी लोके सर्वपामेव भुभुजां । न भोज्या न करग्रा-  
 211 ह्या देवदत्ता वसुंधरा १(॥)[१११\*] सामान्यो[य] धर्मसेतुत्पाणां<sup>१४</sup> काले काले  
 212 पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवैर्द्राम्भूयो भूयो याच-  
 213 ते रामचंद्रः ॥ [११२\*]  
 214 श्रीविरूपाक्ष<sup>१५</sup>

१ Read सिख्वंत.

२ Read वर्धितयशसी.

३ Read 'वैश्वेक'.

४ त is corrected from the secondary &amp; of the letter that follows, which was begun wrongly in the place of त.

५ Read 'विष्ठा'.

६ Read शरासन.

७ Read 'दाशरथी'.

८ Read 'लिखताव'.

९ Read 'दानास्त्रगं'.

१० Read 'दत्ता'.

११ Read निस्फलं.

१२ Read 'हरेत'.

१३ Read 'षष्टि' व.

१४ Read 'सेतुत्पाणां'.

१५ In Kannada characters.

## ABRIDGED TRANSLATION

Verse 1 invokes Śambhu, v 2 the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, and v 3 Gaṇéśa

Vv 4-5 trace the genealogy of the family from the Moon

(Vv 6-7.) In his (*i.e.* Turvasu's) line was born the husband of Dēvaki king Timma, as famous among the Tuluvas as Kṛiṣṇa was among the Yādus. To him was born king Īśvara, a jewelled crown of virtues to kings, (and) the husband of Bukkanā.

(V 8) To him, the son of Dēvaki, was born king Narasa, as Kāma (was born) from the son of Dēvalī (Kṛiṣṇa).

Vv 9-10 describe his generosity and his conquest of the kingdom of Tamcha (*i.e.* the Chōla country) and Śrīrangapaṭṭana.

(V 11) Conquering the Chēra and the Chōla, Mānabhūsha, the Pāndya king of Madura, also the fierce Turushka, king Gajapati and others from the Ganges to Laṅkā, and from the Eastern to the Western mountains, he made all kings bear his commands on their heads as flowers on their crowns.

(Vv 12-14.) Of Tippāji and Nāgalādēvi, like Rāma and Lakshmana of Kausalyā and Samitrā to Duśaratha, were born to him two sons Vira-Nṛisimha and Kṛiṣṇarāya who were brave and modest. To him were also born of Olāmbukā two (*more*) sons able in protecting (*the subjects*), Rangakshutindra and Achyutadēvaraya.

(V 15) Vira-Nārasimha, seated on the jewelled throne at Vijayanagara, eclipsing by fame and policy Nṛiga, Nala, Nahusha and others of the world, praised by the Brāhmanas from Sēta to Mēru, from the Eastern to the Western mountains, ruled the kingdom pleasing the hearts of all people.

(Vv 16-18) His praises

(V 19) Having ruled his large kingdom without obstacles, the king of the earth, famous for his virtues, went to heaven as if to rule the kingdom of heaven.

(V 20) After him, king Kṛiṣṇarāya, of unaltered valour, bore the whole of the earth on his shoulders with as much ease as a jewelled bracelet.

(Vv. 21-23.) Praises of Kṛiṣṇarāya.

(V. 24.) When Kṛiṣṇarāya had taken for his part the world of the *dēvas* (*i.e.* had died) his younger brother Achyutēndra, doer of good deeds, conqueror of foes, worshipper of Viṣṇu, who made gifts satisfying the desires of the learned, got for his share the whole of this earth.

(Vv. 25-26) Praises of Achyutēndra.

(V 27) When, having set up on earth a body in the form of his fame, Achyutēndra reached Viṣṇu's abode, his brave son Vēhkaṭarāya ascended the throne.

(Vv 28-30) He who was like the flower-arrowed Kāma, and was ruling his kingdom (*well*), owing to the bad luck of his subjects, soon went to the city of Indra. The son of Rangakshutindra and the precious pearl of the sacred womb of Tummāmbā, king Sadāsivarāya, who was like the *śatādna* tree on the hill of *dēvas*, was duly installed on the throne that was the jewel of the prosperous town, Śrī-Vidyānagarī, by king Rāma, his sister's husband, the protector of the goddess Śrī of the great kingdom of Karpāta, who was an ornament to all Kṣatriyas, who was endowed with valour, nobility and kindness, and by the chief ministers.

(Vv 31-43) Praises of Sadāsivarāya.

(Vv 44-45.) On Monday, the new moon *tithi* of the dark half of the month Pausha, during the *Makara-sankrāntana*, in the year Prabhava, (corresponding to) the Śaka year counted by the *māhi* (9), the *ūrasas* (8), the *śūlas* (4), and *mūlu* (1), (*i.e.* Śaka 1489) on the banks of the sacred river Kāvēri, in the presence of (*the god*) Baṅganātha, (*this grant is made*)

(Vv. 46-57) By Kṛṣṇabhūpati, of sacred fame, the ocean of mercy, who was the jewel of the family of Kāśyapa; on whom much wealth was conferred by (the god) Viśvanātha, who was pleased with his devotion, who knew the truth about duty, who was always studying the art of protecting others; who was a wise man; whose mind was purified by truthfulness, who shone by his desire to do good actions, who possessed great wealth, who was endowed with the virtues of a wise man, who bore the title 'the lord of Kāñchīpura,' who was also the recipient of the famous title 'Mōkālīpattavardhana,' who was also known as the 'Samaya-drōhara-gaṇḍa,' whose policy was like that of Maṇu, who also shone by the celebrated distinction 'Samayakōlāhala,' who was also entitled 'the lord of Ailāvālpura,' who by his valour deprived the insolent king of the Tiruvadi-rājya of the seven (component) parts (of his kingdom); who was famous as the 'Pāndyakulasthāpanāchārya,' who was the revered lord of the great Southern ocean; who was the grandson of king Nāgama; who was equal to Nala and Nābhāga in fame, who was the cool moon of the ocean named king Viśvanātha, who was the pearl of the oyster, *vs* the womb of the virtuous Nāgamā,—was built a temple at Kṛṣṇāpura, which was encircled by a wall of the shape of the *pranava* and a broad and lofty tower. It has a large *rañja-manḍapa* raised on a collection of beautiful stone pillars and adorned with rows of spouts (?). He built a car like the *Mandara* mountain and also broad roads round the temple, for the propitiation of the god Viṣṇu set up there (*ie* in the temple),

[ (Vv. 58-66) Praises of the god set up in the temple of Kṛṣṇāpuram ]

(Vv. 67-69) (For the worship of the god Viṣṇu) who shone in this place under the name of Tiruvēnkaṭanātha, by means of burning incense, by lights, and by the offering of good food, cakes, *etc*, by means of offerings of several kinds of flowers, by illumination with many lights, by means of dancing, singing and music, with umbrellas, *chauris*, on days both ordinary and special, for the car festival at the beginning of each year, for the floating festival during the hot season, and for the *yātrōtsava*,

(Vv. 70-82) The excellent village known by the name of Śrī Kṛṣṇāpura, resplendent with cereals,—including the villages known as Puttanāri, Āryakulam, Kōṭakkulam, Kuttukkal, Mutūr Rāmabgūlam, Ittampattu, Śiriyālaṅgūlam, Pātakkulam together with thirteen *bhū* in Muṛappu-nādu (and) Āṅkudi, which is situated in the Kijavēmbu-nādu belonging to the Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala, on the banks of the pure river Tāmraparai, in the *chōvaḍi* known as Śrīvallamangalam, and which is situated to the north-east of the road commencing with the Arddhatantriṇī tree, *etc*, east of Villamarāya's charity and the famous Nedungūlam and of the extreme limits of Śrī-Śaṅkākkaṇḍa-kūlam; south-east of Puṅyaḅgūja-ḅja, Kulappurāyankūlam and of the extreme limits of Bhūtura taṭāka; south of the extreme limits of Kaṅkūkkulam, south-west of the Vēlaṅgula channel, west of Śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍya's new channel; north-west of the extreme limits of Amākkūlam; north of the extreme limits of Śrīkūlam, Ērāru-Peryālaṅgūlam and of Kokkantāmpāga and Panayānkūlam; and north-east of the hill known as Mutūrmala—is to be enjoyed by (*this god*) Vēnkaṭāsa as a *sarvamaṅya*

(Vv. 98 and 102 to 104.) Having been requested by Kṛṣṇabhūpati, the fruit of the long penance of Viśvanātha, whose eyes are the ocean of mercy, Tirumala Rājya respectfully requested Sadasivārāya, the respected of the learned men, who, surrounded by his staunch friends, priests, followers, all kinds of learned men, and ambassadors and by their advice, made this gift joyously with gold and pouring of water.

Vv. 105-106 mention that Sabhāpati Svayambhu wrote the *śāsana*.

V. 107 mentions that Virāpāchārya, son of Virāpa, engraved the document

Vv. 108-112 : the usual imprecatory verses.

Line 214. The signature 'Śrī Virāpāksha' in the Kannada alphabet

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the *Bhāgavata* and other works. There are numerous legends about it, one of the most picturesque assigning the origin of the Sōn and Narinādī to two tears dropped by Brahmā, one on either side of the Amarakantak range. Its waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sanādhya* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhman.<sup>1</sup> This must therefore be the river, the third in India, as recorded by Arrian, whence Bhīmasēna issued his charter, and not another Sōn flowing in the south of the Bilāspur district, falling into the Bora which joins the Mahānādī. As for Dōṇḍā and Vaṭapallikā, the latter of which must be looked for in a form such as Baḍapālī or Barapālī, there are so many places in Chhattīsgarh bearing these names that it is difficult to say which particular ones were meant. The nearest Dōṇḍā or Dupḍā, as we now find it, is one situated 25 miles west of Ārang, where the plate was found, and the nearest Barapālī is 30 miles east of Ārang and about 50 miles east of Dupḍā. It is included in the present Kaudī Zaminḍārī on the other side of the Mahānādī. It would then appear that Ārang also was in those days included in the Dōṇḍā district, and the donees, if they were residents of Ārang, lived half-way between the headquarters of the district and the village granted to them.

TEXT.<sup>2</sup>

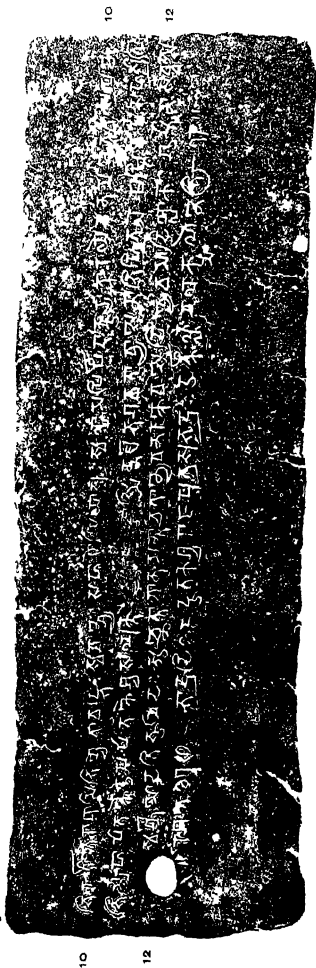
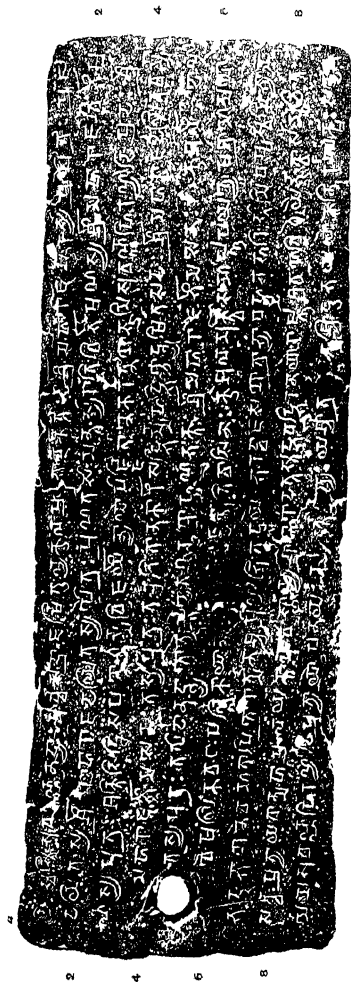
Seal.

Śrī-mahārāja-Bhīmasenasya

First Side

- 1 Ōm<sup>3</sup> svastu [||\*] Suvarṇṇanadyāḥ [sa]rvva<sup>4</sup> sadrājārshī-tulya-kula-prabhāva-krtiḥ  
śrī-mahārāja-Śūrasya praputraḥ prajā-
- 2 dayitasya śrī-[ma]hārāja-Dayitasya putrah | prajāta-nāmantasy-ārāti-vibhishasasya  
śrī-mahārāja-Vibhishā-
- 3 nasya putrah śakti-siddhi-sampannō dharmīna-vijayī nyāy-ōpārjīti-ānēka-raṇa  
gō-bhūmi-suvarṇṇa-hirany-ādi-pradaḥ śrī-
- 4 mahārāja-Bhīmasēnaḥ tasya putrah ta[oh chhari]t-ānukārī sadbhīr-mahadbhīś-ch-  
āddhyashtasadah<sup>5</sup> śrī-mahārāja-Dayitavarmanō
- 5 tasya pu[tra]ḥ tat-pād-ānuddhyātō-tya[uta]-dēva-guru-brāhmaṇa-bhaktah śrī-mahārāja-  
Bhīmasēnaḥ kuśalī Dōṇḍā-
- 6 vaiśvayika-Vaṭapallikāyām [brāhmaṇādīu-pra]tīvaśīnaḥ [ka]śalam-uktvā samājñā  
payaty-ēsha grāmō mayā
- 7 bhādra-bhōgēnaiva mātāpitrōr-ātmanas-ōha puṇyā-bhivṛddhayaō Dharadvāya  
sagōtrābhyaḥ Bahvriōha-Harivāmi-Bappasvāmibhyaḥ
- 8 sarvva-pratyāyavān-mahāpralaya-kā[-ā]vasthā[py-ā]grahārō dattas-tad-bhavadbhīr-  
anayōr-ājñā-sravāṇa-vidhāyair-bhūtvā samuchita-
- 9 m-āya<sup>6</sup> suvarṇṇa-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanasyaḥ kartavyaḥ [||\*] yas-ōh-ātra [ka]śchid-  
ubbhaya-lōka-nirapēkshah san-dāśa-

<sup>1</sup> See article on Sōn in the new Imperial Gazetteer.<sup>2</sup> From the original plate.<sup>3</sup> [I read *pārva*—S. K.]<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>5</sup> Read *och-āddhyashtā*.<sup>6</sup> Read *m-āya* [or *-māya* as in l. 16 of the Broach copper-plate of Saḍgamaśiṅha (J. Bo. B. R. A. S. Vol. XX p. 214, text-line 8)—S. K.]



STEN KONOW

SCALE 75

W. GR. 665 PHOTO-LITH





## Second Side

- 10 bhur=atitair=āgāmbbhīś=ch=aitāvadbhī svavanśy[an]b<sup>1</sup> sah=ādhdō [y]iyāsuh svalpām=apī  
pidān=ku[rīyāh]t<sup>2</sup>=kārāyādī=anunmanyaṭa vā sa pañcha-
- 11 bhur=mmahāpātakaīr=upapātakaś=cha sa[m]yuktah [syāt punaś=ch=ā]sminn=arthō  
bhagavatā Vyāsōn=ābhūntam shashtim varsha-sahasrāpi
- 12 svarggō mōdati bhūmidaḥ [I\*] śochchōdtā oh=ānumantā cha tāny=śva narakē  
vasōd=ity=ōvamādī-ślōkāḥ Guptānām samvatsa-
- 13 ra-śatē 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8<sup>3</sup> dātakaś=cha rajaputra-Subhadrah  
utkirṇam cha Lakshmaṇē=ēti || ||

## TRANSLATION

(Ll. 1 to 4) Om! Hail! From Suvarṇanadi; the illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhimasēna, possessed of power and success, triumphant with virtue (and) giver of many lawfully acquired jewels, cows, land, gold, precious metals, etc (*was*) the great grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Śūra*, (*who was*) equal to all virtuous royal sages in lineage, power and fame, the grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayita*, beloved of his subjects, the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja Vibhishana* to whom feudatory kings bowed (*and who was*) terrific to his enemies.

(Ll 4 to 6) His son (*was*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Dayitavarma*, the follower of his (father's) conduct, whose court was attended by great and good (*personages*) His son (*is*) the illustrious *Mahārāja Bhimasēna*, who meditates on his (father's) feet and is extremely devoted to the gods, preceptors and Brāhmins (*He*) being in good health (*and*) wishing good luck to Brāhmins and other (*inhabitants*) of Vataḥpallikā in the district of Dōndā, orders (*as follows*) —

(Ll. 6 to 8.) This village is given by me, while ruling prosperously, for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of (*my*) mother, father and myself, to Harivāman and Bappasvāmin (*both*) of the Bharadvāja *gōtra*, (*students*) of the Rīgvēda, as an *agrahāra*,<sup>4</sup> with all taxes, and lasting up to the time of the great dissolution of the universe.

(Ll. 8 to 13.) Therefore, being obedient to their commands, you should render (*to them*) in proper manner the taxes such as gold and bullion, etc If anybody, being regardless of the two worlds<sup>5</sup> and wishing to go to hell with ten past and (*a similar number of*) future (*generations*) of his family, does, causes to be done, or assents to even a small harm to this (*charity*), he would become joined with five great<sup>6</sup> sins and also minor sins Moreover, in this matter it has been said by the venerable Vyāsa. "the giver of land enjoys in heaven for sixty thousand years, (*but*) the confiscator (*of a grant*) and he who assents (*to an act of confiscation*) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell," and so forth (in other) verses In the year of the Guptas in hundreds 200, 80 2 (*in the month of*) Bhādra on the day 10 8(<sup>7</sup>). Prince Subhadra was the *dātaka* (officer carrying the king's orders) Engraved by Lakshmana

<sup>1</sup> Read *caśīyāt*.<sup>2</sup> Read *plādāḥ kuryyāt*.<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to Dr Konow in helping me to elucidate these somewhat curiously formed figures<sup>5</sup> A grant made in favour of a god or a Brāhmana<sup>6</sup> I.e. regardless of the consequences which may follow in this and the next world<sup>7</sup> For these see *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, verse 227 of the Prāyaścittādhyāya They are killing a Brāhman, drinking, theft, visiting a preceptor's wife, and association with any of these offences The minor offences are enumerated further on from verses 234 to 242



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<sup>1</sup> The figures refer to pages; 'n' after a figure, to footnotes; and 'add' to the Additions and Corrections on pp. vii and viii. The following other abbreviations are used: —ch. = chief, co. = country, di. = district or division, do. = ditto, dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; f. = female; k. = king, m. = mountain; vs. = versus; s. a. = same as; sur. = surname; te. = temple; vi. = village or town, W. = Western.

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