

COH-1105748-13-H9 CECIL. I. XXXVII. I.
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

PART I

JANUARY 1967

13

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1967

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA

Price: Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8 d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXVII

1967-1968

No. 1—HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF DEVASENA, SAKA 380

(1 Plate)

SHOBHANA GOKHALE, POONA

(Received on 6. 4. 1964.)

In the course of a study tour¹ I visited, on the 21st January 1964, Washim, the ancient Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma, in the Akola District of Maharashtra. Shri N. R. Dhanagere, a pleader residing at Washim, informed me about the existence of a stone inscription in the vicinity of the village Hisse-Bōrālā, six miles to the south of Washim on the Washim-Hiṅgoli road. After a strenuous search for the inscription in the suggested area, I was led to the find-spot by a villager Shri Phakira Naik by name. The stone bearing the inscription² is known to the villagers as 'Demon's Stone'.

Hisse-Bōrālā is a small village with a population of only about 400 persons. The inscribed stone was found in a nullah of the river Vatsagulmā which has retained its name to the present day and the name of the Vākāṭaka capital Vatsagulma was apparently derived from the name of this river. At the place where the epigraph was found, there are remains of an ancient brick-wall,³ beside an old lake. Even to-day this wall is locally called *pāḷu* which means 'bank of a lake'. It is noteworthy that this ancient wall is situated on an excellent catchment area with hills on three sides so that the waters of the nullah as well as the rain waters could be well stored. It is, no doubt, an ideal place for the construction of an artificial lake which, as will be seen presently, is exactly the purport of the inscription on the stone.

The stone slab on which the inscription is engraved, is a variety of basalt stone and was found broken into two pieces when I visited the place. It was shifted to the Collector's office at Akola and while doing so, unfortunately, the first piece was again broken into two pieces with the result that the inscription is now in three fragments. The original slab measured about 122 cm long, 33 cm broad and 23 cm thick.

There are four lines of writing, the fourth line having only 8 letters, engraved, within a bordered area in the middle portion. These letters are slightly smaller in size than those of the first three lines where the average size of each letter is 3 cm. In the first line, about 3 or 4 letters at the beginning and 2 letters in the middle are lost due to the damage caused to the stone. In the third

¹ I am thankful to the University of Poona for sanctioning a research grant which enabled me to undertake this tour.

² This is registered as *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. B 316.

³ The bricks measure 40×18×19 cm each.

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line, the last word *bhōgyam* has been engraved just below the line at the end while the letters *pa* and *gya* have been partially damaged because of the broken end of the slab. Except this, the rest of the inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation. The engraving is also deep and the letters have been clearly formed.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Central Indian variety of Southern alphabets and resemble those of the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription of Vyāghrasēna.¹ They are not box-headed as found in many copper-plate grants of the Vākātakas. Regarding the palaeographical peculiarities the following remarks may be made. Medial *i* is distinguished from the medial *ī* by a small gap in the circular stroke (see, *asmin*—line 2 and *prīhivī*, line 3); *na* and *ṇa* are distinguished. The numerical symbols for 300, 80 and 20 occur in the first line. As regards orthography, it may be stated that the consonants following *r* are doubled according to the rules of grammar. The medial *ri* is substituted by *ri* (cf. *prīhivī*, line 3). Scribal errors are noticed in *śrī-Dēvasānasya* for *śrī-Dēvasēnasya* (line 1) and *tāvammamēdam* for *tāvan=mam=ēdam* (line 3). The language of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit prose and verse.

The record refers itself to the reign of the Vākātika king Dēvasēna who may be identified with Dēvasēna of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātakas. It is dated Śaka 380 corresponding to A. D. 458-59. As stated above, the portion at the beginning of the record consisting of 3 or 4 letters has been lost. The following portion reads : *tasya vrittasya vrā 20² Saptarshay=ūttara³ suvachha . bda*. It is difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading. It may, however, be suggested that the two letters preceding the last letter *bda* may be restored as *gatā* so that the expression would be *gatābda* qualifying the following word *Śakānām* and meaning 'when so many years of the Śaka era had elapsed.' This date portion is followed by a prose passage which states that a lake (*saras*) named Sudarśana was constructed, for the welfare of all living beings by *ārya Svāmillaḍēva*, an executive officer (*ājñākara*) of the Vākātika king Dēvasēna. Then follows a verse which says that this charitable work (*sat-kīrtanam*) should endure for ever for the enjoyment of all persons. The last sentence which is engraved within a bordered panel informs us that a certain Bappakā was the adviser of this work (i.e., the construction of the lake).

• The inscription is important in that it provides the earliest mention of the Śaka year in inscriptions. Uptil now the Bādāmi Rock Inscription of Chālukya Pulakēśin I dated Śaka 465⁴ has been considered to furnish the earliest reference to Śaka year but the discovery of our inscription provides a still earlier reference. Further, the present inscription is the only record of the Vākātakas which is dated in the Śaka year, the other records of the dynasty being dated in the regnal years of the respective kings. Therefore, it furnishes a basis for the Vākātika chronology, which uptil now, was a matter of conjecture based on the known date of Prabhāvatī-guptā, the daughter of the Gupta king Chandrāgupta II.⁵ It may be noted that the date Śaka 380 (=458-59 A.D.) supports the surmise of the scholars like Mirashi⁶ and Altekar⁷ who referred king Dēvasēna to the middle of the fifth century A.D.

The name of the lake Sudarśana is interesting. We learn from the Girnar *prāsasti* of Rudradāman I⁷ that the famous Sudarśana lake of the Mauryan age at Girinagara in Surāshtra was

¹ *Arch. Sur. of West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, plate LX.

² This symbol may also stand for the letter *dh*.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 4 ff.

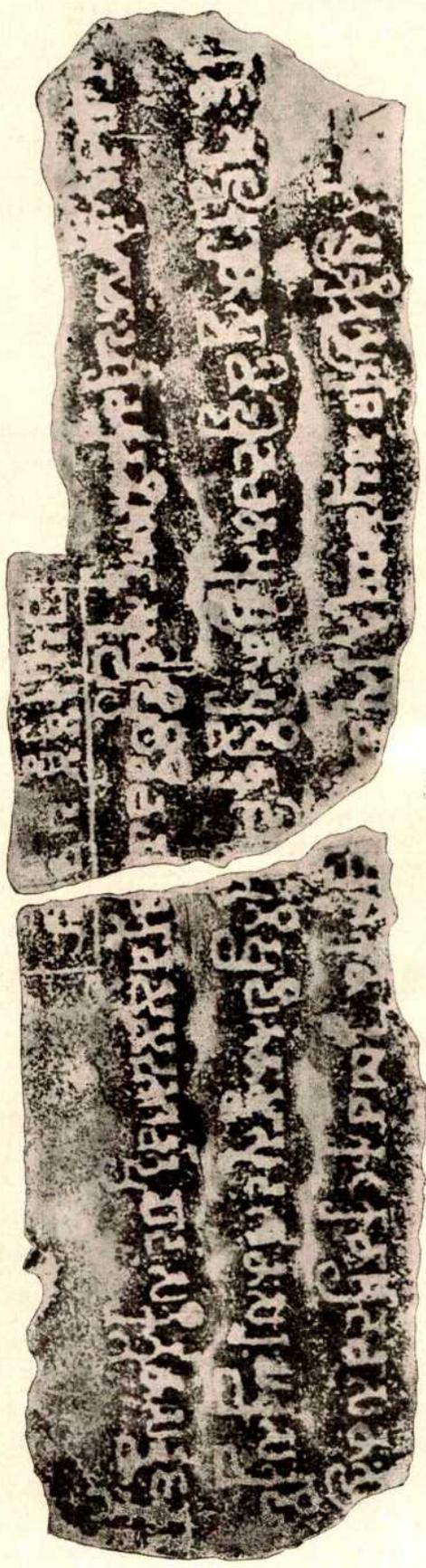
⁴ *New Hist. of Ind. People*, Vol. VI, *Vākātika-Gupta Age*, p. 95.

⁵ *IHQ.*, Vol. XXV, p. 148.

⁶ *New Hist. of the Ind. People*, Vol. VI, *Vākātika-Gupta Age*, p. 120.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.

HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF DEVASENA, SAKA, 380



2

4

2

4

(From Photograph)

G. S. GAI

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII

repaired a little after 150 A.D. by that great Kshatrpa ruler. It was again repaired by the governor of the Gupta king Skandagupta in the Gupta year 138¹ corresponding to 457-58 A.D. i.e. exactly one year prior to the date of our inscription. The lake Sudaršana of the present record appears to have been named after the famous ancient lake at Girinagara.

TEXT²

- 1 Sidham³ tasya vrittasya⁴ vrā 20⁵ Sapta-[Rshayūttarasuvachha]⁶ . . . bda⁷ Sak[ā]nā[m]
380 Vakāṭakānām śr[i]-Dēvasanasya⁸
- 2 rājñah ājñākarēṇa Svāmīlladēvēna Āryyēṇa asmin=kālē pratishṭhāpitaṁ nāmṇā
Sudarśanaṁ saraḥ sarvva-satva(ttva)-hi-
- 3 tāya | Chaturyyugānām parivarttanāni śaśāṅka-sūryyau pri(pri)thivī cha yāvaṭ [*]
ttā(tā)vamma(n=ma)m=ēdam bhagavat-prasādam⁹ sat-kīrttanam sarvva-jaṇ-ōpa-
- 4 bhō [gyam] [[*]¹⁰
- 5 Bappakah=karm-ōpadēshṭā [[*]¹¹

POSTSCRIPT

After this article was written, Dr. V. B. Kolte of Nagpur has published his views on the reading and interpretation of the first half of the line in an article in the Marathi weekly *Tarun Bhārat* dated 12.4.1964. He reads this portion as follows : [*Madhya-gā*]tasya vri(vri)ttasya vru(vri) 20 Saptarshayar=Uttarā[s=ūpari] [a (or sha)]shṭy-amśak-ōnē 380. The portions in the square brackets have been conjecturally restored by Dr. Kolte since they are lost owing to the damaged nature of the slab. He says that according to the *sthalapurāṇa Vatsagulmamāhātmya*, Washim (Vatsagulma) is situated on the *madhya-rēshā* or the central meridian and that Hisse-Bōrālā, the findspot of the record, is located on 20 degrees latitude to the south of Washim. Thus, according to him, the portion at the beginning of the inscription refers to the geographical location where the Sudaršana lake was constructed. This is followed by the statement mentioning the astronomical date of the construction of the lake, viz. when the Seven Seers ((*Saptarshī*)) had travelled $\frac{1}{16}$ th or $\frac{1}{6}$ th degree in the Uttar-Phalgunī *nakshatra* in the year 380 which should be taken as of Śālivāhana Śaka era of 78 A. D. In this connection Dr. Kolte refers to the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu Munayah*, etc. from *Bṛihatsamhitā* (Ch. 13, verse 3) according to which the Seven Seers were in Maghā *nakshatra* when Yudhisṭhira was ruling and the year was 2526 pre-Śaka. In

¹ Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, *CII*, Vol. III, p. 56 ff.

² From the original and inked impressions.

³ This word is written below the first line in the beginning of which three letters seem to have been lost as the portion of the stone is broken away.

⁴ The reading does not give any sense.

⁵ What we have taken to be a symbol for 20 may also be read as *dhi*.

⁶ The meaning of the expression is not clear, though the reading of the first part of it viz. *Sapta* is certain.

⁷ This letter is clear in the photograph. The preceding two letters may be restored as *gat-ā*.

⁸ Read *Dēvasēnasya*.

⁹ Read *prasādāt*.

¹⁰ These two letters are engraved below the last two letters of the line. The metre of this verso is *Uṇyāṇ*.

¹¹ This line is engraved in a bordered panel in the middle portion of the stone.

other words, one has to add 2526 years to the Śaka year to obtain the corresponding year of the Yudhishṭhira era at the beginning of which the Seven Seers were in Maghā *nakshatra*. Since it is also stated in the same work that these Seven Seers remain in each *nakshatra* for one hundred years, they were again in Maghā in the Yudhishṭhira year 2700-2800 and in Uttara-Phalgunī in the Yudhishṭhira year 2900-3000 or from Śaka year 374 (2900-2526=374) to 474 (3000-2526=474). This agrees with the year 380 mentioned in the inscription which shows that the Seven Seers had spent six years (*ashty-amśa* or *shashṭy-amśa*) in Uttara-Phalgunī beginning from the year 374 of Śaka era.

**No 2—NOTE ON THE DATE OF HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF THE
TIME OF VAKATAKA DEVASENA.**

G. S. GAI and S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15. 11. 1965)

Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, who has edited this inscription above, pp. 1-4, reads the portion at the beginning of the record as follows :

Siddham tasya vrittasya vrā 20 Saptā-[rshayūttarasuvachha] . . . bda Śak[ā]nā[m] 380. She has not been able to offer a satisfactory reading and interpretation of this portion which has suffered damage and which is difficult to understand. In the post-script to the article, she has drawn our attention to the views of Dr. V.B. Kolte relating to this portion published in the Marāṭhi Weekly *Taruṇabhārata*. Dr. Kolte has subsequently published this record in Marāṭhi in the issue of the *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala* for 1964, pp. 137-56 and again in English in *Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, pp. 372 ff., with a facsimile.

Dr. Kolte reads this portion as . . . *tasya vri(vri)ttasya vru (or Dhru) 20 Saptarshaya Ūttarās=ū[pari a (or sha)]shṭy-amśak-ōnē 300 80.* He thinks that three *aksharas* are lost at the beginning which he restores as *Madhya-ga*. In this connection, he refers to the *Sihala-purāṇa Vatsagulma-māhātmya* and to the views of ancient astronomers who imagined that a *Madhyama-rēkhā* (central meridian), also called *Laṅkā-rēkhā*, joined the Northern and Southern Poles passing through Laṅkā, Kāñchī, Vatsagulma, Ujjayīnī, etc. Taking into consideration the astronomical importance of the place Washim (ancient Vatsagulma, the capital of the Vākāṭakas) which is only 10 km from Hisse-Borala, the findspot of the inscription recording construction of the lake called Sudarśana, he interprets the first half of the above portion upto the figure 20 as "at the 20th circle (latitude) on the Central meridian" and considers that this circle refers to the place Hisse-Borala.

In the second half of this portion also, Dr. Kolte finds the mention of the astronomical terms which refer to the date of the construction of the lake Sudarśana at Hisse-Borala. He suggests that the reference to Saptarshi here is to the constellation Seven Sages (*Ursa Major*) and interprets this passage as " (in the year) 380—when the Seven Sages (i.e. constellation of *Ursa Major*) were in the (asterism) Uttarā having progressed upto 1/16th part of it (or for six years, i.e. the 1/60th part of 360, the total number of degrees)." In this connection, Dr. Kolte has drawn our attention to two verses in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*¹ of Varāhamihira according to which the (Seven) Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra*, when the king Yudhishtira was ruling over the earth; and the period of the king being 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era and they (i.e. Seven Sages) remain in each *nakshatra* for a period of 100 years. With the help of these two verses, Dr. Kolte suggests that the Seven Sages were in the Uttarā or Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* during the Yudhishtira years 201 to 300 and again during 2901 to 3000. And to find out the corresponding years of the Śaka era, Dr. Kolte deducts 2526 years from the Yudhishtira years showing that during the Śaka years 374 to 474, the Seven Sages were in the Uttarā. And according to his reading *ashty-amśak-ōnē* or *shashty-amśak-ōnē*, he suggests that these Seven Sages had crossed 1/16th part of the total *amśas* and *kalās* (i.e. 800 *kalās*) or 1/60th part of the total number of degrees (i.e. 360). This would mean that they had spent 6 years in the Uttarā-*nakshatra*, commencing from Śaka 374 which would give the date as Śaka 380 as mentioned in the inscription.

¹ Chapter XIII, verses 3 and 4.

Thus according to Dr. Kolte, the date of the construction of the Sudaršana lake is mentioned in astronomical terms as well as in Śaka era while the earlier portion refers to the place of the lake also in astronomical terms.

Dr. Kolte is no doubt right in his suggestion that this portion contains a reference to the position of the constellation Seven Sages in the Uttara-Phalgunī, although he does not read the word *Phalgunī* itself in the text. But we do not agree with his reading and interpretation of this portion of the record in several other respects. We do not think that there is any astronomical reference to the place Hisse-Borala or Washim as suggested by him, nor do we agree with his reading and interpretation of the expression *a(or. sha)shty-amśakōnē* which, besides being grammatically untenable, is far-fetched. Further, according to his reading, the year 380 is not indicated either by the word *Samvat* or *Śaka*.

We propose to read this portion of the text of the record as follows :

Siddham . . . tasya vri(vri)ttasya 3000 20 Sapta=Rshaya Uttarāsu Pha[lgunī]shu Śakān[ām] 380*

What is read as *vru* or *dhru* before the numeral 20 by Dr. Kolte should be taken as the numerical symbol for 3000. The same symbol for 3000 occurs in the Nasik Cave inscription of Ushavadāta.¹ The basic symbol which appears like the letter *dhru* stands for 1000 and with the addition of one and two horizontal strokes or hooks to the right side, the figures 2000 and 3000 respectively are denoted. We think that the word *Śakānām* before the figure 380 is fairly clear, though the *anusvāra* over the letter *nā* is obliterated. The letter preceding *Sa* of *Śakānām* is *shu* before which two letters are lost due to the breaking up of the stone but the letter following *su* of *Uttarāsu* is clearly *pha*. We may, therefore, confidently restore this word as *Phalgunīshu* which goes well with the previous word *Uttarāsu* and both of them standing for Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra*. Thus, this portion of the record refers to the year 3020 when the Seven Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* and when the corresponding Śaka year was 380.

Now what is this era, the 3020th year of which is mentioned in this inscription as corresponding to Śaka 380? In this connection, we can think of only two eras, viz. the Kali and the Yudhishṭhira eras which are of such antiquity. It could not have been the Kali era of 3101 B.C. for the Kali year corresponding to Śaka 380 would be 3559 (3101+380+78). We may, therefore, suggest that it may be the Yudhishṭhira era. We think that the numeral figure 3020 is preceded by the expression mentioning the founder of the era to which it refers just as the numeral 380 is preceded by the expression mentioning the founder of the era as Śaka. The word *vṛittasya* may be understood in the sense of 'famous, well-known'. There is a trace of the medial vowel *u* attached to the letter preceding the letter *t* of *tasya*, which may stand for *su* and since we propose to refer the era to Yudhishṭhira, we may suggest that two letters in the beginning are lost which may be restored as *Dharma*.

Accordingly, the portion of the text of the record under discussion would read [*Dharma-s*]*u-tasya vṛittasya 3020 Sapta=Rshaya Uttarāsu Phalgunīshu Śakānām 380*. Thus, this entire portion refers only to the date of the record and there is no reference to any 20th circle on the Madhyama-rēkhā as suggested by Dr. Kolte.

Now let us see whether the year 3020 of the Yudhishṭhira era would correspond to the Śāli-vāhana Śaka year 380 and whether in that year the Seven Sages were in Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* as required.

The two verses from *Bṛihatsamhitā* (Ch. XIII, verses 3 and 4) referred to by Dr. Kolte above, read as follows :

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 82, line 2.

No. 2] NOTE ON THE DATE OF HISSE-BORALA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF 7
VAKATAKA DEVASENA

Āsan=Maghāsu Munayaḥ sāsati prithvīm Yudhishṭhīrē nripatau |
śaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutaḥ Śaka-kālas=tasya rājñas=cha ||
Ēk-aik-asmin=rikshē śatām śatām tē charanti varshāṇām | etc.

The verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc. is generally interpreted by the scholars to mean that the Seven Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when the king Yudhishṭhira was ruling over the earth and that the Śaka era began when 2526 years of Yudhishṭhira had elapsed. According to this calculation, Śaka year 380 of our record would correspond to the Yudhishṭhira year 2906 (2526+380) and not to 3020 as stated in the record. And, according to the second verse *Ēk-aik-asmin=rikshē*, etc., the Seven Sages remain for a century in each *nakshatra*. Hence, in the 31st century of the Yudhishṭhira era, the Sages would remain in the Hasta *nakshatra* which is the 31st from the Maghā and not in Uttara-Phalgunī as stated in our record. But these difficulties would be solved if we interpret the expression *śaḍ-dvika-pañcha-dvi-yutaḥ* in the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc., in a somewhat different manner. In his *Bṛihatsamhitā*, Varāhamihira uses the numerals with *ka-* ending like *dvi-navaka*,¹ *tri-saptaka*,² *asht-āshṭaka*³ as multiples meaning $2 \times 9 = 18$, $3 \times 7 = 21$ and $8 \times 8 = 64$ respectively. Similarly, we may take *śaḍ-dvika* in the above mentioned verse in the sense of 12 (6×2) so that the number of Yudhishṭhira years would be 2512 at the commencement of the Śaka era and not 2526 as hitherto understood. Further, according to Utpalabhaṭṭa, the earliest commentator on the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, the expression *Śaka-kāla* in this work refers to the era which started when king Vikramāditya exterminated the foreign tribe called Śaka,⁴ i.e. the Vikrama Śaka of 57 B.C. and not to the Śālivāhana Śaka of 78 A.D. According to this calculation, Yudhishṭhira ascended the throne in pre-Vikrama Śaka year 2512 and the Yudhishṭhira year for the Śālivāhana Śaka year 380 would be 3027 (2512+57+380+78). This year 3027 would come very near the date 3020 read by us in the text of the record. We are, therefore, tempted to suggest that the word *sapta* before *Rishaya* may be regarded as part of the date-portion, since even the simple word *Rishayaḥ* would also mean the Seven Sages only just like simple *Munayaḥ* in the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc. in the *Bṛihatsamhitā*.⁵ If this suggestion is accepted, then the date of the record would perfectly agree with the calculation of 3027 arrived at above. In other words, the reading of the date in the record would be 3000 20 *sapta* or 3027 which, when referred to the Yudhishṭhira era, regularly corresponded to the Śālivāhana Śaka year 380 as stated in the record.

It now remains to be seen whether in the Yudhishṭhira year 3027 corresponding to Śālivāhana Śaka year 380, the Seven Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* as stated in the inscription under study. We have already seen that according to the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, these Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when Yudhishṭhira ascended the throne and remained in that *nakshatra* from Yudhishṭhira year 1 to 100. But according to the Purānic tradition, the Sages were in the Maghā *nakshatra* when Parīkshit, the grandson and successor of Yudhishṭhira, ascended the throne.⁶ They remained in that *nakshatra* during the period of Parīkshit year 1 to 100.

¹ Chapter, VII, verse 18.

² Chapter IV, verse 22.

³ Chapter LII, Verse 55.

⁴ Cf. *Śakā nāma Mlēcchā-jāṭayō rājānaḥ | tē yasmin kālē Vikramādityādēvōna vyūpādītāḥ, sa kālō lōkē Śaka iti prasiddhāḥ | tasmāt Śakēndra-kālād-ārabhya*, etc. (Bhaṭṭōtpala's commentary on the verse *Gatāni varshāṇi Śakēndra-kālāt*, etc. of the *Bṛihatsamhitā*, Chapter VIII, verse 20).

⁵ Cf. also *Kalī-Dvāpara-sandhau tu sthitās-tē Pūṛiḍāvatam Munayō* etc. quoted by Utpala in his commentary under the verse *Āsan=Maghāsu*, etc.

⁶ Cf. *Sapta=Rshayō Maḥā-yuktāḥ kālē Parīkshitē śatām*, Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 61. However, the *Purāṇas* connect the commencement of Parīkshit's reign with that of the Kalī era; see *ibid.*; cf. also *Vṛiddha-Garga*, quoted by Utpala on *Bṛihatsamhitā*, Ch. XIII, verse 2.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that Yudhishtira retired from his kingdom after ruling for 36 years.¹ So if we deduct these 36 years from the Yudhishtira year 3027 mentioned in the inscription, we get the Parikshit year 2991. Now, according to this Puranic calculation the Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra* in the Parikshit year 201 to 300 and again in the Parikshit year 2901 to 3000. Therefore, it appears that the author of the inscription had in mind this Parikshit year 2991 while giving the position of the Sages as remaining in Uttara-Phalgunī *nakshatra*. In other words, he has followed the Puranic tradition in giving the position of the Seven Sages.

We may translate the portion of the text of the record discussed above as follows: “(In the year) 3027 of the famous Dharmasuta (i.e. *Yudhishtira*) when the Sages were in the Uttara-Phalgunī (and in the year) 380 of the (*Śālivāhana*) Śakas.”

Besides being the earliest epigraphic record mentioning the Śaka date and the only inscription of the Vākātaka dynasty dated in the Śaka era as pointed out by Dr. (Mrs.) Shobhana Gokhale, this inscription is unique in connecting the Yudhishtira year with the position of the Seven Sages as well as with the Śālivāhana Śaka year. This method of mentioning the date is not so far met with anywhere else in the whole range of Indian epigraphy.

¹ Cf. *Shaṭ-trimśē=ṣaṭ-tatō varshē Vṛishṇinām=anayō-mahān | anyēnyān musalais-tē tu nijagmuh kāla-chōditāh ||* *Mahābhārata*, BORI, ed., *Mausaoparvan*, Ch. 2, verse 2; and *Srutv-aiva Kauravō rājā Vṛishṇinām kadanaṁ mahat | prasāhānē matim=ādihāya*, etc. Ibid., *Mahāprasthānikaparvan*, Ch. 1, verse 2.

No. 3—PANDARANGAPALLI GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA AVIDHEYA

(1 Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 12. 2. 1964)

The plates recording this grant were in the possession of the Patel of a village near Kolhapur in the Maharashtra State. Prof. Kundangar of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, who obtained them from the owner sent them to Rev. Heras of the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, and the latter made them over to the Mysore Archaeological Department for publication. They were edited with facsimiles by M. H. Krishna in the *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Department* for 1929, pp. 197-210. My attention was drawn to this record by an article¹ of the late A. S. Altekar, in which he criticised Krishna's theory of a large Rāshtrakūṭa Empire extending from the Mahānadi and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south in the sixth century A.D. As the original plates were not accessible to me, I had to depend on their published facsimiles. I then found that Krishna's readings and interpretations were very misleading. I therefore wrote an article² entitled 'the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura', in which I pointed out the correct readings of a few crucial expressions and also suggested the correct interpretation of this and other cognate records of the Early Rāshtrakūṭas. My view that there was an early dynasty of the Rāshtrakūṭas who ruled over Southern Mahārāshṭra in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D., and who were contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas has now been generally accepted.³ As the grant has not, however, been correctly edited and interpreted in any research journal, some scholars⁴ have repeated the wrong readings and interpretations of Krishna. I, therefore, wanted to re-edit this grant, but could not trace the original plates. Krishna's article gave only the vague information that it was found in a village near Kolhapur, but did not name the village or state its exact location. From inquiries made of Prof. Kundangar I came to know that the grant was found in the village **Kōrōchī** near Ichalkaranjī in the Hātkaṇagalē Taluk of the former Kolhapur State. I made frequent attempts through Prof. Kundangar and other friends to trace the plates, but they were not successful. Ultimately, I sought the help of my friend Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Professor of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur. On inquiry he found that the family that possessed the plates thirtyfive years ago had undergone partition. No information about the present possessor of the plates was forthcoming. Still, Dr. Upadhye continued his efforts with great patience and, after a continuous search for more than five years, succeeded in tracing them in the possession of Śhrimati Chitrabai, widow of Shri Nasargonda Bhimagonda Patil of Kōrōchī. She very kindly agreed to send them to the Nagpur University for decipherment and editing. I am grateful to her for permission to re-edit this most precious record of the Early Rāshtrakūṭas, which sheds considerable light on the history of the family and incidentally on an incident in the career of the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa. The facsimiles that accompany this article are prepared from excellent photographs of the plates very kindly supplied by my friend Shri V. P. Rode, Curator of

¹ *ABORI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

³ See *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. XI (1954), p. 81, note 1; also *HCIP*, Vol. III, pp. 199 ff.

⁴ See Saleore's article in *IHQ.*, Vol. XI, pp 769-778 and G. H. Khare's Marathi book *Śrī-Viṭṭhala ūni Paṇḍ-harpur*, 1st ed., p. 7. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. IV, p. 717.

the Central Museum, Nagpur. I feel deeply grateful to Dr. A. N. Upadhye, but for whose persistent efforts this grant would not have again come to light. The plates are now deposited in the Shivaji University, Kolhapur.

The **plates**, three in number, measure 19·1 cm by 6·4 cm and weigh 419·35 grammes. Their edges are not raised or thickened. They contain two records incised at different times. The first record is inscribed on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. It consists of 29 lines. The second record, which is only two lines and a half, is incised on the outer side of the third plate. As the edges of the plates were not raised, the first record has by friction become indistinct in some places, especially in lines 10 to 14 on the first side of the second plate. The second record, though on the outer side of the third plate, is in a much better condition. The plates are held together by a ring, which is roundish in shape, being 6 cm thick and about 4·2 cm in diameter. The ring is flattened in the middle to form a **seal**, oblong in shape, measuring 2·2 cm by 1·2 cm. The seal has the figure of a lion facing left, with its right fore-foot raised and its tail arched over the back.

The **characters** are mostly of the nail-headed type, the letters showing in many cases a triangular head with the apex downward. The record is written carelessly and in a cursive hand and in many cases some stroke or other is either imperfectly formed or is not incised at all. It is therefore very difficult to decipher it. The difficulty is increased all the more as the letters have in some places become indistinct owing to the friction of the plates. As regards individual letters, we may note that initial *i* consists of a curve over two dots (see *iv=āśritāt*, line 5); in medial *ī*, the length is denoted by a curling curve (see *-nripatīm*, line 8); *k* is cursive in many places, its form then being indistinguishable from *n* (*narakē*, line 24); *ñ* is distinguished from *j* only by the absence of the middle horizontal stroke (see *Mānānka*, line 1); the superscript *ñ* is placed horizontally (see *pañchamyām*, line 29); *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished (see *śhaḍ-vargga*, line 9, and *Vidabh-*, line 1); *ṇ* has its upper part in two curves turned in opposite directions (see *śauryyēṇa*, line 3); *t* is generally unlooped and *n* looped (see *Kuntalānām*, line 2), but the opposite forms are also occasionally met with; *bh* is sometimes indistinguishable from *t* (see *yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē*, line 17); *y* is tripartite except when it occurs as a subscript letter (*śāntyā vinayēna*, line 2); *l* has generally a short vertical on the right (see *lōk-āntarasthō*, line 4), but in *chhala*, line 7, the vertical curves over the letter; *v* is generally triangular (see *vinayēna*, line 2), but it often appears in a cursive form (see *Vidarbh-*, line 1). As regards **orthography**, the only point that calls for notice is the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (see *śauryyēṇa* in line 3).

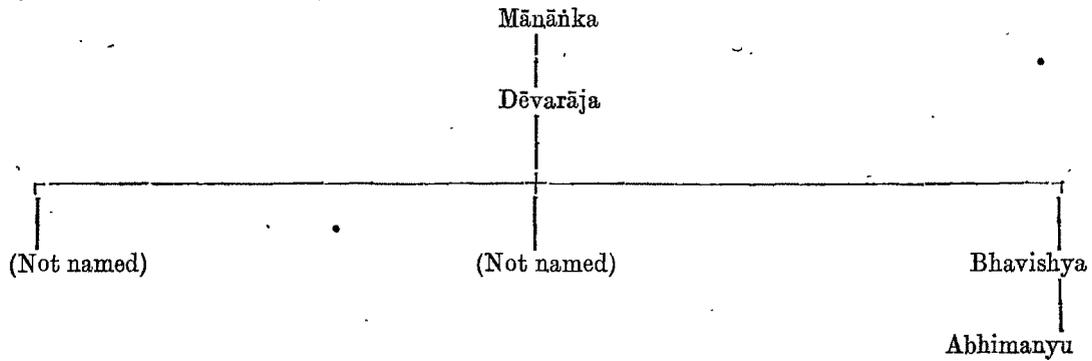
The **language** is **Sanskrit** and the record is composed partly in prose and partly in verse. After the auspicious *Siddham* and *Svasti*, it opens with a verse about **Mānānka**, the progenitor of the family. This is followed by seven other verses eulogising him, his son **Dēvarāja** and his grandson, the reigning king **Avidhēya**, and describing the donee. The names **Dēvarāja** and **Avidhēya** are shown to be appropriate in their respective cases. This is followed by the formal portion of the grant recording the name of the donee, that of the village granted and the purpose of the grant. Finally, there come four imprecatory and benedictive-verses, two being ascribed to Manu¹ and the remaining two to Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas. The last two lines record the name of the scribe **Dēvadatta** and the date, which is given first fully in words and later in numerical symbols.²

¹ These verses are not, however, found in the *Manusmṛiti*. The first occurs partly in the *Vasishṭhadharmaśūtra*, XXIX, 19, and *Bṛihaspati*, v. 19. It also occurs in the *Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 33. It is cited in a late record of V. S. 1176 and occurs there with a slight change. See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra Literature*, Vol. II, part II, p. 1276. The second verse occurs in many grants without being ascribed to Manu.

² The date in numerical symbols, viz. *Sam 10 (+) 5 Kārttika ba. 5*, was misread by Krishna as *Paṇḍaradrīṣēna*, which he took to mean 'by the lord of Paṇḍara'. By Paṇḍara he understood Paṇḍharpur. Some other scholars also have taken this to be the earliest reference to Paṇḍharpur.

The grant was made by **Avidhēya**, son of **Dēvarāja** and grandson of **Mānānka**. **Mānānka** is described here as one who, by his policy, had terrified **Vidarbha** and **Aśmaka**¹ and as the ruler of the **Kuntala** country.² His family is not named here, but as shown later, it was **Rāshtrakūṭa**. The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli**³ together with the hamlets of **Kāmyaka** and **Jāula**, situated on the bank of the river **Anēvatī**, to the east of the **Kollagiri** hill. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Śambhu** of the **Bhārgava** *gōtra* with three *pravaras*. The purpose of the grant, which was made on the full-moon day of **Kārttika**, was to provide for the performance of *vaiśvadeva* and *agnihōtra*. The record is dated on the **fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Kārttika in the fifteenth⁴ regnal year** (mentioned both in words and numerical symbols) in (the year) **Bhādrapada**. This year is evidently of the **twelve-year cycle of Jupiter**. The date does not admit of verification for want of the necessary details such as a week-day or a *nakshatra*. It may be noted that the month **Kārttika** was *amānta*.

This royal family first became known when Pandit Bhagwanlal published the **Uṇḍikavāṭikā** grant of **Abhimanyu**.⁵ It gives the following genealogy—



This family is named **Rāshtrakūṭa** in the grant. The plates were issued by **Abhimanyu** while residing at **Mānapura** and record the grant of the village **Uṇḍikavāṭikā** to a recluse (*pravrajīta*)

¹ Krishna's reading *Vasudhādhibā(pa)thi(ti)* is not supported by the original. The letters here are carelessly incised. I adopt the reading *santrasta-Vidarbh-Aśmaku-maṇḍalāḥ* in line 1 suggested by Dr. Gai and I read with some diffidence, the first five letters as *Vasudhā-vidhi*. Dr. Gai has again pointed out that this portion also is metrical.

² Krishna could not read the correct name *Kuntala* here. He read *śrī-Sātkunta dharā naḥ* and identified *Sātkunta* with the *Sātpudā* mountain range. The correct reading is *Śrīmān=Kuntalānām praśāsīā* as suggested by Dr. Gai. Dr. D. C. Sircar took this expression to mean 'the chastiser of the Kuntala country' (HCIP, Vol. III, p. 200), but, his interpretation is not correct. The root *śās* no doubt means both 'to govern' and 'to punish', but it has the former sense when its object is a country and the latter, when it is a living being. Cf. *Yō mē praśishyāt nikhilān Surāshtrān* in line 8 of the Girnar rock inscription of Skandagupta (CII, Vol. III, pp. 50 f.) and *śāsanam ripu-śāsanam* on the seals of the *Vākātakas*. For other passages of a similar type, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 159 and 165. *Kuntala* is used here in the plural because in Sanskrit the names of countries are used in the plural unless there is a word like *deśa* or *rāshtra* added to them. The idea of chastising a whole country is farfetched.

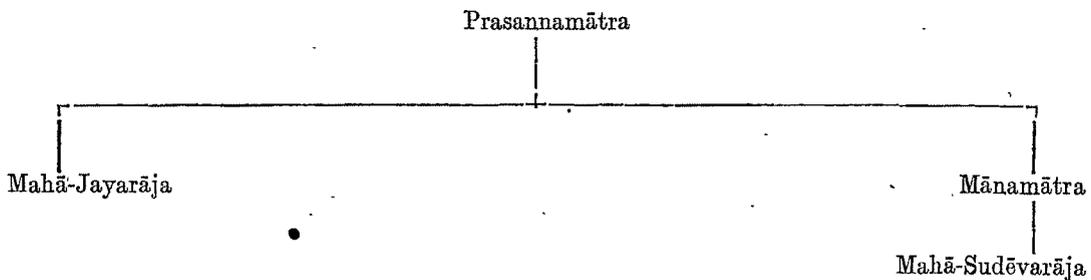
³ Krishna also read the village name as *Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli*, but changed it to *Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli* in the discussion of this grant, being evidently influenced by the name of the god *Pāṇḍuraṅga* at *Paṇḍharpur*, with whom he wanted to connect this name. The correct reading is undoubtedly *Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli* in line 19 of the present grant.

⁴ Krishna's reading *rājyākara varisē shōḍaśē* is incorrect. See below, p. 22, note 7.

⁵ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff. This grant was later edited with a facsimile by Hultzsch, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

named Jaṭābhāra in honour of the god Dakṣiṇa-Śiva of Pēṭha-Paṅgaraka. The original findspot of the plates has not been recorded, but as they were from the collection of Bhau Daji, they were presumably found somewhere in Western Mahārāshṭra. In the absence of definite information about the provenance of this grant there was no clue available for the identification of the places mentioned in it. But Fleet, who discussed the matter at great length, suggested that Dakṣiṇa-Śiva might be the god of the great Śaiva shrine in the Mahādēva hills in the Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh.¹ This god is greatly venerated even at present and there is an annual *yātrā* there in the month of Māgha, which is attended by thousands of people from the neighbouring districts. Fleet proposed to identify *Pēṭha-Paṅgaraka* with Pagārā, the headquarters of a *Zamindārī* of the same name, about 4 miles to the north of Pachmarhī and Uṇḍikavāṭikā with Oontīā, 30 miles north-northwest from the Mahādēva hills. He was not able to suggest any satisfactory identification of Mānapura, the capital of the dynasty, which was evidently founded by Mānāka and named after himself. Pandit Bhagwanlal had suggested its identification with Mālkhēḍ, which is known as the Rāshṭrakūṭa capital from the later records of the dynasty. Fleet did not accept this identification; for 'at the time to which the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant is probably to be referred, namely in or closely about the period 650 to 700 A.D., there could not have been any independent Rāshṭrakūṭas at Mālkhēḍ', and 'the ancient Sanskrit name of Mālkhēḍ has never yet been met with otherwise than in the form Mānyakhēṭa.' Fleet himself first proposed its identification with Mānpur² in Malwa, but later he himself rejected it on the ground that it is north of the Narmadā. Another identification which suggested itself to him was that of Mānpur near Bāndhōgaḍh in Rewa, but he did not think it possible as it was far away from the Mahādēva peak, being about two hundred miles north-east by east from that locality. He was inclined to think that Mānapura might not be in existence now and that it might be the older name of Sōhāgpur or of Shōbhāpur. The Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was later edited by Hultzsch.³ He did not suggest any fresh identification of Mānapura, but thought that it might be Mānpur near Bāndhōgaḍh.

While editing the Khariar plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja Sten Konow suggested that Mānāka might be identical with Mānamātra and Dēvarāja with Sudēvarāja, both belonging to the dynasty known to historians as that of Śarabhapura.⁴ The genealogy of the kings of Śarabhapura as then known was as follows⁵:



¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 509 ff.

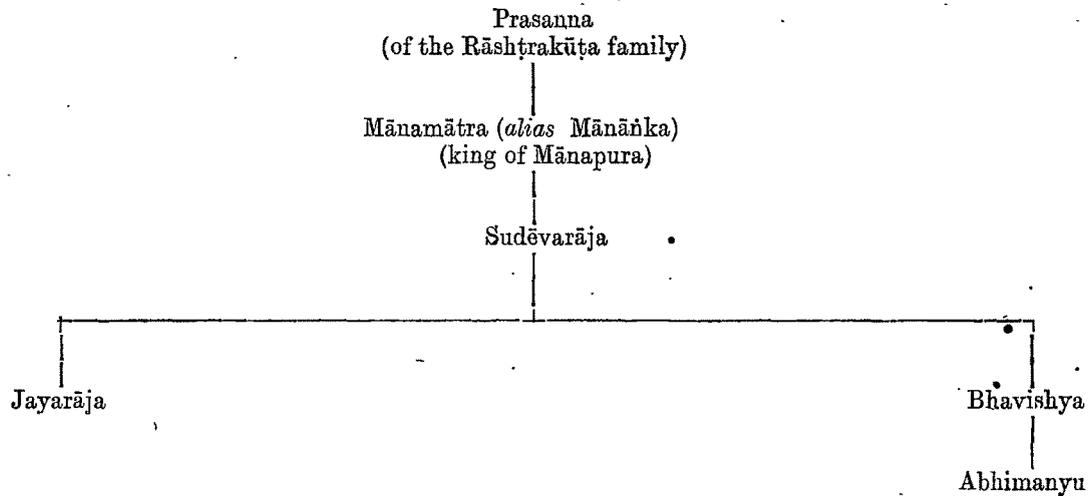
² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 233. It is the chief town of the Mānpur *parganā* and lies about twelve miles south-east of Mhow.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 172. Sten Konow stated in support of his hypothesis that *mātra* and *aṅka* are both stated by lexicographers to mean 'an ornament'. He was, however, doubtful about the identifications.

⁵ Since then some more kings of this family have become known, viz. Śarabharāja and Narēndra, the grandfather and father respectively of Prasannamātra, and Mahā-Pravararāja, a brother of Mahā-Sudēvarāja. See my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, p. 232.

Though Sten Konow was himself doubtful about these identifications, Jouveau-Dubreuil accepted them and gave a combined genealogy of the two royal families as follows¹ :



As for the age in which this dynasty flourished, Bhagwanlal referred the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu to the fifth century A.D.² on the evidence of palaeography. Fleet, however, relegated it to the second half of the seventh century A.D. Hultzsch cited Fleet's view apparently with approval.³

While editing the present grant, Krishna identified Avidhēya as the third son of Dēvarāja whose name had not been mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant. He then put forward the following hypothesis⁴ :— Dēvarāja (or Sudēvarāja), son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Mānāṅka (or Mānamātra) had three sons, viz. Avidhēya, Jayarāja and Bhavishya, among whom was divided the extensive empire of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Mānāṅka, stretching from the Mahānādī and the Tāpī in the north to the Bhīmā in the south, comprising the three Mahārāshṭras. Jayarāja was ruling over the eastern part on the bank of the Mahānādī, Bhavishya over northern Mahārāshṭra and former Mādhyā Pradesh and Avidhēya over southern Mahārāshṭra, extending to the bank of the Bhīmā. Kṛishṇa, the son of Indra, and Gōvinda, who are mentioned as defeated by the Chālukya Jayasīṃha and Pulakeśin II respectively belonged to this family, after overthrowing which, Pulakeśin II became the lord of the three Mahārāshṭras.

This hypothesis was contested by Altekar, who pointed out that there could have been no such extensive Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the sixth century A. D. as supposed by Krishna, because firstly, most of these kings do not call themselves Rāshtrakūṭas, and secondly, there were other kings such as the Nalas, the Mauryas, the Kalachuris and the Kadambas, who, and not the Rāshtrakūṭas, were ruling over a major part of Mahārāshṭra.⁵

This controversy drew my attention to the problem. I discussed it in an article entitled 'the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura'.⁶ I agreed with the main contention of Altekar that there was no extensive Rāshtrakūṭa empire in the Deccan in the sixth century A.D. before the rise of the

¹ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 77 f.

² *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 89.

³ Above Vol. VIII, p. 164.

⁴ *MASR* for 1929, p. 164.

⁵ *ABORI*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 148 f.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 25 f.

Chālukyas of Bādāmī. I showed that the theory of such an empire rested on the identification of Mānānka with Mānamātra and of Dēvarāja with Sudēvarāja, for which there was no evidence; for, firstly, there is no convincing reason for the changes in the personal names of these kings; secondly, Jayarāja was an uncle of Sudēvarāja, not his son; thirdly, there is nothing common between the characters and seals of the grants of the descendants of Mānānka and those of the descendants of Mānamātra. The charters of the former are inscribed in the western variety of the southern alphabet, while those of the latter are incised in the box-headed characters of Central India. The seals of the charters issued by the former show a lion facing left,¹ while those of the latter have the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī. The family of Mānānka cannot, therefore, be identified with that of the kings of Śarabhapura, who were ruling in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgadh. Besides, this country was never known as Mahārāshtra.

I did not, however, share Altekār's suspicions about the identification of Mānānka and Dēvarāja with the homonymous princes described in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant; for, firstly, the description of Dēvarāja that he was like the lord of the gods (i.e. Indra) occurs in both; secondly, both the grants are inscribed in similar characters; thirdly, the seals of both have the figure of a lion facing left.

The discovery of the present grant of Avidhēya in a village near Kolhāpur shows that this dynasty was ruling over Southern Maharashtra. Mānānka, the grandfather of Avidhēya, is described in the present grant as the ruler of the Kuntala country. In ancient times Kuntala comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇā as shown by the following verse about Jayasimha II of the Later Chālukya dynasty.²

विख्यातकृष्णवर्णं तैलस्नेहोपलब्धसरलत्वे ।

कुन्तलविषये नितरां विराजते मल्लिकाम्बुदः ॥

This verse means that Jayasimha II, known also as *Mallikāmōda*, shines in the Kuntala country where the well known river Kṛishṇavarṇā (i.e. the Kṛishṇā) flows and where the people are upright (or loyal) on account of their devotion to Tailapa (an ancestor of Jayasimha II), just as the fragrance of Mallikā flowers appears attractive in the mass of hair (of ladies), known for its black colour, which becomes uncurled when it is treated with oil.

This verse shows that Southern Mahārāshtra, watered by the Kṛishṇā was included in the Kuntala country. That the northern limit of Kuntala extended to the Gōdāvarī is also shown by the statement in the *Udayasundarikathā*,³ that Pratiṣṭhāna on the Gōdāvarī was the capital of Kuntala.

Avidhēya was thus ruling over Southern Mahārāshtra comprising the districts of Satara, Kolhapur and Sholapur. Abhimanyu described in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was also ruling over the same country. His capital Mānapura, which was evidently founded by his ancestor Mānānka and named after himself, need not be located so far in the north as Malwa or Baghelkhaṇḍ. It can be more satisfactorily identified with Mān, the chief town of the Mān Taluk of the Satara District in Southern Mahārāshtra. The places mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant can be located more satisfactorily in the Satara District. Thus, Uṇḍikavāṭikā, the donated village, may be Undāle in the Karhad Taluk of the Satara District. Pēṭhapaṅgaraka, where the temple of Dakṣiṇa-

¹ On the seal of Māna *alias* Vibhurāja, who also belonged to this family as shown below, there appear a *kamaṇḍalu*, a rosary of beads and a *daṇḍa*. See above, Vol. XXIX, plate facing p. 177.

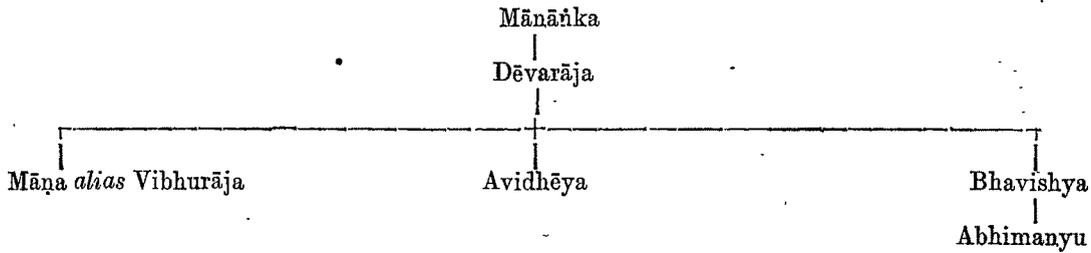
² Above, Vol. XII, p. 153.

³ See कुन्तलेषु तटे गोदावरीति महासरितः प्रतिष्ठानं नाम नगरम् । *Udayasundarikathā* (G.O.S.), p. 21. Also cf. प्रतिष्ठाननगरपरमेश्वरः कुन्तलानामधीश्वरो राजा मलयवाहनो भवान् ।

Śiva was situated, may be identical with Pāngārī in the Mān Taluk. As the findspot of the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant was not recorded, there was previously no clue available for the location of the places mentioned in it. The discovery of the present grant near Kolhapur and the statement in it that Mānāṅka, the progenitor of the family was ruling over Kuntala show that the places mentioned in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant must be searched for in the Southern Maratha country and not in the distant Hoshangabad District of Madhya Pradesh. That they can be more satisfactorily located in the Satara District has already been shown.

The places mentioned in the present grant can also be located in the Satara District. Thus the river Anēvatī is probably identical with Yennā (also called Vēṇā) which, being one of the chief feeders of the Kṛishṇā,¹ rises in the Mahābaḷēshwar plateau and falls into a valley to the east of the Mahābaḷēshwar hill, which may be the Kollagiri mentioned in the present grant. No village exactly corresponding to Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī can now be located in the Satara District, but Jāuli, one of its hamlets, may be identical with the village Jāvālī in the Wāi Taluk of that district, which has become famous in Maratha history. No better identifications of these places have been proposed by Krishna.²

This royal family, though not named in the present record, was known as Rāshtrakūṭa as explicitly stated in the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant. One more grant of this family has recently been found at Hingni Berdi in the Dhond Taluka of the Poona District,³ from which we have come to know the name Māṇa *alias* Vibhurāja of the third son of Dēvarāja. The genealogy of these Early Rāshtrakūṭas may therefore be stated as follows :



When did this Rāshtrakūṭa family flourish? Bhagwanlal referred the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant to the fifth century A.D.,⁴ while Fleet relegated it to the second half of the seventh century A.D.⁵ The mention of a year (viz. Bhādrapada) of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter in the present grant shows the correctness of Bhagwanlal's view; for such years were not cited in South India after the sixth century A.D.⁶ These Early Rāshtrakūṭas were thus contemporaries of the Traikūṭakas, who were ruling over North Konkan, Gujarat and Northern Mahārāshtra, and also of the Vākāṭakas, who held Vidarbha from the third to the fifth century A.D. They were probably known in their days as *Kuntalēśas* or lords of Kuntala; for as shown above, Mānāṅka, the progenitor

¹ Krishna read Anēvari in place of Anēvatī and took it as the name of a village, but the word *kūle* which follows shows that it was preceded by the name of a river. Krishna identified Anevari with the village Anevali near Paṇḍharpur. He identified Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī with Paṇḍharpur, but the latter is on the bank of the Bhimā.

² Krishna read *Chāla-Kandaka-Duddapalli-sahitā* in place of my readings *kūle Kāmyaka-Jāula-vāṭikā-sahitā* in line 18. He identified the first with the village Chāla on the right bank of the Bhimā and the second with Kondarki, southwest of Chāla. He could not identify Duddapalli. He identified Pāṇḍaraṅgapallī with Paṇḍharpur.

³ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 174 f.

⁴ *JBRAS*, Vol. XVI, p. 89.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 233.

⁶ The years of the twelve-year cycle of Jupiter have been noticed in the records of the Kadambas (*Ind. An* Vol. VII, pp. 35 f and Vol. VI, pp. 24 f), a feudatory of the Early Kalachuris (*CII*, Vol. IV, p. 613) and the kings of Kālīṅga (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 48). None of these dates is later than the sixth century A.D.

of the family, is described in the present grant as the ruler of Kuntala. The records of the Vākātakas contain occasional references to their clashes or their matrimonial alliances with the kings of Kuntala. The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṅṭā, for instance, mentions that Vindhya-sēna (or Vindhyaśakti II as he is called in the Bāsim plates) of the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākā-taka family, defeated the lord of Kuntala.¹ As the kingdom of these Early Rāshtrakūṭas was conterminous with that of the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma, this victory of Vindhya-sēna must have been gained over these Rāshtrakūṭas. Mānānka, on the other hand, claims to have terrified Vi-darbha. These references may be to the same indecisive battle or to different skirmishes. Mā-nānka was probably a contemporary of Vindhya-sēna, who, as I have shown elsewhere, flourished about 355 to 400 A.D.² The Purāṇas state that Pravīra (i.e. Pravara-sēna I) had four sons, all of whom became kings.³ Pravara-sēna I, who performed several Śrauta sacrifices including four Aśvanēdhas, was the most powerful king of his age. He assumed the title *Samrāj* and had evi-dently a large empire. Of his four sons, two are known to have founded the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākātaka family. The country over which the other two sons were ruling have not yet been identified. One of these sons may have been holding Kuntala or Southern Mahārāshtra. His descendants seem to have been ousted by Mānānka in the last quarter of the fourth century A.D. This may have led to the hostilities between him and Vindhya-sēna. The relations between the two royal families seem to have improved in course of time probably be-cause both of them came under the influence of the mighty Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikra-māditya, as shown below. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Prithivishēna II state that the Vākātaka king's father Narēndrasēna married Ajjhitabhāṭṭārikā, the daughter of the lord of Kuntala.⁴ This princess also may have been of the Rāshtrakūṭa lineage. Finally, the aforementioned Ajaṅṭā inscription records the victory of Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king, over the lord of Kuntala,⁵ which also must have been over this very family. The Kuntala king then became a feudatory of the Vākātakas. The *Daśakumāracharita*, which in its eighth *uchchhvāsa* describes the reign of the son and successor of Harishēna, mentions the lord of Kuntala as the foremost of the feudatories of the king of Vidarbha (i.e. of the contemporary Vākātaka king).⁶ These references to *Kuntalēśas* were until recently understood as referring to the Kadambas of Vanavāsī, but the country of the Kadambas was not conterminous with that of the Vākātakas as no records of the Kadambas have been found in Southern Mahārāshtra. Again, the *Daśakumāracharita* states in the aforementioned *uchchhvāsa* that the king of Kuntala was different from Vānavāsyā or the ruler of Vanavāsī. When the latter invaded Vidarbha, the former with other feudatories rallied under the banner of his suzerain, the king of Vidarbha. It seems best, therefore, to identify the *Kuntalēśas* mentioned in the Vākātaka records and the *Daśakumāracharita* with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura.

From certain passages in the *Kuntalēśvaradantya*, a Sanskrit work ascribed to Kālidāsa, which have been cited in the *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*⁷ of Rājasēkhara, the *Śrīngārāprakāśa*⁸ and the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*⁹ of Bhōja and the *Auchityavichāracharchā*¹⁰ of Kshēmendra, it seems

¹ *CI*, Vol. V, p. 108.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. vi.

³ *DKA*, p. 50.

⁴ *CI*, Vol. V, p. 81.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁶ *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 165 f.

⁷ *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (G.O.S.), pp. 61-62.

⁸ *Śrīngārāprakāśa* (Madras ed., 1926), Chapters xxii-xxiv, Introduction, p. xxii.

⁹ Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., p. 168.

¹⁰ *Kāvya-mālā*, Guchohha I (Nirṇayasāgar Press ed.), pp. 139-140.

that the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of a ruler of Kuntala. Kālidāsa was not at first well received there; but he gradually gained the Kuntalēsa's favour and stayed at his court for some days. When he returned to the capital, he reported to Vikramāditya that the lord of Kuntala was spending his time in enjoyment, throwing the responsibility of governing the kingdom on him, i.e. Vikramāditya.¹ This Kuntalēsa has been identified by some with the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman, while others take him to be the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. Neither of these suppositions is likely to be correct. As for the first identification, we have no definite evidence of this embassy of Kālidāsa in Kadamba records. The Tālgunda inscription merely states that the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman gave his daughters in marriage to the Gupta and other kings. As for the second, Gupta influence was no doubt predominant at the Vākāṭaka court during the reign of Pravarasēna II and Kālidāsa appears to have stayed at the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhanā for a few days. He refers in the *Mēghadūta* to Rāmagiri (Rāmtēk near the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana) as the place of the Yaksha's sojourn during his exile. He is also said to have composed the *Sētubandha* for Mahārāja Pravarasēna (II) by the order of Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya (i.e. Chandragupta II).² The identification of Kuntalēsa with Pravarasēna II, is not, however, likely; for the Vākāṭakas never called themselves *Kuntalēsas* and their rule does not seem to have extended to Kuntala in that age, though some of them are known to have raided it. On the other hand, a Vākāṭaka king (viz. Narēndrasēna) is known to have married a Kuntala princess as shown above. The Vākāṭakas were, therefore, different from the kings of Kuntala. The Kuntalēsa to whose court Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador was probably an early member of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of Mānapura, perhaps Dēvarāja, who flourished in circa 400-425 A.D. This influence of Chandragupta at the court of two such important royal families of the South as the Vākāṭakas and the Early Rāshtrakūṭas corroborates the statement in the Meharauli pillar inscription that even then (i.e. after the death of Chandra or Chandragupta) the southern ocean was perfumed by the breezes of his prowess.

Harishēṇa's raid on Kuntala does not appear to have resulted in the extermination of this Rāshtrakūṭa family. He may have contented himself with exacting a tribute from it as he appears to have done in the case of some other rulers such as the Traikūṭakas.³ We know of some other Rāshtrakūṭa rulers of this period, who also may have belonged to this family. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja, for instance, a copper-plate grant by whose feudatory was discovered at Gōkāk in the Belgaum District,⁴ may have belonged to this very family. The record was issued when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is shown to correspond to 532-33 A.D. Dējja-Mahārāja may therefore have been a descendant of Abhimanyu.

¹ Kālidāsa is said to have reported to Vikramāditya as follows :

असकलहसितत्वात्क्षालितानीव कान्तया
मुकुलितनयनस्वाह्वयक्तकर्णोत्पलानि ।
पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

cf. *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (G.O.S.), pp. 60-61.

² Cf. इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो निखिलकर्षिचक्रुडामणिः
कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धं चिकीर्षुः.....सङ्गलमाचरन्नाह । सेतुबन्धम्, *Nirṇayasāgar* od., p. 3.

³ The Traikūṭaka dynasty continued to rule till at least the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. *CHI*, Vol. IV, p. XLIV.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

6 DGA/64

Some records of the Later Chālukyas state that Jayasimha of the Early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi defeated the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa.¹ As Altekar has pointed out, this statement occurs in very late records composed more than five centuries after the event. So one cannot be sure that these kings actually reigned in the sixth century A.D. But Gōvinda, who invaded with his troop of elephants the territory to the north of the Bhīmarathī (i.e. the Bhīmā, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā) at the time of the accession of Pulakēśin II,² may have belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family as conjectured by R. G. Bhandarkar.³ This king could not, however, have been the great-grandfather of the Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I as supposed by Bhandarkar; for the interval between these kings is too large to be covered by three generations.

The Aihole inscription states that this Gōvinda immediately obtained a reward for the services he rendered to Pulakēśin II. Ravikīrti, the author of the Aihole *prāsasti*, is unfortunately not explicit on this matter, but he undoubtedly implies that Gōvinda was won over and induced to turn back. The very fact that Pulakēśin II thought it wise to adopt conciliatory measures in dealing with him shows that he was a powerful foe. His descendants do not, however, seem to have held Mahārāshtra for a long time; for Pulakēśin soon annexed both Northern and Southern Mahārāshtras and extended the northern limit of his empire to the bank of the Narmadā. That he ousted the Rāshtrakūṭas from Southern Mahārāshtra is shown by the Sātārā plates of his brother Vishṇuvardhana, which record the grant of a village on the southern bank of the Bhīmā.⁴

As for the localities mentioned in this grant, Dr. Sircar identifies Vidarbha and Āsmaka with the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas of Berar and that of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma respectively.⁵ Āsmaka lay, however, to the south of the Gōdāvarī. The *Suttanipāta* states that the Āsmakas were settled in the vicinity of the Gōdāvarī and that their country bordered on that of Mūlaka.⁶ The disciples of the Brāhmaṇa Bāvari, who were living on the bank of the Gōdāvarī in the country of Āsmaka, proceeded to North India via Prātishthāna (modern Paīṭhan), the capital of Mūlaka. Āsmaka was thus situated to the south of the Gōdāvarī and probably comprised parts of the Ahmadnagar and Bhir Districts. Āsmaka cannot correspond to the kingdom of the Vākāṭakas of Vatsagulma; for in his *Kāvyaṁīmāmsā* Rājasēkhara states explicitly that Vatsagulma was situated in Vidarbha.⁷ In the eighth *uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita* the king of Āsmaka is described as a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha. Āsmaka was, therefore, different from Vidarbha, the southern boundary of which extended to the Gōdāvarī. Kuntala has already been shown to have comprised the upper valley of the Kṛishṇā. Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli, Kāmyaka and Jāulā were situated in the Satara District as shown above.⁸ Pavidhaka cannot be identified in the Satara District.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 17.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 9.

³ *Early History of the Deccan* (Collected works of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. III), p. 170.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 303 f.

⁵ *HCIP.*, Vol. III, p. 200.

⁶ Cf. सो अस्सकस विसये मूलकस्स समासने ।

वसी गोदावरीकूले उच्च-ध्वेन च फलेन च ॥

Pārāyaṇavagga, Vatthugāthā, 5, 2.

⁷ Cf. तत्रास्ति मनोजन्मनो देवस्य क्रीडावासी विदग्धेषु वरसगुल्मं नाम नगरम् । *Kāvyaṁīmāmsā* (G.O.S.), p. 10.

⁸ *Satara District Gazetteer*, Revised Ed., p. 927.

Shri N. L. Rao suggests its identification with Pavithagē or Pavitttagē mentioned in the Sālotgi pillar inscription. It may in that case be identified with Sālotgi in the Iadi Taluka of the Bijapur District.

We shall now turn to the second record incised on the outer side of the third plate. As stated before, it consists of only two lines and a half. The characters are Kannāḍa of about the ninth century A.D. The following peculiarities may be noted. The medial *i* has in most cases the form of a complete curve. The loop of *k* and *r* is carried up to join the middle or top horizontal line; the letter *ḷ* is distinguished from *ḍ* by curving the end on the right; *ḥ* has an indented form; the left limb of *y* is in the form of a hook. The language is early Kannāḍa and the whole record is in prose.

Krishna translated this inscription as follows: "This grant was made by Sarbarasa, the lord of Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, Beḷeyavāḍa, Rerṇāḍāḷa and Siyalāra. The plates were prepared by Sēmbāja of Śintargē."¹

Krishna suggested the following identifications of place-names. (1) Kannavāḍa or the Kanna country has been referred to in an inscription of the Early Chālukya king Vikramāditya I and appears to have included the village Kandugal near Sholapur and the neighbouring districts of Bombay and Hyderabad. (2) Gaṅgavāḍa is the country of the Gaṅgas, comprising the neighbourhood of Mysore. (3) Beḷeyavāḍa may be Belgaon Tarhala near Nasik. (4) Rerṇāḍāḷa is the country of Rendāl near Kolhapur. (5) Siyalāra is the country of the Śilāhāras in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur and Konkan.²

Krishna identified Sarbarasa with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Śarva *alias* Amōghavarsha I, who ruled from *circa* 813 to 878 A.D. As the inscription makes no mention of the titles of the king nor of his victories in Malwa and Veṅgī, Krishna concluded that the present confirmation of the earlier grant was made early in the reign of Amōghavarsha I.

Many of the readings and interpretations of Krishna appear wide of the mark. They are open to the following objections.

(1) If Sarbarasa of this later inscription was the great Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha I, how is it that no royal titles such as *Paramabhṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* are prefixed to his name? That the inscription was incised early in his reign is no reason for their absence.

(2) What is the purpose in mentioning such places as Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa, and Siyalāra, which, if Krishna's identifications are correct, were separated by hundreds of miles? Would not the drafter of the record have used such names of countries as Kuntala, Koṅkaṇa, etc.? Rerṇāḍāḷa occurs nowhere else and there is no point in calling Amōghavarsha I the lord of the village Rerṇāḍāḷa.

(3) Krishna takes the last sentence to mean that the plates were prepared by one Sēmbāja of Śintargē. Are we to suppose that the name of the coppersmith was remembered for four or five centuries?

For these reasons Krishna's identifications and interpretation of this record do not appear to be correct. As this later inscription is in Kannāḍa, I sought the help of my friend Shri N. L.

¹ *MASR.* for 1929, p. 209.

² *Loc. cit.*, p. 210.

Rao, Retired Government Epigraphist for India, who is at present in Nagpur. He kindly translated the record as follows:

"Sarbarasa, the lord of Kannavāda, Gaṅgavāda, Baḷeyavāda, Rernādāla and Siyalāra, gave the village of Sintargē together with Aṛumbāligē."

This translation gives a much better sense than Krishna's. Most of these places can be satisfactorily identified in the Kolhapur District, where the plates were discovered. Thus, Kannavāda is Kanyād in the Shirol Taluk; Gaṅgavāda is Ghānavadē in the Karvir Taluk; Baḷeyavāda is Belēvādī in the Kāgal Taluk; Rernādāla is Rendāl in the Hatkanagale Taluk; Siyalāra is Shirāle in the Shāhuvādī or that in the Bāvādā Taluk; Sintargē may be Śitur in the Shāhuvādī Taluk and finally, Aṛumbāligē is Bālingē in the Karvir taluk.

The villages mentioned in this later inscription thus lie within a few miles from Kōrochi, where the plates were found. We have seen above that the original inscription records the grant of a village with two attached hamlets in the Satara District. It seems that the donee of the original grant or one of his descendants migrated to the Kolhāpur region. Sarabarsa, who made the later grant, has no royal titles prefixed to his name. He appears to be a petty Ināmdar, owning a few villages. He made the gift of the two villages mentioned in the later inscription perhaps to the same family which had the plates in its possession. So he did not take the trouble to get a fresh copper plate made for recording his gift. He just recorded it on the outer blank side of the third plate.

There is thus not an iota of evidence for Krishna's conjecture that the later inscription is of the time of the Rāshtrakūta emperor Amōghavarsha I. and records his confirmation of the earlier grant.

TEXT

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 6-12 *Anushtubh*; verse 2 *Vamśastha*; verses 4-5 *Indravajrā*].

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्¹ [1*] [स्वस्ति] [1*] वस(सु)धाविध(धि)²सन्त्रस्तविदभा(भि)श्मकमण्डलः [1*]

मानाङ्कनृपतिः

2 श्रीमान्कुन्तलानां प्र[शा]सिता³ [॥१॥*] प्रजासु शान्त्या विनयेन साध(धु)षु

3 द्विषत्सु शौर्येण नयेन राजसु [1*] त्यागेन सर्वत्र च यः प्र-

4 का[श]ति लोकान्तरस्थोपि गुणैरिह स्थितः [॥२॥*] देवराजः सुत-

5 स्तस्य देवराज इवाश्रितात्(तान्) [1*] चकारासमसंपत्तीनि(न्ति)रत्ययसु-

6 खोदयान⁴ [॥३॥*] छद्मव्यतीतं विनयेन शौर्यं त्यागीश्रिना⁵ सूरि[भि]रप्र-

¹ From the original plates. I am thankful to Shri N. L. Rao and Dr. Gai for the readings of a few words.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The reading of these five *aksharas* is uncertain. Krishna's reading वसुधाविधधि which he emended into वसुधाधिपतिः is not supported by the original and is unlikely in the context.

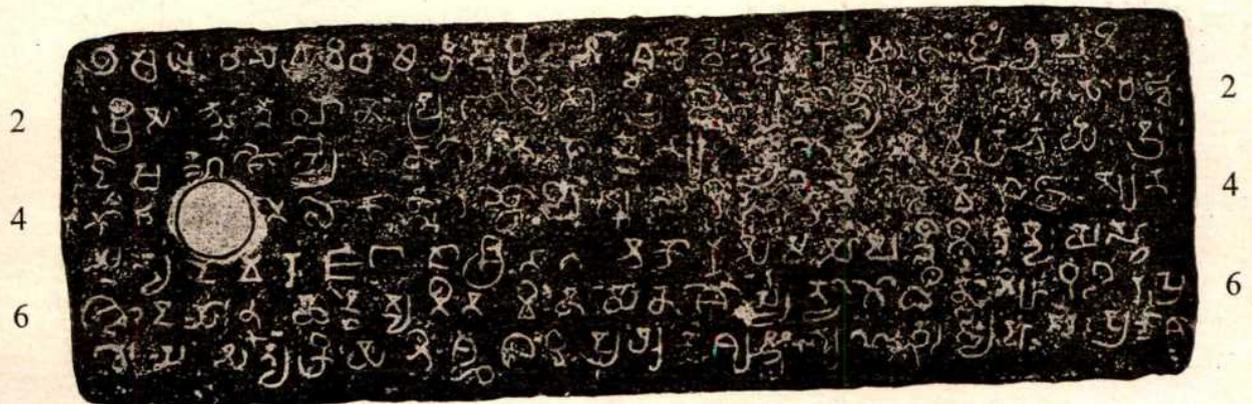
⁴ Krishna read श्रीसाङ्कन्तधरा नः which makes no sense and is clearly inadmissible.

⁵ Krishna's reading चकारासमसंपत्तिं धोरस्वे यस्त्वतो जयान् makes no sense.

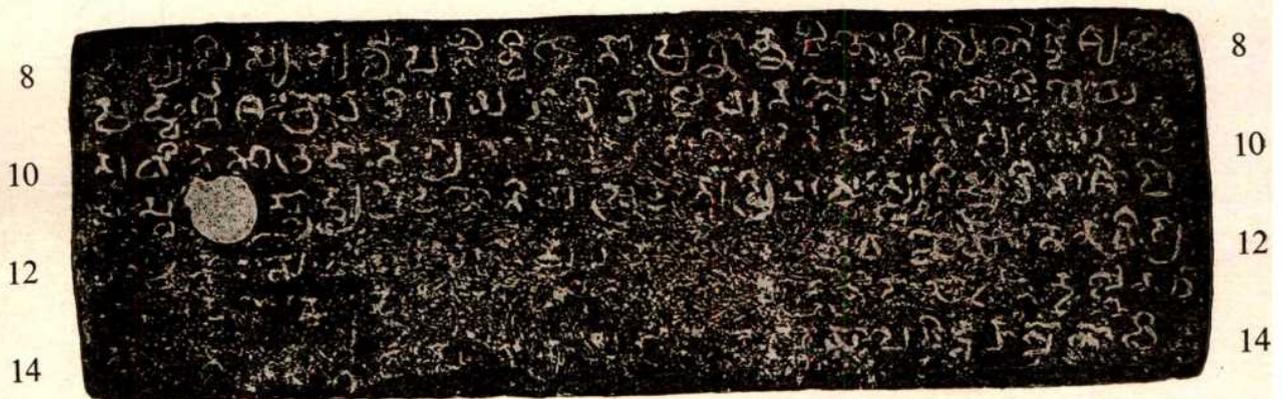
⁶ Krishna read शौर्यं त्यागीश्रिना, but this does not suit the context.

PANDARANGAPALLI GRANT OF RASHTRAKUTA AVIDHEYA

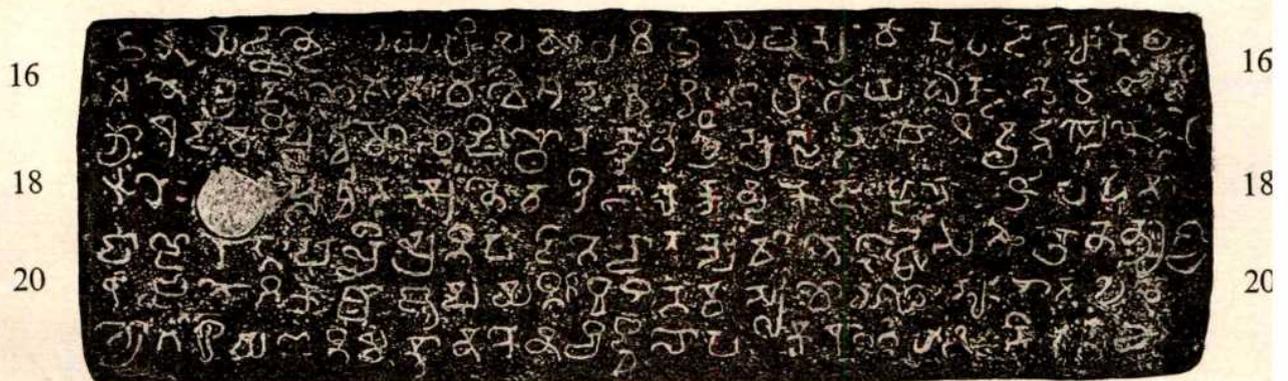
i



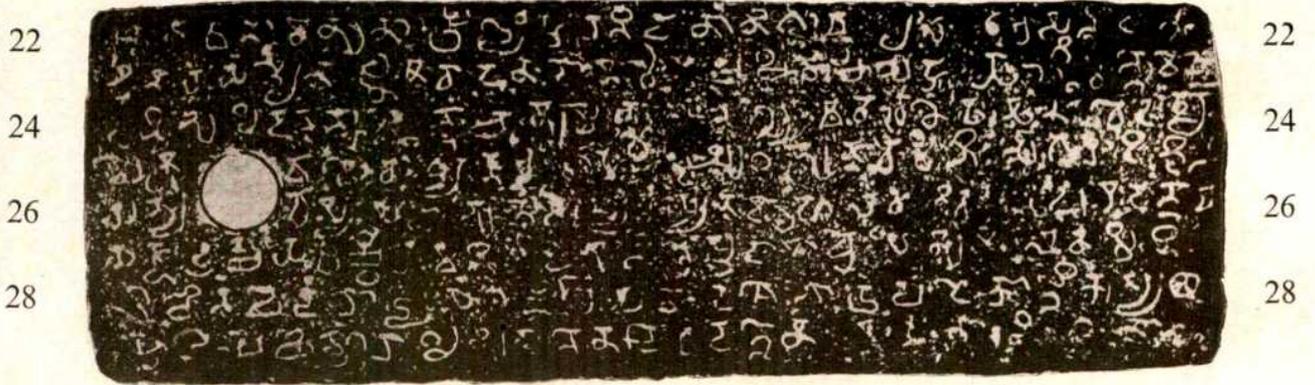
ii, a



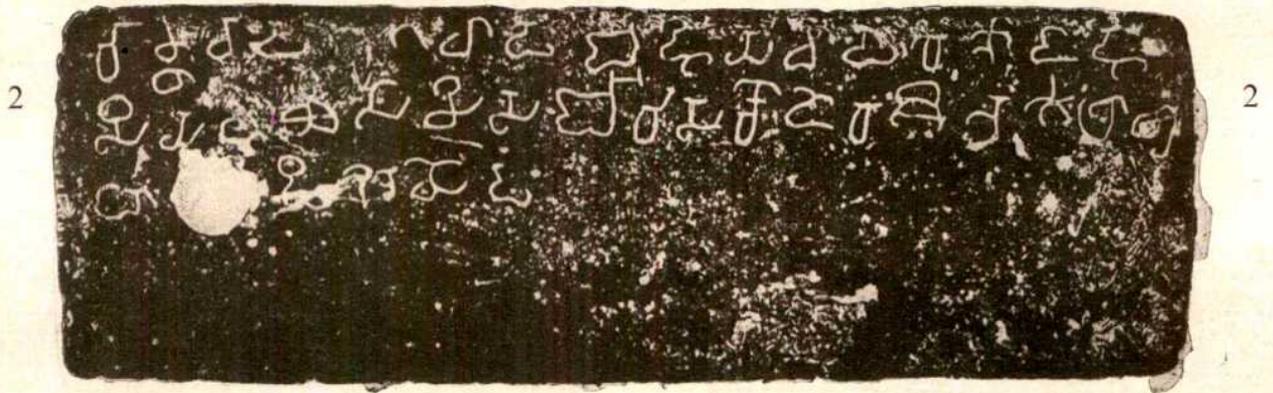
ii, b



iii, a

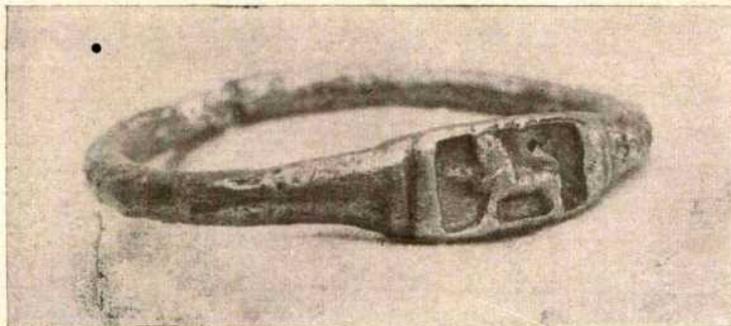


iii, b



Scale : Three-fourth

SEAL



(from Photograph)

7 मेयः [1*] सत्यं क्रियाभिश्छलविप्रयुक्तं शुद्धा गुणा[स्त]स्य प[रः] प्रकाशाः
[11811*]

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 तस्यापि सूनुर्नृपतीन्विजेता प्रतान्नवीनोपि गुणैर्विशुद्धैः [1*]
9 षड्वर्गशत्रोरविधेयकारी राजा यतस्तेन किलाविधेयः [11511*]
10 अथितमात्रदात(न)स्य² तस्य दातुर्गुणोचितं(तम्) [1*] कृतं प्रणयिलो[क]-
11 स्य³ स्वस्त्याद्यपि दुनोति यं(यम्)⁴ [11611*] प्रदातुः प्रियमस्येति पूरितांशोपि
12 याचकः⁵ [1*] सेवया⁶ वाञ्छया [11711*] तेन विप्रो-
13 [त्तमायेह]⁷ [1*] . . . [षड*]ङ्गविदे सार्थं तत्त्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानवि-
14 पश्चिते [11811*] [भागवसगोत्राय त्रिप्रवराय]⁸ पविद्धकस्थानाभि-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 जनाय⁹ च्छन्दो[गा]य [त्रिसहस्र]त्रि[द्या]य¹⁰ चतुर्वेद(चतुर्वेद)विदे [य]तिध-
16 मिने(णे)¹¹ ब्राह्मणशभा[व]¹² वै[श्व]देव(वा)[मि]होत्र[क्रि]य(या)द्यु[त्स]ग(र्ग)[य]¹³ [का]त्ति-
17 क्या[मु]दकपूर्वं मा[ता]पि[त्रो]शत्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि[वृद्धये]¹⁴ कोल¹⁵

¹ Krishna read बभुः प्रकाशाः, but the first word though imperfectly incised cannot be read as बभुः.

² Krishna read अथीतमात्रदात. He did not attempt any reading of the next nine aksharas.

³ Krishna read कृतप्रणयनेनृपे, but the reading does not suit the context.

⁴ Krishna read प्रणीतीयम्, but the reading does not suit the metre and the context.

⁵ Krishan read प्रदातं प्रियमस्य गीः पूरितांशोपि सच्चक्रः, but this gives no sense.

⁶ The following ten aksharas are completely effaced.

⁷ Krishna read विप्राय. The letters in this line are completely effaced except at the end.

⁸ There are very faint traces of these aksharas.

⁹ Krishna read जयद्विद्वयोपविद्धरस्थानाभिषिक्ताय, Some scholars have made much capital out of the name जयद्विद्वु as anticipating that of the god Vitthala of Pandharpur, but there are no traces of the name on the original plate. अभिषिक्ताय is plainly out of place in the context.

¹⁰ The reading here is uncertain as the letters are imperfectly formed. Krishna read विसदत्रिविद्याय.

¹¹ Krishna read पण्डितायातिधमिणे.

¹² Read ब्राह्मणशम्भवे. Krishna read these and the following letters in this line as follows— ब्राह्मणशतामधेशद् द्विरिदधिनयाद्यष्टभरतवा. This makes no sense.

¹³ Usually the expression is क्रियाद्युत्सर्पणार्थम्.

¹⁴ Here also Krishna's following reading makes no sense : क्याएवमष्टर्धमासपिण्डादात्मनः प्रजायशोवद्धये ।

¹⁵ Krishna read महादेव here; but the aksharas are imperfectly formed. Shri N. L. Rao's suggestion कोल- has been adopted above.

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- 18 गिरेः पूर्वतः अने[वती]¹कूले काम्यकजा[उ]ल[वाटि*]का[स]हिता²
- 19 पाण्डरङ्गपल्ली प्रति[पा]दितेत्या(त्य)[वगं]त[व्य]मिति [1*] [अ]स्मस[त्स]गोत्रानन्यांश्च³
- 20 राज्ञो भोगिकांश्चाज्ञापयति ॥ वि[दि]तमस्तु वो यथा भू[दानं सर्वे]⁴
- 21 भ्यो गरीय इति मत्वा न केनचिद्विलोपः करणीय [इ]ति [1*] [उ]क्तञ्च

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 भगवता मनुना । त्रीण्याहरतिदानानि गावः [पृथ्वी] [स]रस्वती [1*] आस(श)-
- 23 तं त(ता)र्यंत्येत(ते) ज्ञानवाहनदोह[नैः]⁵ [॥९॥*] षषि(ष्टि) [व]र्षसह[स्रा]णि [स्व]-
र्गो मो-
- 24 दति भु(भू)मिदः [1*] आ[च्छे]त्ता चानुमन्ता [च*] तान्येव नरके वसेत्
[॥१०॥] वेदव्या-
- 25 सेन वा(व्या)सेना[प्यु]क्तम् [1*] [बहुभिर्व]सुध(धा) भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः[ः] [1*]
- 26 य[स्य] यस्य यदा भू[मि]स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [॥११॥*] स्व[दत्तां]
परदत्तां [वा]⁶
- 27 य[त्ना]द्रक्ष य(यु)धिष्ठिर [1*] महि(ही) [म]हि(ही)भ(भु)जां श्रष्ट दाना[च्छ्रे]यो]नु-
[पा]लनमिति(पालनम् ॥१२॥ इति ।)
- 28 लिखितञ्चेदं राज्यसंव[त्स]रे⁷ प[ञ्च]दशे भाद्रपदे कार्तिकस्य व-
- 29 हुलपञ्चम्यां राजानु[म]तेन देवदत्तेन । सं १० ५ [कार्तिक] व ५⁸ [॥*]

¹ These *aksharas* are imperfectly formed, but the following word कूले shows that a river is meant.

² Krishna read अनेवरिचालकन्दकदुदपल्लिसहिता । This is inadmissible.

³ Krishna read जास्यां सुच्छात्रानन्यांश्च । This is incorrect.

⁴ Krishna read यागिभ्यः दानम्परेभ्यः and remarked, 'The text is not clear here'. Our reading gives good sense and is almost certain.

⁵ This verse does not occur in the *Manusmṛiti*. It occurs in the Sevadi inscription of Chāhamāna Ratnapāla, dated V. S. 1176; but there the second half reads as follows: आसप्तमं फलमित्येते (फलन्त्येते) दानवाहनिवेदने (नैः) ॥ (Above, Vol. XI, p. 312.) Krishna could read only त्रीण्यं हरति दानानि गावः । It will be noticed that ज्ञान, वाहन and दोहन are to be connected with गावः, पृथिवी and सरस्वती in the reverse order.

⁶ Krishna read पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यः, which is wide of the mark.

⁷ Krishna's reading राज्यकरवरिसे षोडशे is manifestly incorrect.

⁸ Krishna's wrong reading पण्डरात्रिंशेन has misled many scholars. See, above, p. 10, note 2,

Third Plate, Second Side

- 1 Kannavāḍa-Gaṅgavāḍa-Baliyavāḍa-Rerṇādāla-
- 2 Siyalāra-sāmi Sarbarasar-koṭōr Śimtarge Ārum-
- 3 bāḷigeyoḍam [!*

TRANSLATION

First Inscription

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) (*There was*) the illustrious king **Mānāṅka**, of whose policy on the earth the states of **Vidarbha** and **Aśmaka** were afraid and who was the ruler of **Kuntala**.

(Verse 2) Though he is (*now*) in another world, he shines by his virtues which (*still*) abide here (*viz*) among his subjects by (*his*) peaceful nature, among good people by (*his*) modesty, among enemies by (*his*) valour, among princes by (*his*) political wisdom and everywhere by (*his*) liberality.

(Verse 3) His son (*was*) **Dēvarāja**, who, like the lord of gods, made his dependents matchless in prosperity, secure and happy.

(Verse 4) His stainless merits were rendered resplendent by other (*things*)—his valour which was free from trickery (*shone*) by (*his*) humility, his unbounded charity to suppliants (*was made known*) (*by the panegyrics of*) learned men, (*and his*) truthfulness, which was free from guile, was (*made manifest*) by (*his*) deeds.

(Verse 5) His son also, though young, has excelled kings of yore by his stainless virtues. He, the king, is, they say, known by the name of **Avidhēya**, because he is not submissive to his enemies, (*namely*) the six (*passions*).

(Verse 6) Even the benedictions and other (*approbations*), befitting his merits, offered by suppliants to that donor, who makes gifts as soon as they are asked for, distress him.

(Verse 7) The suppliant, though his expectations have been fulfilled by him, [*continues to wait upon him with the desire*] to serve him as it pleases him, the donor, and not to get (*more gifts*) from him.

(Verse 8) By him [*This gift has been made*] to the best of the Brāhmaṇas, who is proficient in the six Vedāngas and (*their*) meaning and who is learned in philosophy.

(Line 13) “Be it known (*to all*) that (*the village*) **Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli** together with the hamlets of **Kāmyaka** and **Jāula** (*situated*) on the bank of the (*river*) Anōvati to the east of the Kollagiri (*hill*), has been donated (*by Us*) with (*the pouring out of*) water, on the **full-moon day of Kārttika** for the increase of the religious merit and fame of Our mother and father and of Ourselves to the Brāhmaṇa Śambhu of the Bhārgava *gōtra* and three *pravaras*, who is of the Chhandōga (i.e. the Sāmavēda), is proficient in the four Vēdas and is conversant with three thousand *vidyās*, who leads the life of an ascetic and who hails from **Pavidhaka** for the performance of Vaiśvadēva, Agnihōtra and other (*rites*).

(Line 19) We issue the (*following*) order to the kings and Bhōgikas, whether of our family or others—“Be it known to you that knowing that a gift of land is superior to all (*other*) gifts, none should destroy (*this gift*).

(Line 21) And it has been said by the revered Manu—(*Here follow two benedictory and imprecatory verses*).

(Line 24) Vyāsa, the redactor of the Vēdas, also has said — (*Here follow two benedictory and imprecatory verses*).

(Line 28) And this (*charter*) has been written by Dēvadatta, with the consent of the King, in the **fifteenth regnal year, on the fifth (tithi) of the dark fortnight of Kārttika**, in the (*cyclic year*) **Bhādrapada**. The year 10 (*and*) 5, (*the month*) **Kārttika**, the dark (*fortnight*) (*and the tithi*) 5.

Second Inscription

- Sarbarasa, the lord of (the villages) **Kannavāḍa, Gaṅgavāḍa Baiyavāḍa, Rernādāḷa** (and) **Siyaḷāra**, gave **Śintargē** together with **Ārumbāḷigē**,¹

¹ Krishna interpreted this inscription as meaning that the grant was made by Sarbarasa and that the plates were prepared by Sēmbāja of Śintargē.

No. 4—INSCRIBED CLAY SEAL FROM RAKTAMRITTIKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 15.10.1962)

The great Buddhist monastery of Raktamṛittikā flourished by the side of the capital city of the Karnaśuvarṇa (Chinese *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-lu-na*) kingdom in Eastern India when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited the place in the fourth decade of the seventh century A. D.¹ According to the pilgrim, king Śaśāṅka of Karnaśuvarṇa killed Rājyavardhana, elder brother and predecessor of king Harshvardhana of Kanauj, and was a powerful enemy of Harsha and of Buddhism.² The king who killed Rājyavardhana (i.e. Śaśāṅka of Karnaśuvarṇa) is, however, called 'the lord Gauḍa' in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*.³ It is clear therefore that the Chinese pilgrim calls the Gauḍa country 'the country or kingdom of Karnaśuvarṇa' after the name of its capital city. It was this city of Karnaśuvarṇa whence king Jayanāga, probably a predecessor of Śaśāṅka, issued his Bappaghōshavāṭa grant,⁴ and Harsha's ally, king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (c. 600-50 A. D.), issued his Nidhanpur plates⁵ apparently after a successful invasion led by the two friends against the Gauḍa kingdom.

The emergence of Karnaśuvarṇa as an important city of Eastern India appears to have synchronised with the rise of the Gauḍas as an independent people after the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A. D. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited India about the beginning of the fifth century, travelled from Pāṭaliputra, the capital of Magadha, following the course of the Ganges towards the east to Champā (capital of Aṅga) on the southern bank of the river at the distance of 18 *yōjanas*; and thence, proceeding easterly about 50 *yōjanas*, he reached Tāmralipti.⁶ He does not speak of any important city with well-known Buddhist establishments

¹ Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 191; cf. Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-Tsang*, pp. 131-32, and *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Calcutta reprint, Vol. IV, p. 408. Hiuen-tsang's description of the country runs as follows: "This was about 4450 *li* in circuit and its capital was about 20 *li* in circuit. The country was well inhabited and the people were very rich. The land was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant; the climate was temperate, and the people were of good character and were patrons of learning. There were more than ten Buddhist monasteries, and about 2000 Brethren who were all adherents of the Sammatīya School. There were fifty Dēva temples and the followers of the various religions were very numerous. There were also three Buddhist monasteries in which, in accordance with the teaching of Dēvadatta, milk products were not taken as food." About the foundation of the Raktamṛittikā monastery, Hiuen-tsang says, "It had been erected by a king of the country, before the country was converted to Buddhism, to honour a Buddhist Śramaṇa from South India, who had defeated in public discussion a boasting disputant of another system also from South India. This bullying braggart had come to the city and strutted about with his stomach protected by copper sheathing to prevent him from bursting with excessive learning, and bearing on his head a light to enlighten the ignorant and stupid. He prevailed until the king urged the stranger Śramaṇa to meet him in discussion, the king promising to found a Buddhist monastery if the Śramaṇa were victorious."

² Watters, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 343; Beal, *Buddhist Records*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 236.

³ Parāśar's ed., p. 187, etc.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 63; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1729.

⁵ Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Foe Koue Ki*, Chapter XXXVII. According to Cunningham, about 6 *li* were equal to one mile while 40 *li* were equal to one *yōjana* (*Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Sastri, p. 657).

on his way from Champā to Tāmralipti, though he seems to have passed along the lower course of the Ganges on which Karnasuvarṇa was situated. On the other hand, two centuries later, Hiuen-tsang says that, besides the great Buddhist monastery, there were, at Karnasuvarṇa, several Stūpas built by Aśōka at spots where the Buddha had preached and also a shrine where the Four Past Buddhas had sat and walked for exercise,¹ although the existence of the city of Karnasuvarṇa in the ages of the Buddha and Aśōka is doubtful.² If Karnasuvarṇa rose to prominence as the capital of the Gauḍa people on the decline of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A. D., kings Dharmāditya, Gōpachandra and Samāchārādēva, whose known records are not stated to have been issued from Karnasuvarṇa, as well as Jayanāga, whose charter was issued from that city, may have been Gauḍa rulers besides the well-known Śaśāṅka.³ The evidence of the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha and the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta would suggest that the Tippera region acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gauḍa king about the third quarter of the seventh century before the expansion of Khadga power in the said area about the close of that century.⁴ According to the evidence of Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaha*, the Gauḍas had been in occupation of Magadha before king Yaśōvarman (c. 728-53 A. D.) of Kanauj defeated and killed the Gauḍa king of Magadha.⁵ This presupposes the extirpation of 'the Later Guptas' of Magadha by the Gauḍas about the first quarter of the eighth century A. D.; but Magadha had passed through several hands during the period between the sixth and the eighth century. The Deo Baranark inscription points to the hold of the Maukhari kings Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, over the Shahabad District of Bihar about the close of the sixth century.⁶ The area was, however, under the rule of Śaśāṅka when he was a *Mahāsāmanta*, apparently under the contemporary Gauḍa king, about the beginning of the seventh century.⁷ Soon Magadha was occupied by Harshavardhana who obviously installed 'the Later Guptas' there.⁸ With the death of Harsha in 647 A. D., 'the Later Guptas' began to rule independently. They were ousted by the Gauḍas about the first quarter of the eighth century; but the latter lost Magadha to Yaśōvarman in the second quarter of that century.

The name of the great Buddhist monastery adjacent to Karnasuvarṇa, the capital of Gauḍa, is given in Hiuen-tsang's *Life* as Ki-to-mo-chi and in his *Records* as Lo-to-wei-chi. The name is explained as 'red-mud' and Julien restored the original as *Raktaviṭi*, though *viṭi* in the sense of 'mud' is not found in Sanskrit.⁹ According to Watters, the correct reading of the Chinese form of the name is Lo-to-mo-chi, explained by him as 'Raktāmṛita, in Pali Raktamattikā; which means Red clay'. But the Sanskrit form of Pali *Rattamattikā* is not *Raktāmṛita* but *Raktamṛittikā*.¹⁰ And it is now generally agreed that the same locality is mentioned as Raktamṛittikā in an inscription¹¹ of about the sixth century A. D. found in the Wellesley Province of the Malay Peninsula. It is mentioned therein as the home of a Buddhist *Mahānāvika* (captain of a ship) named Buddhagupta.

¹ Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 191.

² Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1952, p. 174.

³ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1722-25; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

⁴ See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

⁵ Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 197-98.

⁶ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1554. Note also that Sūryavarman, son of Maukhari Īśānavarman, is described as a scion of the Varman dynasty of Magadha (*ibid.*, No. 1654).

⁷ Cf. *ibid.* No. 1741.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 276, note 5.

⁹ I am sorry that I could not trace any such word in the Sanskrit lexicons.

¹⁰ There are some palpable errors of this kind in Watters's excellent work apparently because it was printed after the learned author's death without careful revision.

¹¹ *Select Inscriptions*, p. 465.

There is some confusion in the accounts of Hiuen-tsang's travels in Eastern India. According to the *Life*, the pilgrim went from Puṇḍravardhana (Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, East Pakistan) about 900 *li* to the south-east to Karṇasuvarṇa, thence to the south-east to Samatāṭa near the great sea (in the Tipperah-Noakhali region of East Pakistan) and thence about 900 *li* to the west to Tāmralipti (Tamluk area of the Midnapur District of West Bengal) on a bay of the sea; but, according to the *Records*, he went from Puṇḍravardhana about 900 *li* to the east to Kāmarūpa (Gauhati region of Assam), thence 1200 or 1300 *li* to the south to Samatāṭa, thence over 900 *li* to the west to Tāmralipti and thence over 700 *li* to the north-west to Karṇasuvarṇa. It is difficult to say which of the two accounts is correct though some scholars regard the *Life* as more authentic on this point, while others suppose that Karṇasuvarṇa lay 700 *li* to the north-east of Tāmralipti and not to its north-west.¹

There is also a controversy among scholars as regards the location of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa. Cunningham, who calls it Kīraṇasuvarṇa, was inclined to locate the kingdom in the Barābhūm-Singhbhūm region on the Suvarṇarēkhā and to identify it with Barā Bāzār, the chief town of Barābhūm in the Singhbhum District.² According to Fergusson, the kingdom comprised the Birbhum and Murshidabad Districts and parts of Burdwan, Jessore and Nadia.³ Waddell identified the city with Kāñchannagar (which he imagined to be really *Kānsōnagar*) near Burdwan.⁴ Beglar located the city at Sufaran in Chota Nagpur,⁵ while Fleet is supposed to have proposed its identification with Rohtasgadh in the Shahabad District, Bihar, where a rock-cut seal-matrix of Śaśāṅka of Karṇasuvarṇa was discovered.⁶ Layard locates the great monastery in the suburbs of Karṇasuvarṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi (Bengali for Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā*), formerly called Kānsōṅāpurī lying on the right bank of the Bhāgrathī, about 1½ miles from the Chirati railway station, 6 miles to the south-west of Berhampur and 12 miles to the south of Murshidabad in the Murshidabad District of West Bengal.⁷ The earth of Rāṅgāmāṭi is red, and this is explained by a tradition according to which Rāvaṇa's brother Vibhīṣaṇa, being invited to a feast by a poor Brāhmaṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi, rained down gold on the ground as a token of gratitude.⁸ The tradition has been supposed to indicate, in a figurative way, how the ancient people of Gauḍa made immense profit from their maritime trade.⁹ M. Chakravarti, however, did not regard the location of Karṇasuvarṇa at Rāṅgāmāṭi as certain and suggested that the city may be identical with Gaur (Gauḍa or Lakshmanāvati) in the Malda District of West Bengal.¹⁰

Among all the theories regarding the location of the city of Karṇasuvarṇa and the Buddhist monastery of Raktamṛittikā, Layard's view suggesting their location about modern Rāṅgāmāṭi, anciently called Kānsōṅāpurī or Kānsōṅāgadh, in the Murshidabad District, appears to be more convincing since Sanskrit *Raktamṛittikā* and Bengali *Rāṅgāmāṭi* are the same word meaning 'red clay' which is given as the meaning of the Chinese form of the said name, while Kānsōṅā, another name of the area which was almost obsolete when Layard wrote more than a century ago, is also the Bengali modification of Sanskrit *Karṇasuvarṇa*, literally 'the gold [ornament] of the ear'.

¹ Cf. Watters, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 191-92.

² *Ancient Geography of India*, ed. Sastri, p. 578.

³ Cf. Watters, op. cit., p. 193.

⁴ *Discovery of the Exact Site of Asoka's Classic Capital of Pataliputra*, p. 27.

⁵ Cunningham, *A.S.Rep.*, Vol. VIII, p. 191.

⁶ See Sastri's note in Cunningham's *Anc. Geog. Ind.*, p. 733; but Fleet does not say so in *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 283-84.

⁷ *JASB*, Vol. XXII, 1853, p. 281. The identification is wrongly attributed to Beveridge (*JASB*, 1893, pp. 315-28) in the *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 60, note 1.

⁸ See J. Long in *Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI; Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, p. 94.

⁹ Cf. Dey, loc. cit.

¹⁰ *JASB*, N.S., Vol. IV, 1908, pp. 280-81.

But besides these, there was no other evidence in support of the identification. Although, therefore, recent writers have generally shown an inclination to prefer this identification, they are still waiting for proof in its support. This attitude is noticed in R. C. Majumdar's statement, "His (i.e. Śaśānka's) capital city, Karnasuvarṇa, cannot be identified with absolute certainty; but it is most probably represented to-day by the ruins at Rāṅgāmāti....."¹ This cautious approach to the problem is partially due to the fact that excavations conducted at the place about 33 years ago failed to unearth any evidence in support of the identification.

The Rāṅgāmāti area has a few tanks and several mounds of brick and clay, e.g., Thākurbādī-dāṅgā, Rājbadī-dāṅgā, Sannyāsī-dāṅgā, Rākshasī-dāṅgā, etc. In the cold season of 1928-29, trial excavations were carried at Rākshasī-dāṅgā by the Archaeological Survey of the Government of India under the leadership of K. N. Dikshit in order to see whether archaeological evidence would be available to substantiate the location of Karnasuvarṇa and Raktamṛittikā in the area in question. The failure of the attempt is indicated in the following sentence of the report on the excavations: "The trial excavations conducted late in the season at the Devil's Mound brought to light the remains of structures of at least three periods, the lowest of which appears to be a Buddhist establishment of the 6th to 7th century A. D.; but no definite confirmation is available about its identity with the Karnasuvarṇavihāra (sic)."² The evidence that eluded the archaeologist's spade in 1928-29 has now fortunately been unearthed by another group of archaeologists after the long period of 33 years.

About the middle of 1962, trial excavations were conducted at the Rājbadī-dāṅgā, referred to above, by the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University, under the leadership of S. R. Das, Reader in Archaeology. The result was the discovery of the ruins of a monastic establishment and, among other objects, a large number of clay seals which I was requested to examine. Among these seals, there are some bearing the Buddhist formula *Ye dhāmmā hetuppabhavā* etc., in characters assignable on palaeographical grounds to dates ranging between the sixth and the eighth century A. D. They no doubt point to the existence of a Buddhist monastery in the area, probably the one, the ruins of which have been recently unearthed at the site. But one of these seals is of considerable importance as it helps us in locating the Raktamṛittikā monastery on the Rājbadī-dāṅgā or its neighbourhood.

This clay seal, the preservation of which is unsatisfactory, has the representation of the *Dharmachakra* in the upper part of the surface, which is flanked by a deer on either side, and closely resembles the *Dharmachakra-mudrā* attached to the copper-plate grants of the Buddhist kings of Eastern India, such as the Pālas and Chandras. Below the said emblem, there is a legend in two lines, which is written in characters of the seventh or eighth century A. D. and reads as follows:

1 Śrī-Rakta[m]ṛittikā-ma(mā)hāvaihā-

2 rik-ārya-bhikkhū-saṅgha[s]y[a] [[]*]

"[This is the seal] of the community of the noble monks of the Great Monastery at the illustrious Raktamṛittikā."

The Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University, proposes to continue the excavations in the Rāṅgāmāti area for some years to come. They are likely to lead to the discovery of further evidence in support of the location of the city of Karnasuvarṇa and the monastery of Raktamṛittikā in the locality in question.

¹ *The Classical Age*, p. 78. Majumdar refers to *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, 1894, Part i, p. 172.

² *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1928-29, p. 99.

INSCRIBED CLAY SEAL FROM RAKTAMRITTIKA



2

2

(from Photograph)

By courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Calcutta University.

G. S. GAI

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXV

No. 5—RENTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-CHANTAMULA I, YEAR 5

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11.12.1963)

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered in 1936 at **Reñtāla**, a village in Palnad Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. It is engraved on a sculptured white marble stone pillar set up on the southern mound of the hillock, locally known as *Stambhālabōḍu* in the village. I visited the hillock in January 1964. The pillar under question measures about 2.65 m in height and about 25 cm × 25 cm at the bottom. An examination of the site gives an idea that the original structure to which the pillar belonged might have been a *maṇḍapa*, circular in shape and having twelve pillars—four pillars set up in the middle, two on either side of an entrance measuring about 90 cm and eight pillars at the end set up in such a way as to form a circle. The inscribed pillar under study appears to be one of the two pillars on the left side of the entrance. Unfortunately the whole structure is completely broken to pieces and lost excepting our solitary pillar. The heights of other broken eleven pillars vary from 10 cm to about 30 cm. The epigraph occupies an area of 75 cm × 24 cm and contains 15 lines. The proper right side of the lower part of the record viz. lines 11-15, is broken away and the number of letters thus lost in each line varies from one (line 11) to four (line 14). The preservation of the record, even in the extant portion, is not quite satisfactory. However, in spite of the fragmentary nature, the purport of the epigraph is far from doubt.

The **characters** of the record resemble those of the other inscriptions found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa² and Jaggayapeṭa³ belonging to the Ikshvāku rulers Virapurushadatta and Ehuvala-Chantamula and assigned to the middle and the second half of the third century A.D.⁴ However, the following peculiarities of our record are noteworthy. Unlike in the above mentioned inscriptions, the middle stroke of the letter *k* and the bottom line of *n* in the inscription under study are straight. Similarly, the bottom line of *ṇ* is also straight though its right end slightly curves downwards. These features suggest a slightly earlier date for our record. The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit.

The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king *rājan* Vaseṭhiputa-siri-Chantamula and is dated the first day of the first fortnight of the rainy season in the victorious (*vijaya*)⁵ fifth regnal year⁶ of the king. The fact that he is referred to simply

¹ *A.R. Ep.*, 1936-37, No. 349.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 1 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXI, pp. 61 ff. and Plates; Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

³ *Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. I, pp. 107 ff. and Plates LXII-LXIII. The macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

⁴ D. G. Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 1.

⁵ The description of the regnal year as *vijaya-saṁvachchharā* (Sanskrit *vijaya-saṁvatsara*) is rather unusual in the inscriptions of the Ikshvākus. The expression *saṁvachchharā vijayā* is found in one of the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta as well as in a record of Ehuvala-Chantamula (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff) where the word *vijaya* has been taken to be the name of the first (northern cycle) or the 27th (southern cycle) year of the Jupiter's cycle.

⁶ The date has not been correctly read in *A.R. Ep.*, 1936-37, No. 349.

as siri-Chantamula and not as siri-Ehuvula-Chantamula, shows that he should be identified with Chantamula I¹ who was the father of Virapurushadatta and grandfather of Ehuvula-Chantamula II. The last named ruler is always referred to in his inscriptions as siri-Ehuvula-Chantamula.²

The record commences with the auspicious word *Sidham* followed by an adoration to the Bhagavat.³ As the record is Buddhist in character, we have to take this Bhagavat to be the Buddha himself. This is followed, in lines 2-4, by the mention of the ruling king and the date of the record referred to above. The following sentence in lines 4-15 states that the stone pillar (*āyaka - skambha*),⁴ evidently the one on which the inscription is engraved, was caused to be made by a merchant (*vaṇijaka*) in the *maṇḍapa* of the Buddha-saṅgha. The name of the merchant appears to be Chutidhāra-siri (Sanskrit, Chūḍādhārasī). He is described as **Gaṁjikuṭa**, the son of a merchant whose name seems to read as Saṁghila, a resident of the town and his wife Haṁgkā (Sanskrit, Saṁghā).⁵ It is stated that the gift was made for his own longevity and for his continued victory and that in this pious act he was associated with his wife, daughter, a group of his daughters-in-law, his friends and grandsons and with four or five others who were probably related to him in one way or the other. The *maṇḍapa* in which the pillar was set up is said to belong to **Upendragiri-varddhamāna** situated in a *vihāra-maṇḍala*. Unfortunately, the name of the *vihāra* is lost, while the name of the village which is also partly lost appears to read Tuvara. The word *varddhamāna* occurs elsewhere also and appears to be a technical term meaning a type of building.⁶ So the compound word Upendragiri-varddhamāna in the present record means a *varddhamāna* built by a person called Upendragiri.⁷

The inscription under study is important in more than one respect. It is the **only known record of the time of the Ikshvāku king Siri-Chantamula I** discovered so far, though he is known from the inscriptions of his successors.⁸ While Chantamula I is often credited with the performance of *Agnihotra*, *Agnishṭoma*, *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* and with other pious deeds like *sahasrahala* in the records of Virapurushadatta and Ehuvula-Chantamula II, the present record does not refer to such acts. This silence may perhaps be due to the fact that Chantamula I had

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, where the king has been identified with Ehuvula-Chantamula. However, Shri H. Sarkar, in a communication sent to the Government Epigraphist for India, suggested that the king mentioned in this record might be Chantamula I. Cf. also *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44 and 1944-45, No. E 43.

² See above, Vol. XX, p. 24, pillar inscription H, etc.

³ On the other side of the pillar the words *namo Bhagavato Budhasa sagasa* are engraved in slightly later characters.

⁴ The term *āyaka-khambha* (or *ayaka*) occurs in all the three Jaggayyapeta pillar inscriptions (*Arch. Surv. South. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 110, Nos. 1-3) and it has been suggested that the expression denotes 'gate-pillar' as the word *āyaka* may mean 'entrance' (*Ibid.*, p. 111, f.n.1).

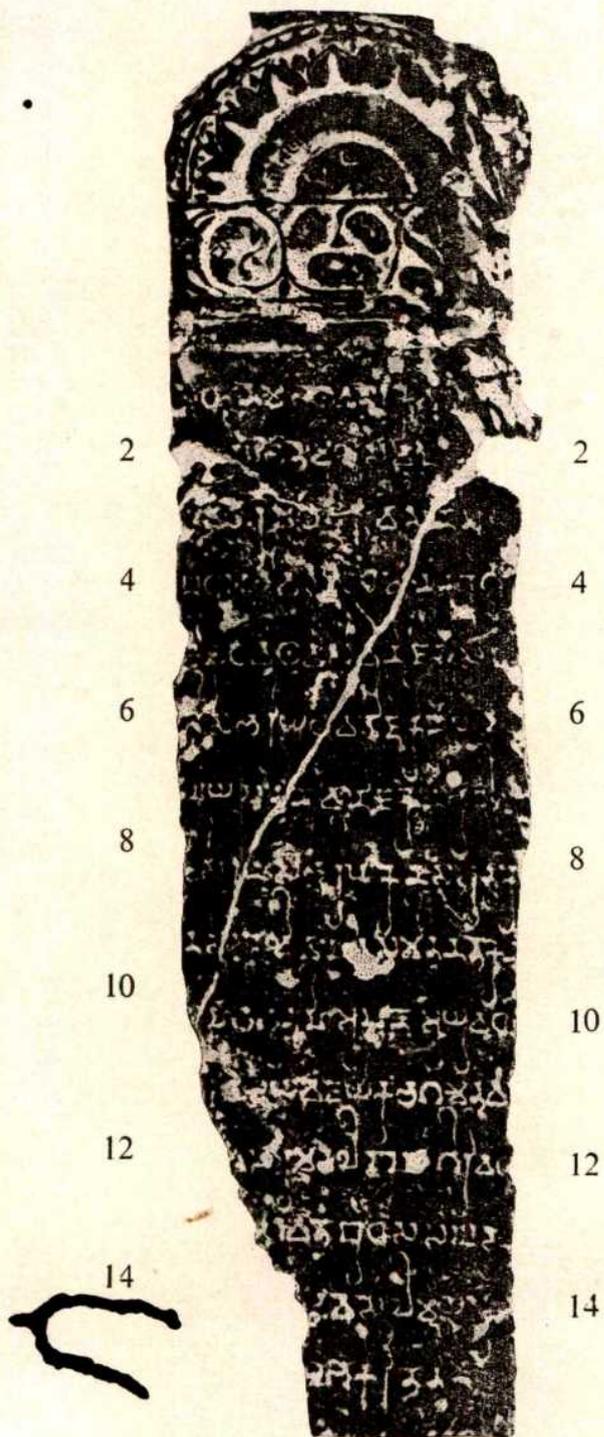
⁵ The Uppugunḍūr (near Chinna-Gaṅjam) inscription of Virapurisadatta describes the donor Saṁghila as the grandson of another Saṁghila of Dhaṁṅakata (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 191). It also mentions the donor's female relative Saṁghanikā.

⁶ See P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* s.v. The word *vaḍhamāna* also occurs in the compound *Sethivara-vaḍhamāna* (Sanskrit *Śreṣṭhivara-varddhamāna*), *Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna* (Sanskrit *Mahārāja-varddhamāna*) in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 9 and 19) and also in the compound *Ukhasiri-vaḍhamāna* (Sanskrit *Rikshaśrī-varddhamāna*) in the Ghaṇṭasāla inscriptions (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 3). It is not unlikely that these expressions also denote *varddhamāna* type of buildings built by the respective persons. (Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 8, f.n. 1; p. 19; also see *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

⁷ Here the context as well as the parallel expressions like *Sethivara-vaḍhamāna* in other inscriptions referred to above, preclude the possibility of taking the word *Upendragiri* as a name of a hill. Personal names ending in *giri* like Dhamagiri (Sanskrit, Dharmagiri), Dhanagiri, Mahāgiri, Mūlagiri, Nandagiri, Sihagiri (Sanskrit *Sihāgiri*), Yasogiri (Sanskrit *Yaśogiri*), etc. are met with in the early inscriptions. (Cf. Lüders' *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 209, 217, 290, 315, 335, 456, 601, 898, 1093, etc.).

⁸ Above, Vol. XX, p. 1 ff., Vol. XXXV, pp. 6-7 and 9.

RENTALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SIRI-CHANTAMULA I, YEAR 5



Scale : One-fifth

not performed such deeds before the date of the record under study. If the performance of *Aśvamedha*, etc. by Chantamula I is proof of his success against his Śātavāhana overlords,¹ then it is not unlikely that he could not completely throw off the Śātavāhana yoke till his fifth regnal year although he was a powerful feudatory and mentioned his own regnal years. The simple title *rājan* assumed by Chantamula I in the present record may also indicate his feudatory position on the date of the record. For, in all the records of his successors he is always endowed with the title *mahārāja* denoting his sovereign status which he must have attained later. However, one cannot be quite sure on this point, as there are records of Virapurushadatta of which some refer to him simply as *rājan*, while others bearing the same date endow him with the title *mahārāja*.²

The Buddhistic nature of our record indicates that during the reign of Chantamula I, Buddhism received royal patronage though the king himself was a staunch follower of the Brāhminic religion and performed the Vedic sacrifices.³ In this respect, he appears to have followed the example of the later Śātavāhana rulers who, though Brahminical in faith, favoured Buddhism.

Of the two geographical names occurring in this record, the village **Tuvara** where the *Upen-dragiri-varḍhamāna* was situated may be identified with modern Renṭāla, the findspot of the inscription. **Gaṁjikuṭa**, the home town of the donor's father, may be identified with either Chinna-Gaṁjam or Padda-Gaṁjam in Bapatla Taluk, Guntur District.

TEXT⁴

1 Sidha[m]⁵ |⁶ Namō Bhagavato [1*] Raṁṇo Vase.

2⁷ siri-Chaṁtamulasa vijaya-

3 [saṁ|vachhara[m] pachama[m] 5 vās[ā]ṇa[m] pakha[m]

4 padhamam̄ 1 divasa[m] padhamam̄ [1] |⁶ nakare Ga[m]-

5 jikuṭe vathavasa vaṇijaka[sa*] Saṁghi-

6 [la]sa bhariya[ya*] cha vaṇijakiṇiya Haṁ-

7 ghaya putana⁸ vaṇijakena Chuṭi[dhā]-

8 [ra]⁹siriṇa¹⁰ sa-bharyakeṇa sa-dhutuke-

9 na sa-[suṁ]¹¹ha-vī(ni)vahena sa-mita-natuke[na]

10 [sa]-pacha-chatuṁhi apaṇo āyu-vadha-

11 .¹² [kaṁ] v[i]jjaya-vejayikaṁ cha game Tuva[re]¹³

¹ D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 18.

² See e.g., above, Vol. XX, p. 19, C. 2, p. 20, C. 4.

³ Cf. D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 38.

⁴ From the impressions.

⁵ The final *m* is written slightly below the line.

⁶ This punctuation mark is indicated by a small horizontal stroke.

⁷ The damaged letters are obviously *thiṇṭasa*.

⁸ Read *putana*.

⁹ In the original pillar very faint mark of *ra* appears before *si*.

¹⁰ Read *siriṇā*.

¹¹ This letter, originally written as *ā*, is corrected into *su*.

¹² The lost letter may be restored as *ni*.

¹³ Indistinct trace of this letter may be found in the impression.

- 12¹ y[i]h[ā]ra-ma[m]ḍale **Upedagiri-vadha-**
 13² gavaṭo Budhasa saṅghasa
 14³ ḍave selāmay[o] āya-
 15 .⁴ khabho karito ti |

TEXT IN SANSKRIT

- 1 Siddham | Namō Bhagavate | Rājño Vāsishṭhi-
 2 putrasya śrī-Sāntamūlasya vijaya-
 3 saṁvatsare pañchame 5 Varshāṇām pakshe
 4 prathame 1 divase prathame 1 | nagare Gañji-
 5 kūṭe vāstavyasya vaṇijakasya Saṅghi-
 6 lasya bhāryāyāś=cha vaṇijakānyāḥ Saṁ-
 7 ghāyāḥ putreṇa vaṇijakena Chūḍādhā-
 8 raśriyā sa-bhāryeṇa sa-duhitṛike-
 9 na sa-snuṣhā-nivahena sa-mitra-naptṛikena
 10 saha pañcha-chaturbhiḥ ātmanaḥ āyur-varḍha-
 11 nikaḥ vijaya-vaijayikaḥ⁵ cha grāme Tuvare
 12 vihāra-maṇḍale Upendragiri-varḍdha-
 13 māne bhagavato Buddhasya saṅghasya
 14 maṇḍape śailamayāḥ āya-
 15 ka-skaṁbhaḥ kārītaḥ iti [||]*

¹ Two letters seem to have been lost here which apparently contained the name of the *vihāra*.

² The three letters which are lost here are obviously *māne Bha*.

³ Of the four letters which are broken away and lost, the last one may be restored as *ma*.

⁴ The broken portion of the pillar here must have been big enough to accommodate five letters. But as the usual expression is *āyaka-khabha* or *°skaṁbha*, only one letter viz. *ka* appears to have been lost. Thus the last line *ka-khabho*, etc. appears to have been engraved in the middle. Cf. above, Vol. XX, Plate facing p. 18, B. 4, line 7 and Plate facing p. 19, C. 2, line 12.

⁵ Better *vaijaya-vijayikaḥ*.

No. 6—HONAVAR PLATES OF KAIKEYA CHITRASENA, YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

M. K. DHAVALIKAR, NEW DELHI AND M. S. NAGARAJA RAO, DHARWAR

(Received on 9. 3. 1964)

The subjoined copper plate inscription¹ is reported to have been found about fifty years back at Honāvar, North Kanara District, Mysore State and was lying in the family of Shri. Nadakarni who is now a resident of Bijapur. We secured the plates for our study through our friend Shri M.V. Tembye who was stationed at Bijapur as Custodian in the Archaeological Survey of India. We are grateful to both of them for placing these plates at our disposal for study and publication.¹

This is a set of three copper plates, each measuring about 15 cm × 4.6 cm, strung together by means of a circular copper ring, 5.6 cm in diameter, the ends of which are soldered under a seal, oval in shape, measuring 4 cm at its extended base and 2.6 cm on the rim of its scooped out surface, on which there is a figure of a lion with gaping mouth and with its right leg and tail raised. The whole set weighs 390 g. The first and the third plates are engraved on the inner side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether thirteen lines of which the first three sides contain three lines each while there are four lines on the fourth side.

The characters of the record belong to the box headed variety of the Southern alphabets which may be roughly assigned to the 5th-6th century A. D. and which are usually found in the records of the Kadamba kings Mrigēśavarman³ and Ravivarman.⁴ As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is always doubled according to rules of grammar. *Upadhmanīya* is used in line 4. Final *m* is correctly used at the end of a *pāda* in a verse. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse.

The charter is issued from Ambudvīpa and is dated śu. 15 of the month Āsvayuja in the first year of the Kaikēya king Chitrasēna-Kella, also called Chitrasēna-Mahākella, who issued the grant. It begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a verse in praise of the Buddha, the son of Śuddhōdana. The next verse introduces the chief Chitrasēna-Kella of the Kaikēya family who is described as a supporter of the scholars and as a ruler interested in the welfare of his subjects. This is followed by the grant portion in prose (lines 4-9) which states that, when one Ravi-mahārāja was ruling the kingdom, Chitrasēna-Mahākella granted the garden called Sahārāma and the field Kaṇasā-pukkōli⁵ both situated in the village Nāpitapalli to the Ārya-saṅgha (i.e. Buddhist saṅgha), on the date mentioned above. This is followed by two imprecatory verses. The record ends with a prose passage informing that the record was written by one Jina[na*]ndi-sēnāpati, the son of Śimha-sēnāpati.

The charter is important in that it brings to light a hitherto unknown ruler named Chitrasēna of the Kaikēya family. Several branches of the Kaikēyas were settled in different parts of South India⁶ as revealed by some epigraphs, like those from Anaji⁷ and Nandipalli.⁸ As the present

¹ It is the same as No. A 10 of *A. R. Ep.* for 1963-64.

² [The article has been re-written—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. XXXV, plate between pp. 152-53. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, plate facing pp. 36-37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, plate between pp. 26-27.

⁵ This expression probably denotes some variety of land. See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 152.

⁶ For an elaborate treatment of the subject, see Dr. D. C. Sircar's article on 'Southern Kaikayas' in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IV, pp. 516 ff. See also, above Vol. XXXI, p. 235.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 162.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 174.

charter does not give the genealogy of Chitrasēna, it is difficult to say whether he belonged to any of the known branches or to a new one. His title *Kella* and *Mahākella* are interesting. We know of one Ēla-Kella of the Kaikēya family from the Kāpōli plates of Bhōja Aśaṅkitavarman.¹ The feudatory status of Chitrasēna is indicated by the reference to Ravimahārāja as the ruler of the kingdom.² This overlord was probably identical with the Kadamba king Ravivarman who is mentioned as Ravimahārāja in the Durmaya plates,³ and to whose period our record also may be assigned, as already pointed out on the grounds of palaeography.

Of the places mentioned in the grant, *Ambudvīpa* may be identified with modern Anjidiv Island which is only five miles off the coast from Karwar. The village *Nāpitapalli* is difficult to identify.

TEXT⁴

[Metre : verses 1-5, *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁵ [*] Jayaty=amita-guṇabhrid=Buddhas=sat[t*]va samāśrayaḥ [*] Śuddhōdana-
- 2 kul-ōdbhūtaḥ padma-patra-nibh-ēkshaṇaḥ [||1*] **Kaikēyakula**-sam-
- 3 bhūtas=tadvad=budha-jan-ālayaḥ [*] jayatāt=suchiram **Kella-**

Second Plate, First Side

- 4 ś=Chitrasēnaḥ=prajāhitaḥ || [2*] **Vijay-Ām[b]udvīpē** parama-
- 5 guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṅkṛita-kalya-dēhaḥ śrī-Chitrasēna-ma-
- 6 **nā-Kellaḥ śrī-Ravimahārājē** rājyam=praśāsati ātmanaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

- 7 pravarddhamāna-saṁvatsarē **prathamē Āsvayuja-pau-**
- 8 **ṛṇamāsyām** ||⁶ **Nāpitapalyā(lyām)** Sahārāmaṁ Kaṇasā-pu-
- 9 kkōliṅ=cha vidhivad=Āryyasaṅghāya pradattavān [||*]

Third Plate

- 10 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [||*] yasya yasya yadā bhū-
- 11 miḥ⁷ tasya tasya tadā phalam || [4*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [||
- 12 shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu saḥ [||5*] **Simha-**
- 13 sēna(nā)pati-sūnūnā Jina[na*] ndi-sēnāpatinā likhitam=iti ||⁸

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 235-36. [A certain Ara-Kella and one Sēvya-Gella are mentioned as the local chieftains in the epigraphs of the 9th and 12th century respectively from the adjoining district of South Kanara; cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 23; *SII*, Vol. VII, No. 258—Ed.]

² [The fact that the charter is dated not in the regnal year of the overlord but in that of the chieftain indicates the semi-independent status of the chief.—Ed.]

³ *Arch. Sur. of Mys., An. Rep.*, 1943, p. 49, text line 4.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Expressed by a spiral symbol. The succeeding two lines are also preceded by similar symbols.

⁶ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁷ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁸ This punctuation is indicated by *visarga*-like sign followed by four vertical strokes, the last of which has a wavy tail.

HONAVAR PLATES OF KAIKEYA CHITRASENA, YEAR I

i

2 2

○ इत्युत्तरात्पुनश्च द्वाभ्यां च सत्यः सुदृष्ट्या
 ○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न
 ○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न

ii, a

4 4

○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न
 ○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न
 6 6

ii, b

8 8

○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न
 ○ श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न
 श्रीशुक्रः अद्भुतं नैव शक्यते वाच्ये न

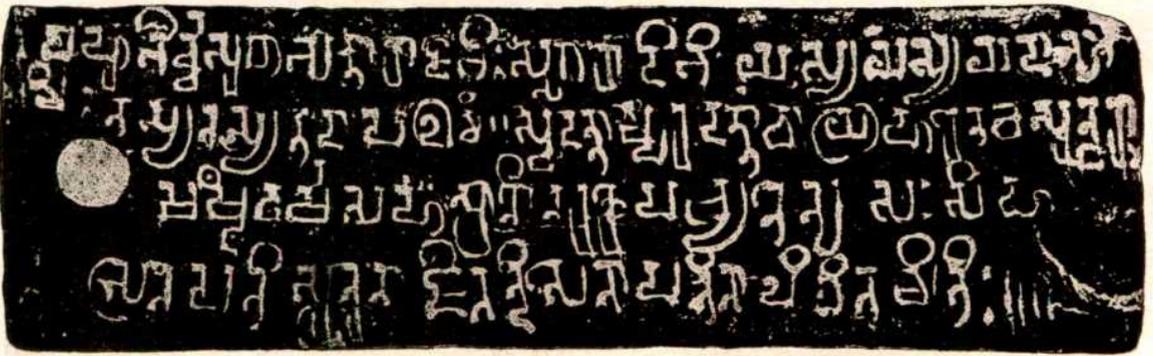
iii

10

10

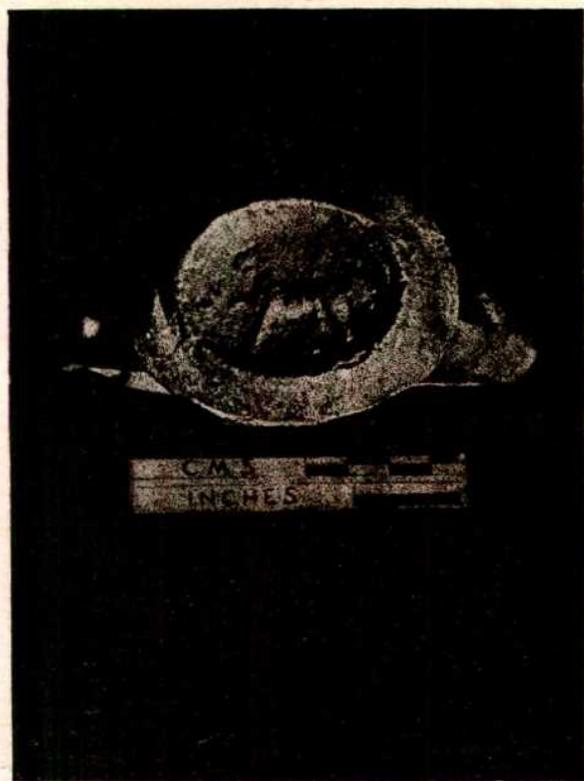
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12



Scale : Actual

SEAL



(from Photograph)

No. 7—TWO GRANTS OF CHAULUKYA BHIMADEVA I

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12. 12. 1964)

A.—Munḍaka Grant of Vikrama 1086

The findspot of this copper-plate inscription is not known, but the simple text with a translation prepared by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī was published by Gerson Da Kunha in 'Origin of Bombay' appearing in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, p. 49. Since the record deserves to be properly edited, which has not been done so far, it is published here again.¹ The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. I am thankful to the Director of this Museum, Dr. Moti Chandra, for sending these plates to me for study and publication.²

The set consists of two small copper plates each measuring about 12.5 cm by 8.5 cm strung by a ring of 3 cm in diameter without any seal. A small portion from the lower corner on the left side of the second plate has been cut off. The set weighs 255 g. Both the plates bear writing on the inner side only, there being 6 lines on each plate. But the sixth line of the second plate has only the concluding word *iti* at the beginning while towards the right end the words *śrī-Bhīmadēvasya* representing a copy of the signature of the ruling king have been engraved in bigger characters. The writing is very well preserved.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century. The initial vowel *a* is met with in lines 1 and 6, vowel *i* in lines 9 and 12 and vowel *ē* in line 8. The sign for *avagraha* appears in lines 8 and 11. The formation of *ti* in *iti* in lines 9 and 12 is noteworthy. The symbols for numerical figures for 0, 1, 5, 6 and 8 occur in the record.

As regards orthography, the symbol for *v* is used to denote *b* also (cf. *vṛāhmaṇa*, line 6). *Anusvāra* has been used in place of class-nasals. The language is Sanskrit written in prose.

The charter is issued from Anahilapātaka and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Bhīmadēva* who, from the date of the grant, is none else than Bhīmadēva I of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Gujarat. The date of the grant is given in lines 1-2 as **Vikrama 1086, Vaiśākha śu. 15** and this *tithi* is referred to as *Vaiśākhi-parvan* in line 6. In the absence of weekday, this date is not verifiable but the given *tithi* corresponded to Wednesday, the 20th April, 1030 A.D. according to *Kārttikādi* system. The object of the inscription is to register the grant, made by the king on the above-mentioned date, of one plough-share³ of field to the north of the village named **Munḍaka** in **Vardhi-vishaya**, to Vāsudēva, son of Balabhadra, a Brāhmaṇa of the northern country.

¹ It is briefly noticed by R. D. Banerji in *PRAS, WC.*, 1919-20, p. 54; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 118. It is also published in Gujarati in *Hist. Ins. of Guj.*, ed. by G. V. Acharya, Part II, No. 140.

² This is No. A 35 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1963-64.

³ Both Bhagwanlal Indrajī and R. D. Banerji read °*hala-vāhā śkūḍaśa* here meaning eleven plough-shares but the reading is clearly °*hala-vāhā śkā* followed by the numerical sign for 1.

According to Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, the accession of Bhīmadēva I took place in Vikrama 1078 (1021-22 A.D.). The inscription under study is six months later than the Radhanpur plates¹ of this king, dated Vikrama 1086, Kārtika śu. 15, which provide the earliest epigraphical date for Bhīmadēva I known so far. The latest epigraphical date of this king is furnished by the Palanpur plates² of Vikrama 1120 which is also the last date of his reign according to Mērutuṅga, when his son Karṇa succeeded to the throne.

Only a few inscriptions of this Bhīmadēva I have been discovered so far. Besides the present grant and the Radhanpur and Palanpur plates mentioned above, we have only four other records viz. (1) Bombay Royal Asiatic Society's grant³ of Vikrama [10*]93, (2) Abu stone inscription⁴ of Vikrama 1119, (3) Paliad plates⁵ of Vikrama 1112 and (4) the Bhadrēsar plates of Vikrama 1117 edited below. Thus, there are only seven inscriptions of this king discovered so far.

The charter was written by Vaṭeśvara, son of *kāyastha* Kāñchana while the *dūtaka* was *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Chaṇḍaśarman. Vaṭeśvara was the scribe of the other grants of Bhīmadēva I except the Palanpur plates which were written by his son Kēkkaka while his father Kāñchana was the writer of the Kadi plates⁶ of Mūlarāja I, showing that this office was held hereditarily. Chaṇḍaśarman was also the *dūtaka* of the Radhanpur plates of this king.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the record, **Anahilapāṭaka** from where the grant was issued has been identified with modern Anāvādā, three miles from Pāṭan in northern Gujarat. **Vardhi-vishaya** in which the village **Mumḍaka** was situated is mentioned in other records also⁷ where it is stated to be included in Sārasvata-maṇḍala and has been identified with Vadhiar or Vadhi in northern Gujarat.⁸ But the identification of the village Mumḍaka is not certain. It may, however, be pointed out that Kshēmarāja, the son of Bhīmadēva I, is stated to have died at a place called Mumḍakēśvara on the banks of the Sarasvatī near Anahilapāṭaka.⁹

TEXT¹⁰

First Plate

- 1 Siddham¹¹ [*] Vikrama-samvat 1086 Vaiśākha-śudi 15 ady-ē-
- 2 ha śrīmad-Anahilapāṭakē samasta-rājāvali-vi-
- 3 rājita-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ sva-bhu-
- 4 jyamāna-Varddhi-vishay-āntahpāti-Mumḍaka-grāmē sa-
- 5 masta-janapadānvō(n=bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditam yathā
- 6 adya Vaiśākhi-parvaṇi udich[y*]a-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Va(Ba)labhadra-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 193 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 253-54.; cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1464.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 148.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 235 ff.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93.

⁸ See Sankalia, *Studies in Hist. and Cult. Geo.*, p. 203.

⁹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 170.

¹⁰ From the original and impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by symbol.

Second Plate

- 7 sutāya Vāsudēvāya grāmasy=ōttarasyām di-
 8 śi Muṁḍaka-grāmē=‘tr=aiva bhūmēr=hala-vāhā ekā 1
 9 śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvam=asmābhiḥ pradattā iti []*
 10 likhitam=idam kāyastha-Kāmchana-suta-Vaṭēsvarēṇa
 11 dūtako=‘tra mahāsāmdhivigrahika-śrī-Chaṁḍasarmā []
 12 iti śrī-Bhīmadēvasya ||

B.—Bhadrēsar plates of Vikrama 1117

A set of photographs of this copper-plate inscription was received in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1954-55 from the Curator of Bhuj Museum in Saurashtra, according to whom the plates were discovered at **Bhadrēsar** in Kutch District of Saurashtra.¹ Since the originals were not sent, the information regarding the size, weight etc., and also about the ring is not known. The **plates** are **two** in number inscribed evidently on the inner sides only. There are 26 lines in all, 13 on each plate. The **characters, orthography and language** are similar to those of the record **A** above and they do not call for any special remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Bhīmadēva I** and mentions his predecessors starting from **Mūlarāja I** who is regarded as the founder of the Chaulukya (Solanki) dynasty of Anahilapātaka and of whose period some copper-plate grants have been published.² The next ruler mentioned is **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who is described as meditating on the feet of Mūlarāja without giving the relationship with him. But we know that Chāmuṇḍarāja was the son and successor of Mūlarāja.³ Next comes **Durlabharāja** as meditating on the feet of Chāmuṇḍarāja. Durlabharāja was the younger son of the latter, the name of the elder son being Vallabharāja which is not mentioned in this record, probably due to his short reign as suggested by Bübler.⁴ Durlabharāja's successor on the throne was his nephew **Bhīmadēva I** who issued the present charter. No inscriptions of the reign of Chāmuṇḍarāja, Vallabharāja and Durlabharāja have been discovered so far. But their reign-periods cover the interval of about 25 years between Mūlarāja and Bhīmadēva I and are referred to in the chronicles, particularly the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* of Mērutuṅga. According to this work, Mūlarāja was succeeded by Chāmuṇḍarāja in Vikrama 1050 or 993 A.D. and ruled for about 13 years. Chāmuṇḍarāja's successor Vallabharāja was on the throne for about six months only when he died of small-pox.⁵ His brother Durlabharāja ruled for about 12 years when he was succeeded by Bhīmadēva I in Vikrama 1078 or 1022 A.D., whose latest date is Vikrama 1120 or 1063 A.D., as given in this work and also as furnished by his Palanpur plates.⁶ Thus Bhīmadēva I had a long reign of over 40 years.

¹ This is *A.R. Ep.* 1954-5, No. A 4.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 191-93; above, Vol. X, pp. 76-79.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 184.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ H.C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 944.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.

The date of the present record is given both in words and figures in lines 8-10, as **Vikrama 1117, Jyēshṭha ba. 15, solar eclipse**. No weekday is mentioned. The *tithi* corresponded to **Wednesday, the 20th June 1061 A.D.**, when there was a solar eclipse, the year being Kārttikādi.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the grant, made by the king Bhīmadēva I, of the village **Jabhaganā** situated in **Kachchha-maṇḍala** to Gōvinda, son of Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara who belonged to Vatsa-gōtra, Vājasaneyā-śākhā and Yajurveda and who had emigrated from **Prasannapura**. The boundaries of the gift village are given as follows: in the east and south the village **Dhōlā**; in the west, the village **Masilānā**; and in the north the village **Vājānā**.

The scribe of this charter is the same as in No. A above, viz. Vaṭēśvara, son of *kāyastha* Kāñchana but the *dūtaka* was *mahāsāndhivigrahika* Bhōgāditya who figures also in the Paliad¹ and Palānpur² plates of the king. The charter ends with a copy of the signature of the king as śrī-Bhīmadēvasya engraved in slightly bigger characters.

As regards the **place-names**, **Kachchha-maṇḍala** is modern Kutch in Saurāshṭra now in Gujarat State. **Prasannapura**, from where the donee hailed, is also referred to as Prasannapura-sthāna in Kachchha-maṇḍala in the Bombay Asiatic Society plates of this king mentioned above. But its exact identification is not certain. Similarly, the gift village **Jabhaganā** and the villages mentioned as its boundaries cannot be identified.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁴ [||*] Rājāvāli pūrvavat || Paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-
- 2 śvara-śrī-Mūlarājadēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirā-
- 3 ja-paramēśvara-śrī-Chāmuraṇḍarājadēva-pādānudhyāta-parama-bhāṭṭāraka-ma-
- 4 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Durllabharājadēva-pādānudhyāta-para-
- 5 mabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Bhīmadēvaḥ sva-bhujyamā-
- 6 na-Kachchha-maṇḍal-āntaḥpātinō(ni) Jabhaganā-grāmō samasta-rājapurushānu⁵
- 7 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarāms=tan-nivāsi-janapadāms=cha vō(bō)dhayaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditam
ya-
- 8 thā Vikramādity-ōtpādita-sarṁvachchharēshv⁶=ēkādaśasu sapta-daś-ādhi-kēshu
Jyē-

¹ Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 215 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 171 ff.

³ From the photographs.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *purushān*.

⁶ Read *sarṁvatsara-śatīshv*.

9. **shṭā**(shṭh-ā)māvāsyām Sūrya-grahaṇa-parvvaṇi yātr-ā[m*]katō=pi **Samvat 1117**
Jyē-
10. **shṭa**(shṭha)-vadi 15 adya charāchara-gurām¹ bhagavantaṁ Mahēśvaram=abhyarcha
(rchya) pitrō-
11. r-ā-tmanāś=cha svanya²-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē **Prasannapura**-vinirgata-Vachchha-sagōtra-
paṁ-
12. chārishēya-Vājasnēya-sākhā[ṇam] Yajur³-vvēdi(di)-Brāhmaṇa-Dāmōdara-
13. sūnu-Gōvīndāsa(ya) upari-likhi |⁴ ta-Jabhaganā-śrā(grā)maḥ [sva-sīmā]-

Second Plate

14. pāryantaḥ sa-vṛiska(ksha)-mālākulaḥ sa-hiraṇya-bhāgabhogah sa-
15. rvva-dāya-samētaḥ pūrvva-datta-dēva-vra(bra)hma-dāya-varjjah sāsanē-
16. n-ōdaka-pūrvvam=asmābhiḥ pradatta[h*] asya cha pūrvva-diśi **Dhōlā-grāmaḥ** dakshi |⁴-
17. ṇataḥ punaḥ Dhōlā-grāmaḥ paśchimāyām diśi **Masilāṇā-grāmaḥ** uttara-
18. syām diśi **Vājāṇā-grāmaḥ** chatur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshitaṁ grāmam=ēvam=avaganya
19. tan-nivāsi-jaṇapadair=yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇyādi pūrvva[vat*]
20. ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā sarvvadā asmai vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gōvīndāya samupanē-
21. tavyaṁ(vyam)[[*] Sāmānyaṁ chē(ch=ai)tat=punya(ṇya)-pa(pha)laṁ vu(bu)[d*]dhvā asmad-
vaṁsa-(śa) jair=aparair=api bhāvi-bhōktri-
22. bhir=asmat-pradatta-dharmmadāyō=yaṁ maṁtavyaḥ pālānīyaś=cha || [u] ktaṁ cha bhaga
vatā
23. Vyāsēna | Shashṭirvvarsha-⁵ sahasrāṇi svargē tishṭhaṁ(shṭha)ti bhūmidah | āchchhēta-
(ttā) ch-ānu-

¹ Read *guram*.

² Read *punya*.

³ Read *pañchārshēya-Vatsa-sagōtra-Vājasnēya-sākhinē Yajur*.

⁴ This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ Read *Shashṭim varsha*.

⁶ DGA/64

- 24 maṁrā(tā) chā tānya(ny=ē)va narakam(kē) vasēta¹ [[*] Likhitam=idam śāsanam Kāyastha-Kāmecha-
- 25 [na]-suta-Vaṭēśvarēṇa dūtako=tra mahāsāmvi(dhi)vigrahika-śrī-Bhōgā-
- 26 ditya iti || śrī-Bhīmadēvasya ||²

¹ Read *vasēt*.

² These letters are written in bigger characters.

No. 8—CHERUVU-MADHAVARAM PLATES OF KALI-VISHNUVARDHANA

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 1.5. 1963)

The set of plates discovered in Cheruvu-Mādhavaram, Krishna District, were secured through the District Collector, Krishna, Andhra Pradesh, sometime in June 1953 and reviewed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year.¹ The plates have also been noticed in the *Journal of Oriental Research* by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao.²

The set consists of three oblong plates 22 cm. by 9 cm. with raised rims and holes on their left margin for the ring which has its ends soldered into a mass of metal flattened at the top to form the seal which, unfortunately, is completely obliterated. The first and the third plates are inscribed on their inner faces while the middle one bears writing on both the sides. The characters belong to the Southern Class usually met with in inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukyas. The writing is well preserved and, on palaeographical grounds, assignable to the middle of the 9th century. The language of the record which is Sanskrit throughout is, however, rather faulty.

As for the orthography, it may be pointed out that the usual practice of doubling the consonant following the *rēpha* is uniformly observed throughout. The use of the same subscript for *na* as well as *ṇa* may be observed in the expressions *bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa* (line 5) and *suvarṇṇa* (lines 14-15).

The opening verse of the charter invoking happiness on all beings, the kine, the Brāhmaṇas and the kings as well, is identical with that in the Ederu plates of Amma I.³ This is followed (lines 2-8) by the characteristic preamble occurring in the numerous charters of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty and commencing with the words: *Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām*, etc., but considerably cut short by the total omission of any reference to the name of the family and to the forebears preceding the grandfather of the ruling king. The same omission also occurs in the Ahadanakara,⁴ Permajili⁵ and Reṇḍuballi⁶ plates. Besides, by an inadvertent omission, the scribe or the engraver has failed to write the last portion of the preamble following the words *Gaṅgā-Yamunā*⁷. After introducing the donor **Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja alias Kali Viṭṭara** as the son of Vijayāditya and the grandson of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja (lines 9-12), the inscription proceeds to record the royal grant. The object of the record, given in lines 12-19, is to register a tax-free gift of land, on the occasion of **Uttarāyana**, to the deity **Nagarēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka**, consecrated by the king in association with the merchant-community (*nagara*) at **Vijayavāṭapura**. The recipient of the gift was **Paśupati-bhagavatpāda**, a disciple of Amṛitasōma-āchārya who was himself a disciple of Balasōma-bhagavanta. The last, i.e. Balasōma is described as one living in the *Gaṅga-guhā* and probably as having hailed from Ujjayinī. The gift land, it is stated, was bought for gold, from **Drōṇakurra-bhaṭṭa** of the *Kāśyapa-gōtra*. The king had this deed proclaimed to all the residents of **Kaṇḍēruvāḍi**. Thereafter are recorded (lines 19-20) the boundaries of the gift

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, App. A No. 1.

² *J. O. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 89 ff.

³ *SII*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 185.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913-14, App. A, No. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1914-15, App. A, No. 2.

land, namely, the great road on the East, South and West and the village Chintagunṭipunta on the North. This is followed (lines 21-26) by the usual imprecatory verses. Then occurs a verse which introduces Vikramāditya, the executor (*ājñapti*) of the royal order as the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of Vishṇuwardhana. The document ends with another verse in faulty *anushṭubh* mentioning Rāmāchārya as its writer. The charter is not dated.

Kali-Viṭṭara *alias* Vishṇuwardhana who issued this charter is none else than Kali-Vishṇuwardhana of the Eastern Chālukya family. The record is important as it is the only one which could be definitely attributed to Kali-Vishṇuwardhana. Among the Eastern Chālukyas there were two kings who bore the name of Vishṇuwardhana, the names of whose fathers and grandfathers were also Vijayāditya and Vishṇuwardhana respectively. The Ahadanakara plates, the Permajili and the Renḍuballi grants referred to above are instances to the point. These have been attributed by some scholars to the reign of the Kali-Vishṇuwardhana, but without sufficient evidence to substantiate the ascription. Kali-Vishṇuwardhana, or Kali-Viṭṭara as he is here called, was the 12th in succession from Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana, the first king of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He was the son of Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II who had a long reign of fortyfour years. Computing the known reign periods of all the kings from Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana down to Vijayāditya II as 230 years and taking the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule as 622-23,¹ we get 622-23+230 or 852-53 A.D.² as the initial year of Kali-Vishṇuwardhana's reign. His rule, however, was of a short duration, lasting only for a year and a half,³ and was followed by that of his son Guṇaga Vijayāditya who reigned for fortyfour years.

Barring the fact of the short duration of his reign, the Eastern Chālukya charters furnish very little information about Kali-Vishṇuwardhana, the only exceptions among them being the Eḍeru⁴ and the Sātalūru⁵ plates, the former describing the king in three verses as the brave lord of Veṅgi who was well versed in the science of polity, skilled in fighting (*kali*) with all weapons, devoted to the art of protecting his subjects, ever engaged in the conquest of hostile cities and skilled in fighting with elephants and horses; and the latter devoting to him a single verse praising him in general terms.

The records of Guṇaga Vijayāditya state that he was the son of Kali-Vishṇuwardhana by Śilamahādēvī or Śilakāmbā, a princess of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family.⁶ That she was a Rāshṭrakūṭa princess, the daughter of Indrarāja by Paramakāmbā, is known from a copper plate grant.⁷ Her grandmother, also a Śilamahādēvī, the queen of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruvarāja was an Eastern Chālukya princess,⁸ a daughter of Sarvalōkāśraya Viṭṭarasa or Vishṇuwardhana. The present grant scarcely adds anything to our knowledge about Kali-Vishṇuwardhana either in respect of his achievements or of his family. But a lone lithic record from Guṇḍlāpalle, Ongole Taluk, Guntur District, apparently belonging to the reign of Narēndramṛigarāja Vijayāditya mentions Kali-Viṭṭarāja, no doubt Kali-Vishṇuwardhana or Kali-Viṭṭara of our grant, as the husband of Aytakāvva, revealing thereby the name of another queen of this king, not known from any other source.

Of Vikramāditya, the maternal uncle (*mātula*) of the king who figures as the executor (*ājñapti*) of the charter, nothing is known. He must have been a prince of some royal family

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 76.

² If Kokkili's 6 months are taken into account, it may be 852-53 or 853-54 A.D.

³ Two charters viz. the Pōnāngi plates (*A.R. Ep.*, 1908-09, App. A No. 39) and the Sisali plates (*Bhārati*, Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1, p. 484), both of Guṇaga Vijayāditya, assign a period of reign of 20 months to this king.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. I, p. 39, verses 5-7.

⁵ *Bhārati*, Vol. I, pp. 104, text lines 22-25.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1908-09, App. A, No. 3; *ibid.*, 1911-12, App. A, No. 5; *ibid.*, 1938-39, App. A, No. 3, etc.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39, App. A No. 3 where the name of the princess' father has been wrongly read as Chandrarāja for Indrarāja.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 99.

in virtue of the epithet *bhūpati* appened to his name, but other than the Eastern Chālukya house because of his relationship to this house to which his (Vikramāditya's) sister was given in marriage. That the Eastern Chālukyas had matrimonial alliances with the Rāshtrakūtas has already been referred to. But there is no prince of this name among the members of this house. However, this name is common among some ruling families of the south such as the Vaidumbas, the Chōlas of Rēnādu and the Bānas, but there is no clue in the charter if Vikramāditya-bhūpati belonged to any one of these families. Whichever it was, Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana seems to have named his son Vikramāditya after his own (Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana's) maternal uncle.

As for the **place names** occurring in the charter, Ujjayinī from which the pontiff seems to have hailed is possibly the famous Ujjain which flourished as the capital of Avantī. Vijaya-vāṭapura in which the gift land lay is the modern Vijayavāda or Bezwada. Its name occurs as Bejavāda and Pechhavāda in Telugu and as Vijayavāṭikā in Sanskrit in inscriptions from this place itself.¹ It is called Vijayavāḍai *alias* Rājēndrachōlapuram in a Tamil record from this place.² The fact that the grant was duly made known to the *Rāshtrakūta-pramūkas* and the *kuṭumbins* of Kaṇḍēruvāḍi-vishaya presupposes that the gift-land was situated in this division. A few inscriptions in the Mallēsvara temple at Vijayavāḍa³ refer to the division Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi, apparently distinguishing it from Kaṇḍravāḍi. Two Eastern Chālukya copper-plate records, one from Bezwada⁴ and the other from Masulipatam⁵ refer to the endowed villages Kūkipaṅṅu and Veḍatalūru respectively as situated in Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāṭi-vishaya. Although there are no clues to identify these two villages and thereby fix the approximate extent of Uttara-Kaṇḍēruvāḍi, we may not be out of the mark if we say that this division was synonymous with Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi and that it comprised parts at least of the Bezwada and Bandar taluks along the north bank of the Kṛishṇā river. This is indirectly corroborated by the Malkāpuram inscription which refers to Kaṇḍravāḍi as a division comprised in Velinādu-vishaya and bounded on the north by the river Kṛishṇā. It may, therefore, be inferred that Kaṇḍravāḍi comprised of two distinct divisions, one to the north of the river Kṛishṇā, the Kōna-Kaṇḍravāḍi or the Uttara Kaṇḍravāḍi and the other to the south of it, the latter extending over parts of the Repalle, Guntur and Sattenapalle taluks of the Guntur District and referred to in inscriptions as Kaṇḍravāḍi, Kaṇḍēruvāṭi, Gaṇḍēruvāṭi or Ivani-Kaṇḍravāḍi.⁶ Evidently this latter subdivision is mentioned in our record as Kaṇḍēruvāḍi.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Sarvv-ākāram=āsēshasya jagatas=sarvvadā śivam(vam) [|*] gō-brāhmaṇā(ṇa)-nripāna (ṇā)ṅ=cha
- 2 śivam bhā(bha)vatu sa[r*]vvataḥ [| | 1*] Svasta(sti) [|*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-samstu (stū)yamāna-Mā-
- 3 navya-sagōtrāṇām Hāriti-putrāṇām Kausīki-vara-parasāda-labdha-rājyānām mmā(mā)-
- 4 tṛi-gaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyātānām bhagava-
- 5 n-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsēdita-vara-varāha-laṅcha(ṅchha)n-ēkshāna-kshāna-vaśīkṛi-
- 6 tam(t-ā)rāti-maṇḍalānām=Aśvamēdh-ā[va*]bhṛita(tha)-snāna-pavitri(trī)kṛita-vāpushām samadhi-
- 7 gat-āsēshō(sha)-mahāsabda-[jham]pada- dhakkā-pāhi(li)[kē]tana-śvēt-ātapatra-mi(vī)jya-māna-

¹ *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 22, 33 and 133.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, No. 779.

³ *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 722, 780, 781-A.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, pp. 127 ff.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1914, pp. 84-85.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56 and f.n.2; *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 128; *ibid.*, Vol. X, Nos. 109, 112.

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 [chā]mara-kalāpa-gōpura-[dvār-ōbhaya]-pārśva-pratishthāpita-Gaṅgā-Yamunā¹
 9 Prithivīvalbha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabrahmanyah Para-
 10 ma[mā*]hēsva[rah*] mātā(tā)-pitri-pād-ānu[dh]yātas-Sarvvama(lō)kāśraya-śrī-Vishṇu-
 rddhana-ma-
 11 hārāja[h*] tasya suta[sya*] Vijayāditya-mahārājasya putra[h*] Kali-Viṭṭara-
 12 namana śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-mahārājā nagarasahitēna līnga-pra[ti*]shthā[m].
 kritvā
 13 Vijayavātapurē tasya(smai) Nagarēśvara-bhāṭṭāraka(kā)ya asht-ōttara-śata-kha-
 14 ndikā-[kō*]drav-āvāpa-kshētram Kāśyapa-gōtra-Drōṇakurābhāṭṭa-hastē suvā(va)-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 rṇa[m*] datta(ttva) grithitvā-datta[m*] Ujjayā(yi)nyā Gaṅgā-guha(hā)-vāsinō-
 Balasōma-bhaga-
 16 vanaśya² śishya[sya*] Amṛitasōma-³ āchāryyasya śishya(shyā)[ya*] Paśupati-bha[ga]vō(va)-
 tpa(tpā)da⁴ [||*]
 17 Kāṇḍēruvādi-vishaya--vāsinah Rāshtrakūta-pramukhān-kuṭumbīnas=sarvva(rvvān)=
 ittha [m=a]-
 18 jñāpāyati [|*] Viditam=astu yō-smābhi[h*] Uttarāyana-nimittē s-ōdaka-pū-
 19 rva[m*] sarvva-karā-parihāra[h kritah*]⁵ [||*] Tasyā=ā[va]dhaya[h |*] Pūrvvataḥ mahā-
 pathah [|*] Dakshinataḥ ma-
 20 ha(hā)-pathah [|*] Paśchimataḥ mahā-pathah [|*] Uttā(tta)rataḥ Chintaguntī[punta]-
 nāma-grām[ah] [|*]
 21 Asy-ōpari na kēnachid=bādhā karan[ī]yā [|*] Yaḥ karōti sa pañcha-mahāpā-

Third Plate

- 22 taka-sa[m]yuktō bhavati [|*] Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=
 ch=ā-
 23 nupālita [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā [pha]lām(lam) [|| 2*] Sva-dattā[m]
 pā-
 24 ra-dattām vā yō harēta vasu(m)sundharam(rām) [|*] shashtīm varsha-sahasra(srā)ṇi
 vishthāyām jāya-
 25 tē krimih [|| 3*] Na visham visham=ity=āhuh dē[va*]-sva[m] visham=uchyatē [|*]
 visham=ēkaki-
 26 na[m*] hanti dēva-svam putra-pautri(tra)kam [|| 4*] Ājñaptir=asya dharmmasya Vishṇu-
 rddhana-mātu-
 27 lā(lah) [|*] vikrama-hra(krā)nta-bhū-chakrē(krō) Vikramāditya-bhūpatih [|| 5*] Nagarē-
 śvarabhāṭṭ[a]ra-tām[r]a-
 28 sāsāna-sāsānama⁶ [|*] Rāma(Rāmā)chāryyēn=ālikhi[tām*] Naka(ga)rēśvara-bhāṭṭāraka-
 (kā)yā ||⁷ [6*]

¹ Some words usually following this are inadvertently omitted here. The Sātalūr plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya read *dvārī pratishthāpita-Gaṅgā-Yamunā-chandr-āditya-pālikētana-samadhigatah(ta)-pañcha-mahāśabdā (Bharati, Vol. I, p. 105, textlines 29-30)*.

² Read *vataḥ*.

³ Sandhi is not observed here.

⁴ Probably we have to construe this as *suvarnam dattvā kshētram grithitvā Paśupati-bhagavatpādāya dattam*.

⁵ The proper construction of lines 12-19 should be *ñāmā ... mahārājā Kāṇḍēruvādi ... asmābhiḥ nagarasahitāh ... pratishthām kritvā ... kshētram ... dattām ... parihārah kritas=cha*.

⁶ Read *tāmra-sāsāna-sāsānam* [|*]

⁷ This punctuation mark is indicated by two strokes, one above the other. The metre of the second half of this verse is defective.

No. 9—A NOTE ON THE COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(I Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 4.12.1963)

Dr. D. C. Sircar has criticised my attribution of certain coins to Mahisha Kings and has recently given his own readings of the legends of these coins and their interpretation in this Journal.¹ We shall examine them critically here.

We shall first take the two coins² from the collection of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus.

Coin No. 1: This coin is of copper and is squarish in shape. It measures 1" by .9". It weighs 130 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of an elephant facing right, with the trunk uplifted. In the field appears the figure of a svastika above the back of the elephant, with the legend running in a circle, beginning in the lower left corner. As the blank was smaller than the die, some of the *aksharas* have not come out at the lower left and upper right corner. The legend reads —*gamanamahasa*]. On the reverse is the usual Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet in a double circle, with a svastika between each pair of orbs.

Coin No. 2 is smaller in size, though somewhat thicker, measuring .95" by .75". Its weight is 180 grains. It has the same type on the obverse and reverse, but nearly half the figure of the elephant and some letters at the upper right corner have been cut off. Fortunately, some letters which were missing on Coin 1, have come out clearly on this coin at the lower left corner, and the border of the circular die can also be marked clearly on the left. The legend on this coin reads *Ramno*³ *Sagamana*[*ma*]-.

The legends on the two coins are complementary to each other. Putting the two fragments together, the complete legend of this type of coins can be restored as *Ramno Sagamanamahasa*[*sa*]. The last *akshara* is conjecturally supplied as the legend must have ended in the genitive affix *sa*, corresponding to *ramno*.

We have next to interpret this legend. In this connection I was happy to notice the following hemistich in the Purānas:

*Sakyamān=ābhavad=rājā Mahishīmān mahipatih.*⁴

The resemblance of the name *Sakyamāna* to *Sagamāna* at once attracted my attention. The type and fabric of the coins suggested that they were imitated from those of the Sātavāhanas and must have been issued about 250 A.D. The hemistich in question occurs in a section which, according to Pargiter, mentions the dynasties of the third century A.D.⁵ The resemblance of the royal name and the agreement of the age in which the two kings flourished suggested that they might be identical.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 69 ff.

² See Nos. 1 and 2 in the attached Plate. These are somewhat enlarged photographs, kindly supplied by Mr. Hurmuz Kaus. For the reverse of these coins, see *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, Pl. IV, Nos. 3 and 4.

³ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

⁴ Pargiter, *D. K. A.*, p. 51.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

Pargiter could not give a satisfactory explanation of this hemistich. He translated it as follows: 'Śakyamāna was king of the Mahishīs'.¹ This makes no sense. I, therefore, proposed the following emendation of the hemistich:

Śaka-Māno=bhavad=rājā Mahishānām mahīpatih.

I took it to mean that the Śaka Māna was the king of the Mahishas.

Against my reading of the coin-legend and its interpretation Dr. Sircar has raised the following objections:²

(1) The complete legend of the coins is not *Ramño Sagamāna-Mahasasa*, but *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa Chuṭukulasa*, which means '(This coin is) of Chuṭukula, the *Mahāsenāpati* of the Sagamas.'

(2) There is no word like *ramño* in the beginning of the legend near the end of the elephant's tail. It is a six-peaked hill symbol.

These are not valid objections. These two coins were evidently imitated from the corresponding Elephant-type coins of the Sātavāhanas. I pointed out the following similarities between the two types of coins in my very first article on these coins:—³

(i) The type 'Elephant with up-lifted trunk' is the same. (ii) The die of the coins was circular, though the blank was square. (iii) The legend commences in the lower left corner and ends in the upper right corner. (iv) Many of the older symbols such as the triangular standard and the flattened rings on a vertical rod noticed on the older Sātavāhana coins are conspicuous by their absence, but the *svastika* still remains and is seen between the orbs of the Ujjain symbol as on the oldest Sātavāhana coin.

In view of these similarities, we must assume a certain similarity in their legends also. Now comparing the legend on the two types of coins viz. (1) the two coins of the so-called king Chuṭukula of the Sagama family with the legend *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpatisa Chuṭukulasa* and (2) the coin of Puṣumāvi⁴ with the legend *Raṇā siri-Puṣumāvīsa*, we find that (i) on the coin of the so-called king Chuṭukula, the title *Mahāsenāpati* does not come in the beginning as it should, like the title *raṇā* on the coin of Puṣumāvi; (ii) the suggestion that the sign behind the hind legs of the elephant is a six-peaked hill is fantastic. It is clearly the title *ramño* as on innumerable coins of the Sātavāhanas.⁵ Dr. Sircar takes the incomplete word *mahasasa-* at the end of the legend on Coins Nos. 1 and 2 to be part of the title *Mahāsenāpatisa* and finding that such a title would be incongruous with the word *ramño* in the beginning, he supposes that word to be a hill symbol. In none of the elephant-type coins discovered so far is there such a symbol behind the hind legs of the elephant. Additional symbols, if any, are seen to occur in the field above the back of the elephant or in front of it.⁶ (iii) The legend commences behind the hind legs of the elephant on the so-called coins of Chuṭukula as on the coins of the Sātavāhanas. It must, therefore, have ended near the up-lifted trunk of the elephant as on the latter coins. There is no space for the letters *napatisa Chuṭukulasa* after *mahasasa* in the right top corner. There is space only for one letter and I have supplied that letter as *sa* so that *mahasasa* would be in agreement with *ramño* in the beginning of the legend. So the complete legend on these coins is *Ramño Sagamānamahasasa*.

¹ Ibid., p. 73.

² Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 71 f.

³ *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 35; *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 57.

⁴ *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 39.

⁵ The letters are quite clear in No. 2 of the attached plate. There is one more letter before *ramño*. Mr. Kaus suggests that it may be *ri* of *siri* but this word follows *ramño* in the legend of a coin of Sātavāhana.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, p. 1, Pl. I, No. 1.

Now about the interpretation of this legend Dr. Sircar takes *Sagamāna* to be the genitive plural meaning 'of the Sagamas or of the Sagama family'. He calls attention to such expressions as *Pallavāna Sivakhamdavamo* in the Hirahadgalli plates¹ of Śivaskandavarman. It should, however, be noted that (i) the latter expression occurs in a copper-plate inscription where there is no dearth of space. There is no such space for the partitive genitive expression in the legend of a coin and in fact no such partitive genitive expression denoting a royal family occurs in the legend of any coin discovered so far. (ii) The family name generally occurs after a personal name in the legends on coins. Cf. *Raño siri-Yañā-Sātakanisa*; *Raño siri-Kubha-Sātakanisa*; [*Pa*]kasasiva-Sebakasa etc.² If the drafter of the legend wanted to insert the name *Sagama* of the royal family, he would have worded the legend as follows—*Mahāsenāpatisa Chutukula-Sagamasa*. (iii) It has been shown above that there is not sufficient space for the nine *aksharas* *-napatisa Chutukulasa* after *Sagamāna mahasa* on these coins, but unless we have so many *aksharas* after the existing legend there would be no mention of the royal name as, according to Dr. Sircar, *Sagamāna* means 'of the Sagamas' and *Mahāsenapati* would be only a title of the issuer. The lettering on these coins is bold. One can easily see that there is not enough space for so many *aksharas* even if we suppose that the legend surrounded the figure of the elephant completely.

I have conjectured in my reading of the legend that there was one *akshara sa* after *Mahasa* and the full legend on these elephant-type coins was *Ramño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa*. Fortunately, my conjecture is supported by the legend of an actual coin and that too of the king Māna himself.³ In the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 f. I published a lion-type coin found in the excavations at Kondapur, which was sent to me for decipherment by Mr. K. M. Ahmed, Curator of the Hyderabad Museum. The coin has the figure of a lion with the tail up-lifted. The legend, which is fragmentary, runs round the edge at the top. The reverse has the Ujjain symbol imperfectly preserved with a pellet in each orb.

The existing legend reads *-na Mahasasa*. The vertical of *na* is split into two parts as noticed occasionally in the inscriptions of the Kushāna age. The characters show that the coin is of about the second or third century A.D. There are faint traces of an *akshara* like *ma* in the beginning. So the legend may have been *Māna-Mahasasa*. This Māna may have been identical with Māna of the elephant-type coins, notwithstanding a slight difference in their names and the difference in the types of their coins. Be that as it may, there is no doubt about the reading *Mahasasa*. Anybody can satisfy himself from the facsimile published with this article.⁴

Finding that the evidence of this coin goes against his theory about the issuer of the elephant-type coins, Dr. Sircar has attempted to read the legend on this lion-type coin as *Maharathisa* (?). A close examination of the facsimile of this coin will show that there is space for only one *akshara* between the first two *aksharas maha* and the last *akshara sa*. As that *akshara* resembles the last *akshara*, it must be read as *sa*. The reading is definitely *mahasasa*. It cannot be *maharathisa*. This demolishes completely the theory of Dr. Sircar about the *aksharas* *-napatisa Chutukulasa* following *mahasa* on the elephant-type coins discussed above. There can, therefore, be no doubt now about the correctness of my reading of the legend of these elephant-type coins, viz. *Ramño Saga-Māna-Mahasasa* [*sa*]⁵ and of its interpretation as '(This coin is) of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha (family).'

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 9.

² *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 42, 43, 52 etc.

³ *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 1, Pl. II, No. 9; *Stud. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 65; Pl. IV, No. 6.

⁴ See attached Plate, No. 4.

We shall next take up the svastika-type coins with the legend *Mahāsenāpatisa Bharadaja-putasa Saga-Māna-Chuṭukulasa*. We need examine only one coin of this type viz. that illustrated here (No. 3) which was obtained in the excavations at Kondapur. It has the legend given above. Dr. Sircar's reading of this legend is not different. He only wants to emend *Bharadaja-putasa* into *Bharadajiputasa* on the ground that 'the natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Bharadvāji-putrasya*. I have already disposed of this objection. It is noteworthy that this coin has medial vowels clearly marked in almost all cases. If the intended reading had been *Bharadaji-putasa*, there would have been a curve on *ja* in the legend of this well preserved coin. Students of ancient Indian numismatics know very well that patronymics occur on hundreds of coins of the Western Kshatrapas. They also occur in the inscriptions of the Śakās Ushavadāta and Śrīdharavarman. So there is no need to change *Bharadaja-putasa* into *Bharadaji-putasa*.

Dr. Sircar takes the legend to mean '(This coin is) of Mahāsenapati Chuṭukula of the Sagamas (i.e. of the Sagama family), son of a lady of the Bhāradvāja gōtra.' This interpretation is open to the following objections—(1) No such family as *Sagama* is known to history so far. (2) This interpretation takes no note of the symbols thunderbolt and arrow, which occur on most of the coins with this legend. These symbols are characteristic of the coins of the Śaka Kshatrapas Bhūmaka and Nahapāna.¹ In the whole range of ancient Indian numismatics they occur on the coins of no other dynasty. This circumstance renders probable the reference to the Śaka race as in the interpretation suggested by me, viz. that the coins are of the Śaka king Māna. This is also supported by a passage in the Purānas, which refers to the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha family.² (3) *Chuṭukula* is not a personal name, but a family name, since it is added to such personal names as *Vinhukada* (see the Malavali inscription of Hārītiputra Vishnukada-Chuṭu-Sātakarni.³) Rapson also says that *Chuṭu*, like *Sātavāhana*, is the name of a clan.⁴ Hence such names as *Chuṭukulānanda*, 'the joy of the Chuṭukula'.⁵ Dr. Sircar is obliged to take *Chuṭukula* as a personal name because he passed over the personal name Māna in *Saga-Māna*. (4) *Sagamāna* is not the genitive of *Sagama* because it is not usual to use such partitive genitive expressions in the legends on coins. They occur in copper-plate inscriptions where there is no dearth of space. Besides, there is further on the mention of the family *Chuṭukula*. (5) The objection that the Śaka king Māna could not have been described both as *Mahisha* and also as *Chuṭukula* has not much weight. The dynastic name *Mahisha* was derived from the country of *Māhishaka*, over which he was ruling. Cf. *Mahishānām mahīpatih* in the Puranic passage cited above. He may have assumed the family name *Chuṭukula* in imitation of *Vinhukada Chuṭukula*, who ruled over the neighbouring province.⁶ We have several instances of such senseless imitations in the ancient history of India. The Sātakarnis, Kadambas, Chālukyas and Vākātakas described themselves as *Hārītiputras*,⁷ though all of them could not have descended from a lady of the Hārīta gōtra or from a sage named Hārīti. Nor were they all Buddhists. Several kings of ancient times assumed the title of *Trikaling-ādhipati*, though all of them could not have ruled over the country of *Trikalinga*.⁸

¹ Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, etc., Pl. IX.

² Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol VII, Shikarpur, No. 263.

⁴ Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. liii.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

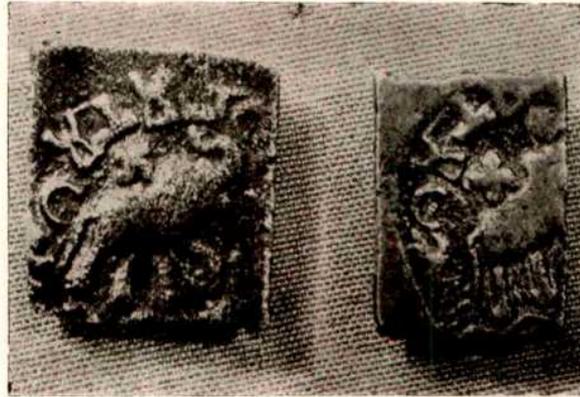
⁶ [It may, however, be noted that both the dynastic name *Mahisha* and the family name *Chuṭukula* do not appear together in any single coin.—Ed.]

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 333; above, Vol. VIII, p. 31; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 16; above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151.

⁸ *CHI*, Vol. IV, *Introd.*, p. c.

THE COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

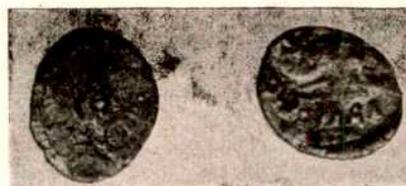
Nos. 1 and 2



No. 3



No. 4



(from Photographs)

The readings of the legends of these coins as well as their interpretation proposed by Dr. Sircar are wholly unacceptable. The objections to them may be briefly summed up as follows :—

(1) The sign behind the elephant's legs on the elephant-type coins is the word *Ramño* and not a six-peaked symbol. No such symbol is known to occur in such a position on any coin.

(2) Partitive genitive expressions like *Sagamāna* (Sanskrit, *Sagamānām*) are not known to occur on coins. On the other hand, *Saga-Māna*, if interpreted as Śaka Māna, has the support of the Purānas, which mention a Śaka king of that name, the ruler of the Mahishas.

(3) If *Mahasa* had been part of the title *Mahāsēnāpati*, it would have preceded the so-called family name *Sagama* in the legend on the elephant-type coins as on the svastika-type coins. There is not sufficient space for as many as nine letters after *mahasa* on these elephant-type coins. On the other hand, the reading *Mahasasa* is supported by the lion-type coin of this very king as shown by me.

(4) The reading *Bharadaja-putasa* is quite clear on a well preserved coin of the svastika-type, which shows medial vowels quite clearly in almost all cases. Such patronymics are often mentioned in inscriptions and legends on coins.

(5) *Chutukula* is not the name of a king, but of a family as shown by the name *Chutukulānanda*.

(6) Dr. Sircar's readings and interpretation offer no explanation of the device of the thunder-bolt and arrow seen on the reverse of the svastika-type coins. On the other hand, if these coins are ascribed to a Śaka king like Māna, they would show the connection of his family with the Śaka Kshatrapas Bhūmaka and Nahapāna. Such a device occurs on the reverse of the coins of no other family.

No. 10—PANUGALLU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II,
SAKA 1319

(1 Plate)

V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.7.1964)

The inscription¹ edited below is engraved at the bottom of the right wall of the gateway of the fort on the hill at **Pānugallu** in Kollapur Taluk of Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. There is also a copy² of this record, engraved on a rock outside the same gateway, which has been edited and discussed by some scholars³ previously. But since the historical significance of this inscription has not been properly made out by these scholars it is edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, giving the text of the former copy.

The copy chosen for study here is in 11 lines and covers an area of 2.35 m × 55 cm, while the other one is in 8 lines and occupies a space 2.90 m long and 33 cm broad. Both the copies are written in **Telugu characters**, normal for the period. The letters of the copy edited here are each about 4 cm high while those of the other copy are each about 3 cm high. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and is in verse except for the passage containing the obeisance.

As regards **orthography**, the *anusvāra* is used for class nasal in several places; in some places the *anusvāra* is used unnecessarily as for instance *varēṁṅya* for *varēṅya* (line 5); the consonant following *r* is generally doubled (e.g., lines 3, 5, 8, 11); and the spelling of *alamkrutam* for *alamkrītam* (line 7) and of *Yimmaḍi* for *Immaḍi* (line 10) are due to the influence of local pronunciation.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Harihara II**, son of Bukka of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara. The **object** of the inscription is to record the conquest of Pānugallu by one Dvigūṇa-Bukka. The details of the date of the conquest are given as **Śaka 1319** (expressed by chronogram), **Īśvara, Pausha (Sahasya), śu. 11 (Śambhōr=dina), Sunday**, corresponding to the **30th December 1397 A.D.**

The record commences with obeisance to the preceptors⁴ followed by verse 1 invoking the goddess of earth. Verse 2 is in praise of the god Gaṇapati and in the next verse the ruling king **Harihara II** is introduced as the son of Bukka I. This king's chief minister **Baicha-danḍā-dhipa** is described in verse 4. Verse 5 states that king Harihara appointed **Irugapa**, the son of Baicha, as his commander-in-chief (*danḍādhināthēśvara*). In verse 6 the younger brother of Irugapa, named **Dvigūṇa-Bukkaṇa** is described simply as a ruler (*bhūmīpāla*) although the territory over which he ruled is not specified. Verse 7 informs us of his conquest, on the date given above, of **Pānugallu** from the Muhammadan warriors. Verse 8 introduces one **Ananta-kshamāpati** as the son of Immaḍi-Bukka, evidently the same as Dvigūṇa-Bukka figuring in the previous verse.

¹ This is *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 36.

² *Ibid.*, No. B 35.

³ *South Indian Research*, July 1920, Vol. II, pp. 172 ff. *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History* (Madras University Historical Series, No. 18), Vol. II, Text p. 18, No. 33; *History of the Reddi Kingdom*, p. 184, note 24 (with a portion of the text); *Bhārati*, September 1963, pp. 58 ff.

⁴ This obeisance is taken to have been made to Vidyāraṅyasvāmin, who was connected with the founding of the Vijayanagara empire. (*Bhārati*, loc. cit., p. 59). This need not be so.

PANUGALLU INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HARIHARA II, SAKA 1319



Scale : One-Eleventh

G. S. GAI

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII

Though the purpose for introducing him here is not clear enough, the manner and the context in which he is introduced appear to suggest that he assisted his father in the capture of Pānugallu. Verse 9 states that this Immaḍi-Bukka, having conquered Pānugallu, arranged for its embellishment with tanks, ramparts, step-wells and gateways provided with several mechanical contrivances.

Regarding the identification of Dviguṇa-Bukka or Immaḍi-Bukka of this record, two views have been expressed by scholars. The first view is of M. Ramakrishna Kavi, according to which the word *tasya* in *tasy-ānuja* of verse 6 denotes Harihara who is mentioned in the previous verse and Dviguṇa-Bukka of this verse is the younger brother of that king.¹ This view was accepted by scholars like M. Somasekhara Sarma.² According to the second view, the word *tasya* denotes Irugapa and therefore Dviguṇa-Bukka was the younger brother of Irugapa.³ Although this view has been referred to by K.H.V. Sarma, he was more inclined to accept the other view. From the point of view of grammatical construction of the passage, the word *tasya* in verse 6 can denote only Irugapa who is described in the second half of verse 5 which immediately precedes. Again the word *tasya* cannot denote king Harihara because he is mentioned in the first half of verse 5.⁴ Moreover, to take Dviguṇa-Bukka as a younger brother of Harihara II would go against the known facts of history as the latter had no brother bearing that name. In order to solve this problem some scholars⁵ have tried to emend the reading *tasy-ānuja* into *tasy-ātmaja* and have taken Dviguṇa-Bukka of the record under study to be the son of Harihara II. Owing to the fact that in both the copies of the record the expression *tasy-ānuja* is clearly written and that the word *tasya* of even this emended reading can only grammatically denote Irugapa as has been pointed out above, this emendation defeats its purpose. Therefore, Dviguṇa-Bukka of our record is none else than the brother of Irugapa-daṇḍādhīpa and is the same as Immaḍi-Bukka or Bukkaṇa described as a younger brother of Irugapa in two other records, one from Hampi⁶ and the other from Śravaṇabelgoḷa.⁷

The epigraph is important in that it records the conquest of Pānugallu in Śaka 1319 by Immaḍi-Bukka during the time of Harihara II and mentions for the first time Ananta, the son of Immaḍi-Bukka.

The only geographical place-name occurring in this record is Pānugallu which is evidently the place where the epigraph is found.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verse 1 *Upajāti* ; verses 2, 6 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 3 *Prithvī* ; verses 4, 5, 7 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 8 *Gīti* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 Śrī-gurubhyō namaḥ || Upāsātē yām janatā-viḥhūtyai samagra-sasy-ōdaya-hētu-ḥhūtām (tām) | kāmāpradā vaḥ kaluṣ-āpaham̐tri bhūyā-
- 2 n=Mahī sā bhuvan-aika-mātā || [1*] Yaḥ śatpadān=uchita-vāmchchhi(chhi)ta-dāna-dānād=āmōdayaty=amala-gaṇḍa-tāl-ānuṣhaktān [1*] vaṇḍāra(ru)-vṛimda-vara-dāna-nidhāna-chi-

¹ *South Indian Research*, op. cit., p. 173. The text published here is full of errors.

² *History of the Redḍi Kingdom*, p. 184, note 24.

³ *Bhārati*, September 1963, pp. 58 ff.

⁴ The word *tasya* will denote Harihara of the first half of verse 5 only when the sentence there is constructed something like *yō Hariharāḥ*, etc.—a construction which is not supported by the text.

⁵ *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. II, text p. 18, No. 33.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. B 330.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 18, verse 5.

* From impressions.

- 3 ttaḥ pāyāt=sadā Gaṇapatir=bhavadō=mtarāyāt || [2*] Namannra(n-nṛi)pati-maṇḍali-
mukuta-kūṭa-kōṭi-sphuran-maṇi-kiraṇa-mālika-mahita-pāda-paṅkēruhaḥ [*] ma-
- 4 hī-Harihay-āhvayō **Harihara**[h*] Svayambhū-samō mahīsa-tilakō mahān jayati **Bukka-**
bhūp-ātmajaḥ || [3*] Māntra-śrī-jita-dēva-dānava-guru[h*] prakhyātā-
- 5 dhī-vaiḥbavaḥ śāstā durjjana-samchayasya mahatām-ānamdan-ānamdanaḥ [*] viśvā-
namdita-sad-guṇaḥ samajani śrī-**Baicha**-damḍādhipas=tasy=āmātya-varō varēm(rē)-
- 6 nya-charitaś=chāturyya-sīmā Vidhēḥ [||4*] Viraśrī-varaṇ-ōchitaṁ **Harihara**-kshōṇipatis=
tat-sutaṁ sām(sā)mrājya-pratipālanā-paṭutara-prajñā-bal-ōdamchitaṁ(tam)| dhimā-
- 7 n=lrugapa¹-mamtri-varyyaṁ=akarō[d*]=damḍ-ādhināthēśvaram vidyā-viryya-vivēka-
dhairyya-karuṇī-satya-ksham-ālamkru(kṛi)taṁ(tam) || [5*] Tasy=ānujō **Dviguṇa-**
Bukkaṇa-bhūmipālaḥ
- 8 kshōṇi-dhurām vahati vīryavatām varishṭaḥ(shṭhaḥ) [*] yat-kirtti-pūra-paripūrta-dig-
vibhāgā rākānīśay=iva niśāḥ sakalā vibhānti || [6*] **Śākābdēshu** nidh-irṇdu-vahni-
*śāsibhiḥ
- 9 sammiśritēshv=Īśvarē varshē māsi sahasya-nāva(ma)ni tathā pakshē balakshē
dinē | **Śambhōr**=**Bhāskā**(ska)ravāra-bhāji vijitā śrī-Pānugalluḥ purī tēn=ānēka-
Turushka-vīra-vijaya-grā-
- 10 v-āvali-vellitā | [[7*] Yi(I)mmaḍi-Bukka-mahīpati-tanayō=**namta**-**kshamāpatir**=jayatāt |
kharatara-śara-śata-śakalita-bala-bhara-mada-mudita-vimata-bhūja-damḍaḥ | [[8*] Viji-
- 11 tya tām=Immaḍi-Bukka-bhūpō vichitra-yamtr-āvali-tōraṇ-ādyām(dhyām) [*] navina-
padmakara-sāla-vāpīm=akārayanū(n=nū)tana-karmma-karttā || [9*]

¹ Metre requires *n=Irgapa.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

APRIL 1967

PART II

EDITED BY

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Government Epigraphist for India



1967

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA

Price : Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8 d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

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H-9086

No. 11—MAHUA INSCRIPTION OF VATSARAJA

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN AND G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND.

(Received on 10.1.1963)

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist, is said to have been engraved on an architrave of the porch in a temple at Mahua in the Shivpuri District, Madhya Pradesh. It was noticed by the Department of Archaeology of the former Gwalior State² as well as by D.R. Bhandarkar³ and H. N. Dvivedi.⁴

The inscription is beautifully engraved and its preservation is quite satisfactory. It covers an area of about 1.4 m in length and 17 cm in height. There are altogether four lines of writing, the fourth line being shorter than the other ones. The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā variety and may be assigned to the period which falls between the Kaṇaswa inscription of Śivagaṇa dated Vikrama 795⁵ (738-39 A.D.) and the Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka dated in Vikrama 894 (837-38 A.D.).⁶ The letters *j*, *ṭ*, *n*, *l* and *ś* exhibit slightly more developed forms than those found in the Kaṇaswa inscription. But they are definitely earlier than those found in the Jodhpur inscription. Again the letters *p* in *parama* and *s* in *āsīt* (line 1) resemble those in the Kaṇaswa inscription. But those respectively in *mandāpikā* (line 3) and *satpatra* and *yasya* (line 2) show slightly developed forms.⁷ Thus on palaeographical grounds this inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the eighth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the temple from which the inscription has been copied and which was originally a Śiva temple, has been assigned to about the same period by Shri Krishna Deva on the grounds of architecture also.⁸ Regarding the individual letters, vowels *ā* (line 1) and *i* (lines 1 and 2) and final *t* and *m* (line 2) occur in this record. Regarding orthography, all consonants excepting *y* are reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. In *sandhi* excepting in *brāhmanī kshātrā*⁹ (line 3) the *anusvāra* is always replaced by class nasal, though such replacement in *sānhāra* (line 1) is wrong. The ring-like big *anusvāra* signs in *sitaṁ*, *patraṁ*, *bhūtaṁ* (line 2) and *brāhmanī* (line 3) are noteworthy. *B* is always denoted by *v*. The word *tattva* is wrongly spelt as *tatva* (line 1). The language of the record is Sanskrit. The text consists of five verses in the first three lines while the last line is in prose.

The record which is in the form of a *praśasti* commences with a *siddham* symbol followed by a verse in salutation to Paramatattva or the Supreme Being, who is responsible for the creation, protection and the destruction of the universe. It is followed by the description (verse 2)

¹ This is No. 1592 of Appendix C of *A.R.Ep.* for 1961-62.

² *Annual Report* for Saṁvat 1971, No. 28.

³ List, No. 2108.

⁴ H. N. Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājya kē Abhilekh*, p. 95, No. 701, where it is said that the record is engraved on a pillar.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 58.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96.

⁷ Cf. Ojha, *Prāchīna Lipimāla*, Plates XXI and XXII.

⁸ See *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums* (1964), Part I, pp. 164-65. Bhandarkar, who depended on Garde's transcript, assigns the record to the 7th century A.D. (op. cit., note) and the same view is held by Dvivedi (op. cit.).

H 9086

of the genealogy of the family of Vatsarāja, the hero of the *praśasti*. It is said that there was a king called Āryabhāsa alias Vyāghrahēla.¹ He was followed by his son Nāgavardhana. After him came Tējōvardhana, who was followed by Uditā. The latter's son was Vatsarāja of spotless character. The next verse describes Vatsarāja's fame in general terms and compares it with a white water-lily. Verse 4 tells us that the body of Vatsarāja which was divided by his sacred thread (*yajñōpavīta*) showed that he bore in his body faculties (*tējas*) of both the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya. The expression *brāhmatējas* or faculty of Brāhmaṇa appears to stand for the performance of all kinds of *dharma*s and *kshātra-tējas* or the faculty of the warring race for the protection of the people.² This indicates that, like the Pratihāra Bāuka of the Jodhpur inscription mentioned above, Vatsarāja of this inscription also belonged to a family of Brāhmaṇa-Kshatriya inter-marriage. The next verse relates to the purport of the record. It is said that the pandal (*maṇḍapikā*)³ of Dhūrjaṭi, i.e. Śiva, obviously the one on the architrave where the record under study is engraved, was constructed by Vatsarāja for the increase of the religious merit of his parents. This verse is followed by the prose passage in the last line, which informs us that the *praśasti* was composed by Bhaṭṭa Īśāna, who is described as the son of Bhaṭṭa Sōmāṅka and as the younger brother of Bhaṭṭa Dēvasvāmīn. The author is said to have hailed from Kānyākubja. He also claims to be a follower (*anugāmin*) of Vatsarāja. The record is said to have been engraved by Ravināga. The record bears no date.

The inscription is important as it describes the genealogy of a family of the chiefs ruling over some parts of central India in the eighth century A.D. But it is difficult to identify this Vatsarāja. For, none of the five members of this family mentioned in our inscription is known to us from any other source. He could not have been the famous Pratihāra Vatsarāja, whose father was Dēvarāja. However, the absence of reference to any overlord in our inscription probably suggests that this Vatsarāja was an independent or at least a semi-independent ruler. The latter half of the eighth century to which our epigraph has been assigned on grounds of palaeography, saw the rise of the Rāshtrakūṭas in South India and of the Imperial Pratihāras in North India. Vatsarāja of our record appears to have made use of the confused situation following the death of Yaśōvarman of Kanauj (c. 725-42 A.D.)⁴ and became an independent ruler of the region adjacent to Malwa. Āchārya Jinasēna, who completed his Jaina *Harivamśa* in Vardhamānapura or Wadhwan in Kathiawad, refers⁵ to one Vatsarāja, the king of Avanti as ruling over the eastern region in Śaka 705 (783-84 A.D.), contemporaneously with Indrāyudha in the north and Śrīvallabha (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhruva) in the south. By 'eastern region', the author of this work appears to mean the region which lies to the east of Wadhwan and not the traditional eastern division of India which is to the east of Vārāṇasi,⁶ comprising the countries, Āṅga, Vaṅga, etc. For, at that time this latter region was ruled by the Pālas and we do not know of any Vatsarāja who ruled in that region in 783-84 A.D. One is, therefore, tempted to identify Vatsarāja of the present record with his namesake mentioned

¹ Bhandarkar and Dvivedi, on the basis of Garde's transcript, give this personal name as Vyāghrabhāṇḍa and make him the successor of Āryabhāsa and the predecessor of Nāgavardhana.

² Cf. *Yasya brahma cha kshatram cha*, etc. (*Kaṭhōpanishad* I, ii, 25) and *brahma-kshatrē sarva-dharma-vidhārakē api sarva-trāṇabhūtē* (Śaṅkara's commentary on the above).

³ *Maṇḍapikā* here may as well mean 'a small temple' or 'a shrine'. See Burgess' note on the word *maṇḍapa* in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Tawney's translation (1901), p. 56, note 3; *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (Ed. by Jinavijaya Muni), p. 52, line 6 where the expression *maṇḍapikā* occurs. See also *CII*, Vol. IV, p. XCV.

⁴ R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 197.

⁵ *Harivamśapurāṇa* (*Māṅikachandra-Digambara-Jaina-granthamālā*, No. 33), *sarga* 66, verse 52.

⁶ Cf. *Vārāṇasyaḥ purataḥ Pūrvadēśaḥ*, etc. Rājasekhara, *Kāvyaṁmāṁsā*, G.O.S., No. 1, p. 93.

MAHUA INSCRIPTION OF VATSARAJA

Left Side



Right Side



Scale : One-fourth

in the Jaina *Harivamśa*.¹ If this identification is accepted we may suggest that Vatsarāja and his ancestors were ruling over Avanti region and that during the reign of one of these rulers Ujjayinī was conquered by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dantidurga (c. 735-55 A.D.).²

The only place-name which occurs in this inscription is **Kānyakubja** which is modern Kanauj.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1, 3-5 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 Siddham⁴ [|*] Namaḥ parama-tatvā(ttvā)ya nishkalāya kalātmanē [|*] nānā-vidha-jagaj-janma-sthāna-saṅhāra⁵-hētavē || [1*]⁶ Āsīd=bhūpatir=**Āryabhāsa** iti yaḥ śrī-**Vyāggbrahōlas**=tatō jātō=sau bhūvi **Nāgavarddhana** iti sthēyānshi(n=kshi)ttās=tataḥ |⁷
- 2 **Tējōvarddhana** ity=abhūn=narapatis=tasmād=va(ba)bhūv=**Ōditō** rājā tasya suta[s]=cha nirmmala-[g]uṇā(ṇa)ḥ **śrī-Vatsarājō**=py=abhūt || [2*] Sitam vikāsi satpattam lavdha(bdha)-kānti manōharam |⁷ yasya khaḍga-jal-ōdbhū[ta]m yaśō=pi kumudāyatē || [3*]
- 3 Vra(Brā)hmaṇ kshātraṇ=cha sat-tējō vapush=aiva va(ba)bhāra yaḥ [|*] yañjōpavīta-vyājēna vibha[k]tam=iva bhūpatih || [4*] Śilā-maṇḍapikā ramyā kārītā tēna Dhūjjā(rjja)tēh |⁷ mātā-pitrōr=mmahā-dharmma-ratna-kōśa-samriddhayē || [5*]⁸
- 4 ⁹Ksha(Kṛi)tis=tad-anugāminah **Kānyakubja(bja)sya** bhātṭa-Sōmānka-sūnōrvbha(r=bbha)-ṭṭa-Devasvāmy-anujasya bhātṭ-Ēśānasya || Prōtkirṇṇā Raviṇāgēna ||

¹ The identification of Vatsarāja of the *Harivamśa* with the Pratihāra Vatsarāja has been suggested by Fleet (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pp. 393-94) without sufficient grounds.

² See the *Daśavatāra* inscription at Ellora (*Arch. Surv. W. I.*, Vol. V, pp. 87 f., text verse 26) and the Sañjan plates of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff., text verse 9).

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *saṅhāra*.

⁶ Cf. *Kumārasambhava*, II, verse 6; verse 1 of the Jodhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (above, Vol. XVII, p. 94).

⁷ This punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

⁸ Cf. *kārītam=ēlach=shhaḷam kṛandam=iva punya-ratnām* | in the Śīyamaṅgalam cave inscription; above Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁹ This line commences a little further than the previous ones.

No. 12.—PATTANAKUDI PLATES OF SILAHARA AVASARA (II), SAKA 910

(1 Plate)

B. R. GOPAL AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20.12.1962)

This copper plate charter¹ consisting of three plates, was found in the house of Tonappa Parisa Upadhye, the priest of the Jaina basti at **Paṭṭanakūḍi**, Chikkodi Taluk, Belgaum District. The plates were obtained by Shri B. R. Gopal through the good offices of Shri S. N. Patan, the Assistant Commissioner of Chikkodi Sub-division. We are thankful to him and also to the Tahsildar of Chikkodi Taluk who arranged to send the plates to the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India. This record has already been published² in Marathi jointly by V. K. Rajwade and G. K. Chandorkar who have stated that it was found in Chikkōḍi with Adappa Kalappa Upadhye. But the present owner of the plates claims them as an heirloom.³ As the importance of the record has not been satisfactorily brought out by the above-mentioned scholars, it is re-edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Of the three plates of the set, only the second has writing on both sides while the first and the third are engraved only on the inner sides. The rims of each of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing which is well preserved. The plates, each measuring 26 cm × 16 cm, are strung on to an oval ring about 1.2 cm thick and measuring 11.5 cm × 9 cm. The ring, which had not been cut when Shri Gopal first saw the plate,⁴ is soldered to a seal containing, in the counter-sunk surface, a Garuḍa⁵ in human form with two arms. He wears a *karuḍa-makuṭa*, has a long beak-like nose, a special characteristic of his, turned to proper right and possesses a pair of fluttering wings seen above the shoulders, of which the one above the left shoulder is somewhat damaged. He is depicted with the hands brought together close to the chest and held in *añjali* pose and seated on his haunches. The three plates together weigh 1830 gr while the ring with the seal weighs 490 gr. There are in all 51 lines of writing, twelve on the first plate and thirteen on each of the three remaining sides.

The characters are Nāgarī which are regular for the period to which the record belongs. As regards orthography, the letter *b* is mostly denoted by the sign for *v*, palatal *ś* is used in one place for dental *s* (*śita* line 32), and *sh* is wrongly doubled after *r* (lines 5, 6, 31, 44). The sign for *avagraha* is employed fifteen times in this record. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The record begins with a verse which invokes Sarvajña and prays for the welfare of the subjects, king, kine and brāhmaṇas. This is followed by verses 2-6 describing the genealogy of the imperial Rāshtrakūṭas as follows :

Subhatuṅga (Kṛishṇa II) ; his son **Jagattuṅga II** ; his son **Indrarāja (III)** ; his brother **Amōghavarsha (III)** ; his son **Kṛishṇa (III)** and his brother **Khottiga**. After **Khottiga**, one **Baddiga** is introduced, during whose time the family is said to have been eclipsed by

¹ This is registered in *A.R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. A 35.

² *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Mandala*, Poona, for the Śaka year 1835, pp. 430-34. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 38, note 47, K. T. Telang refers to an unpublished charter of a king of the branch of the Śilāhāra family of Southern Konkan, of which he received only a transcript and not the original. The charter edited here seems to be the one referred to by Telang.

³ It is not known if the present owner belongs to the family of Adappa Kalappa Upadhye.

⁴ The owner informed Shri Gopal that sometime ago the Plates were taken to Poona but the ring was not cut. Possibly the earlier authors prepared the transcripts from the original plates without cutting the ring.

⁵ The two earlier authors wrongly thought that the ring had the seal of boar.

Taila II. **Kṛiṣṇa III** is given the epithet *Vanagajamalla*. In the *Khārēpāṭaṅ* plates of **Rattarāja**,¹ however, the genealogical account starts from **Dantidurga** himself and is traced up to the last ruler **Karkka II** who was defeated by **Taila II**. The statement in the present record that **Tailapa** uprooted the *Rāshtrakūṭa* line during the period of **Baddiga**, whose relationship to **Khottiga** is not mentioned, is interesting. It is well known that the last ruler of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* family was **Karkka II** and that his grandfather **Amōghavarsha III** was known as **Baddiga**. Therefore it appears, from the present record, that **Karkka II** also was known as **Baddiga**, after his grandfather.

This section is followed by the account of the *Silāhāra* family in verses 7-14. It is said that **Jīmūtavāhana**, son of **Jīmūtakētu** gave away his life to **Garuḍa** to protect the family of the serpents, and the family that sprang from him was called **Silāra**. In his family was born the king named **Dhammiyara** who built **Balipattana**. His son was **Ammalla** who had a son named **Aiyapa**. The latter's son was **Ādityavarman** who was resplendent like the Sun and who destroyed his enemies. He was followed by his son **Avasara (I)** who had a son called **Indrarāja**. The latter's son was **Bhīma** who was unconquerable like **Rāhu**, and like him had conquered **Chandramaṇḍala**. He was succeeded by **Avasara (II)** who was ruling from **Balinagara** and during whose period the present record was issued. This genealogy differs from the one detailed in the *Khārēpāṭaṅ* plates as shown below.

Pattanakudi Plates

Dhammiyara
|
Ammalla
|
Aiyapa
|
Ādityavarman
|
Avasara (I)
|
Indrarāja
|
Bhīma
|
Avasara (II)

Khārēpāṭaṅ Plates

Sanaphulla
|
Dhammiyara
|
Aiyapa
|
Avasara (I)
|
Ādityavarman
|
Avasara (II)
|
Indrarāja
|
Bhīma
|
Avasara (III)
|
Ratta

The record under study does not give the name of **Dhammiyara's** father **Sanaphulla** while it refers to **Ammalla** as **Dhammiyara's** son who does not find a place in the other account. According to the latter, **Ādityavarman** would be the grandson of **Aiyapa** while in our record he figures as his son and the name of **Avasara (I)** of the *Khārēpāṭaṅ* plates is not referred to. From **Ādityavarman** onwards the genealogical account in both the records is identical. It is possible that the account in our record which is twenty years earlier than the *Khārēpāṭaṅ* plates is more reliable and accordingly, the first member of this family would be **Dhammiyara**, followed by **Ammalla**. It may be noted that while the *Khārēpāṭaṅ* plates state that this *Silāhāra* family was the foremost among the rulers of **Siṃhaḷa**, no such reference to that country is made in our record. Nor is there

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

any such reference in the account of the genealogy of the other branches of the Śilāhāra family, viz., those of Northern Koṅkaṇ and of Kolhāpur who also trace their origin to Jimūtavāhana.

After the genealogical account the record under study refers to the date, the details of which are **Saka 910, Sarvvadhārin, Kārttika su. 5, Monday** (lines 30-32). The date is irregular but the given *tithi* corresponds to **988 A. D., October 18**, when the weekday was **Thursday**.

The **object** of the inscription is given in lines 32-38. It is stated that the three merchants viz. Nāgai-śrēsthin, Lokkai-śrēsthin and Ādityavarman, paid 40 *dīnāras* as a present (*pāda-pūjā*) to king Avasara II for obtaining the confirmation of their hereditary rights over **Kiṁjala** and **Pulisa**¹ described as their source of maintenance (*jīva-lōka*). It is stipulated that in return these merchants should annually remit two lakhs of betel-nuts towards the expenses of the royal bag of betel-nuts (*hadapa*). It is also specified that the share received by Nāgai-śrēsthin would be free from the taxes (*namasya*). This transaction was arranged with the knowledge of several officers who included *Hadapa* and some committees like *hañjamāna*.²

The record was composed, under the orders of his master, by *nāgara-sandhivigrahi* Dēvapāla who is described as a *kavi*, and as the son of Vāmana. It may be noted that the composer of the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates was Lōkapārya, son of Dēvapāla who is apparently identical with the composer of our record. The engraver of the present record was Vajjaḍa.

The **importance** of the record lies in the fact that it is the earliest known inscription of the Śilāhāra family that was ruling in Southern Koṅkaṇ and the only record of king Avasara II. The only other record of the family is the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates³ dated Śaka 930 (1008 A.D.) and belonging to the time of Raṭṭarāja, son of Avasara.

The **geographical places** referred to are **Balipattana** (line 17), also called **Balinagara** (lines 29-30), **Chandramaṇḍala** (line 26) and the villages **Kiṁjala** and **Pulisa** (lines 35-36). The first two of these are mentioned in the Khārēpāṭaṇ plates also and the editor has discussed about their identity.⁴ The other two villages cannot be identified.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : Verses 1, 16 *Āryā* ; verses 2-4, 12 *Mālinī* ; verses 5, 7-11, 17-18 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 6 *Indravajrā* ; verse 13 *Drutavilambita* ; verse 14 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 15 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 19 *Sālinī* ; verse 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 Om* [¶*] Jayatutarām Sarvvajñō nandantu janās=cha rāja-gō-viprah | sad-dharmō
- 2 varddhantām=avināśi cha śāsanam bhavatu || [1*] Ya iha parama-prithvī-valla-
- 3 bhō vallabhō=‘bhūd=Ina iva **Śubhatungas**=tējāsā suprasiddhah | samabhava-
- 4 d=atisūras=tasya putraḥ pratāpi vijita-sakala-satruḥ śrī-**Jagattuṅga-**
- 5 **dēvah** || [2*] Sakala-vivu(bu)dha-va(ba)ndhus=tāt-sutō **Nityavarshshō**(rshō)=‘bhavad=iva divijēndrah śr-ī

¹ Whether these two terms denote names of villages or refer to kinds of land is not certain.

² For a detailed discussion about the meaning of this word, see above, Vol. XXXV, p. 291.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 295.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

i

2 उजयपुरतसमवेत्तामद्विदुःकास्यराजमादिपुःसि
 2 पदत्रामविक्रासिनस्यासकं क्वतुभायः० दपरमसुधी
 4 सतलनाःइदिमः० वसुदनुजसुजसासुपसिद्वः। समदव
 4 दतिगुरसुस्यपुत्रःपतापीविक्रितसकलसकःसीङ्गनुस
 6 दैदः। सकलविदुवत्रनुसुक्तोकिन्ववेषोःरुवदितदिविद्वेयु
 6 दसादोकिताम्मा। तदकुतदकुजोःइइ प्रियाःमोपवध्याकृ
 8 रजनीयःमर्ष्यामेकमाषः। मसवनगजमलायदम
 8 तपसिद्वःसमदवदवमीसस्युतःकृष्णराजः। निदत
 10 नसाशसुस्यवर्मिकवाद्यासदकुविपिवाकनडातरिपा
 10 जालोकपुसिद्वसत्यायासायादिगुलसातिकि। सीम
 12 द्वादेवतुपरालाकंयातसति॥ सीराइकटाशयकला
 12 द्वाकुसवदिसादतकाम्पिसीतिलपाकत्यक्यातिसासादप

ii, a

14 प्रवृत्तयतिद्वयोसाकमपुः० त...
 14 यावराडाःइतोराधैरितःसदा। जीमतेकताःस पुत्रिनामा
 16 जीमतेवादनः। मवाटलवदात्माकेवीरःपादाकुरुताया
 16 गवसुलेवंशःसित्वाशम्युतोःरुतत। म्यासीवराइयेसीमा
 18 गुजाधमियरःपरः। म्यविवलाकुलंरमायाःकशाद्वनिपत्रकम्।
 18 तत्रसाम्पुनामाइतलुताजिजितादितः। पुरउद० सुतुयस
 20 मरुदियापाकृपः। आदिहवमोपुयाःइतम्मादादिह
 20 वल्लयमापतापापासुविसीदुतामाससिःपुजापियः॥
 22 म्रशस० तिपुत्रसुसाताजितारिःपधितपरमकीद्विद्व
 22 म्मोक्मोदिसामः। समदवदवसुहुःसकवदिकमादाःसकल
 24 लमरीयतिदुशकसुतम्मात्। समदवत्रनया नयवासुताज
 24 मनिमीमउदारतमाःरुययःइदमीमः० वपथिलाःवितनि
 कपुगुलिमुलददिकुपासितः॥ सिक्किकयः० वायाःतिद्व

ii, b

26
28
30
32
34
36
38

26 श्रीशुक्र...
 28 श्रीशुक्र...
 30 श्रीशुक्र...
 32 श्रीशुक्र...
 34 श्रीशुक्र...
 36 श्रीशुक्र...
 38 श्रीशुक्र...

26
28
30
32
34
36
38

iii

40
42
44
46
48
50

40 श्रीशुक्र...
 42 श्रीशुक्र...
 44 श्रीशुक्र...
 46 श्रीशुक्र...
 48 श्रीशुक्र...
 50 श्रीशुक्र...

40
42
44
46
48
50

Scale : Three-fifths

- 6 ndrārājō jit-ātmā | tadanu-tad-anujō=‘bhūd- bhū-priyō- mōghavarshshō(rshō) nripa-gana-
 7 ramānyah sarvva-sāmanta-nāthah || [3*] Atha Vanagajamall-ādy-anka-nā-
 8 ma-prasiddhah samābhavad=avanīśas=tat-sutah **Kṛishnarajah** | nihata-nikhi-
 9 la-satrōs=tasya dharmm-aika-va(ba)ndhōs=tadanu vidhi-vasēna bhrātari-prāpta-ra-
 10 jyē || [4*] Lōka-prasiddha-sat-tyāga-bhōg-ādi-guṇa-sālīni | śrīmat-**Kho-**
 11 **ttigadēvē** tu param lōkam gatē sati || [5*] Śrī-Rāshtrakūt-ānvaya-kalpavriksh-ō-
 12 ttuṅg-ānkurē- **Va(Ba)ddigadēva-nāmni** | śrī-**Tailap-ānālpa-nag-ātibhārād=apra-**

Second Plate, First Side

- 13 pta-vriddhau-sati daiiva-yōgāt || [6*] Pa² Itah **Silāra-varṇṇanām** || Śrīmān=Vi-
 14 dyādhār-ēndrō=‘bhūt=par-ārtha-niratah sadā | **Jimūtakētōh** sat-putrō nāmā-
 15 **Jimūtavāhanah** || [7*] Matvā triṇavad=ātmānam dhīrah-prādād=Garutmatē- yō nā-
 16 ga-rakshānē varṇśah Silār-ākhyas=tatō=‘bhavāt || [8*] Āsit=tatr-ānvayē-śrīmā-
 17 n-rājā-**Dhammiyarah** parah | avdhi(bdhi)-vél-ākūlam ramyam yō=karōd**Va(d-Bā)h-**
 18 **pattanam** || [9*]
 18 Tatra ch-**Āmmalla-nām=ābhūt=tat-sutō** nirjiti-āhitah | prachanda-dandās=tat-putras-
 sa-
 19 mabhūd=**Aiyapō** nripah || [10*] **Ādityavarmmā** putrō=‘bhūt=tasmād=Āditya-
 20 vat=svayam || pratāp-āpāsta-vair-īndra-tamō-rāsih prajā-priyah || [11*]
 21 **Avasara** iti putras=tasya jātō jit-ārīh prathita-parama-kirttir=ddha-
 22 rmmya-karmm-ābhirāmah | samābhavad=atha sūnuh Śakravād=vikramādhyah sakala-gu-
 23 na-gānyān=**Indrarājas**=tu tasmāt || [12*] Samābhavat=tanayō nayavams=tatō ja-
 24 gāti **Bhīma** udāratamō=‘bhayah | ya iha Bhīma-iva prathitō=‘khilā-
 25 r-nripa-guṇair=guṇavadbhir=upāsitah || [13*] Sāmhikēya iva yō=‘ti-durjja-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 26 yō grasta-kāntatara-Chandra-mandalah | yas=cha Kāma iva mānini-māna-
 27 s=tyakta-darppam=akarōn=manōramah || [14*] Tat-putrasy=**Avasara**-nripatē=Ddharmmapu-
 28 tri-ōpāmasya satya-tyāg-ādy-anupama-guṇ-ālankritē=asta-satrōh | Kandarppa-
 29 sy=āparimita-mahā-rūpa-saubhāgya-lākshmya-pūjyē rājyē=‘tra **Va(Ba)-**
 30 **linagarē** varddhamānē=‘samānē ||³ [15*] **Saka-nripa-kāla-vyapagata-**

¹ Verses 4-6 should be taken together and connected with verse 16.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ There is an necessary mark here.

- 31 śatēshu navas=ūttarēshu daśa-varshshaiḥ(rshaiḥ) | śrī-Sarvvadhāri-varshshē-
(rshē).Kārtti-
- 32 ka-si(si)ta-Sōmavāra-pañchamyām || [16*] Śrīmad-Avasararājya cha
- 33 Siddhai-śrēshṭhi-putrō Rēuma-śrēshṭhi tat-sutō Nāgai-śrēshṭhī
- 34 tathā Chhaṭṭha(ṭṭha)mai-śrēshṭhi-tanayō Rēvaṇa-śrēshṭhi tat-purtō Lokkai-
- 35 śrēshṭhī tathā Mahadai-śrēshṭhi-putraḥ Khētraiya-...¹śrēshṭhi-putra Ādityavarmā² iti
trayō=pi kram-āgata-Kirī-
- 36 jala-Pulisa-jīvalōka-dvaya-sthirikaraṇ-ārtham chatvāriṃśad-dīnāra-jani-
- 37 tām pāda-pūjām prāduḥ | Arhaṇam-asya Haḍapa-vyay-ārtham pūgaphala-laksha-dva-
- 38 yam=prativarshsham(rsham) tribhir-ēva dātavyam | ¹Nāgai-śrēshṭhinō bhāgō namasyaḥ
pālanīyaḥ³ [|*] Kiñ=cha | śrī-Rēvaṇārya-mantry=U-

Third Plate

- 39 kkai-śrēshṭhi-Nāgapāl-āmātya-Pulēna Haḍap-ādi-pradhāna-rāja-purusha-
- 40 sa-vā(bā)la-vṛiddha-nagara-hañjamāna-pañcha-maṭha-sthāna-maṭhikā-trayī-viditam
- 41 śrīmad-Avasararāja-putra-pautr-ādibhis=tat-putra-pautrēshu pālanī-
- 42 yam-ētad=āchandr-ārkkam=iti || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ā-
- 43 dibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [17*] Sva-dattām
- 44 para-dattām vā yō harēta vasumdhārām | shasṭim varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi vi
- 45 shṭhāyam jāyatē kṛimih || [8*] Sāmānyō='yam dharmma-sētur=nṛipā-
- 46 ṇām kalē kalē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān= bhāvinaḥ
- 47 pārthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [19*] ||
- 48 Śrīman-nāgara-sandhivigrahava[t]ā sva-svāminō='nujñāyā śrīma-
- 49 d-Vāmana-sūnunā='tra kavina śrī-Dēvapālēna hi || vispasṭam likhi-
- 50 tam sa-vistara-samutkīrṇam tathā Vājradēn-ā-kalp-āvadhi sādhu tishṭhatuta-
- 51 rām sarvvaiḥ samam sāsanam || [20*] Iti maṅgala-mahā-śrīḥ ||

¹ A cross mark is engraved here indicating an omission of some words here.

² The expression... śrēshṭhi-putra Ādityavarmā is engraved below the last line of this plate with a cross mark ^omā indicating the fact that it should be added after Khētraiya in line 35.

³ This sentence is engraved below the line indicating that it should be added after dātavyam.

No. 13—FRAGMENTARY COPPER-PLATE GRANT FROM ARAKAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 7.5.1965)

Sometime ago a copper-plate¹ bearing writing on both sides was discovered in the *Vēsālī* area near Mrohaung in the vicinity of Akyab, headquarters of the Arakan coastal strip of Burma. Mr. Bo Kay of the Archaeological Survey of Burma brought the inscription to the notice of the Government Epigraphist for India. He was also good enough to send me impressions and photographic negatives of both sides of the plate for study. I am thankful to Mr. Bo Kay for his kindness and also to the Government Epigraphist for India for requesting me to edit the inscription in this journal.

The practice of engraving royal documents, especially grants of land, etc., on plates of copper was very popular in all parts of India since the early centuries of the Christian era; but it did not find favour with the rulers of the lands beyond the Bay of Bengal, to which Indianism spread its influence.² The discovery of the copper-plate under study in the east coast of Burma is thus of considerable interest. The rulers of Arakan appear to have borrowed the custom from the Bengal region of Eastern India where such documents were usually incised, in the Gupta and post-Gupta ages as in the present case, on a single plate with a big seal affixed to the left margin and the lines of writing running along the length of the plates (cf., e.g., the Tipperah plate of *Lōk-nātha*, dated 663 A.D. and measuring about 27 × 19 cm with a seal 10·4 cm in diameter).³

Unfortunately, a strip each has been scissored off from the top and the right hand side of the plate, so that the epigraph is a fragmentary one. We have, in Indian epigraphy, many cases of plates having a portion cut off by their discoverers apparently for testing the metal which is often supposed to be gold.⁴ But what is exceptionally deplorable in the present case is that the names of the issuer of the charter and all his ancestors, originally mentioned in the record, happen to have been engraved on the lost portions.

The extant plate measures 31.5 cm in length and 22 cm in height. A circular seal is affixed to the left margin, its sector covering an area about 11.4 cm in length and 3.25 cm in depth. The portion below the seal is 5 cm high while the height of the extant portion of the plate above the seal is about 1 cm. This would show that a strip about 4 cm high has been cut off from the top side of the plate (really the top of the obverse but the bottom of the reverse). This lost part apparently contained only two lines of writing on the first side of the plate since a single letter of the epigraph is usually about .8 cm in height while a conjunct or letter endowed with vowel-marks has nearly double that height. As regards the strip cut off from the right hand side of the plate, the imprecatory stanzas on the reverse show that 7 or 8 *aksharas* are lost in the said section. The *aksharas* being each about 1 cm broad, the measurement of the length covered by 7 or 8 of them would suggest that the lost strip was not much less than 10 cm in breadth. The above considerations lead us to think that the original size of the plate was about 41.5 cm long and 26 cm high.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. 57.

² Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 103, 202 ff. For a few South-East Asian records engraved on plates of gold, silver and copper, cf. *ibid.*, p. 213; above, Vol. V, p. 101, etc. These are mostly religious documents.

³ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 301 ff., Plate facing p. 308; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 224.

⁴ Cf., e.g., the grant of Jivagupta, above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 125 ff., Plate facing p. 130.

The seal affixed to the plate, which resembles in shape that of charters like the Tippera plate as already indicated above, has a diameter of about 13 cm. But it is damaged and we have found it difficult to make out the details from the photographs. The globular sign in the middle at the back of the seal is probably the pericarp of a lotus symbol as depicted on the reverse of the Tipperah plate.

The preservation of writing is unsatisfactory about the end of the lines, some of the letters therein being considerably damaged. There are twelve lines of writing on the first side of the plate. Since, as stated above, two lines at the top were cut off, the number of lines on this side must have been originally 14. As the first line on the reverse is at the back of the last line on the obverse, there is no loss of any complete line of writing on the second side of the plate which contains only eight lines. Thus the writing on both sides of the plate originally contained 22 lines only. In the original writing, a line contained about 40 *aksharas*. The **palaeography** of the epigraph under study resembles that of the Vēsālī inscriptions of Nitichandra and Virachandra of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, which were published sometime ago in the pages of this journal.¹ As in the said documents, the **characters** of the present record exhibit a local modification of the Late Brāhmī of East India, which may be assigned to a date about the **sixth century A.D.** There is a little difference in our epigraph in the representation of medial *ī* and *ē*, *dh*, *y*, *v*, etc. The engraving was very neatly and carefully done. The **language** of the document is Sanskrit, though it contains local elements in the personal and geographical names. Attention may be drawn in this connection to personal names like Kimtōmdēvi, Kimdaldēvi, Kyaudēvi, Kimmājuvdēvi and Rēngādityadāsa. In the geographical names, Śrīlakkā-jōlā and Vaṅgēn-khalla, the influence of Bengali is noticeable as we shall see below. Such names remind us of the name of Dvēnchandra, the founder of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan. As regards **orthography** an interesting feature is the representation of *ḷ* by the sign for *v*. The inscription was dated in the regnal reckoning of the issuer of the charter, though the year in the section concerned cannot be read with certainty.² But the fact that the charter has to be assigned to a date about the sixth century A.D. on paleographical grounds, would suggest the king who issued the grant to have been a member of the **Chandra dynasty of Arakan.**

Considering the Gupta style of representing the reigning monarch as a descendant of the founder of the family through a number of successive generations,³ which was borrowed by many dynasties,⁴ lines 1-8 of the record appear to have originally contained the names of eight kings,

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 103 ff.

² [See p. 66 note 13 below.—Ed.]

³ Cf. [*māhārāja-śrī-Gupta-prapautrasya māhārāja-śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-pautrasya māhārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandra-gupta-putrasya Lichchhavi-ḍāuhitrasya māhādēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannasya māhārājādhirāja-śrī-Samudragupta-putrasya māhādēvyām Datta[dēvyām=utpannasya svayam=apratirathasya parama]bhāgavatasya māhārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-putrasya māhādēvyām Dhruvadēvyām=utpannasya māhārājādhirāja-śrī-Kumāraguptasya, etc.*, in the Bilsad inscription (415 A.D.) of Kumāragupta I (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 278-79). We have not yet any genuine copper-plate grant issued by the Gupta emperors. But the Gupta fashion may have been to introduce the donor of the grants in the same way on the seals affixed to the charters (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 321-22).

⁴ Cf., e.g., *māhārāj-Aughadēvas=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō māhādēvyām Kumāradēvyām=utpannō māhārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō māhādēvyām Jayasvāmīnyām=utpannō māhārāja-Jayasvāmī tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō māhādēvyām Rāmsidēvyām=utpannō māhārāja-Vyāghras=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō māhādēvyām=Ajhitadēvyām=utpannō māhārāja-Jayānāthas=tasya putras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō māhādēvyām Muruṇḍadēvyām=utpannō māhārāja-Sarvanāthas* in the Khoh plates (513 A.D.) of king Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 370-71). For similar representation of the reigning monarch on the seals of some royal families, see the Asirgadh seal of Maukharī Sarvavarman and the Sonpat seal of Pushyabhūti Harshavardhana (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 220, 232) who flourished respectively in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The same style is also noticed in the text of the Pushyabhūti charters (above, Vol. IV, p. 210).

the last of them, mentioned in line 8, being the issuer of the grant. Line 1 may have thus contained the name of a king who was the founder of the royal family. The donor of the grant was then mentioned along with seven of his ancestors. All the six kings mentioned in lines 3-8 are described as *pād-ānudhyāta* (meditating on or favoured by the feet) of his predecessor, as *Paramamāhēśvara* (a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara or Śiva) and as born of a particular *mahādēvī* (queen or chief queen) in the style popularised in India by the Imperial Guptas. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the names of all these kings occupied the concluding part of the lines, which is cut off. But the names of the queens can be read in lines 4-8, the queen's name in line 3 being damaged. The donor's mother, grandmother, great-grandmother, great-great-grandmother and great-great-great-grandmother are thus known to have been respectively **Kalyāṇadēvī**, **Kyaudēvī**, **Sukanyādēvī**, **Kimdaldēvī** and **Kimtōmdēvī**.

Lines 9-10 state that the king issuing the charter addressed the rulers of his own family and of other dynasties in respect of the grant, while lines 10-13 say that a village called **Ḍēṅgutta** was granted by **Kimmājuvdēvī** in favour of a *vihāra* (Buddhist monastery) built by herself. It is difficult to say whether the donatrix of the grant was a queen of the issuer of the charter though she must have taken the king's permission in making the gift and apparently also compensated the State for its loss of revenue at least theoretically if the village was made a rent-free holding. We have to notice that the donatrix queen was probably a Buddhist while the king issuing the charter and his ancestors were Śaivas. The income derived from the gift village was meant to be utilised on behalf of the *Ratna-traya* (*Ratna-tray-ōpayōgāya*) in respect of the *chatush-pratyaya* and the repairs of breaks, cracks, etc., in the monastery. The expression *Ratna-traya* (i.e. the Three Jewels) indicates the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha worshipped in a Buddhist temple, while *chatush-pratyaya* (Pāli *chatu-pachhaya*) are the four necessities of the Buddhist priest, viz. *chīvara* (clothing), *piṇḍapāta* (food), *śayanāsana* (bedding) and *bhaiṣajya* (medicine also called *glāna-pratyaya* or requisites for the sick, i.e. medicines and sick diet). A damaged passage in lines 12-13 seems to suggest that the gift village was placed in charge of the fraternity of the holy monks of all lands including the Elders of Jētavana, who were already in the monastery and who might come in future to reside therein (*āgat-ānāgata-Jētavanavāsi-sthavira-chātuvādis-ārya-bhikṣhu-saṅgha... sampradānō*). The gift village called **Ḍēṅgutta** is described as 'yielding 3000' (*Ḍēṅgutta-nāmā trisāhasrikō grāmō*), the reference being apparently to the revenue income in the standard coin. The religious establishment built at Jētavana in the suburbs of Śrāvastī (modern Set-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of U.P.), the capital of the ancient Kōsala kingdom, by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika for the use of the Buddha himself is well known in the early history of Buddhism.¹ The Buddhist establishment at Jētavana passed through vicissitudes of fortune; but, in its palmy days, it must have been very large and magnificent. Fa-hien and Hiuen-tsang who visited the place respectively about the beginning of the fifth century and the second quarter of the seventh, however, found there only one brick temple containing a 5 feet high image of the Buddha made originally for king Prasēnajit of Kōsala.² But it is difficult to say whether the original Jētavana is referred to in our record or it was an establishment in the neighbourhood of Arakan or elsewhere called by the ancient name. This is not improbable in view of the fact that there were at least two Jētavana monasteries in Ceylon, one at Anurādhapura and the other at Pulatthipura.³

The boundaries of **Ḍēṅgutta-grāma** are described in lines 12-13 forming the concluding part of the writing on the obverse of the plate. Unfortunately, the end of the lines being cut off, the

¹ Malalasekera, *A Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. I, s.v.

² Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, pp. 383 ff.

³ Malalasekera, *op. cit.*, pp. 966-67.

details are not available in all cases. Thus the words indicating the boundaries in the east and north of the gift village are lost. In the south, there were the Śrīlakkā-jōlā, a row of stone boulders (*śīlā-paṅkti*) and a mango tree, while Vaṅgēn-khalla lay on the west. The word *jōlā* in the name Śrīlakkā-jōlā seems to be the Bengali word meaning 'a channel'. Likewise, the word *khalla* in the name Vaṅgēn-khalla seems to be the same as Bengali *khāl*, 'a canal'.

Line 15 at the commencement of the writing on the reverse of the plate contains the request of the issuer of the charter to the people addressed by him in respect of the grant to the effect that they should protect the gift out of a desire for religious merit (*dharm-ābhilāshāt*) and for his great consideration for the gift (*asmad-bahumānāt*). This is followed in lines 15-20 by five of the well-known imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.

The name of the *Mahāmantrin* (literally, 'the great minister') named Rēṅgādityadāsa occurs at the beginning of line 21. There was possibly a passage like *dūtakō=tra* at the end of line 20, so that Rēṅgādityadāsa, the great minister of the king who issued the charter, may have been the executor of the grant. The official designation *Mahāmantrin* is well known from Indian epigraphic records.¹ The last line of the record (line 22) contained the date which, as indicated above, cannot be made out because the letters and figures are damaged practically beyond recognition.²

It will be seen that all the epithets of the kings mentioned in the extant part of the document show that they were Śaivas and apparently enjoyed the title *Mahārājādhirāja* which indicated independent and imperial status in the Gupta age. The kings' names appear to have been written in four syllables and this is a characteristic generally found in the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, thirteen of whom ruled between c. 370 and 600 A.D. and twelve out of the thirteen had names in four syllables. As we have seen elsewhere, these rulers were—(1) Dvēnchandra (c. 370-425 A.D.), (2) Rājachandra (c. 425-45 A.D.), (3) Kālachandra (c. 445-54 A.D.), (4) Dēvachandra (c. 454-76 A.D.), (5) Yajñachandra (c. 476-83 A.D.), (6) Chandrabandhu (c. 483-89 A.D.), (7) Bhūmichandra (c. 489-96 A.D.), (8) Bhūtichandra (c. 496-520 A.D.), (9) Nīnichandra (c. 520-75 A.D.), (10) Vīrachandra or Vīryachandra (c. 575-78 A.D.), (11) Pritichandra (c. 578-90 A.D.), (12) Pṛithvīchandra (c. 590-97 A.D.) and (13) Dhṛitichandra (c. 597-600 A.D.).³ Of the above kings of the Chandra dynasty of Arakan, the six rulers from No. 8 to 13 are found to have been ruling in the sixth century to which the inscription is roughly assignable on palaeographical grounds. It has to be noticed, however, that while the Vēsālī inscription represents Vīrachandra (No. 10) as the founder of numerous Buddhist *stūpas* and apparently as a Buddhist, all the kings mentioned in the extant section of our record were *Paramamāhēsvaras* (Śaivas). Thus, the issuer of our charter seems to have been an ancestor of Vīrachandra. It is not improbable, as already indicated above, that the genealogy of the king who issued the charter began in line 1 with the mention of Dvēnchandra, the founder of the family. In that case, it was **Bhūtichandra** (No. 8) who was the father of Nīnichandra and ruled in c. 496-520 A.D., i.e. about the beginning of the sixth century A.D., who was probably the issuer of the charter.

Among the geographical names, **Pēṅgutta-grāma** seems to have been a locality in the vicinity of Arakan, though we are unable to locate it precisely.

¹ See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 34 and 261; above, Vol. II, p. 309; Vol. XI, p. 141; Vol. XXX, pp. 151-52, etc.; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 249, 262, 299, etc. But it is usually noticed in epigraphs which are later than the Arakan inscription under study.

² [See p. 66 note 13 below.—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 108.

TEXT¹*First Side*

- 1²
- 2
- 3 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-.....⁴ radēvyām=utpannō
[mahārājā]⁵
- 4 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-Kimtōmdēvyām=utpannō
mahā[rā]⁶
- 5 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-Kimdaldēvyām=utpannō
[mahārā]⁷
- 6 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-Sukanyādēvyām=utpannō
[mahā]⁸
- 7 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-Kyaudēvyām=utpannō
mah[ārā]⁹
- 8 s=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-Kalyāṇadēvyām=utpannō
.¹⁰
- 9 sva-para-kula-samudbhavān=narēndrāms=tad-anucharāms=cha bhaviṣyatō yath-ārham
anu¹¹
- 10 kuśala-yutaṁ sa-hitaṁ=cha vakti sarvān | viditam=ētad=astū vō yathā parēṇa¹² . . .
- 11 sva-kārīta-vihārē ratna-ttray-ōpayōgāya chatuṣ-pratyaya-nimittam bhagna-sphuṭi-
[ta]¹³
- 12 Kimmājuvdēvyā āgat-ānāgata-Jētavana-vāsi-sthavira-chāturddiś-āryya-bhikṣhu-
saṅgha¹⁴

¹ From impressions and photographs.

² Lines 1-2 are completely cut off. If really the first two rulers of the dynasty were mentioned here, as suggested above, the lost passage was probably paramamāhēśvarō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dvēṅchandras=tasya pūtras=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahādēvyām śrī-.....dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Rājachandra°. The name of the capital of the family may have been mentioned at the beginning with the fifth case-ending.

³ The upper part of a number of syllables in this line is cut off.

⁴ The reading of the queen's name is uncertain.

⁵ The lost aksharas may have been °dhirāja-śrī-Kālachandra°.

⁶ The original record may have read here °jādhirāja-śrī-Dēvachandra°.

⁷ The lost syllables may have been °jādhirāja-śrī-Yajñachandra°.

⁸ We may suggest the restoration of the lost aksharas as °rājādhirāja-śrī-Chandrabandhu°.

⁹ The lost syllables may be restored as °jādhirāja-śrī-Bhūmichandra°.

¹⁰ The syllables lost here were possibly mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Bhūtikandraḥ.

¹¹ The reading may have been anunayati bōḍha yati.

¹² The expression may also be yath-āparēṇa.

¹³ The intended reading seems to have been bhagna-sphuṭa-saṁskār-ārtham cha śrī°.

¹⁴ It is difficult to restore the lost aksharas.

13 saṁpradānō¹ Dēngutta-nāmā ttri-sāhasrikō grāmō nisriṣṭhō yasya sīmā pūrvvēṇa .

14 Śrīlakkā-jōlā śilā-paṅktir=āmra-vrikshaś=cha paśchimēna Vaṅgēn-khalla[h | uttarē]²

Second Side

15 tad=bhavādbhir-dharmm-abhilāshād=asmadvā(d-ba)humānāch=cha paripālānīyō=pi cha
[[*] Yān=īha dattāni

16 dharmm-ārtha-yasaskarāni | dharmm-abhilāshān=nrīpa-gauravāch=cha may=āpy=
anujñātā-phalāni tāni ||⁵

17 diyatē cha punah punah | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
[[*] Pū

18 yatnād=raksha Yudhishtira | mahim=mahimatām śreṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-
nam || Sva

19 yō harēta vasundharām | sa vishṭhāyām kṛmir=bhūtvā pitribhis=saha majjati
[[*] Śha

20 svargē mōdati bhūmidah | akshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ||¹¹

21 ..mahāmantri-Rēngādityadāsō(sah)

22 ||¹² || rājya-samvu(samva)[tsarō]

¹ The word *saṁpradāna* apparently stood at the end of a compound expression which was an adjective of *grāmāḥ*.

² The word *dakṣiṇēna* appears to have occurred at the end of the line.

³ The intended word is *uttarēna* which must have been followed by the indication of the northern boundary of the gift village.

⁴ The lost syllables would be *purā narēndrar-dānāni*.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*).

⁶ The lost *aksharas* can be restored as *Bakubhir=vasudhā dattā*.

⁷ The metre of this stanza and the following verses is *Amuṣṭubh*.

⁸ The lost syllables are *ṛva-dattām dvijātibhyō*.

⁹ The lost *aksharas* can be restored as *dattām para-dattām vā*.

¹⁰ The lost syllables were no doubt *śhīm varsha-sahāsrāni*.

¹¹ After this, the *aksharas dātakaś=ch=ātra* may have been incised, though they are cut off.

¹² Between the double *danḍas*, there is the sign of two concentric circles.

¹³ The rest of the writing in this line cannot be read satisfactorily. [The regnal year, quoted here, appears to read 10 followed by the unit figure 1 and the words *Āshādha śu*....—Ed.]

FRAGMENTARY COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM ARAKAN



No. 14.—DEVNI-MORI RELIC CASKET INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA,
KATHIKA YEAR 127

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.12.1964)

The inscription¹ edited below, engraved on the drum and base of a circular stone-relic casket, was discovered in a ruined Buddhist *stūpa* at **Dēvni-Mōri** in the Biloda Taluk, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat State. This site was excavated by the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University, Baroda. The record has been published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XII, pp. 173-76 and plates by Dr. R. N. Mehta and Mr. S. N. Chowdhary of the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University.² The record has also been published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 101-04.³ During my annual tour in November 1963, I visited Baroda and copied this inscription with the kind help of Dr. R. N. Mehta and the record is edited below from these impressions.

The circular stone relic casket with lid having a knob in its centre is stated to have been discovered in a broken earthen pot where it was kept well packed with brick-bats.⁴ Its diameter is 18 cm and height 12.5 cm approximately. The outer and inner sides of the lid and the outside of its rim have another faintly engraved inscription in characters of about the 4th century A.D. containing a version of the Buddhist text *Pratityasamutpāda* in Prakrit.⁵

The inscription under study is, as stated above, engraved neatly on the drum and base of the casket. There are three lines of writing on the drum occupying 50 cm by 6 cm of space, and two lines of writing on the base.

The characters of the inscription are of the western variety of the Southern alphabet of about the latter half of the 4th century A.D. and are similar to those of the records like the Kānākhērā stone inscription⁶ of Śrīdharavarman, the Ēraṇ stone pillar inscription⁷ of the same king and the Sāñchi stone inscription⁸ of Chandragupta II. Especially noteworthy are the letters *y*, *l*, *ś* and *ḍ*. There are only a few orthographical peculiarities; only once the consonant following *r* is doubled, cf. *Sūryyāya* (line 1). The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a certain **Rudrasēna-nṛipati** and the date of the record is given as **Bhādrapada 5 of the 127th year of the (era of the) Kathika kings** (lines 1-2). This era of the Kathika kings is known for the first time from this record. As has been stated above, on palaeographical grounds, the record may be attributed to the latter half of the

¹ This is registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, as No. B 163.

² This publication contains some mistakes in reading and interpretation.

³ For two more articles on this record, see *JOI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 336 ff. and *ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 66 ff.

⁴ *JOI*, Vol. XII, p. 173.

⁵ This is registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, as No. B 104.

⁶ *CIH*, Vol. IV, Plate III-A.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Plate XCVIII.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, Plate iii-B.

4th century A.D. If so, the date may be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era of 248-49 A.D. and the Christian equivalent of the date would be 376 A.D.¹ But the identification of the Kathika era with the Kalachuri-Chēdi era requires further evidence, as the latter is known to have penetrated into the Gujarat region only during the 7th-8th centuries A.D. as evidenced by the inscriptions of the early Gurjaras.²

During the fourth century A.D. the region in which Dēvni-Mōri is situated, was under the sway of the Kshatrapas and the ruling king of the dynasty was Rudrasēna III (348 A.D. to 351 A.D. and 360 A.D. to 390 A.D.).³ But his inscriptions and coins give him the characteristic Kshatrpa title *Mahākshatrpa Svāmī*, whereas the record under study calls the king simply as *nripati*, without these titles. It is, therefore, unlikely that this inscription, though belonging to Rudrasēna III's period, is one caused to be engraved by him. We know that Rudrasēna III's sister's son Siṃhasēna had a son named Rudrasēna, who, as known by a single coin of his time, seems to have ruled as Rudrasēna IV. It is likely that this Rudrasēna IV was assigned the rulership of the area around Dēvni-mōri by Rudrasēna III himself. Thus⁴ the *nripati* Rudrasēna of the inscription seems to refer to this Rudrasēna IV.

The record commences with obeisance to Sarvajña (i.e. the Buddha). The Buddha's qualities are enumerated in verse 1. This is followed by verse 2 in which the details of the date mentioned above are given. Verse 3 states that a *mahāstūpa* was constructed as adjunct to a *mahāvihāra* for the sake of the *Śākya-bhikshus* (Buddhist monks.) This *stūpa* is said to have been a glorious one on the earth (*avani-kētu-bhūtam*). In the first half of verse 4, two Śākya monks named Agni-varman and Sudarśana are stated to have been responsible for the construction. The former is called a *sādhu* while the latter is styled as *vimukta-randhra* i.e. one who has renounced the world. The second half of this verse refers to two other *Śākya-bhikshus* named Pāsāntika and Paḍḍa who are stated to have been the supervisors (*kārmāntikau*) of the work. The next stanza (verse 5) states that this auspicious stone casket, the receptacle for the relics of Daśabala (i.e. the Buddha) was fashioned by Varāha, the son of Sēna, who is described as *kuttimakrit*, i.e. a mason. The famous monk Mahasēna who longed for the grace of Sugata (i.e. the Buddha) caused this casket to be made for the increase of the (merit of the) Dharma and Saṅgha.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : Verse 1 *Anustubh* ; verses 2, 4, 6 *Aryā* ; verse 3 *Gītī*]

1⁶ Namas-Sarvvajñāya⁷ || Jñān-ānukampā-kāruṇya-prabhāva-nidhayē namaḥ [| *] Samyak-sāmbuddha-sūryyāya paravādi-tamō-nudē [| | 1*] Saptā⁸-vimsaty-adhikē Kathika-nripānām samāgatē-bda-śatē [| | *]

2 Bha(Bhā)drapada-paṃchama-dinē nripatau śrī-Rudrasēnē cha [| | 2*] Kra(Kri)-

¹ In view of the definite palaeographical evidence pointing to the 4th century, this record cannot be assigned to the early years of the 3rd century A.D. nor can the date be taken to belong to the Śaka era as has been assumed by Mehta and Chowdhary. The date of the record has obviously been assigned to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era, without giving reasons for it in *Archaeological Remains and Monuments and Museums*, Part I, p. 98. Prof. Mirashi has also equated it with Kalachuri-Chēdi era.

² *CII*, Vol. IV, p. li.

³ *The Classical Age*, p. 49.

⁴ Prof. Mirashi thinks that Rudrasēna mentioned in this record was an Ābhira ruler.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Lines 1-3 are engraved on the drum of the casket.

⁷ This phrase is written in the margin.

⁸ The lengthening of *a* is due to metrical necessity.

DEVNI-MORI RELIC CASKET INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASENA, KATHIKA YEAR 127



Scale : One-half



Scale : Nine-tenths

tam=avani-kētu-bhūtam=mahā-vihār-āśrayē mahāstūpaṁ(pam) [|*] satv-ānek-ānugraha-
niratābhyāṁ Śākyabhikshubhyāṁ(bhyāṁ) [|| 3*]

3 Sādhv-Agnivarmma-nāmnā Sudarśanēna cha vimukta-ramdhrēṇa [|*] karmmāntikau
cha Pāsāntika-Paddau [Śā]kya-bhikshukāv=atra [|| 4*] Daśabala-śarīra-nīlayas=
śubha-śailamayās=svayāṁ Varāhēṇa [|*]

4¹ kuṭṭimaka(kṛi)tā kra(kṛi)tō=yaṁ samudgakas=Sēna-putrēṇa || [5*] Mahasēna-
bhikshur=asya cha kārayitā viśrutāḥ samudgasya [|*]

5 Sugata-prasāda-kāmō vṛiddhy-artthan=Dharmma-Saṅghābhyāṁ(bhyāṁ) ||[6*]

¹ Lines 4-5 are engraved on the base of the casket.

² These two *danḍas* are followed by a hook-like mark which indicates the end of the record.

No. 15—EPIGRAPHIC NOTE

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 4. 6. 1965)

I

In this Journal, Volume XXXV, pp. 1 f., Dr. D. C. Sircar has published two Ikshvāku inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa¹—one of them being of Virapurushadatta and the other, of his son Ehuṅvula Chāntamūla.

A. Inscription of Virapurushadatta

This inscription was first edited by J. Ph. Vogel in above, Volume XXI, pp. 63 f., but as the impression supplied to him was not sufficiently good, his readings and interpretation of the record are somewhat inaccurate. Sircar has published a far better facsimile of it in above, Volume XXXV, plate facing p. 4.

Vogel read the second and third lines of this record as follows :

Line 2—Siri-Chāntamūlasa putasa raṅo Mā[ḍha]riputasa [Ikshākunaṁ] Siri-Virapurisadatasā

Line 3—vasasanaya saṁvachhara viṁsaya[m] vāsa-pakhaṁ prathamam divasaṁ bitiyaṁ....

Sircar has read *vasa-satāya* in place of *vasasanaya* and *Vijaya[m]* in place of *viṁsayaṁ*. These readings appear to be correct from the facsimile published with his article. It is also possible to accept his interpretation of *vasa-satāya* as expressing the wish that the king might live for a hundred years. Again, Vogel, reading *saṁvachhara viṁsayaṁ*, took the date of the record to be the twentieth regnal year of Virapurushadatta. Sircar, on the other hand, reading the words as *saṁvachharam Vijayaṁ*, takes them as denoting the year *Vijaya* of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter calculated according to the Southern system. The cyclic year *Vijaya* which could have fallen in the reign of Virapurushadatta was that corresponding to A.D. 273 according to the Southern system. "This is a very important addition", says he, "to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general."

We shall examine in the sequel the correctness of this interpretation, but even if it is proved to be true, it does not enable us to determine the date of the inscription as it is not verifiable. Sircar takes the cyclic year *Vijaya* to correspond to A.D. 273, because he thinks that Virapurushadatta flourished in the second half of the third century A.D. Others may take it as occurring sixty years earlier or later. As the record does not contain any details necessary for calculation, it is not possible to say which of these dates is correct. This mention of the cyclic year *Vijaya* does not, therefore, make any addition to our knowledge of the history of the Ikshvākus or of South India.

We shall next proceed to examine the view that the expression *saṁvachharam vijayaṁ* means the cyclic year *Vijaya* calculated according to the Southern system. This view is untenable for the following reasons :—

(1) Years of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle are not cited in early Indian inscriptions, whether of North or of South India. There were two cycles of Jupiter (1) one of twelve years and (2) the

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

other of sixty years. The first of these is found cited in inscriptions till about the sixth century A.D. The years of this cycle were named after the *nakshatras* with which Jupiter was associated such as *Chaitra*, *Vaiśākha*, etc. The years of this cycle were distinguished from the lunar months of the same names by the prefix of *mahā* in Northern inscriptions. See e.g. the years *Mahā-Āśvayuja*, *Mahā-Māgha* etc. in the records of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas of North India.¹ Years of this cycle are found cited in some records of South India also; see e.g. the years *Pausha* and *Vaiśākha* in the records of the Kadamba king Mṛigśavarman,² and *Bhādrapada* in the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant of the Early Rāshtrakūṭa king Avidheya.³ But all these are years of the twelve-year cycle. If any cyclic year was cited in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription, it should have been of this cycle. The year *Vijaya* is not of this cycle.

(2) The sixty-year cycle of Jupiter, to which the year *Vijaya* belongs, came into vogue much later. As Sircar has pointed out, the first known instance of it is the year *Siddhārtha* mentioned in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the fifth regnal year of the Early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa.⁴ This is taken to correspond to Śaka 523 or 601 A.D. Kielhorn was doubtful about this cyclic year; for he pointed out that the earliest inscription in his *List of Inscriptions of South India* in which a Jovian year is undoubtedly quoted is the Alas plates of Gōvinda II, dated in the Śaka year 692 (770 A.D.).⁵ If the word *vijaya* in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription denotes a year of the sixty-year cycle, its mention would be earlier by about five centuries than the first known undoubted mention of such a year. This makes Sircar's interpretation of *saṁvachharam vijayam* extremely doubtful.

(3) Even supposing that the word *vijaya* in the aforementioned Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription denotes the cyclic year of that name, why should we understand it as cited according to the Southern system as Sircar supposes? The years of the sixty-year cycle cited in inscriptions of both North and South India upto Śaka 855 are invariably according to the Northern system.⁶ Why should we take the supposed cyclic year *Vijaya* as cited according to the Southern system which did not come into vogue for nearly seven centuries thereafter?

For the reasons stated above, Sircar's view that the word *vijaya* in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription under discussion denotes a year of that name in the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter reckoned according to the Southern system is untenable. The Christian equivalent of the date, viz. 273 A.D. is therefore very doubtful.

What is then the meaning of the expression *saṁvachharam vijayam* in that inscription? It evidently means 'a victorious year'; cf. *vaijayike saṁvatsare* which occurs in a similar context in several early inscriptions.⁷ The present record is in Prakrit. In Prakrit the adjective or subordinate word is often placed after the *viśeshya* or the principal word. Cf. *senāye vejayantiye*,

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 95 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35 f.; Vol. VI, pp. 24 f.

³ Above, p. 22. See also, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 184.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 16 f.

⁵ Kielhorn, *A List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 3, note 3.

⁶ Kielhorn has shown that the cyclic years are cited according to the Southern system from Śaka 855 onwards (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268). A grant of Gōvinda IV dated Śaka 851, recently found in Vidarbha, which I have edited in this Journal (above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 257 ff.) cites a cyclic year according to the Northern system. The first record of that king's reign in which a cyclic year is cited according to the Southern system is dated Śaka 855.

⁷ *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 15; p. 609 etc.

bhikkhūnaṃ Teranbhukānaṃ etc. in the Nasik Cave inscriptions.¹ *Vijayaṃ* which follows *savachharaṃ* therefore means 'victorious'.²

The expression *saṃvachharaṃ vijayaṃ* thus means 'a victorious year' in the reign of Virapurushadatta. It has no reference to any cyclic year and does not correspond to 273 A.D.

B. Inscription of Ehuvalā Chāntamūla

This inscription is incised on a lime pillar found at the site named 'Burning Ghat' at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It is in an unsatisfactory state of preservation. It refers itself to the reign of Ehuvalā Chāntamūla, son of Virapurushadatta and grandson of Chāntamūla. Its date occurs in line 2, which Sircar has read as follows :

Siri-Virapurisadatasa putasa raṃṇo Vasīthiputasa [Ikhā]kuna siri-Ehavalā-Chatamulasa savachharaṃ Vijā...[mha]-pa [2] diva 1....

As the inscription is badly preserved it is not possible to be quite certain about the readings, but from the published facsimile of it they appear not unlikely. Here also Sircar takes *vijaya* as a year of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter calculated according to the Southern system and understands it as corresponding to 333 A.D. The objections raised above to a similar interpretation of the word *vijaya* in the aforementioned inscription of Virapurushadatta apply in this case also and need not be repeated here. But apart from them it appears very curious that both these inscriptions should cite the same cyclic year *Vijaya*. This in itself should make the proposed interpretation doubtful. It seems very unlikely that the years of the same name *Vijaya* are cited in the records of two successive Ikshvāku kings separated by exactly sixty years. It seems better to understand the expression *saṃvachharaṃ vijayaṃ* in the sense of 'a victorious year'.

II

The Ābhīra Interregnum in the Ikshvāku Period

In this Journal, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 f. Dr. D. C. Sircar has edited an inscription of the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa. It records the installation of the god Asṭabhujasvāmin by a number of persons. It refers itself to the reign of the aforementioned Ābhīra king and bears a date which was at first read as 9.³ Sircar has drawn attention to the similarity of the symbol denoting it to the *akshara le* and has taken it as 30. As the record is very badly preserved, it is not possible to say if the reading is correct; but supposing it to be so, we proceed to examine Sircar's theory about this date.

Sircar refers this date to the era of 248 A.D. and takes it as equivalent to 278-79 A.D. As he had taken the date of the previously discussed inscription of Virapurushadatta mentioning the cyclic year *Vijaya* to be 273 A.D., he supposes that the Ābhīra king Vasuṣeṇa must have invaded the lower Kṛishṇā valley and ousted the Ikshvāku king. He ruled there for some time, but was later vanquished by Ehuvalā Chāntamūla, since, according to him, a record of the latter mentioning the same cyclic year *Vijaya* and therefore of the date 333 A.D. has been found at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. There was thus an interregnum in the Ikshvāku period when the Ābhīras ruled in the lower Kṛishṇā valley.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 f.

² [In this connection it may be pointed out that in the Prakrit inscription from Reṇṭāla belonging to the time of Chāntamūla I (above, pp. 29 ff.) the adjective *vijaya* precedes the principal word *saṃvachharaṃ* and that the expression *vijaya[m] saṃvachharaṃ pachamaṃ* in that record shows that the word *vijayaṃ* cannot be taken in any sense other than 'victorious'.—Ed.]

³ *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1958-59, p. 8.

We have seen above that the date of Virapurushadatta's inscription containing the expression *samvatskharam vijayam* cannot be fixed as 273 A.D. It is also not certain that the year 30 in Vasushena's inscription is recorded in the Ābhīra era of 248-49 A.D. Sircar was previously very doubtful if that era was founded by the Ābhīra king Īsvarasena.¹ He now thinks that this is probable.² This is a welcome change in his view, but he is now going to the other extreme and advocating that the Ābhīras extended their sway as far as the eastern coast. This means that they ruled over an extensive empire extending from the western to the eastern sea. There are, however, no indications of the extension of Ābhīra imperial power to the lower Kṛishṇā valley. From some early inscriptions of the era found in Western Mahārāshṭra, Gujarāt, Koṅkan and Central India we can infer that the Ābhīras had incorporated these territories into their kingdom; for an era generally spreads with the extension of political power; but apart from the present doubtful case, we have no evidence of the Ābhīra era being current in Andhra.

There is one more indication which seems to show that the record under discussion is *not* dated in the Ābhīra era.

The earliest date of the era, viz. the year 9 in a Nasik Cave inscription of its founder Īsvarasena is a season date, i.e. it is recorded in season, fortnight and day. But *all* subsequent dates of the era have been recorded in lunar month, fortnight and *tithi*. The date of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of Vasushena is a season date. If the year 30 of that inscription had been recorded in the Ābhīra era, it would, in all probability, have been recorded in lunar month, etc.

The date of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription of the Ābhīra king Vasushena is therefore regnal and is not recorded in the Ābhīra era.

The palaeographical evidence of the inscription shows that Vasushena flourished after the known Ikshvāku kings. He may therefore have overthrown the last of them and occupied the lower Kṛishṇā valley where he seems to have ruled for some years. Later, he may have been overthrown by the Pallavas, since we have no other inscription of the Ābhīras from this part of the country.

There is thus no evidence to prove that there was an Ābhīra interregnum in the Ikshvāku period of Andhra history.

¹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 156 f.

² Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 201.

No. 16—TWO YADAVA CHARTERS FROM DEVALALI

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 7. 1. 1965)

The two grants (A and B) edited here, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, are engraved on a set of copper plates discovered in the village **Dēvalāli** in the Ahmadnagar District, Maharashtra State. It is now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Śaśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. The plates were copied sometime in 1957-58 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Government Epigraphist for India and were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the same year.¹ The contents of the records have been dealt with by Shri G. H. Khare in his paper entitled *A Note on A Yādava Copper Plate Grant of Śaka 974*.²

The set consists of three plates, each measuring about 30 cm×11.7 cm. They are held by an oval ring, with a seal bearing the figures of *Śaṅkha*, *Chakra* and *Gadā* in relief. The diameter of the ring measures about 1 cm. The weight of the set is not known to me. Except the obverse of the first plate, all the other sides of the set bear writing. Record A consists of 40 lines out of which the inner sides of the first and the third plate contain 10 lines each while the first and the second sides of the second plate bear eleven and nine lines respectively. Record B contains nine lines engraved on the reverse of the third plate.

The characters of both the records are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.D. Many of the letters have more forms than one. For example in record A, the vowel *a* in *a-pratyakṣham* (lines 1-2) is different from that in *anyat* (line 9). The same is the case with forms of *ā* in *ādau* (line 2) and in *āsīt* (line 6); of *u* in *Sēuṇa* of line 4 and of lines 5-6; of *k* in *Śaṅkaraḥ* (line 2) and in *Kāyastha* (line 39); of *g* in *Bhagavān* (line 1), in *tyāga* (line 11), and in *sugunā* (line 11); of *n* in *Sēuṇa* of line 4 and of lines 5-6, and in *Brāhmaṇa* and *Rāmēṇa* (both in line 10); of *t* in *srijati* (line 1), *karōtu* (line 2) and in *°bhavat* (line 8); of *n* in *yōginām* (line 1), *nripatiḥ* (line 3), *gunanidhiḥ* (line 6) and *svāni* (line 38); and lastly of *ś* in *Śaṅkaraḥ* and *śam* (both in line 2) and in *Madhyadēśa* (line 17). Similarly in record B also the forms of *ū* and *n* in *Sēuṇa* of line 1 and in *Sēuṇa* of line 5 are dissimilar. The language of both the records is Sanskrit and the text is an admixture of verse and prose. Record A contains 22 numbered verses (lines 1-33) followed by a prose passage (in lines 33-36) which is again followed by five verses which are not numbered. Record B contains six verses of which all but the last one are numbered. The portion in verse is preceded, followed and intervened by short prose passages. The neuter form *śimāni* (line 29 of grant A) and verbal form *vipralūpitam* (line 2 of grant B) in the sense of *vipralōpitam* are interesting. Regarding the orthography it may be observed that the influence of local pronunciation is found in the spellings like *prāyasō* (line 2), *vamsē*, *Śaka* (line 33), *Śālūkyā* (lines 12, 17 and 35), etc. At times, the final *m* is substituted by *anusvāra* at the end of the first and the second halves of the verses. The sign for *v* is used to denote *b* also. The consonants following *rēpha* are sometimes re-duplicated.

The object of grant A is to record the gift of four villages to a Brāhmaṇa general named Śrīdhara by the Yādava king Bhīllama III of Dēvagiri, while that of the grant B is to

¹ See No. 12 of Appendix A in *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58.

² *Proc. and Trans. of the All Ind. Or. Conf.*, Eighteenth Session, Annamalainagar, 1955, pp. 344-46.

substitute one of those villages with a different one by the Yādava king **Sēuṇachandra II**. Therefore charter B is more or less in the form of a continuation of charter A.

The details of the **date** of the record A, which are found in lines 33-34, viz. **Śaka 974 Nandana, Pushya śu. 15, and the total eclipse of the moon** have been equated with the **8th December 1052 A.D.**¹ It may be noted that according to *An Indian Ephemeris* of S. K. Pillai, Śaka year 974 had *Pushya-kshaya* and the lunar eclipse is marked there in the month of Mārgasīra of the year. However, our record quotes Pushya probably because according to a different system of calculation the above year had a *kshaya* month which was other than Pausha.² It may be pointed out that the mention of the month, in which the eclipse occurred, as Pushya, is alright even according to the system followed by S. K. Pillai. For, the lunar eclipse occurred only in the second half of śu. 15 and that half has to be taken as the *tithi* of the month Pushya and not of Mārgasīras.³ Again, it may be remembered that a particular month is called *kshaya* month in a given year, not because the month is absent in that year but because the month—which is actually there—does not have the usual necessary attributes, viz. the sun's entry into a particular zodiac.⁴ Thus the referencē to the month Pushya in Śaka 974 is alright, and it is not necessary to ignore, as has been done elsewhere, the Adhika-Āsvina and Kshaya-Pausha months of the year.⁵ Record B is not dated. But as we shall see below, it is to be assigned to a period between 1076 A.D. and 1098 A. D.

Grant A consists of three parts, of which the first starts with a *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti* and a verse invoking Śaṅkara (i.e. Śiva) for the prosperity of the Yādava king Bhillama III, the donor of the grant. This is followed by eight verses (verses 2-9) which give the following list of kings and queens of the Yādava family of Sēuṇadēśa : 1. **Dṛiḍhaprahāra**, who left Dvārāvati and made the already existing Chandrādityapura famous (verse 2) ; 2. his son, **Sēuṇachandra I**, the builder of Sēuṇapura in Sindinēra ; 3. his son, **Dhāḍiyappa** (verse 3) ; 4. (his son)⁶ **Bṛihad-Bhillama** (or **Bhillama I**) ; 5. (his son) **Rāja** ; 6. his son, **Vaddiga** ; 7. his son, **Bhillama II** (verse 4), the builder of two temples (*pura-dvaya*) the one named **Āvēśvara** built with stones and the other named **Sōmanātha** built with wood (verse 5) ; 8. his wife, **Lachchhiyavvā**, the daughter of **Jhañjha** of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family and the supporter of the family of the Yadus at the time of the rule of a minor or a boy (*bāla-rājya-samayē*) and who, therefore, deserved the respect of three kings. (*rāja-tray-ārghyā*) (verse 6) ; 9. (her daughter-in-law) **Nāyīyaladēvī**, the daughter of **Gōgirāja**, a feudatory of the Chālukya family (verse 7) ; 10. her husband **Vēsūka** ; 11. his son **Bhillama III**, the devotee of Dakshavi-marddana, i.e. Śiva (verse 8) ; 12. his queen **Avvalladēvī** of the Chālukya family, the daughter of Jayasīmha and the sister of Āhavamalla (verse 9).

¹ A. R. Ep., 1957-58, Introduction, p. 2.

² For example Śaka 1885 (i.e. 1963-64) had *Pausha-kshaya* according to Swamikannu Pillai, whereas it had *kshaya-Kārttika* and not *kshaya-Pausha* according to the almanacs based on the *Drik-siddhānta*. See also *Proc. and Trans. of All Ind. Or. Conf.*, 1955, p. 344.

³ Cf. *Tithy-ardhē prathamē pūrvō dvitīyē=rdhē tad-uttarah | māśāv=itī-budhaiś=chintyan kshaya-māsasya mādhayagan* || (Anantadēva's *Smṛitikaustubha*, N. S. Press, 1909, p. 425). According to S. K. Pillai, śu. 15 ended at 90th part of the day, i.e. at about 21.48 hours on the 8th December in 1052 A.D. and according to Sewell (*Eclipses of the Moon in India*, p. xxiv), the eclipse started at 19.25 hours and ended at 23.7 hours.

⁴ Cf. *Satyām-ēva tithau sūry-ndāya epars-ābhāvēna kshaya-vyavahāravat saty-ēva māśē tad-uchita-rāśistha-ravi-yukt-ādya-kshan-ābhāvāt=kshaya-vyavahārah, na tu kāśyachin=māsasya kshayah* (Anantadēva, op. cit., p. 426)

⁵ Cf. A. R. Ep., 1957-58, p. 2.

⁶ The relationship shown within brackets here and in the following lines is according to the other known charters of the family.

Almost all the verses of the above section occur elsewhere also.¹ The only new one found in our record is verse 4 which describes Bhillama II as the builder of two *puras*. The word *pura*, though normally means 'abode' or 'city' is used here in the sense of 'abode of god',² because these two *puras* bear the names of the two deities, viz. Āvēśvara and Sōmanātha which are also referred to in the Sangamner plates of Bhillama II. These plates inform us that Vaddiga's wife Voddiyavvā, presumably the mother of Bhillama II, built a white temple named Āvēśvara.³ It is likely that this temple is identical with its namesake mentioned in our epigraph. It appears that Voddiyavvā started the construction of the temple which was perhaps completed by Bhillama II. The deity Sōmanātha also has been described in the Sangamner plates as daily wearing a golden *paṭṭikā* or a turban-like head-dress gifted by Bhillama I, the grandfather of Bhillama II. Though neither of these two records helps us to locate the temple Āvēśvara, the Sangamner plates appear to indicate that the deity Sōmanātha was in the royal headquarters, viz. Sindinēra itself.⁴ The Sangamner plates tell us that Bhillama II built also a third white temple of Śiva named Vijayābharaṇanātha probably in Sindinēra. Verse 6 of our record, unlike its version in the cognate inscriptions, is almost free from scribal errors. From the present version one may infer that Bhillama II died even before his son Vēsūka came of age; that Lachchīyavvā placed the minor boy on the throne taking upon herself the burden of administering the kingdom as a regent rendering yeoman service to the Yādava dynasty at a critical time, and thus saving the family of Yādavas from extinction; and that, on that account, she was regarded with respect by the kings of the three families, viz. the Yādavas, the Rāshtrakūṭas⁵ and probably the Chālukyas. In the Bassein version of verse 9, Bhagavanlal Indrajī read *Hāmmā śrī* in the place of *harmmya-śrī* of our record and took the word *Hāmmā* as a secondary name of Avvalladēvi, the queen of Bhillama III⁶ and scholars like Fleet have accepted this view.⁷ However, since our version is the earliest among the cognate records and contains, as has already been pointed out, lesser number of scribal errors, we may suggest that the intended reading in the Bassein version also is *harmmya-śrī* only, which means "having the goddess of wealth in the house itself" and which is an adjective qualifying the following word *Jayasīmha*.⁸

The first section is followed by the second one which consists of five verses and gives an account of the donee and his ancestors. Verse 10 introduces a certain Brāhmaṇa named Sillaṇa, belonging to the Śrīvatsa *gōtra*. It is said that he left his village Ōyāri, a place in the Madhyadēsa or middle

¹ The Bassein plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 119 ff.) and the Asvi plates (above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 249 ff.).

² Cf. the name Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa-pura of the temple in the Kolanupaka inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya VI (*Kannaḍa Ins. of Andhra Pradesh*, A. P. Govt. Arch. Series, No. 3, Ng. 45; *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, p. 19 and No. B. 89). Cf. also the expression *pakka(kva)-pura* "brick-built temple" in the Wari Inscription of about the tenth century (above vol. XXXV, p. 184, text line 2).

³ Above, Vol. II, pp. 212 ff. The passage in question in the Sangamner plates reads: *yayā nām=Āvēśvaram=Īśa-vēśma vīhītaṁ Kailāsa-tīlāharam* (ibid., Vol. II, p. 218, text lines 39-40). Commenting on this, Kielhorn wrote that "this lady (i. e. Voddiyavvā) built a Śiva temple the exact name of which I am not able to make out." (ibid., p. 214, foot-note 7). The name Āvēśvara also reminds us of the deity Avvēśvara for whose worship etc. the Śilāhāra chief Raṭṭarāja of North Koṅkaṇ made various donations in Śaka 930, i. e. eight years later than the date of the Sangamner plates. (See the Khārēpāṭa plates, ibid., Vol. III, pp. 292 ff.).

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. II, p. 218, text lines 32-33.

⁵ Cf. *yā śrī-Yādava-Rāshtrakūṭa-kulayōr=jjātā samudyōtīnī* in the Kalas Budruk plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 120, text lines 9-10). Cf. also *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 513, note 4.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 122.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 514.

⁸ Cf. *śadā mūrṭtā Lakshnēr=vasati bhavanē yasya, muditā*, a description of Bhillama II in the Sangamner plates (text line 43).

country¹ in order to serve under the Paramāra Vairisimha seated at Dhārā. Verse 11 says that to Sillana was born Pavvaṇa, whose son and grandson were Vishṇu and Śrīdhara-daṇḍanāyaka respectively. It further says that the latter was appointed by Paramāra Bhōja of Mālava as a guardian of the territory lying beyond² a fort called Ēṇaka and that he handed over the above fort to Bhillama III, who besieged (*niyata*) it. The next three verses (verses 12-14), which form a *kulaka* and with which the second section ends, describe this Bhillama in high terms and tell us that being desirous of more wealth and territory and being much pleased, he caused a permanent *vritti* to be created in favour of the above Śrīdhara who appears to be described as being sincerely devoted to him. This *daṇḍanāyaka* Śrīdhara is evidently identical with his namesake who is referred to as *mahāprachandaṇḍanāyaka* in the Bassein plates.³

From the above details given by the second section of the record one may conclude that since the Paramāra king Bhōja was served by the general Śrīdhara, the Paramāra Vairisimha, whom the general's great grandfather Sillana served must have been Bhōja's great-grandfather, viz. Vairisimha II. It is to be noted that the description of this king as being seated at Dhārā, goes against the theory that only since the reign of Bhōja, that place enjoyed the position of the chief city of Malwa.⁴ The verbal form *yachchhati* in the present tense in verse 11 appears to suggest that the surrendering of the fort was probably not far removed in time from the date of the record.⁵ Moreover, our record is totally silent about Bhōja's defeat either by the Chālukya king or by his feudal chief.⁶ Mr. G. H. Khare has rightly identified the fort of Ēṇaka of our record with a dilapidated hill fort called Anakai in the north-eastern part of the Nasik District.⁷ All these facts go to indicate that about 1052 A.D. Bhōja was ruling over a territory which extended upto the northern part of the Nasik District and that the surrender of the fort Ēṇaka by the Paramāra general extended the northern border of the Yādava kingdom and the Chālukyan empire upto the river Narmadā as mentioned in Charter B enabling the Chālukyan monarch to pursue his conquest beyond that river.⁸ The description of the surrendering of the fort and of the circumstances of the creation of the *vritti* appear to suggest that it was a story of seduction of the Paramāra general by the Yādava chief. For, had Bhillama conquered the fort by force, the Paramāra general would have been naturally kept in prison instead of being honoured with a tax-free gift of four villages; and the description of the handing of the fort by the general in the clear terms, viz. *durgam yachchhati*, would be totally out of place in the charter issued by Bhillama himself.⁹

The third section of record A consists of the rest of the document which describes the grant proper. Verse 15 tells us that the four villages named **Kōṇamthā**, **Rūyi**, **Pippalatthā** and **Jumarahara** were well known to the people. Verses 16-17 say that the king along with his four officers named Śrībīja or Bīja, Mahēśvara, Guṇigu and Bharathaiya gave away the gift after washing the feet of the donee in the presence of two *sāmantas* named Śripati and Maṅkha. Verse 18 states that the boundaries of the village granted are defined. Verse 19 defines the boundaries of the village Kōṇamthā.

¹ It is interesting to note that the family of *mahāpradhāna* Maṇambanāyaka, the donee of the Kālas Budruk plates of Bhillama III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117 ff.) is also said to have migrated from a village in the Madhyadēśa.

² In the expression *aty-Ēṇakai*, the word *ati* 'lying beyond' is used obviously with reference to the Yādava kingdom in the South.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 120, text line 27. See also G. H. Khare, *op cit.*

⁴ Cf. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 254.

⁵ Cf. *Varttamāna-sāmīpyē varttamānavad-vā* (Pāṇini, III, iii, 131).

⁶ See e.g. the Sūḍi inscription (above, Vol. XV, pp. 85 ff.) of Śaka 981, five years later than our record, which describes Nāgadēva, the general of Sōmēśvara I as a *garuḍa* to the snake of Bhōja, (*ibid.*, p. 88 text line 15). Similarly the Sangamner plates speak of Bhillama II's victory over Paramāra Muḍja (*ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 218, text line 41).

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 345.

⁸ See *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 452.

⁹ Cf. *Ibid.*

It is said that on the eastern side of the village was Vāsīma, on the south Aḍa, on the west Dhō-ḍhumbara and on the north the hill called Mēṇēvēḍha. According to verse 20, Siṅhagrāma was on the east of the donated village Rūi-grāma (i. e. Rūyi-grāma), Sāvāla on the south, Vihārī on the west and Kōkkamasthāna on the north. Verse 21 appears to inform us that Dhvajagrāma, Siṅghēkhaḍaka, Dadhigrāma, probably belonging to the king, and Gajārahata-grāma were the four boundaries of the village Pippalatthā. Verse 22 says that on the eastern side of the village Jumarahara was Kaḍēdraha, on the south Prēharā, a place called Patharaka on the west and Karakallishā on the north. Then follows a prose passage in lines 33-36. Lines 33-34 record the details of the date already discussed. Lines 34-36 say that in the kingdom of Āhavamalla (i.e. Sōmēśvara I) the above four villages were granted and were exempted from all taxes. The above is followed by three imprecatory verses (verses 23-25) usually found in many copper plate charters. Verse 26 requests the future Yādava kings to protect the granted villages. Verse 27 informs us that the record was composed by **Tafkatāi**ya of the Kāyastha caste who was the son of Vijayaiya. The record ends with a short prose passage which appears to inform us that the record was engraved (*ghaṭita*) by a certain **Bhratta**, i.e. **Bharatha**, the son of Sōhanaiya. This Bharatha who appears to be different from his namesake mentioned in verse 17 of our record was probably identical with the brass-worker Bharatha-nāyaka whose proxy (*pratihastaka*) Prēkaraya wrote the Bassein record.¹

Grant B starts with a *Siddham* symbol followed by a double *danḍa* and the expression *tatō hi* meaning "afterwards". Then follows verse 1 introducing **Sēuṇachandra II** as having been born in the family of Bhillama. This Bhillama is obviously the same as Bhillama III, the donor of the grant A. Verse 2 states that this Sēuṇachandra II, like the Kōlarūpī, i.e. Hari-Vishṇu in his Boar incarnation, raised his own (*svakam*) sinking kingdom plundered by his kinsmen (*dāyādaiḥ*). It is interesting to note that the Bassein plates² also describe this king simply as having been born in the family of Bhillama III and as an uplifter of the kingdom like Hari in the form of Boar on the death of Bhillama III. This description evidently shows that Sēuṇachandra II was not a direct descendant of Bhillama III and that he experienced troubles from his relatives before his accession. The expression *svakam rāshtram* indicates that the Yādava kingdom naturally belonged to him (i.e. Sēuṇachandra II) though he was not a direct descendant of Bhillama III. If this is so, one may suggest that Bhillama III died without a successor to inherit the kingdom and that Sēuṇachandra II had to fight against all odds to establish himself on the Yādava throne. Verse 3 tells us that having rescued two sinking families namely the family of the Chālukyas and that of the Kōṅkaṇa (i. e. kings of Koṅkaṇa), Sēuṇachandra II ruled the city called Sēuṇapura and the Narmadā region in the south. Here the description of Sēuṇa's help to the Chālukyas is evidently the same as described by Hēmādri who tells us that Sēuṇachandra II rescued Chālukya Paramardidēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI from being destroyed by his enemies and established him in the Kalyāṇarājya.³ In the description of Sēuṇa's help to the Koṅkaṇa family, our record says that he restored it together with the temples of gods, and with Brāhmaṇas, etc. This seems to suggest that he might have helped some Koṅkaṇa ruler against his enemies who had probably invaded that country and started plundering the temples and persecuting the Brāhmaṇas there. If it is true, this may be a reference to the help which Sēuṇa might have rendered to the Śilāhāras especially during the reign of Anantadēva in their war for recapturing part of their kingdom from those who plundered the temples and

¹ The intended reading of the passage in the Bassein plates (text line 54) is *pitakāriṇō Bharatha-nāyakasya*.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 120 verse 10.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 271, verse 29.

persecuted Brāhmaṇas there.¹ The following two verses (verses 4-5) which form a *yugmaka*, record that being desirous of achieving friendship, fame and wealth, the king granted to the general Śrīdhara, a village called **Dēulavalī** in the place of Kumarahara, probably on the ground that the latter was full of marshy lands. This Kumarahara was evidently the same as Jumarahara, the fourth village of the grant A. The above verse is followed by a short prose passage relating to the boundaries of the village newly granted, which are described in the succeeding verse (verse 6). It is said that the Takali-grāma was on the eastern side of the village, Chīnchavēhara on the southern, Sōhava on the west and Amvī on the north. At the end is the expression *bhadram=astu* followed by a *siddham* symbol in between two double *daṇḍas*. The record is not dated. However, as it refers to Sēuṇa's help to Vikramāditya VI in his struggle against Sōmēśvara, we may assign this record to a period after 1076 A.D. and before 1098 A.D., the date of the Asvi plates of Sēuṇa's successor Āirammadēva.²

These two charters are important in many respects. As has been pointed out elsewhere,³ this is the only available authority, outside the Paramāra records, referring to Bhōja's great-grandfather Vairisīmha II. Moreover, as it indicates that Bhōja was probably the ruler of Malwa as late as the date of the present record, viz. 1052 A.D., the epigraph under question provides indirectly 1052 A.D. as the latest known date for Bhōja's rule.⁴ Again, the fact that Sēuṇachandra II honoured Śrīdhara by issuing a second charter with a view to substituting the marshy village of the first grant by a better village would suggest that the surrender of the Ēṇaka fort, probably in 1052 A.D., was, perhaps, considered to be an important event, by the Yādava kings for a long time, in the Chālukya-Paramāra war. Grant B is interesting because it corroborates Hēmādri's description of Sēuṇa's help to his Chālukya overlord Vikramāditya VI against his enemies, besides throwing some welcome light on the Yādava interference in Koṅkaṇa politics as early as the time of Sēuṇa II.⁵

The localities mentioned in the introductory portions of the records have already been identified by scholars.⁶ As to the villages mentioned in the grant portions, **Rūyi** and **Pippalathā** of record A may be identified with the modern Rūi and Piplegaon situated not far from each other in the Aurangabad District. The other two villages viz. **Kōṇamthā** and **Jumarahara** or **Kumarahara** also are to be located nearby. The village **Dēulavalī** of charter B is evidently identical with the modern Dēvalāli, the findspot of the plates under study.

¹ See the Kharepatan plates of that king dated Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 33 ff. and Plates) and the expression *dhvāstā dēva-dvijātī-pramathana-vidhinā Koṅkaṇa-keḥōṇir-ēshā* therein (text line 53). Fleet has identified those enemies of Koṅkaṇ with the Kadambas of Goa. (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 543). In connection with this reference to the family of the Koṅkaṇ, attention has been drawn (*A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 2) to Sēuṇa's Maurya feudatory, Gōvindarāja of the Vāghli inscription of Śaka 991 (above, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). But it is to be pointed out that the above chief claims to be a descendant of a Maurya family which had migrated from Valabhi in Saurāshtra probably with their overlords, viz. the Yādavas (*ibid.*, p. 225) and that the Maurya of the 11th-12th century had nothing to do with Koṅkaṇa. Cf. also *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 284.

² Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 249 ff.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, *Introd.*, p. 2.

⁴ It is not unlikely that Daśabala of Bhōja's court wrote his astronomical work *Chintāmanīśārāṅikā* (*JOR*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, Supplement) based on Śaka 977, slightly earlier than that year, as is usually done by the compilers of the almanacs. Cf. *ibid.*, p. iii; above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 195.

⁵ Cf. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 25 and note.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 512-13; above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 251.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Charter A—verse 1 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 2-12; 14 *Sāraṇāvīkrīḍita*; verses 13, 15-17, 19, 21-22, 26 *Aryā*; verses 18, 23-25; 27 *Anushtubh*; verse 20 *Uṇḍit*.
Charter B—verses 1-2; 6 *Anushtubh*; verse 3 *Sārdulavīkrīḍita*; verse 4 *Vamsasthūvilā*; verse 5 *Uṇḍit*.]

A

First Plate.

1. Siddham² || Svasī || Yas=trailōkyam srijati³ bhagavālla (f=la)vdha (bdha) mähātmya tējās=chitt-āgamyah⁴ parama-tapasām yoginām dhyayatām sah⁵ | a-pra-
2. tyakshas=tri jagati⁶ vu (bu) dhanām=api⁶ prayasē (sō)=sau sri-Bhillamma kshiti pati patēh⁷ Sāmkarāh sam karōtu || 1 || Adau jāta⁸
3. **Driḍhapre (pra) hari** nripatih sri Vishnu-rupah sa hi prayātō¹⁰ nija vamsa-sekhara tanur=Dvarāvati-pattanāt | samgrāmē ripu-ha-
4. sti-patti-śirasām samchchhē (chhē) da-bhēdē driḍhah | ¹¹ **Varh (Cham) drādityapuram** prasiddham=akarōt=prak-sambhavō¹² yō bhuvi || 2 || Śrīmat-Sēunacham-
5. **dradēva** nri varas¹³ =tasmād=abhūd=bhūmipō nityam dēsa-padātirāja¹⁴ vishayō svam nāma sampādāyam (yan) | yēn=ākāri puram cha **Sē-**
6. **unapuram** sri-Simdinere¹⁵ varē tat-putrah kula-dīpakō guṇanidhih sri-Dhādiyappas¹⁶ =tatāh || 3 || Āsit=tadvad=asēsha-bhūtā-
7. la-sast srimān vri (n=**Bri**) had-**Bhillamah** sri-Rajas=tad-anantaram narapati=jātō mahi-mandanah | prāgvāt=tasya¹⁷ va (ba) bhūva bhūtala-Harih
8. sri-Vāddig=**khyō** nripas=tasmātchhri (ch=chhri) vara-**Bhillamah** kshiti pati¹⁸ pratyakshā-dharmō=bhavat || 4 || Yēn=ākāri pura-dvayam samadhi-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The Bassein and the Asvi plates, referred to hereafter as B and A respectively, read *Trailōkyē sam sri jati*. Only the important readings of these plates are given in the following foot-notes.

⁴ B read *chitt-ārādhyah*.

⁵ B and A read *yah*.

⁶ B and A read *a-pratyaksham bhavati vibudhānām=api* and this suits the metre.

⁷ B and A read *dēvāh sō=yam Yādupati-patēh*. This shows that the text was at first prepared during the time of Bhillama III and was later continued to be copied by his successors.

⁸ The readings *khyāta* and *khyātō* respectively of B and A are to be corrected into *khyāta*.

⁹ B and A have *Driḍhaprahāra*.

¹⁰ B read *sa hito=ayātō*.

¹¹ This punctuation-mark is unnecessary. Read *driḍhas=Chandra*.

¹² Better read *sambhavam*, as in B and A.

¹³ B and A read *chandra-nāma-nripa-varas* where *pa* is metrically superfluous.

¹⁴ This word *rāja* is omitted in B and A, which consequently are short of two letters to complete the metre.

¹⁵ A read *Simhinere*.

¹⁶ Bhagyanlal reads this name as *Dvādiyappa*.

¹⁷ B and A read *arvāt=tasya*.

¹⁸ Bhagyanlal reads *Bhillama kshiti pati* in B.

TWO YADAVA CHARTERS FROM DEVALALI

i

1. Charter A

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark background, likely a palm leaf or stone inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Old Indic script. There are some circular symbols interspersed within the text, possibly representing specific characters or decorative elements. The lines are numbered on the left side of the image.

ii, a

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

12
 14
 16
 18
 20

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark background, similar to the first block. It consists of approximately 10 horizontal lines of text. The script is consistent with the first block. There are circular symbols present. The lines are numbered on the left side of the image.

ii, b

22
 24
 26
 28
 30

2
 2
 2
 2
 3

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark background, similar to the previous blocks. It consists of approximately 10 horizontal lines of text. The script is consistent with the other blocks. There are circular symbols present. The lines are numbered on the left side of the image.

32	32
34	34
36	36
38	38
40	40

2. Charter B

2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8

Scale : One-half

9 kam trailōkya¹ramyam sadā ēkam² grāvamayam sukarma-rachitam śry-Āvēśvaram
nāmataḥ | anyat-kāshthamayam vara[m*] tv=abhinavam śri-Sō-

10 manāth-āhvayam dēva-prā(Brā)hmaṇa-pālakēna sudhiyā Saṅgrāma-Rāmēṇa hi³ || 5 ||
Bhāryā yasya cha Jham[jha]rāja-tanayā śri-

Second Plate. First Side

11 *Lachchhiyavv-āhvaya(ya) dharmma-[tyā]ga-suvu(bu)ddhi-sakti-[sū]gunā⁴ śri-Rā[shtra]kūṭ-
ānvayā. [*]yā jātā ma(na)nu vā(bā)la-rājya-samayē Yadv-ānvay-ādhami.

12 kā⁵ sapt-āṅg-ōdya[ta-rō(rā)]jya-hā(bhā)ra-dharanā[d=ra]ya⁶ tray-ārghyā tatah || 6 || Sā(Chā)-
luky-ānvaya-māṇḍalika⁷ tilakāch=chhri-Gōginājād=vara⁸

13 d=utpannā[du]hita-guṇa-traya[va]ti-dhamma(rmyā) kula-dyōtika⁹ [*]stī-ratnam vā(ba)ta-
Vedhasa-prakātitam samānta-ratnāya sā śri-Nāyīaladēvi¹¹ nama-

14 subhaga śri-pa[tt]a[rāj]ni sadā¹² || 7 || Śri-Vesukam(ka)-malipateh¹³ samabhavad=yasy=āṅga-
li[ah]tjā¹⁴ tatah śri-Bhillamma¹⁵ dharādharah samudītah śri-māṇḍa-

15 lik¹⁶ akhyayā [*] trailōkyam nija-kīrti-nirmalatayā¹⁷ sambhūshayan=Yadvō dākshō
Dakshāvimarddanasya charanau sampūjayan=bhūtālō¹⁸ || 8 || Ya-

16 sy=ān[g]-ārdha-nishamna(ṇa)-suṁdara-tanuḥ pratyaksha-Lakshmi-guṇā ha[r]mmya-¹⁹
śri-Jayasi[m*]gha(ha)dēva-duhitā²⁰ śr[y-A]vvalladēvi satī [*]²¹jāt=ātr=Āhavamalladēva-
bha-

17 śi(gi)nī Sā(Chā)lukya-vamś-ōdbhavā |²² prēyah-kārya-viśēsha-kāraṇa-padē sad-dharmma-
panti(tnī) kshitau || 9 ||²³ Chha || Āyātō vara-Madhya-dēśa-vishayād=Ōyāri-

¹ Originally engraved *tri* has been corrected into *trai*.

² Read *ch=ānām*.

³ This verse is not found in B and A.

⁴ Bhagavanlal reads this name as *Lasthīyavva*.

⁵ B and A read *sa-guṇā*. Again B inadvertently omits the succeeding letter *śri*.

⁶ B read *na vā-bāla-nā(rā)jā-samayē yadv-ānvay-ādharitā*, while A have *na cha vā(bā)la-rāja-samayē ya-sy-ānvay-
ādharitā*.

⁷ B and A also have *rāya* which has been corrected into *rājya* by the editors.

⁸ Rightly *māṇḍalika*.

⁹ B read *rāj-ākarāt*.

¹⁰ B appear to read *duhita-trayād=guṇavati dharmma kula-dyōtikā*.

¹¹ The correct form *dēvi* is changed into *dēvi* to suit the metre. In B we have *Nāyīaladēvi-nāma*.

¹² This verse is not found in A.

¹³ B and A read *patih*.

¹⁴ A read *shas=tatah*. In all the versions there is a break in the metre. Probably the passage stands for **patih
śri-nibhāri yasyah anja-shishṭah* or metrically **patih samabhavad=yasyah shish-āṅgais=tatah (shishṭā 'embracing')*.

¹⁵ B and A have *Bhillama*.

¹⁶ Grammatically *māṇḍalika*.

¹⁷ B and A read *lōkyē nija-vamśa-kīrti-nirmalatayā*.

¹⁸ A read *yan yō bhūvi*. Between this verse and the following one, B have the verse 12 of our record.

¹⁹ Bhagavanlal reads *Hāmmā* in B and takes it to be a personal name.

²⁰ Originally written *śri* is corrected into *śrya*. B read *śri-Avvaladēvi*.

²¹ B read *yā ch=ātr=Ā*.

²² The punctuation mark is unnecessary. B read *vamś-ānvayā śrēshṭhā kāya*.

²³ This last verse is not found in A. The succeeding letter *chha* indicates the end of the first part of the record.

This can be read also as *tha*. For Fleet's remarks on the significance of these two letters, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 122, note 36.

- 18 sad-grāmataḥ śrī-Mādhya(ḍdhyam)dina-śākha-vistṛita-guṇaḥ Śrīva[t*]sa-vaṁsō(ś-ō)-
dbhavaḥ | Dhārāyān Paramāra-saṁtatibhavaṁ śrī-Vairisīngharṇ(harṇ) nṛipa[m]
śrīmat-Silāṇa-¹
- 19 nāyakō dvija-varaḥ saṁsōvitum sarva[th]ā: || 10 || Tasmāt=Pavvaṇa-nāyakaḥ samabhavad=
Viṣṇus=tataḥ sad-[g]uṇī dhanyaḥ Śrīdhara-daṇḍanāyaka-varō
- 20 jātāḥ sudhīmān=tanō² | śrīman-Mālava-Bhōjarāja-niyamād=aty-Ēṇakai-rakshaṇē |³ du-
rgga[m*] yachchhati Bhīllamasya niyataṁ khyāt-Aiṇakai-nāmakaṁ(kam) || [11*]||
- 21 Dō[r*]daṇḍa-prava(ba)l-āsi-ghāta-nihatā⁴ psam(sam)grāna(ma)-Rāmēṇa hi sa(sa)trūn=⁵
Āhavamalladēva-nṛipātēḥ Prō(Prau)dhānīkakārēṇa tu | śasval-lavdha(bdha)-suchakra-
vartti-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 22 padavi-ni[r]vāhiṇā rājasu saṁsāra-sthiti-sāvakēma guṇinā ten=[ā]dbhava dharminā⁷ [||*]
12 || Parama-puṇyam [cha*] hṛidayē da[dha]tā
- 23 punar=ashta-purusha-guṇa-matinā | mahad-īshaṇayā ha(bha)ktyā śrīmad-Bhīllama-
[dēva*]-nṛipēṇa | (||) 12(13) || Śrīmad-Bhīllama-rāja-sa[d-gu-]
- 24 ṇa-gaṇaiḥ saṁsuddha-sarṇmā(n-mā)nasah putr-āpatya-sujīvitavyam=akhilāṁ vṛittim
sthīrāṁ kārayat | * tasmāi Yādava-sē(śē)-
- 25 kharēṇa sudhiyā vahvārtha⁸-rājy-ārthinā saṁ[tu]shtēna hṛid-aika-bhakti-manasē śrī-
Śrīdharāya sphuṭam || 14 || [Śrī*]-Kōṇam-
- 26 dhāgrāmō Rūyigrānō(mō)=tha Pippalatthā cha | [śrī*]-māgala¹⁰-Jumaraharam
prāyaḥ sarvvē=pi jana-viditāḥ || 15 || Iti chatvā-
- 27 rō grāmāḥ pāḍau prakshālya vipra-mukhyāya | śrī-Mamkham(kha)-sāmanta-śrī-Śrīpati-
sāmantayō[h*] purataḥ | [| *] 16 || Śrīvi(bi ?)-
- 28 j-ākhyā-varishṭhaka-Māhēsva(śva)ra-Guṇigu-nā(nā)ma-Ha(Bha)rathaiyaiḥ | maulair=nika-
tai[h*] sad[bh]ir-ddharm-ārtham prērakaiḥ¹¹ satataṁ(tam) || 17[||*]

¹ Read *Silāṇa* for metre.

² Read °māms=tataḥ.

³ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁴ Bhagavanlal reads *nihatō(taḥ)* in B.

⁵ Read *dvēshyā A°*. B read °Rāmēṇa bhōḥ Sa(Sa)krāśvā(sy=A)hava.

⁶ Read *śasval=labdha*.

⁷ The intended reading appears to be *saṁsāra-sthiti-sādhakēna guṇinā tēn=ād bhūtam dharminā* | The author of B had taken out this verse from this context and inserted it in a different one in his record. He had failed in, his attempt to make the necessary changes of words suitable to the context. Hence Bhagavanlal naturally remarked that 'this verse is full of attributes which make no sense, as the grammar is hopelessly bad'. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 122, note 74).

⁸ The first half of this verse, as it is, does not fit in well with the second half. Perhaps *saṁsuddha-sach-chēta sē putr-āpatya-sujīvitavyam=akhilā vṛittih sthīrā kāritā* is intended. Verses 12-14 form a *kulaka*.

⁹ Read *bahv-ārtha*.

¹⁰ Read *māngala* or *maṅgala*.

¹¹ These instrumentals are to be connected perhaps with the word *saha* understood.

- 29 Grāma-sīmāni kathyam̄tē chatur-bhāgēshu tatva(ttva)taḥ | pratyakasham̄ dēsa(sa)-lōkām̄
dātri-grāha¹kayōr=api || 1[8] [||*] Kōṇam̄th[ā]-
- 30 grāmasya prāchi Vāsima² dakshinē=dō=bhūt | Dhōḍhumva(mba)ram=aparasyām̄ Mēṇēvēḍhō
girir-udichyām̄(chyām) || 19 ||

Third Plate, First Side

- 31 Rūi-grā[m]āt=pūrvvē Si[m]gha-grānō(mō)=tha chchhiyātyē ³ | Sāvāla-Viharī paschād=
uttarataḥ Kōkkama-sthānam̄(nam) || 20 || Dhvaja-āsam-
- 32 dhē grāmah⁴ Si[m*]ghēkhaḍakō nripē cha⁵ Dadhi-nāmā | Gajērahatagrāmah⁶ kathitō=yam̄
Pippalatthāyāḥ || 2]1 || J[u]maraharasya [cha*] pūrvvē
- 33 Kaḍēdrahaḥ Prēharā cha Yāmy-āmsē(sē) | paschāt=Patharak⁷-ēkhya[h*] Karakallish=ōttarē
bhāgē || 22 || Śāka-sam̄vat|⁸ 974 Nandana-sam-
- 34 vtsar-āntargata-Pushya-śuddha-Paurṇamāsyām̄ samasta⁹-grāsē chandra-pa-
[r*]vvaṇi |¹⁰ Samastabhuvanāśraya-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhi-
- 35 rāja-Śā(Chā)lukyābharāṇa-Trailōkyamalla-śrī¹⁰-Āhavamalladēva-rājyē|¹¹ grāmāḥ pra-
dattā¹¹ a-ka[ra]-vāt-ōttariyā nama-
- 36 syāḥ sa-vṛiksha-māl-ākulāḥ || Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājābhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya
yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
- 37 tasya tadā phalam || [23 ||*] Sva-dattām̄ para-dattām̄ vā yō harēta vasum̄dharām̄(rām) |
[sha]shṭimva[r]sha¹²-sahastrā(śrā)ṇi viśthāyām̄ jāyatē kṛimih || [24 ||*]
- 38 Dēva-śvā(svā)ni hara[m*]t-iha narā naraka-nirha(rbha)yāḥ || (|) vra(bra)hma-svāni tu yē
mōhāt=pachyantē narakēshu vai || [25 ||*] Yāvat=sūrya-sa(sa)sām-
- 39 kau yāvach=cha mahi¹³-mahīdhar-āmpu(bu)patayah || (|) tāvad= Yādava-kulajair=grāmāḥ
pālyā mahīpālaih || [26 ||*] Kāyasthē(stha)-Taikataiyēna
- 40 Vijayē(yai)ya-sutēna hi | śāsa(sa)nam̄ rachitam̄ samya[g=bhū]māv=asatu guṇātabudhāḥ¹⁴
|| [27 ||*] Sōhanaiya-sutēna Bhrattēna¹⁵ ghaṭitam̄(tam) ||

¹ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* after *ha*.

² Read *Vāsīmō*.

³ Read *grāmō=tha dākshinātyē*.

⁴ Can the intended reading be *Dhvaja ā-sandhi grāmah* ?

⁵ Better read *nripasya*.

⁶ *Gajērahatagrāmah* or *Gajērāham̄tagrāmah* is probably intended.

⁷ Probably *patthara*⁹ is intended.

⁸ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁹ The letter *sta* is written above *ma* in small characters.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹¹ This word is to be connected with *Yādava-śēkharēna* in verse 14 above.

¹² Read *shashṭim varsha*.

¹³ Read *yāvan=mahī* to suit the metre.

¹⁴ Read *guṇ-ādibhiḥ* or *guṇād=budhāḥ*.

¹⁵ Read *Bharathēna*.

B

- 1 Siddham¹ ||Tatō hi | **Bhillamasya** tu vaṁśē=bhūd=rājā Dharmma iv=āparaḥ | S[ē]-
ūnachaṁdra iti vikhyātō(taś)=chaṁdra
- 2 iv=ōditaḥ | [*] 1 | [*] Nimajyaṁ(jjaṁ)taṁ svakaṁ rāshṭraṁ dāyādair=vvipraluṁpitaṁ
(tam) | samu[d*]dhṛitya
- 3 sthitō rājyē Kōlarūp=iva daṁshṭrayā || 2[*] Yēn=ō[d*]dhṛitya va(ba)lān=nimajjanaparaṁ
Chālukya-
- 4 vaṁśaṁ kshitaḥ dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-maṁḍalika-sahitaṁ sā[dhv=a*]nvayaṁ Kōmkaṇaṁ-
(ṇam) | saṁsthāpyō ◡ ◡—
- 5 dvayēna² paṭunā Sēūṇa-sē(saṁ)[ñ]aṁ purāṁ bhuktaṁ ch=aiva sa-Nārmmadaṁ(da)-
• kshitalaṁ dig-maṁḍalaṁ dakṣiṇaṁ(ṇam)³ | [*] 3 | [*] Pradhāna-
- 6 vargasya mat-ānuvarttinā dvij-āpta-dēv-ārchchita-[l]ōka-sākṣiṇā [| *] dharmmaṁ paraṁ
Yādava-vaṁśa-Vishṇunā.
- 7 snēhaṁ cha kīrtti[m*] cha vibhu(bhū)tim=ichchhunā | [*] 4 | [*] Śrīdha[ra-daṁḍā]-
dhipatē[r*]=ggrāmaṁ sa-khaśchakaṁ⁴ cha maṁ(ma)tv=ēha | **Kumarahara-**
- 8 **sya** cha⁵ arthhē **Dōulavalay**=arpitā tēna | [*] 5 | [*] Simnaḥ⁶ kathhyantē | Pu(Pū)rrvē tu
Takaligrāma[ś*]=Chimchavēhara⁷ dakṣiṇē [*] Sōha[vaḥ pa]-
- 9 śchimē ch=aiva Aṁvī ch=aiva tu⁸ uttarē || [6*] | [*] bhadrām=astu || Siddham⁹||

¹ Expressed by symbol.

² Probably *saṁsthāpya=ōbhayam=a-dvayēna* or *sthāpya dvayam=a-dva*^o is intended.

³ Better read *dalē dakṣiṇē*.

⁴ Probably *sa-kachchhakaṁ* is intended.

⁵ *Sandhi* is not observed here. Read *sya hy=arthhē*.

⁶ Read *sīmānaḥ*.

⁷ The name of the village was probably Chimchavēharā, the last letter of which is shortened perhaps to suit the metre.

⁸ *Sandhi* is not observed here. Read *ch=aiva hy=Aṁvī ch=aiva tath=ōttarē*.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol which is similar to that found in line 1.

No. 17—TWO GRANTS OF UNDIRAJA III

(4 Plates)

LATE K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND¹

(Received on 15.2.1964)

The two copper-plate grants edited here for the first time, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, were issued by **Uṇḍīśvara (or Uṇḍirāja) III** who belonged to one of the families of ruling chiefs who held sway in some portions of Andhra Pradesh during the 14th century.

A. The Gōḍapaṛṅṅu Grant of Śaka 1299

This is the earlier of the two grants sent by the Collector of the East Godavari District to the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India during 1938-39 and has been noticed in the *A.R. Ep.* for that year.² It is stated that the original plates were with Shri Nanyam Suryanarayanamurti of the village **Vēlapalam**, Kakinada Taluk, East Godavari District. It consists of a set of five thick copper-plates, each measuring about 25.4 cm in length and 11 cm in breadth, strung together to a circular ring 12 cm in diameter and 1 cm in thickness which passes through a circular hole of about 1.5 cm in diameter cut in the middle of the left margin of all the plates. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a plain bracket at the back of a circular seal of .6 cm in thickness and 4 cm in diameter bearing in bold relief the figure of a couchant bull facing proper left with the symbols for the Sun and the Crescent above it. The complete set together with the ring and the seal weighs 4.48 kg. The plates are marked in Telugu-Kannada numerals near the ring hole on the reverse side towards the left margin.

The charter is engraved in Telugu characters of about the 14th century which resemble those of the records of the Redḍi kings³ and of the Telugu-Chōḍas of the area.⁴ The letters are deeply cut and the record offers no difficulty in decipherment. There are no special features worthy to be mentioned here with regard to the orthography. But for the use of Telugu words introduced while describing the boundaries of the gift village and the signature of the donor at the end, the language of the record is Sanskrit, in verse. A special feature of this as well as of the other record is that a number of imprecatory verses quoted at the end mention their original sources.

The date of the grant is given in verse 32 as Śaka year *ratna-namda-dyumanī*, i.e. 1299, the cyclic year **Piṅgaḷa, Śukla** (i.e. Śukra) or **Jyēshṭha ba. 5, Wednesday and Vaidhṛiti (Yōga)** when the sun was entering the **Mithuna (rāśi)**, i.e. the day of *Mithuna-saṅkramaṇa*. These details correspond to the **27th May, 1377 A.D. (f.d.t. 21)**. The *saṅkramaṇa*, however, fell on the next day according to *An Indian Ephemeris* by S. K. Pillai. The object of the charter is to record the tax-free grant of the village **Gōḍapaṛṅṅu** by the ruler **Uṇḍīśvara III** to a number of Brāhmanas.

The charter begins with a floral design followed by three verses invoking respectively the three deities, viz. the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, **Lambōdara** (i.e. Gaṇēśa) and the Moon. Then follow five verses (verses 4-8) describing the mythical genealogy of the family which starts from **Śrīramaṇa** (i.e. Vishṇu) and **Brahman, Marīchi, Kaśyapa, Bhānu, Manu, Ikshvāku and Rāma**. This is followed by twentyone verses which give the historical genealogy of the donor which may be

¹ [We regret to record the sad and sudden death of Shri Sarma on 14. 4. 1964.—Ed.]

² No. 13 of Appendix A in *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39.

³ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 137 ff.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 41 ff.; also Vol. XXXIII, pp. 219-34.

summarised as follows. In the solar race there was a lineage belonging to the Harita gōtra (verse 9) in which was born a king named **Rājarāja** (verse 10). His son **Uṇḍīśvara (I)** was the slayer of the groups of feudal lords (verse 11). His son was **Dēvarāja** (verse 12) whose son **Uṇḍīśvara (II)** was a devotee of **Chañḍīśa** (i.e. Śiva) and was the very sun among the feudatories (verse 13). To him and to his wife **Bimmidēvi** (verse 14) was born **Tammarāja**, a righteous ruler (verse 15-16). To him and to his wife **Virāmadēvi** was born **Uṇḍīśvara (III)** (verse 17), who was strong in his sword (verse 18). With his wife **Rudramadēvi** of **Mānavyasa** gōtra (verses 19-20), he was ruling over many cities and famous territories from his capital **Sūrāvaram** situated in the country called **Gōmṭūri** (verses 21-22). He was well known by his titles like *Rājaveśyābhujānga*, *Aśvādānadīśhāguru*, *Nadaḡōtamalla* and *Namīmēru* (verses 23-24). (On earlier occasion) he had exempted from taxes the village **Parumballi** in **Vēṅḡidēśa** and granted the tax-free village **Niḡumrānūru** in **Gōmṭūridēśa** to the **Brāhmaṇas** by renaming them respectively as **Tamnavaram** and **Viravaram** after his own father and mother (verses 25-26). He also made on behalf of the **Brāhmaṇas** tax-free gifts of the village **Gōpavaram** in **Pānāradēśa** together with the hamlets **Horṅkapalli** and **Cherupakanuma**, the village **Kāśapāḡu** with the hamlet **Chimṭapalli** in **Vēṅḡidēśa** and **Vipparū** together with (the hamlets) **Barṅḡārupalli** and **Kāṅḡapalli** which were also situated in **Vēṅḡidēśa** after renaming all as **Uṇḡīśvarapura** after himself (verses 27-29).

Verse 30 describes in general terms the virtues of **Uṇḡīśvara III** while in verse 31 he is stated to be engaged in making a tax-free grant. The next verse furnishes the details of the date of the grant, already discussed, and says that the king made, on that date, a tax-free gift of the village **Gōḡaparrū** to the **Brāhmaṇas** together with its *bhōgas* and its cultivators, after renaming it also as **Uṇḡīśapura**. Then follows, in lines 53-67, a list of thirtytwo donees with the details of their *Sākhās* and *gōtras*. It is stated that each of the donees is to get a single share. The list of the donees is given below.

Serial No.	Name of the Donee	<i>Sākhā</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
1	Siṅgaya	Yajus	Bhāradvāja
2	Peddaya	"	"
3	Avubhaḡa	"	"
4	Māchena	"	"
5	Tallubhaṡṡa	"	"
6	Viśvēśvara	"	"
7	Vallabha	"	"
8	Mācaya	"	"
9	Lakshmaṇa	"	Harita
10	Allubhaṡṡa	"	"
11	Appana	"	"
12	Sarvaya	"	"
13	Siṅgaya	"	Vādhūla
14	Mallaya	"	"
15	Mārubhaṡṡa	"	Kaumḡiṅya
16	Peddaya	"	"

Serial No.	Name of the Donee	<i>Śākṣā</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
17	Narahari	Yajus	Kaumḍinya
18	Mādhava	Bahvṛicha	Śrīvatsa
19	Narahari	Yajus	„
20	Śridharabhaṭṭa	„	Kāśyapa
21	Siṅgayabhaṭṭa	„	„
22	Mallaya	„	„
23	Lakshmanabhaṭṭa ¹	„	Parāśara
24	Kommaya	„	Śathamarshaṇa
25	Pālaya	„	Kapi
26	Śrigiri	„	Gautama
27	Narahari	„	Śālāvata
28	Jiyana	„	Gautama
29	Appaya	„	Bhāradvāja
30	Siṅgaya	„	Śrīvatsa
31	Vallabha	„	Harita
32	Sōmaya	„	Bhāradvāja

The above list is followed in lines 67-77 by a detailed description in Telugu language of the boundaries of the gift village, which is followed by eight imprecatory and benedictory verses (verses 33-40) usually found in copper-plate charters. As has already been pointed out, the respective sources of these verses are also mentioned. Verse 41 records the king Uṅḍīvara's request to the future kings for protecting the gift, following the traditional Rāmachandra's request which is quoted in the next and the last verse. The record ends with the sign-manual of the king **Peda Uṅḍrāju**.²

The present charter is **important** as it is one of the two known records which bring to light the donor Uṅḍīsa III and his family—the other being the grant B edited below. Its importance is enhanced by the fact that it is not only earlier than the other record but also it gives the genealogy of the family for six generations as against the charter B which omits the names of the first two rulers. Moreover, the statement that Rudramadēvi, the queen of Uṅḍirāja III belonged to the Mānavyasa *gōtra* appears to suggest that the Sūravaram family had matrimonial alliances with the Eastern Chālukyas of later period, who are known to belong to the above *gōtra*. Though this inscription does not refer to any political achievements of any member

¹ The *Śākṣā* of this and of the remaining donees has not been mentioned.

² The Rājahmundry Museum Plates of Annadēva Chōḍa refers to a certain Pimnuṅḍibhūpa or Pina-Uṅḍirāja of solar race as the brother of the Telugu-Chōḍa king's wife (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 44, text lines 28-29). It has already been suggested that Pina-Uṅḍirāja was probably related to the king Peda-Uṅḍirāja of our record. Ibid., p. 39, see also M. S. Sarma. *Hist. of the Redḍi Kingdom*, p. 99).

of the family, the fact that the ruling chief Uṇḍirāja III does not mention any overlord indicates that he was an independent ruler on the date of the record. He seems to have enjoyed this position at least for five more years till the date of the record B where also he does not recognise any overlord. But there is a difficulty in accepting this view. The capital **Sūravaram** of Uṇḍirāja which is to be identified with the modern Sūravaraṭṭana,¹ in the Nuzavid Taluk, Krishna District, lay within the territory of the Reḍḍi kingdom of **Anavēma**, the greatest of the Reḍḍi rulers. Therefore, one would expect a reference to the overlordship of Anavēma Reḍḍi in our records. On the evidence of the Rajahmundry plates² it has been suggested that Anavōta could not subdue the Sūravaram chiefs as they were supported by the mighty Telugu-Chōḍa Bhaktirāja.³ But the Naḍupūru grant dated 1374 A.D.,⁴ the Palivela⁵ inscription dated 1377 A.D., the Drākshārāma record⁶ and the Vānapalli plates⁷ both dated in 1381 A.D., all belonging to the reign of Anavēma Reḍḍi show that this Reḍḍi king had undertaken several successful expeditions in the eastern region and brought it under his control thereby indicating that Uṇḍirāja III could not have ruled independently. Therefore, we may conclude that the Reḍḍi king Anavēma, who might have been pre-occupied with some political problems, allowed the Sūravaram rulers to govern independently for sometime.⁸

Several villages are mentioned in this grant. Sūravaram, the donor's residence in the Gōmṭūri-vṛittidēśa has already been identified. Erramaḍa over which the donor is said to have been ruling may perhaps be Erramāḍu in the Tiruvūr division of the Krishna District. The gift villages Paṛumballi in Vēmḡidēśa, Niḍumrānūru in Gōmṭūrivṛitti-dēśa, Gōpavaram with Homkapalli and Cheruvu-kanuma in Pānāra-dēśa, Chintāpalli, Kāsapāḍu, Vipparu, Baṁḍārupalli and Kāmkaṛapalli in Vēmḡidēśa can all perhaps be identified respectively with Parimella in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District, Niḍamaṛru in the Guntur Taluk and Guntur District, Gōpavaram in the Bhīmavaram Taluk of the West Godavari District, Chintāpalli in the Nuzavid Taluk of the Krishna District, Kāsapāḍu in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District respectively. The regions Vēmḡidēśa, Pānāra-dēśa and Gōmṭūrivṛitti-dēśa in which all the above villages are said to have been situated and over which obviously Uṇḍirāja III held sway comprise roughly the major parts of the present West Godavari and the Krishna Districts and some portions of the Guntur District. The main gift village Gōḍapaṛru may be identified with Gōḍavaṛru, a village in the Gannavaram Taluk of the Krishna District. The other geographical names such as Sōmōju-baṁḍa, Tōra-baṁḍa, Billamḍi-baṁḍa, Naṁdicheṛuvu, Nallaṁgara, and Śēkaramu mentioned in connection with the boundaries are obviously names of localities round about the gift village.

¹ See M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, pp. 99, 13; cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 26-27.

² Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 43, text line 12.

³ M. S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 236 ff.

⁵ *SI*, Vol. V, No. 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1379.

⁷ Above, Vol. III, pp. 59 ff.

⁸ [The probable explanation of the situation appears to be this: The Telugu-Chōḍa ruler Bhaktirāja who supported the Sūravaram chiefs in the battle against Anavōta seems to have continued to support Uṇḍirāja III also. So the Reḍḍi king Anavēma did not think it wise to clash with them at least upto 1383 A.D., the date of record B. In that case our records may indirectly suggest that Bhaktirāja's rule came to an end only some time after 1383 A.D. (Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 21, 23-29).—Ed.]

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 7, 8 *Upajāti*; verse 2 *Indravajrā*; verses 3-6, 9-18, 20, 22, 23, 31, 33-41 *Anushtubh*; verses 19, 26-27 *Āryā*; verses 21, 24, 28 *Gīti*; verse 25 *Udgīti*; verse 29 *Upagīti*; verse 30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 32 *Sragdharā*; verse 42 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate, Second Side²

- 1 *Śrīmañtam=añta[h*] śrita-pārijātañ. Varāha-rūpañ Vanajāksham=iḍe | ya-
- 2 d-damshṭrayā bhūr=vidṛi(dhṛi)tā dharitrī kshamā sthir-ēti prathitā vibhāti || [1*]
Lambōdara-
- 3 m kambu-manōjña-damñtam=añta[h*] smarāmy=añtarit-añtarāyañ (yam) | yat-pā-
- 4 da-padma-smaraṇañ janānāñ Kalpadrumāñ Kāmadughā cha dhēnuḥ || [2*] Kalayā-
- 5 mi kalām Chāñdrīm kalayē(y-ā)py=a-laya-sprisañ(śam) | yat-sudhā-sikta-śrshatvā-
- 6 t kila Mṛityumjayaś=Śivaḥ || [3*] Asti Śrīramaṇō dēvas=tasya nābhī-sa-
- 7 rōruhāt | Brahm=ābhūt=tasya manasō Marīchir=abhavan=muniḥ || [4*] Kasyapa-
- 8 s=tat-sutas=tasya Bhānus=sūnur=abhūt=tataḥ | Vaivasvat-āhvayō nāma Manu-
- 9 r-āsīn=mahā-dyutiḥ||[5*] Ikshvākus=tat-sutas=tasya vañśē n-aikē=bhavan=nṛipāḥ | arthi-ka-
- 10 lpā guṇ-ākalpā marut-kalpā[h*] sva-talpagāḥ || [6*] Nirasta-dōshā nibiḍa-pratāpā
- 11 nitāñta-tējō-nichit-ākhil-āsāḥ | vṛitt-ōjva(jjva)lā vṛitra-vidāraṇ-ōtkā-
- 12 s=Śūry-ōpamās=Śūryya-kula-kshitiśāḥ || [7*] Kim varṇyatē Bhānuma-

Second Plate, First Side³

- 13 tō=navavāyaḥ pumāñ purāñē(ṇō)=jani yatra vañśē | Rām-ātmanā rākshasa-rāja-
- 14 rājatrājīva⁴-rājī-rajanīkar-ātmā || [8*] Tad-vañśē vidyatē gōtrañ gōtrāyā-
- 15 m=ati-vīsrutañ(tam) | pavitrañ Harit-ābhikhyañ nṛiparatna-mahākhanīḥ || [9*] Rājarā-
- 16 j-āhvayō rājā tatr-ājani nija-śriyā | Rājarāja-samaḥ kiñ cha rāja-rā-
- 17 jishu rājitaḥ || [10*] Tasy=āsīt=tanayō dhīmāñ=Uñḍīśvara-mahīśvaraḥ | prachaiñḍa-
- 18 mañḍalādhiśa-mañḍalāvali-khañḍanaḥ || [11*] Dēvarāj-ākhyayā khyātas=ta-
- 19 sy=ābhūt=tanu-sambhavaḥ | bhāsvatā yēna padmardhir=bhuvanēshu prakās(i)tā || [12*]
- 20 Ma[m*]ḍalēśvara-mārttāmḍaś=Chāñḍīśa-pada-bhaktimāñ | Uñḍīśvaras=tanūjō=sya ma-
- 21 mñditō guṇa-mañḍanañ || [13*] Tasy=āsīt Bimmidēv=iti dēvī Dēvapatēr=iva | Pulō-
- 22 majā Harēr-Lakshmīr=iva Śāmbhōr=iv=Ādriyā || [14*] Tanmarāj-āhvayō rājā
- 23 tayōr=āsīt=tanūbhavaḥ | dēvaḥ Kṛishṇa iva śrīmāñ Dēvaki-Vasudēvayō[h] || [15*]
- 24 Hariśchāñdrē yathā satyañ pūrvam=as[kha]litañ sthitañ(tam) | tath=aiv=āsmin sthitañ śa-

¹ From impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

² The plate is marked as one.

³ There is a floral design at the beginning of this line.

⁴ The plate is marked as two.

⁵ Read °jad-rājīya.

Second Plate, Second Side

- 25 śvat varnyatē kim=ataḥ param(ram) || [16*] Abhūt Vīramadēv=iti dēvi tasya dharāpatēḥ |
 26 Uṁdīśvaras=tayōr=āsīt=tanūjātaḥ pratāpavān || [17*] Kṛishṇ-ātmā yasya satkha(t-kha)dgō
 27 Vijayēna samādrītaḥ | Pradyumn-ōtpattikṛit śaśvad=Ugrasēn-ābhinaṁditāḥ
 28 || [18*] Jāta-kumārā bhūbhrij-jātā sa-śivā Śivōpamēy=āsīt | Rudramadē-
 29 vi dēvi yasy=āsīt pattabamdhādhyā || [19*] Mānavyasa-mahā-gōtra-bhavayā sahita-
 30 s=tayā | nityam naimittikaṁ kāmyam karma yaḥ kurutē=nvahaṁ(ham) || [20*] Sūrāvaram
 =i-
 31 t nāmnā purāvaram=abha[va*]n=nivāsabhūs=tasya | Gōmṭūrivṛitti-dēs-ōjva(jjva)la-
 mau-
 32 ktika-hāra-nāyak-ōdāram(ram) || [21*] Bahūny=Erramad-ādīni yaḥ purāny=abhyapālaya-
 33 t | asamkhyātān=ati-khyātān dēsān kurvan=nidēsagān || [22*] Anēka-birud-ōdā-
 34 ram Rājavēśyābhujamgakaṁ(kam) | birudaṁ yō=vahat khyātam vijit-āri-ma-
 35 hīśvaraḥ || [23] Param=aśvadānadikshāgurur=iti birudēna yō=bhavat khyātāḥ | Na-
 36 ḍagōtamalla-nāmnā birudēna cha Namdimēru-birudēna || [24*] Paṇumballi¹-

Third Plate, First Side

- 37 m=a-karam=akarōt viprēbhyō Vēṁgidēsē yaḥ | grāmam Tamṁavar-ākhyam
 38 kṛitvā nija-ṁjanaka-nāmadhēyēna || [25*] yas=tadanū mātri-nāmnā Virāvar-ākhyam vi-
 39 dhāya vikhyātām || (tam |) Gōmṭūrivṛitti-dēsē Niḍumrānūrūm¹ dvi-jēbhō=dāt || [26*]
 40 Pānāradēsagām yas=sa-Horṁkapallim cha Cherupakanumēna | Uṁdīśvarapura-
 41 m=akaram Gōpavaram sv-ākhyay=ākārshīt || [27*] Bhaktyā dvi-jasād=akarōt sa-Chim-
 42 tapallim cha Kāsapādum yaḥ | Uṁdīśvarapura-samjñam sva-nāmadhēyē-
 43 na Vēṁgidēsastham (stham) || [28*] Uṁdīśvarapura-nāmnā Vipparum viprasād=akarōt |
 Bam-
 44 dārupalli-Kāmkarapallibhyām Vēṁgidēsastham (stham) || [29*] Bamdhūn=umnamayan²
 ripūn vi-
 45 namayan sampādayan sampadaṁ namdaṁ kaṁdalayan yaśaḥ prithulaya-
 46 n vidyās=samudyō(ddyō)tayan | pushyan dharmam=upārjayan guṇagaṇān
 47 samvarjayan dushkritān maryādām=aparityajan vijayatō yaḥ pāla-
 48 yann=artthinah || [30*] Uṁdīśvarō=yam=udyuktō dātum daṁdita-śātrava[h] | [a]grahā-

Third Plate, Second Side³

- 49 ram dvi-janmābhyas=samagrāhāram=agriyam(yam) || [31*] Śāk-ābdē ratna-namda-
 dyumaṇi-pa-
 50 rimitē Pīṁgālē Śukla(kra)-Kṛishṇō Paṁchamyām Sāumyā-vārē praviśati
 Mithunam Bhā-
 51 skarē Vaidhritau cha | kṛitv=ātmīy-ākhyay=ādādvi(d=dvi)javara-tatayē Gōdapa-
 rrum sabhō-

¹ This place name violates the metre.² Read 'n=umnam'.³ The plate is marked as three.

TWO GRANTS OF UNDIRAJA III—PLATE I

(a) Godaparru Grant of Saka 1299

i

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ii, a

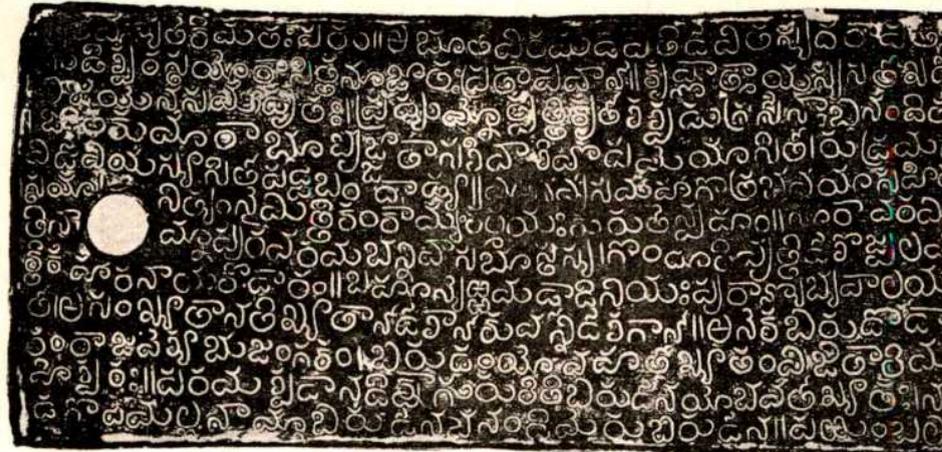
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ii, b

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iii, a

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iii, b

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iv, a

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 72

62
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 68
 70
 72

- 52 gair=Uṁḍīś-ākhyam puram satkṛi(t-kṛi)shika-mukha-janair=Uṁḍī(di)-bhūmīśvarō=yam-
(yam) || [32*]
- 53 Atra vrittimaṁtaḥ ||¹ Siṁgayāryaḥ | Peddayāryaḥ | Avubhaḷāryaḥ||
- 54 Māchenāryaḥ | Tallubhattāryaḥ | Viśvēśvarāryaḥ | Val[ī]abhāryaḥ | Mārayāryaḥ |
- 55 ētē Yājushāḥ Bhāradva(dvā)ja-gōtrāḥ | Lakshmanāryaḥ | Allubhattāryaḥ | Appanā-
56 ryāḥ | Sarvayāryaḥ | ētē Yājushāḥ Harita-gōtrāḥ | Siṁgayāryaḥ | Malla-
57 yāryaḥ | ētau Yājushau Vādhūla-gōtrau | Mārubbhattāryaḥ | Peddayāryaḥ ||²
- 58 Naraharyā[r*]jyāḥ | ētē Yājushāḥ(shāḥ) |³ Kauṁḍīnya-gōtrāḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ |⁴Ba-
59 hvṛichāḥ | Naraharyāryaḥ |³ Yājushāḥ(shāḥ) ētau Śrīvatsa-gōtrau | Śrīdharabhattā-
ryaḥ|
- 60 Siṁgayabhattāryaḥ | Mallayāryaḥ | ētē Yājushāḥ Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ | Lakshma-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 61 nabhattāryaḥ |² Parāśara-gōtraḥ | Koṁmayāryaḥ |² Śaṭa(ṭha)ma[r*]shana-gōtraḥ | P[ā]la-
62 yāryaḥ |² Kapi-gōtraḥ | Śrīgiryāryaḥ |² Gautama-gōtraḥ | Naraharyāryaḥ |² Śālāva-
63 ta-gōtraḥ | Jīyanāryaḥ |² Gautama-gōtraḥ | Appayāryaḥ |² Bhāradvāja-gōtra[h]
- 64 | Siṁgayāryaḥ |² Śrīvatsa-gōtraḥ | Vallabhāryaḥ |² Harita-gōtraḥ | Sōmayāryaḥ |¹
- 65 Bhāradvāja-gōtraḥ |² atra śāsa-
- 66 nē likhitānām sarvvēśhā[m*] brāhmaṇānām(nām) asmin grāmē pratyēkam=ēk-ai-
67 kō bhāgaḥ || Asya grāmasya sīmānaḥ | Aisānyataḥ Sōmōju-baṁḍa tū-
68 rppu-gaṭṭu | Ā taruvātānu Tōra-baṁḍa tūrpu-gaṭṭu | rpu(pū)rvataḥ |² Kaṭāṁtalāva
69 paḍamaṭi-koṁmu | Ā taruvātānu Billāṁḍi-baṁḍa paḍumaṭi-koṁmu
70 | Āgnēyataḥ Nāmdicheruvu paḍumaṭi-koṁmu | Ā taruvātānu Pegguru-
71 vula-guṁṭa tūrppu-gaṭṭu | Ā taruvātānu Nallaṁgara | dakshīnata[h*] |² Ā vanāḍi[mī]
72 Siripumjarapuṁ-gōḍu | Nairriyataḥ |² Muḍiyavāni-guṁṭa tūrpu-gaṭṭu | paśchi-

Fourth Plate, Second Side⁴

- 73 mataḥ Um(U)limiri-baṁḍa tūrpu-gaṭṭu | Ā taruvātānu Kaḍamula-cheru-
74 vu tūrpu-gaṭṭu | Ā taruvātānu Kāmarūpu-baṁḍa tūrpu-gaṭṭu | Ā taru-
75 vātānu Masimukkula-guṁṭa tūrpu-gaṭṭu | Ā taruvātānu marri-baṁḍa | Vā-
76 yavyataḥ |² Śēkaramu | Ā taruvātānu=urikaṁbhamu puṭṭa | uttarataḥ |² eṛṅgaruvu
77 uttarapu Valni pedda-puṁṭa | pālana-sukṛita-prakāśan-ārttham purātānāḥ kēchana śiṭ.
78 kā likhyaṁtē | Purāṇē | Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāt śrēyō:-
79 nupālanam(nam) | dānāt svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=Achyutaṁ padam(dam) || [33*]
80 Itihāśē | Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ paripālītā | yasya
81 yasya yadhā(dā) bhūmīś=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [34*] Pārhaspatyē | Śatruṁ=āpi
82 kritō dharmāḥ pālaniyaḥ prayatnataḥ | śatruṁ=ēva hi śatru[h*] | yāt dharmāś=śatru-

¹ After this punctuation, there are two symbols.

² This punctuation is unnecessary.

³ There is a big gap left unengraved between this *danda* and *atra*.

⁴ This side of the plate is marked as four.

- 83 r=na kasyachit ॥ [35*] śrī-Mahābhāratē | Sva-dattādvi(d=dvi)guṇam puṇyam para-datt-
ānu-
- 84 pālanam(nam) | para-datt-āpahāreṇa sva-dattam nishphalam bhavēt ॥ [36*] Apaharaṇa-
dōsha-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 85 prakāśan-ārtham purātanāḥ kōchana ślōkā likhyamte ॥ śrī-Mahābhāratē | Sva-da-
86 ttām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṇdharām(rām) | shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi
87 viśthāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ ॥ [37*] Dharmasāstrē | Gām-ēkām ratti(tni)kām-ēkām
88 bhūmēr=apy-ēkam=amgulam(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=ābhūta-
89 samplavam(vam) ॥ [38*] Purāṇē | Na viśam viśam=ity=āhu[h*] brahma-svam viśam=
uchyatē |
90 viśam=ekākinam haṁti brahmasva[in*] putra-pautrakam(kam) ॥ [39*] Ēk=aiva bhagini
lōkē sarvō-
91 shām-ēva bhūbhujām (jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṇdharā ॥ [40*]
92 kim ch=aitat dhā(dā)tri-vachanam | Yāchatē bhāvinō bhūpān=Uṇḍisvara-mahisvarah ॥
93 mayā kṛitam=imam dharmam bhavāntah pālayamtv=iti ॥ [41*] śrī-Rāmachandronā=py=
ēvam-ē
94 v-ōktam(ktam) | Sa(Sā)mānyō=yam dharmasētur=[nri]pānam kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ
[|*] sarvān=ēvam bhā-
95 vīnah pārvīv[īn]drā[n] bhūyō bhuyō yāchatē Rā[ma*]chandrā(drah) | (||) [42*] Peda-Uṇḍrāju
96 vrālu¹

B. Rāvulaparti Grant of Śaka 1304

This charter was secured in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India as early as in 1917 from the village **Pentapādu** in the Tanuku Taluk of the present West Godavari District and was noticed in the *A. R. Ep.* for the year 1917-18.² It consists of a set of seven rectangular copper plates each measuring about 24 cm in length and 11 cm in breadth with a ring hole of 1.5 cm in diameter near the left margin of all the plates. It is stated that these plates were strung into a ring which had a circular seal bearing no emblem or legend.³ We have seen that the emblem on the seal of the charter **A** was the couchant bull similar to that of the Reddis. It indicates the leanings of the chiefs of Sūravarām family towards Śaivism. The plates are marked in the Telugu-Kannada numerals on the outer-side towards the left margin near the ring hole.

In respect of **palaeography**, **orthography** and **language**, the present record resembles the charter **A** discussed above.

The charter has been issued by the same **Uṇḍisvara** who issued charter **A** edited above. The details of the date given in verse 26, viz. **Śaka year ambhōdhi-viyad-guṇa-indu**, i.e. **1304, Durūdubhi, Māgha śu. 10, Thursday**, appear to correspond to **Thursday, the 15th January, 1383 A.D.**, though according to S. K. Pillai's *An Indian Ephemeris*, the *tithi* ended at 94 on the previous day. Thus the present charter was issued more than five and a half years later than the charter **A**.

¹ These two words are engraved in bigger characters.

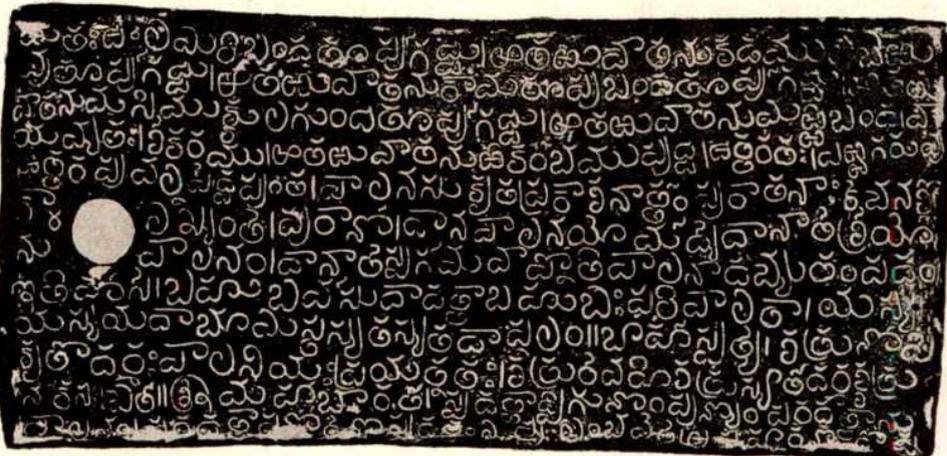
² No. 16 of Appendix A. Another set of copper plates of the Telugu-Chōḍa king Bhaktirāja is also found in the same village. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 219-34.

³ *A. R. Ep.* 1917-18, pp. 172-73.

TWO GRANTS OF UNDIRAJA III—PLATE II

iv, b

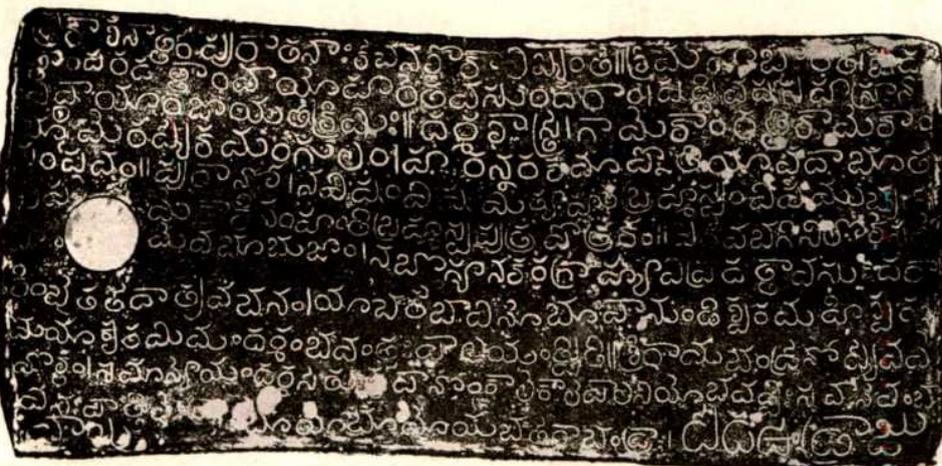
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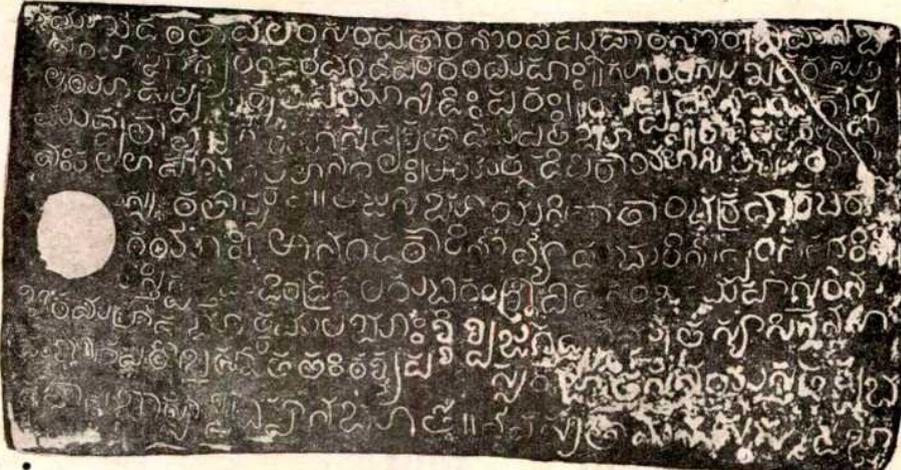


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(b) Ravulaparti Grant of Saka 1304

i, b*

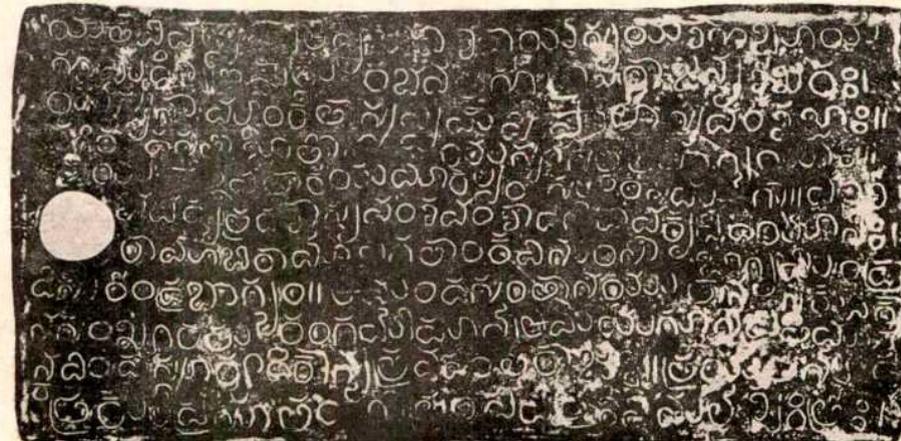
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ii, a

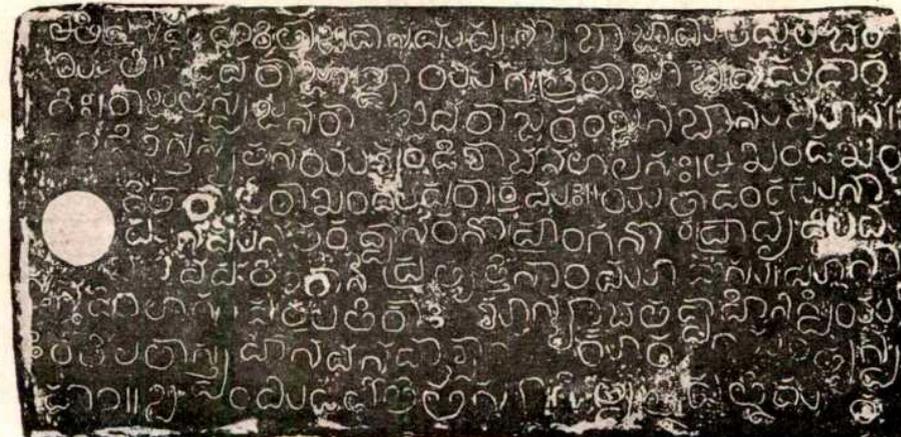
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ii, b

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The introductory portion of the record consisting of the first 25 verses does not add any important information to our knowledge regarding the donor and his forefathers. As has already been pointed out, it omits in its description of the genealogy the first two names, viz. Rājarāja and Uṇḍīśvara I found in charter A. However, our present charter speaks of Uṇḍīśvara's *purōhita* called Nṛisimha who is stated to belong to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and to be responsible along with his brothers,¹ for the charity (verse 20) of creating a certain settlement of the Brāhmaṇas. This settlement is obviously the same as the one mentioned in our record. Verse 26 gives the details of the date already discussed and together with the next verse it says that the king Uṇḍīśvara granted to the Brāhmaṇas the village known as **Rāvulaparti** consisting of eighty shares together with its northern boundary lands of three *khāri* of Uṃgutūri *khētra* (i.e. three *khāri-vāpa* of cultivable land in Uṃgutūru) with a tank attached. Verses 28-53 give a list of the names of seventy donees, with their *gōtras*, *sākhās*, etc. out of whom only one named Nṛisimha of Bhāradvāja-gōtra (No. 22) evidently the king's *purōhita* described in verse 20 above, gets 3 shares. Of the remaining persons only eight Brāhmaṇas (Nos. 1, 4, 46-48, 54-55 and 70 of the list given below) received two shares each, while the rest got one share each. The list is as follows :

Serial No.	Name of the Donee	<i>Sākhā</i> or <i>Sūtra</i> , etc.	<i>Gōtra</i>
1	Sōmanātha	Yajus	Harita
2	Vēmūri Mārāya	Sāma	"
3	Peddibhatṭa	Rig	"
4	Kāmāya	Yajus	"
5	Sōma	Rig	"
6	Pūṃginānti Rāmāya	Āsvalāyana	"
7	Prōlaya	Yajus	"
8	Prōlaya	"	"
9	Pedapūṃḍi Talla . . . . .	....	"
10	Kollāryya . . . . .	....	"
11	Chidīpi Peddōjjha . . . . .	....	"
12	Garimimḍla Anamta . . . . .	....	"
13	Ērūri Tallubhatṭa . . . . .	....	"
14	Challagaraga Vallabha	Rig	Kaundinya
15	Vajrāṅka Narasimha	Yajus	"
16	Dōnāya	"	"
17	Demdulūri Rāmāya	"	"
18	Amnana	"	"
19	Garṅgādihara	"	"
20	Sōma	"	"
21	A[1]lāḍa . . . . .	....	"

¹ From the plural form *bhrātrībhiḥ*, it appears that Nṛisimha had more than two brothers.

Serial No.	Name of the Donee	Śākhā or Sūtra, etc.	Gōtra
22	Nṛisīḥa	R̥g	Bhāradvāja
23	Aubhajanātha . . . . .	....	"
24	Pōtibhaṭṭa . . . . .	....	"
25	Nṛisimha (the minister) . . . . .	....	"
26	Peddaya . . . . .	....	"
27	Mallaya . . . . .	....	"
28	Nāga . . . . .	....	"
29	Rāma . . . . .	....	Kauśika
30	Sōmaya	Āsvalāyana	"
31	Muppāvarapu Prōla	Yajus	"
32	Gaṇapati	Taittirīya	"
33	Tippaya . . . . .	....	"
34	Rampa Pōlaya . . . . .	....	"
35	Peddojjha	R̥g	Śrīvatsa
36	Viśvēśvara . . . . .	....	"
37	Annama	Yajus	"
38	Ellaya . . . . .	....	"
39	Rājanampāti Narasimha . . . . .	....	"
40	Allāḍa . . . . .	....	Ātrēya
41	Narasimha . . . . .	....	"
42	Sōmaya . . . . .	....	"
43	Aubhajaṃalla . . . . .	....	"
44	Rāmakṛishṇa . . . . .	....	Vādhūla
45	Ālamūri Dōnaya . . . . .	....	"
46	Gaṇapati . . . . .	....	"
47	Kūchanārādhyā	Saivakarmātha	Āngirasa-Bārhaspatya- Bhāradvāja
48	Liṃgārādhyā	Saivāgama	"
49	Kottāri Dēvana (the minister) . . . . .	....	"
50	Gaṃgādhara . . . . .	....	Gārgya
51	Nṛisimha . . . . .	....	"
52	Allāḍa . . . . .	....	Parāśara
53	Nāgaya . . . . .	....	"

Serial No.	Name of the Donee	Śakhā or Sūtra, etc.	Gōtra
54	Anantabhaṭṭa	Śaivāgama	Kāśyapa
55	Rāmabhaṭṭa	"	"
56	Chennaya	"	"
57	Umguṭūri Peddi	"	"
58	Mulkuṭṭa Māraya	"	"
59	Sūraya	"	"
60	Dēvarōjjha	"	"
61	Kommaya (the minister)	"	"
62	Vallabha	Yajus	"
63	Mamṇa-Vallabha	Rig	"
64	Aubhalōjjha	Taittiriya	Śaṁḍilya •
65	Chikaṭi Rāma	Rig	Vaśishṭha
66	Dēharam Śiva . . . . .	....	Hārīta
67	Narasimha . . . . .	....	Śrīṅga-Bhāradvāja •
68	Anasōma . . . . .	....	Rathitara
69	Kommaya . . . . .	....	"
70	Viraghamṭa Mādhava	Yajus	....

The above list of donees is followed by three verses (verses 54-56) specifying the boundaries of the gift village. It is stated that at its eastern and south-eastern boundaries was Rēkōḍu and that Perṇḍikōḍu, Vādulakanuma, Nāgulakadamulakōḍu, Aluvukōḍu, Cheruvāvaliputṭlā and Rēnakumṭa were respectively the remaining six boundaries. Then come nine imprecatory and benedictory verses (verses 57-65). The next verse (verse 66) tells us that the text of the *śāsana* was composed by Śrīvallabha of Kāṇva-gōtra, stated to be proficient in Vēda and Śāstra and to be a devotee of (god) Kṛishṇa. The record ends with the expression *śri-Varāhadēvo rakshatu* with a floral design on either side.

There is a **postscript** containing four verses (verses 67-70) engraved on the obverse of the first plate. It enumerates a list of eleven villages granted by the king, obviously on different occasions. Of them, the grants of Gōpavaram, Kāśapāḍu, Vipparṇu, Niḍumrānūru and Parrumballi have already been referred to in charter A, while the grant of Gūḍaparṇu is the main object of the same record. The grants of the other five villages, viz. Umguṭūru, Komḍruprōlu, Kada-kaṭṭu, Pallivāḍa and Tāṁḍipalli which are not mentioned in grant A might have been made by the king sometime between the dates of these two records.

As has already been pointed out, the only historical importance of this charter lies in that it extends the independent rule of Uṇḍirāja III upto January, 1383 A.D.

Of the geographical names, the gift-village **Rāvulaparti** may be identified with the present Rāvulaparṇu in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District. Umguṭūru which is said to have been to the north of the gift village may be identified with the village of the same name in

the same taluk and district. Sūravaram, the capital, and many other gift villages like Gōpavaram, Cheruvakanuma, Kāśapādu, Chintapalli Vipparū, Bhamdārupalli, Niḍumrānūru, Paṅṅumballi and Gōḍaparru have been already identified. The other villages like Kātṭaparru, Koṇḍruprōlu, Kaḍakaṭṭu, Pallivāḍa and Tāṇḍipalli may perhaps be identified respectively with Kalaparru in the Ellore Taluk of West Godavari District, Koṇḍruprōlu in the Yernagudem Taluk of Krishna District and Tāḍēpalli also in the same Taluk. The village Ōṃkapalli and the other names mentioned in connection with the boundaries of the gift village such as Rēkōḍu, Peṇḍikōḍu, Vāḍulakanuma, Cheruvāvali, etc. cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 3-4, 6-8, 12-13, 15-16, 23, 25, 28-29, 31-53, 57-64, 66-70 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Rathōddhatā* ; verses 5, 14, 20, 26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verses 10-11, 21 *Upajāti* ; verses 17, 19, 27 *Upagiti* ; verse 18 *Mālinī* ; verse 22 *Gīti* ; verse 24 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 30 *Udgīti* ; verses 54-56 *Āryā* ; verse 65 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate, Second Side

- 1 *Mukhē damtāvalam sampat-kāraṇam vighna-vāraṇam(ṇam) | Bhavānī-Bha-
- 2 vayōr=bhāgya-kamdam vandē param mahah || [1*] Sūkaras=sukha-karō=stu li-
- 3 layā palval[ī]kṛita-payōnidih(dhīh) parah ||(ī) yad-vishāṇā-kalikā-sa-
- 4 mudhdhri(ddhri)tā mu[sta]yā sadṛisatām=upaiti bhūh ||[2*] [Śirō-rpi]ta-kalābhā-
- 5 vaḥ Kalā pāyāt=Kalānidhēh | ayatna-dīpikā y=āsīt Śivayō-
- 6 s=s[u]rat-ōtsav[ē] || [3*] Tējasī bhūyasī pātām chakravāka-chakō-
- 7 rayōh | ānaṇḍa-kāriṇī vyōma-chāriṇī dhvānta-hāriṇī | [4*]
- 8 Asti sva[s]timad=imḍri(dra)nila-ruchiram śrī-Vishṇu-samjñam mahas=tamṇā(tan-nā)-
- 9 bhī-kamalād=abhūt=Kamalabhūh śśī(śi)lpī jagad-vēśmanah | tasy-āsīn=manasō
- 10 Marichir=aparō Brahnā(hmā) tataḥ Kāśyapas=samjātas=tanayas=tataś=cha bha-
- 11 gavān bhāsvān=Vivasvān=abhūt || [5*] Vaivasvatō Manus=tasmād=ajā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 yata Vivasvataḥ | ady=ā[pi vi]śadā yasya yaśasā bhūya-
- 13 sā mahī || [6*] Ikshvākur=abhavat=tasmād=rājā rājanya-śekharaḥ |
- 14 yasya nāmn=āmīkitās=sarvvō mahīpālā[h*] sva-vamśajāh || [7*]

¹ From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

² There is a floral design at the beginning of the line.

TWO GRANTS OF UNDIRAJA III—PLATE III

iii, a

34	...	34
36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40
42	...	42

iii, b

44	...	44
46	...	46
48	...	48
50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54

iv, a

56	...	56
58	...	58
60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64

iv, b

66	ಶ್ರೀಯುತಂ||ಅನ್ಯದಾತ್ತಂ ಬಾಧ್ಯಂ||ನೃಪತಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಂ||	66
68	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	68
70	ನೃಪತಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಂ||	70
72	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	72
74	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	74

v, a

76	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	76
78	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	78
80	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	80
82	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	82
84	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	84

v, b

86	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	86
88	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	88
90	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	90
92	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	92
94	ಯುಕ್ತಿಯುಗ್ನಿ ದೇವತೆಯು ಬುಸುಗು ದವದವಯುಗಿ ದವಿಂ	94

- 15 Bhagirathas=tatō jātō yasy=āsīt=kirtti-bhāgyayōḥ || (|)
 16 aprayatna-patākē=yam=ākalpaṃ Suranimnagā || [8*] Vamśē=
 17 bhavad=yatra Daśāsya-vamśa-vamś-āṭavi-dāva-kriṭayōṇiḥ |
 18 Rāmō=bhirāmō jagatām kavinām saubhāgyam=Indr-ā-
 19 di-surēndra-bhāgyam (gyam) || [9*] Amānda-saṃtāna-yutān=anēka-chakrā-
 20 n=asaṃkhyāta-turaṅgam-aughān | amēya-[gūn=apra]timā-
 21 n=kaviṃdrās=Sūry-ādrikān=yatra vadaṃti rājñah || [10*] Trayī-tanōr=a
 22 tra kulē prasūtam gōtram pavitram vimalais=charitraiḥ |

Second Plate, Second Side

- 23 ati-prasiddham Harit-ābhidā(dhā)nam=a-puṇya-bhājām=ati-durlabham
 24 yat || [11*] **Dēvarāj** āhvayas=tatra rāj=ābhavad=udāra-
 25 dhīḥ | rājatō¹ svajana-rājīva-rājī-rahjana-bhānumān || [12*]
 26 **Umḍīśas**=tasya tanayaś=Chamḍīs-ārchana-lālasah | akhamḍa-kham-
 27 ḍit-ārātir=Ākhamḍala-parākramah || [13*] Yat-kōdamḍa-ghanā-
 28 ghanē ghanatara-dhvānē raṇa-prāṅgaṇ[ē] prāvṛḍk[ā](t-kā)la-mu-
 29 khē pravarshati śārān pratyartti(rthi)nām mūrhasu | mlānā-
 30 s=tan-mahil-āsya-patralatikāḥ śūnyā cha tad-vāhini spiyā-
 31 ḥ² kirti-latās=tv=ahō nava-navās=ch=ām̄kūra³yamty=anva-
 32 ham(ham) || [14*] Binmidēv=īti tasy=āsīt=patnī patni-dhura-

Third Plate, First Side

- 33 m̄dharā | Dēvasēn=ēva Sēnānyō yathā Chamdrasya Chamdrikā
 34 || [15*] **Tammarājas**=tayō[r]=jātas=sujāta⁴[s=sō]=ti-sam-
 35 dā | dānēshu Karṇa-dēśiyō raṇēshu bahu-Phal[g*]una-
 36 ḥ || [16*] Viramadēvī=ti vadhūr=vikhyāta-kul=ābhavad=yasya i bahu-
 37 vidha-puṇya-charitraiḥ [pavi]tritā satī śriyah pātri || [17*]

¹ Metrically *rējē*.² Read *sphītāḥ*.³ Before *kū* one *ka* originally engraved has been beaten off.⁴ The letter *ta* is written below the line.

- 38 Tribhuvana-nuta-ki[r]tēh(tē)s=tasya jātas=tanūjah śubha-[gu]-
 39 na-bhuvi tasyām=Uṁḍirāj-ābhidā(dhā)naḥ | bahu-vi-
 40 tarana-lilā-chāturi-laṅgha(ghi)lā(t-ā)dya-ttridaśa-vitapi-valli-kāma-
 41 dhenu-prasaṅgaḥ | (||) [18*] Rudramadēvi-ti vadhūr-Māna-
 42 vyasa-gōtra-samjātā | dyaur-iva sat-saṁtānā tasy-ā-
 43 sit=sahacharī dharmē || [19*] Āsīd=yasya purōhitah

Third Plate, Second Side

- 44 śruti-parah sākaṁ nija-bhrāṭribhir=vipra-stā(sthā)pana-pūrvaka-
 45 sya [ma*]hatō dharmasya nirvāhakah | Bhāradvāja-kulō-
 46 dhavō guṇavatām-ādyō Nṛisimh-ābhidhaḥ śrī-Rā-
 47 masya samasta-vam̄dya-yaśasa[h*] śrīmān=Vasishṭhō ya-
 48 [thā] || [20*] Yadiya-yātrā ripu-divya-yātrā yad-ātapa-
 49 [tram] bhuvan-ātapatram(tram) | yadiya-gōtram dri(dhri)ta-sarva-gōtram
 50 yasy-āsi-patram nija-śaurya-mitram(tram) || [21*] Birudas=tu
 51 Rājavēśyā-bhujāṅga iti yō=tha Namdimēror=iti |
 52 khyātō=śvadānadikshāgurur=iti Naḍagōtamalla iti lō-
 53 kē || [22*] Yasya [Sū]ravaram nāma rājadhāny=abhavat=purī | Pu-
 54 raṁdara-purī-ramyā [sarva]-sampan-nivāsa-bhūḥ || [23*]

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 55 Tatra sthitvā bahu-vidha-bala-prōddhatān=bhūmipālām(lān) ji-
 56 tvā nītvā sva-charaṇa-yuga-prāmgaṇ-āvāsa-bhūmī-
 57 n | saṁkhy-ātītān=amita-phaladān pālayitvā cha
 58 dēśān=Uṁḍīś-ākhyō jayati suchiram ki[m]karaḥ Śaṁkarasya [||] [24*]
 59 Dāna-śaunḍō=yam=Uṁḍīśaḥ pracham̄ḍa-bhujā-vikrama-
 60 ḥ | agrahāram dvijanmabhyō dātum=udyuktavān=pa-
 61 ram(ram) || [25*] Śākē-mbhōdi(dhi)-viyad-guṇ-ēr̄ndu-gaṇitē samvats(s)arē Du-
 62 m̄dubhau Māghē māsi site tithau cha daśamē vāre surā-

TWO GRANTS OF UNDIRAJA III—PLATE IV

vi, a

96		96
98		98
100		100
102		102
104		104
106		106

vi, b

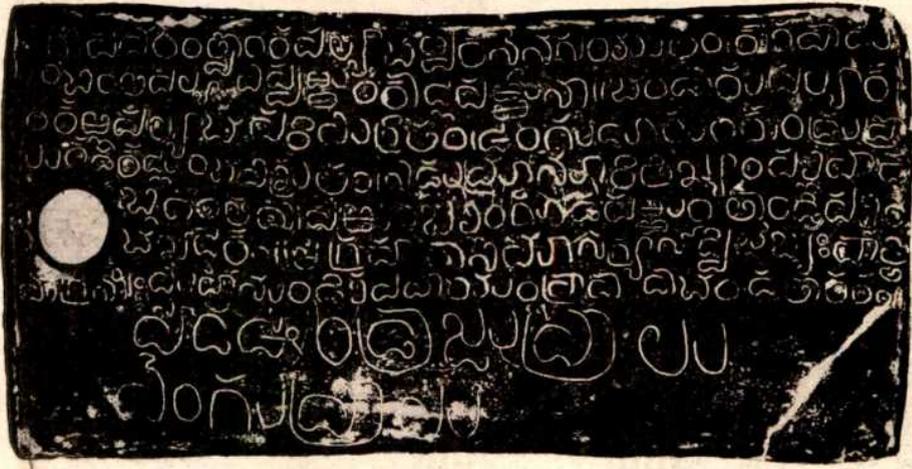
108		108
110		110
112		112
114		114
116		116
118		118

vii, a

120		120
122		122
124		124
126		126
128		128
130		130

i, a

132
134
136
138
140



132
134
136
138
140

Scale : One-half

63 nārṅ gurōḥ | grāmāṅ Rāvulapaṛṭi-saṅjñāṅ=akarōḍ=Uṁḍīsvarō

64 viprasāt kṛitv=Ōṁḍīśapuram sa-bhōga-kṛishikam bhāgair=a[śi-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

65 tyā-yutam (tam) || [26*] Asy=aiv=ōttara-bhāgē grāmā¹śya śyād=yathā sīmā | sa-ta-

66 tākam=Uṁḍūtūri kshētram khārī-trayam prādāt || [27*] Atra bhā-

67 ginah || Sōmanāthō-Yajus-Sāma-vēdī Vēmūri-Māra-

68 yah | Rīg-vēdī Peddī-bhattās=cha Yājushāḥ Kāmayas=tathā || [28*] Ā-

69 rehah Sōmah Pūṅgināṁṭi-Rāmayas=ch=Āśvalāya-

70 nah | Prōlayah Prōlayas=ch=aiva vēdē Yajushi viśrutau

71 || [29*] Pedapūṁḍī-Tallanāmā [Ko]llāryyaś=Chidipi-Peddō-

72 jhjah(jjah) | Gaṛimimḍī-Ānām-ākhyō [dh]mān=Ērūri-Tallubha-

73 tṭās=cha || [30*] Ēshām madhyē Sōmanāthō dvi-bhāgī Kāmayas=tathā |

74 śēshah pratyēkam=ēkāmśās=sarvvē Harita-gōtrajāḥ || [31*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

75 Rīg-vēdī Challagaraga-Vallabh-ākhyō mahāmatih | Vajrāṅkō Na-

76 rasimhāryō vēda-sāstra-parāyaṅah || [32*] Dōnayāryō Dem-

77 dulūri-Rāmayas=ch=Ārnam-āhvayah | Gaṅgādhara-ābhi-

78 dhah śishṭa[h*] Sōma-nāmā cha Yājushāḥ || [33*] Allāḍa-nāmadhē-

79 yas=tu Jyōtiś-sāstra-parāyaṅah | Kauṁḍinya-gōtrajā-

80 ś=ch=aitē pratyēkām tv=ēka-bhāginah || [34*] Ādya-vēdī Nṛisimhārya[h*]

81 śrauta-smārta-parāyaṅah | anna-dāna-parō nityam=Aubhāṅnā-

82 thō mahā-yasāḥ || [35*] Bāṅasah Pōtibhattās=cha Nṛisimhō māntri-

83 nāmvarah | Peddayō Mallayāryas=cha Nāgas=cha śruti-tatparāḥ || [36*] Bhā-

84 radvāja-kul-ōdbhūtāḥ pratyēkam tv=ēka-bhāginah | tatṛ=ādyasya

Fifth Plate, Second Side

85 trayō bhāgā Nṛisimhasya prabhāginah || [37*] Vidvān Rām-ābhidha-

86 s=tatra Sōmayas=ch=Āśvalāyanah | Muppāvarapu-Prōlāryō vēdē Yaju-

87 shi viśrutah | [38*] Taiti(tti)riyō Gaṅapatis=Tippayah Rraṅ (Raṅ) pa-Pōlaya-

¹ The letter *ma* is written below the line.

- 88 ḥ | ěk-aika-bhāgāḥ pratyēkam=ētē Kauśika-gōtrajāḥ || [39*] Ṛichi praśastaḥ Peddo-
 89 jhjhō (jjhō) [*vidvān]=Viśvēsvar-ābhidhaḥ || (|) ishny-Amnamō Yajū-rūḍhas=tv=Ellayō dhi-
 90 matām varah || [40*] Vēda-vid=Rājanaṃpāṭi-Narasimh-ābhidhas=ta-
 91 thā | ētē pratyēkam-ē[k]āmāsāḥ Śrīvatsa-kula-saṃbhavāḥ || [41*] Allā-
 92 ḍō Narasimhas=cha Sōmayaś=cha dvij-ōttamāḥ | vidvān=Aubhālama-
 93 ll-ākhyas=ch=Ātrēyā bhāginas=tv=amī || [42*] Rāmakṛishṇas=tv=Ālamūri-Dō-
 94 nay-ākhyas=cha bhāginau | dvi-bhāgavān=Gaṇapatir=vidvān=Vādhūla-
 95 jās=trayaḥ || [43*] Amśa-dvitayavān Kūchanārādhyah Śaiva-karmathah |

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 96 Liṅgārādhyō dvi-bhāgī cha Saivāgama-parāyaṇah || [44*] Ēka-bhāgī tu Koṭṭāri-Dēva-
 97 nas=sachiv-āgrāṇīḥ |¹ Āṅgīrasa-Bā-
 98 rhaspatya-Bhāradvājā imō trayah | (||) [45*] Gaṅgādharō Nṛisimhas=cha bhā-
 99 ginau Gārgya-gōtrinau(ṇau) | Allādō Nāgay-ābhikhyō bhāginau dvau Parāśarau || [46*]
 Ana-
 100 mta-bhaṭṭa[h*] śrī-Rāma-bhaṭṭ-ākhyas=śāstriṇām varah | Chennayāryas=ch=Ōmguṭūri-Pe-
 101 ddir=Mulkuṭṭa-Mārayah | (||) [47*] Śūrayāryō Dēvarōjhjhaḥ(jjhaḥ) Kommayō
 102 maṃtriṇam(ṇām) varah | Vallabhō Yājush[ō] Maṃḍa-Vallabhas=tv=ādyā-vēda-
 103 vit || [48*] Ēshām dvi-bhāgī śrī-Rāmas=tath=Ānamtō dvi-bhāgavān | śēshāḥ pratyēkam=ē-
 104 kāmās=sarvē Kāśyapa-gōtrajāḥ || [49*] Aubhālōjhjha(jjha)[s=tu] Śāṃḍilya-gōtrajas=
 Taittirīya-
 105 kaḥ | Vāsishṭhas=Chikaṭi-Rāmō Hārītō Dēharām-Śivah || [50*] Narasimh-ābhidhas=Śrīm-
 106 ga-Bhāradvāja-kul-ōdbhavaḥ | Ṛigvidām=agraṇīs=ch=aitē pratyēkam tv=ēka-bhāginaḥ ||
 [51*]
 107 Amna-dāna-ratō nityam=Anasōmō dvij-ōttamah | manīshī Kommayā-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 108 ryaś=cha bhāgavāntau Rathītarau || [52*] Dvi-bhāgī Yājushō Vīraghamṭa-Mādhava-
 109 saṃjñakah | vēda-śāstra-parō dhīmān² || [53*] Grāmasy=āśya cha

¹ This half verse was inadvertently engraved again but has been cancelled probably by the engraver himself by enclosing it within round brackets.

² A blank space exists after this. The fourth foot of the verse has been left unengraved probably because the *gōtra*, etc. of this donee were not known to the composer of the text of the record.

- 110 śīmāḥ |¹ prāchyām̐ diśyā[m̐*] Rēkōḍur=āgnēyyām̐(yyām) kōḍus=sa ēva yātō da-
 111 kesinataḥ [Pe]m̐dikōḍus=cha [|| 54*] Nairrityām=api rūḍhō Vādulakanumaś=cha pa-
 112 śchimē bhāgē Nāgulakaḍamulakōḍur=vāyavyē tv=Aluvukōḍus=cha [| 55*] Uttara-
 113 taś=Cheruvāvaliputtē(tt=ai)śānyē tu Rēnakum̐taś=cha ||² [56*] Pālana-sukṛita-prakā-
 114 śan-ārtham̐ kēchana ślōkāḥ | Purāṇē | Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāt
 115 śrēyō=nupālanam̐(nam) | dānā³t svarggam=avāpnōti pālanād=Achyutam̐ padam̐(dam) ||
 [57*] I-
 116 tihāse | Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiḥ paripālītā | yasya yasya
 117 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tasya⁴ tadā phalam̐(lam) [|58*] Bārhaspatyē | Śatruṇ=āpi kṛi-
 118 tō dharmmaḥ pālanīyaḥ prayatnataḥ [| *] śatruṇ=ēva hi śatru[h*] syād=dharmmaś=śatru-
 119 r=na kasyachit | (||) [59*] Mā(Ma)hābhāratē | Sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇam̐ puṇyam̐ para-
 datt-ā-

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 120 nupālanam̐(nam) | para=datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattam̐ nishphalam̐ bhavēt | (||) [60*]
 Apaharaṇa-
 121 dōsha-prakāśan-ārtham̐ kēchana ślōkāḥ | Mahābhāratē | Sva-dattam̐ para-dattam̐ vā
 122 yō harēta vasum̐dharām̐ (rām) | shastī-varsha-sahasrāṇi viśthāyām̐ jāya-
 123 tē kṛimih | (||) [61*] Purāṇē | Na viśam̐ viśham=ity=ahur=brahmasvam̐ viśham=uchya-
 124 tē | viśham=ēkākinam̐ ham̐ti brahmasvam̐ putra-pautrakam̐(kam) [| 62*] Ēk=aiva bhaginī
 lōkē sa-
 125 rvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujām̐(jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasum̐dharā |
 (|) [63*]
 126 Um̐dīśvara-mahīpō=yaṁ yāchatē bhāvinō nripān | bhavam̐tā(tō) ma-
 127 t-kṛitam̐ dharmmam̐ pālayam̐tv=iha sādaram̐ (ram) | (||) [64*] sṛī-Rāmacham̐drō=pi | Śā-
 128 mānyō=yam̐ dharmma-sētur=nripāṇām̐ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhava-
 129 dbhiḥ | sarvvān=ēvam̐ bhāvinaḥ pārthivēm̐drān bhūyō bhūyō yācha-

¹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

² This is only the first half of the verse in *Āryā*. There is a floral design after this.

³ These two letters are engraved above the line.

⁴ This *tasya* is redundant.

- 130 tē Rāmachandraḥ | (||) [65*] Kṛitam Śrivala(lla)bhān=ēdam Kaṇva-gōtrēṇa śāsanam(nam)
| Vēda-śā-
- 131 stra-vidā Kṛishṇa-charaṇ-āmburuh-ālinā | (||) [66*] śrī-Varāhadēvō rakshatu¹ ||

First Plate, First Side

- 132 *Siddham² [||*] Gōpavaram tv=Ōmkapalyā Cheṛpakanmēna sa[m*]yutam(tam) | Kāśapāḍu-
- 133 m Chintapalyā Vipparum Kāṭlaparunā || [67*] Bhaṇḍārupalyā Kā-
- 134 [m] kaṭlapalyā cha parimīritam(tam) | Umguṭūrum Komḍrupō-
- 135 lu[m*] Kaḍakaṭum cha viśrutam(tam) | (||) [68*] Niḍumrānūr=iti khyā[ta*]m Pallivāḍ-ā-
- 136 bhidham tathā | Paṇumballim Gūḍaparum Tāṇḍipallim
- 137 cha khēṭakam || [69*] Agrahārān=imān=agryān dvijēbhyaḥ pārtthi—
- 138 vāgrāṇi[h(nih) |] mahān=Umḍīśa ēv=āyam prādād=ā-chandra-tārakam(kam) || [70*]
- 139 *Peda Umḍrāju vrālu
- 140 Vēṅgu vrālu

¹ This expression is written between two floral designs.

² This is a postscript engraved on the first side of the first plate, obviously for want of space at the end of the record.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The last two lines are engraved in b characters.

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750

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

PART III

JULY 1967

EDITED BY

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph.D.,
Government Epigraphist for India



1968

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA

Price : Inland Rs. 8.00 P. Foreign 18sh. 8d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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No. 18—THE SIDDHAVATAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VENKATAPATI-
RAYA II AND MATLI ANANTA, SAKA 1527.

(1 Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, HYDERABAD

(Received on 14.8.1964)

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on the east wall near the entrance of the old fort at **Siddhout** (Siddhavatam) in the Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh. Excepting for slight damages in one or two places, it is well preserved and carefully engraved, though occasionally a letter is left out by oversight. The record consists of 10 lines of writing in **Telugu characters** usually met with in inscriptions of about the beginning of the 17th century A.D., in this part of the country. Nine out of the ten lines are about 3.80 metres each in length, and the last line measures 1.30 metres. The individual letters measure roughly 5 cm in height. Though the characters generally resemble those in use at present, a few peculiarities found in certain letters may be noted here: *k* is not written like the present letter but like *r* with a horizontal cross-bar at the neck just below the serif to distinguish it from the latter (see *katakapurī-chūrakāra* in line 4 and *paim-berigi-kōṭṭi* in line 8). The cerebral *ṇ* is written like the present 'no' while *d* is written in two ways. Though it generally resembles the present *d*, another form is also found resembling *ḍ* without the circular inward loop terminating its right arm.

Excepting the opening verse in Sanskrit in the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, the **language** of the rest of the inscription is Telugu, consisting of a *Sisamālikā* of twenty *charaṇas* with a *tēṭa-gīta* of four *pādas* with which a Telugu verse in *Sīsa* metre usually terminates. Each quartette of the twenty *charaṇas* of the *Sisamālikā* is numbered in Telugu numerals to indicate, as it were, that it is made up of five ordinary *Sīsa* verses.

As for **orthography**, no consistent method is followed to mark the distinction between the long and short vowels in conjunction with the consonants. Though in several places a separate symbol is used to mark the long vowels in conjunction with the consonants, very often the distinction between the long and the short has to be determined with reference to the context. *Kha* is written as at present, but without the vertical downward stroke at the bottom to indicate the aspirate; *rēpha* preceding a consonant is represented by a *gilaka* on the right side, and the consonant is generally doubled; the *pūrṇ-ānusvāra* is used as in the old manuscripts in the place of *ardh-ānusvāra*, a modern invention unknown at that time; and the consonant following it is invariably doubled.

The inscription belongs to the time of **Veṅkaṭapatirāya**, i.e. Veṅkaṭa II of Vijayanagara dynasty and enumerates the achievements of the **Maṭli Chiefs**, **Ellamarāja** and his son, **Anantarāja**. In the opening Sanskrit verse it is stated that in **Saka 1527** (expressed by the chronogram *aśva-ambaka-bāṇa-bhū*) corresponding to **Viśvāvasu**, Anantarāja built the radiant and the extensive stone wall at **Siddhavatam**, which his father had acquired in the battle of **Ūṭukūru**. In the Telugu *Sisamālikā*, it is stated that when 1527 years of the Śaka era had elapsed, in the year Viśvāvasu, while the emperor of the entire **Hindū-rājya**, **Vira-Veṅkaṭarāya**, was ruling the empire

¹ This is registered in *A.R. Ep.* for 1915 as No. 564.

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from Chandragiri-sīma, Anantarāja constructed in his own name a tank (*Anantarāju-cheruvu*) at Siddhavaṭam, which his father Ellamarāju had acquired at the point of his sword after defeating Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju in battle, and built an auxiliary wall around the town, so that it might serve as a protection to the temple of Siddhavaṭēśvara as long as the Moon and the stars endure.

Anantarāja has been described as the Sun to the lotus, the Solar race; dignified as the ocean, *Aivara-gaṇḍa*, the lord of the flag of the powerful lion, the slayer of the elephants, the scion of the *Dēvachōḍa* family; the hero, who killed on the battle-field Rāvela Velikoṇḍa Veṅkaṭādri; the victor in the battle-field of *Jāmbulamaḍaka*, the capturer (*hāri*) of the plunderer of *Katakapuri*; he whose mighty arms were capable of instilling fear in Nandela *Kriṣṇamarāja*; he who bore the title 'the right hand of the lord of the throne of the entire *Karṇāṭa*'; he who having killed *Koṇḍrāju-Veṅkaṭādri*, captured *Cheṛnūru*; he who composed such *prabandhas* as *Kakutsthavijayamu* and other *kāvya*s praised by the learned; he who was famous as the builder of the tank named *Ellamarāju-cheruvu*; he who offered protection to the rapidly marching forces against Madhura and other places in the *Draviḍa* country; he who destroyed the pride of the *Yāvana Pādusā* in the battle of *Penukoṇḍa*; the son who was the crest-jewel of *Raṅgamāmbā*; he who would not accept or recognise the enemies' titles (*para-bhīma-birudula-bāyi-baṇḍi*); he who was a pursuer of the enemy kings (*vimat-āvanīśvara-vēśyā-bhujāṅga*); he who bore the titles *ballara-gaṇḍa*, *manne-haṁvīru*, *magalarāya*, *rācha-bebbuli*; he who was a terror to the enemy kings; and he who was the ocean that produced the gem, viz. king *Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātha*.

Thus the inscription is devoted to the description of Maṭli Ananta's heroic deeds, his acts of public utility and his contribution to Telugu literature. It also enumerates his *birudas* and refers incidentally to his family, parentage and the military conquests of his father, Maṭli Ellamarāju. Ananta was born of the *Dēvachōḍa* family, a son of Maṭli Ellamarāju and *Raṅgamāmbā* and had himself a son called *Tiruveṅgaḷanātha*.

To take up first Ananta's deeds of heroism, it must be noted at the outset that they are not set down in the inscription in their chronological order: The earliest event referred to in it is the war between Maṭli Ellamarāju and the Koṇḍrāju brothers—*Dāsari*, *Tirupati*, *Veṅkaṭa Kriṣṇa*, *Koṇḍa*, *Raḡhunātha* and *China-Timma*. They were the sons of Koṇḍrāju *Peda Timma* by his wife, *Pāpasaṅga*, a daughter of *Maṅgaya Guravarāju*¹ and held important places as *nāyamkara* in the *Gaṇḍikōṭa-sīma*, under *Śrīraṅga I*, the elder brother and predecessor of *Veṅkaṭa II*. They were, like the Maṭlis, Telugu Chōḷas of the *Dēvachōḍa* line and trace their origin from the Sun through *Ikshvāku* of the Solar race. Of these, *Veṅkaṭa* and *China-Timma* were famous warriors. They were deputed by the *Vijayanagara* emperor, *Śrīraṅgadēva Mahārāya* in *Śaka 1506* (1584 A.D.) to expel *Ibrāhīm Quṭb-Shāh* of *Gōlkoṇḍa*, and his allies, the *Haṇḍe* chiefs from *Ahōbalam*, which they had plundered in *Bahudhānya* (*Śaka 1500* or *1578* A.D.) and had been occupying the territory around it ever since. In obedience to the commands of the *Rāya*, they marched to *Ahōbalam* at the head of their forces, defeated and expelled *Ibrāhīm Quṭb-Shāh* with his allies, the *Haṇḍe* chiefs, and restored worship in the temple as in former days.² *Dāsari*, *Koṇḍa*, *Veṅkaṭa*, and *China-Timma* came into conflict, on account of their aggressions, with the *Sāri* chief *Ōbana*, and his ally, *Velugōṭi Kastūri Raṅga*, and were defeated by them in the battle of *Kōḍūru* in *Śaka 1501*, *Pramād* (1579 A.D.).³ At the time of the accession of *Veṅkaṭapatirāya* (*Veṅkaṭa II*), *Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju* was ruling at *Siddhavaṭam*, and his brother *Veṅkaṭa* at *Chennūru*, both

¹ *Reṭṭamataśāstramu*, verses 24-30.

² *A.R.Ep.*, 1915, No. 70; V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Kurnool, No. 584. The summary of the inscription given in them is erroneous. See, the text published in the *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, edited by S. K. Aiyangar, pp. 234-35.

³ *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Volumes II and III, No. 201.

in the Cuddapah District. Tirupatirāju and his brothers refused to acknowledge his supremacy. According to the *Kaifiyat* of Chittivēli, which describes the history of the Maṭlis, Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju entertained the idea of ruling the Siddhavaṭam-sīma and Pottapi-sīma independently after the death of Śrīraṅgarāya and siezed some villages belonging to Maṭli Ellamarāju and his sons, as they had joined Venkaṭapatirāya, who was ruling at Chandragiri in the Chittoor District. To protect his territory from the attacks of the enemies from the adjoining Pulugulanāḍu included in the Chandragiri-rājya belonging to the latter, Tirupatirāju fortified the frontier *sammāt* village of Ūṭukūru, posted a strong garrison to hold it, and began to subjugate the whole of Pottapi-nāḍu. Venkaṭa II sent an army under Maṭli Ellamarāju with instructions to destroy the fort erected by Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju at Ūṭukūru, to sieze Pottapi-nāḍu and to post a garrison of his own troops in the village. He promised that if Ellamarāju effected the conquest of Siddhavaṭam, he would grant him the town with its dependent territory as *amara-nāyaṅkaram*. Ellama proceeded with the royal army to Ūṭukūru, defeated and killed Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju in the battle outside the village, captured the fort, and having stationed a garrison of his own soldiers, pursued the fleeing troops of the enemy and destroyed them at Pōli, Koṇḍūru and Neladalūru (Nandalūru), where he overtook them. Ellama then marched on to Siddhavaṭam and entered the town without opposition.¹

The destruction of Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭarāju and the capture of Chennūru which are reckoned in the present inscription as the heroic deeds of Maṭli Ananta were actually incidents which occurred in the concluding phase of Ellama's war with the Koṇḍrāju family. Though entirely attributed to Ananta here, he seems to have played but a secondary role in their accomplishment. According to the *Kaifiyat* of Chittivēli, it was Tirumalarāju, the younger brother of Maṭli Ellamarāju, who effected these conquests.

Tirumalarāju, the younger brother of Maṭli Ellamarāju, proceeded at the head of an army to Chennūru, put to death Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭādrirāju, who was governing the place as a deputy of Koṇḍrāju Tirupatirāju and took possession of it. He conquered next the districts of Kāmalāpuram, Duvvūru, Pōrumāmiḷla and Baddevōlu and reduced the estates of the *manne* chiefs and the *pālems* to subjection.²

Maṭli Ananta probably served as a lieutenant of his uncle during this campaign, hence his claim. Koṇḍrāju Venkaṭa or Venkaṭādri, whom the Maṭli chiefs Tirumalarāju and Ananta put to death at Chennūru was not only a renowned warrior but also a patron of letters. At his instance the Ayyālārāju poets Ayyala and Bhāskara translated from Kannaḍa *Reṭṭamataśāstra*, a treatise on meteorology and dedicated it to him. Jakkarāju Venkaṭa or Venkaṭarāmakṛishṇa, who was also attached to his court, dedicated to him his *Āndhra-kāmandakam*, a Telugu rendering of the well-known Sanskrit work of that name on political science.

The first achievement of Maṭli Ananta referred to in the present record is the destruction of Rāvela Velikoṇḍa Venkaṭādri. This incident, according to the *Kumudvatīkalyānam* of Kumāra Ananta, the grandson of Maṭli Ananta, took place at Gurramkoṇḍa.³ Though placed first in the inscription, it must be taken into consideration after Maṭli Ananta's victory over the Yavana Pāduśā at Penukoṇḍa; for, it is stated in the *Kaifiyat* of Chittivēli that after his victory over the *malaka-fauzulu* (the Muhammadan forces) at Penukoṇḍa, he (Maṭli Ananta) returned to

¹ Ibid., No. 214.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., No. 216(o), p. 338. 'Adache Gurramkoṇḍa-nyarutan-evvāḍu Rāvela Koṇḍa Venkaṭa vīravarula'.

Siddhavaṭam which he made his permanent headquarters. Then he marched with his army to Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa at the instance of Veṅkaṭapatirāya to put down the Sardar of the fort who had rebelled against the Rāya, and made war on the territory belonging to the *rāya-rāṇuva* or the royal army.¹ The rebellion of the Sardar of Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa and the siege and the capture of the fort by Maṭli Ananta were perhaps the final episodes of the Quṭb-Shāhi war. They may, therefore, be conveniently dealt with after consideration of the events pertaining to that war. The outbreak of the war between Veṅkaṭa II and the Sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa is attributed to the breach by the former of the terms of a treaty which his predecessor, that is, Śrīraṅga I had concluded with the Sultan of Gōlkoṇḍa. "When the throne of Beejanuggur devolved on Venkutputty," says the Anonymous Historian of the Sultans of Gōlkoṇḍa, "it appears that prince, in breach of the treaties between his predecessor and the King of Gōlkoṇḍa, removed the seat of his government to the fort of Pençoṇḍa, situated on the Quṭb Shāhi frontier. He made some incursions and invasions for the prevention of which the King marched his army".² The treaties referred to here are probably those concluded at Chandragiri in about 1576 A.D. by Fazl Khan, the ambassador of the Quṭb-Shāh with Śrīraṅga I. It is not known from other sources whether Śrīraṅga I had agreed that Pençoṇḍa should not be the capital of the Vijayanagara empire. Pençoṇḍa is spoken of as Śrīraṅga's capital till the end of his reign in his inscriptions. The incursions and invasions of Veṅkaṭa II alluded to by the Anonymous Historian in this context were not so much against the Quṭb Shāhi territories properly so called as on the provinces of Koṇḍaviḍu and Udayagiri which Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh had conquered from Vijayanagar in Śaka 1502 (1580 A.D.). According to the Amīnābād inscription of Amīn-ul-Mulk, the forces sent by Hazrat Ibrāhīm Pādshāh marched against the Vijayanagar territory in the Śaka year 1502, Vikrama, corresponding to 1580-81 A.D., Chaitra, fourteenth day of the black fortnight, Tuesday, captured Uddagiri (Udayagiri) after driving out Veṅkaṭarāju from the place and took successively the fortresses of Vinukoṇḍa, Bellamkoṇḍa, Taṅgēḍa and Koṇḍaviḍu and was ruling the whole of the Karṇāṭa (Vijayanagar) province of Koṇḍaviḍu.³ Veṅkaṭa II, who did not obviously accept the terms of the treaty, which was practically imposed on his predecessor by Ibrāhīm Quṭb-Shāh as the price of his help against the 'Adil Shāh, repudiated them as soon as he succeeded to the throne by celebrating his coronation at Pençoṇḍa and by the reconquest of the fort of Udayagiri. A rebellion which was directly incited by Veṅkaṭa II broke out in Koṇḍaviḍu in or a little before 1589 A.D. It is not unlikely that he was also at the back of the widespread rebellion which broke out in the same province against the Quṭb-Shāh in Śaka 1513, Khara (1591 A.D.). To put an end to the frequent troubles in the frontier provinces fomented by Veṅkaṭa II and his agents Muhammad Quly Quṭb Shāh resolved to effect the conquest of the Vijayanagara empire and led a powerful expedition to achieve his object. Crossing the Kṛishṇā at Musalimaḍugu, he rapidly reduced all the forts including Gaṇḍikōṭa in the Kurnool-Cuddapah region and finally advancing on Pençoṇḍa, the capital of the Vijayanagara empire, laid siege to it. Veṅkaṭa II does not seem to have made, for reasons unknown at present, any attempt to defend his dominions. It looked as if the Vijayanagara empire would finally fall a prey to Mussalman arms. Veṅkaṭa II, however, averted the disaster by means of a subterfuge. He offered to submit and asked for an armistice, preparatory to negotiating terms of peace. The Sultan agreed and withdrew with his forces from the vicinity of the fort. Taking advantage of the withdrawal of the besiegers, Veṅkaṭa II had, within three days, large stock of

¹ *Further Sources*, Vol. II, No. 216 (b), p. 335.

² Briggs' *Ferishṭa*, Vol. III, App., p. 454.

³ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, No. 77, pp. 239-41. *Dhātiganēgi Vuddagiri-dārkonī Veṅkaṭarāju-dōli mum gōṭatu laggabatti Vinikoṇḍayū Bellamukoṇḍa Taṅgēḍal pāṭiparim harimchi mari valmini kai-kone Koṇḍaviḍu Karṇāṭaka-rājashūni Yibharāmuḍu bāhu-balambu mīruchun.*

⁴ Anonymous Historian, Briggs's *Ferishṭa*, III, App., p. 448 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

provisions enough to stand a siege carried into the fort and sent urgent messages to his nobles and captains to come at once to Penugonḍa with their forces. Among those that hastened in response to the emperor's call to Penugonḍa, Jagadēva Rao, Gulrang Setṭy and Pāpia Sāmywar with thirty thousand infantry and cavalry and four thousand musketeers were the earliest.¹ Maṭli Ananta must have arrived about the same time and Raghunātha Nāyaka from the distant Tanjore probably a little later.² When the Sultan discovered how he had been deceived, he came back and renewed the siege; but he had to raise the siege soon and hasten back to his country. The Anonymous Historian attributes the abandonment of the siege by the Sultan and his hasty return to his kingdom to two facts: (1) the inability of his forces to make any impression on the fort and (2) his apprehension that during the approaching rainy season the inundations of the Kṛishṇā river might cut off the communications with his kingdom and that as a consequence provisions in his camp might become scarce.³ This seems to be a deliberate attempt to conceal the truth. According to the contemporary records, however, the Sultan suffered a defeat in a battle fought in the vicinity of Penugonḍa and as a consequence had to beat a hasty retreat. The present record, for instance, gives to Maṭli Ananta the entire credit of winning the victory over the Sultan. Rāmabhadrāmbā in her *Raghunāthābhīrudayam* assigns the entire credit to Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore. "At his time", says she, "the Karṇāṭa emperor Venkaṭadēva was opposed by the Pārasikas. In order to defend the empire against them he requested Achyuta to send prince Raghunātha to his assistance. At the direction of Achyuta, Raghunātha started on the expedition followed by hundreds of tributary chiefs. He went to Chandragiri and from there reached Penugonḍa, the hereditary capital of Karṇāṭa kings in a few days. Many of the enemies of the emperor fled from Penugonḍa when they learnt of the arrival of Raghunātha with troops, while a few, mounting their horses, opposed him. But they were easily defeated by the valiant Raghunātha and were scattered as the Rākshasas were by Rāma. On their defeat they submitted to Raghunātha and retired."⁴ Though the credit of victory over the Muhammadans is attributed solely to the prowess of Maṭli Ananta in the inscription under consideration and to Raghunātha Nāyaka of Tanjore in the *Raghunāthābhīrudayam* they only participated like the other nobles of Vijayanagara in the battle; and the victory was, as a matter of fact, won by the combined effort of the entire Vijayanagara army; but the composer of the present inscription and Rāmabhadrāmbā, following the well-established convention of the *prāsasti* writers and court poets, have attributed the credit of victory to the single-handed prowess of their respective patrons, though they were but entitled actually to a share of it.

The war with the Quṭb-Shāh did not come to an end with his defeat in the battle of Penugonḍa. Much of the territory which he had conquered in the recent invasion was still in his possession. While returning home after his defeat at Penugonḍa, Muhammad Qūly Quṭb Shāh is said to have placed a large army under Murtaza Khān to protect the territories south of the Kṛishṇā and placed trustworthy officers to hold the forts of Gaṇḍikōṭa, Musalimaḍugu, Nandiyāl and other places. As Venkaṭa II was expected to march next against the fort of Gaṇḍikōṭa, the Sultan ordered that troops from Koṇḍaviḍu should proceed thither to reinforce the garrison holding the fort. Guṅṅamkoṇḍa was probably captured by the Mussalmans during the recent Quṭb Shāhi invasion. The fort was placed under the command of Rāvela chief Velikoṇḍa Venkaṭādri with a strong

¹ Anonymous Historian, Briggs' *Ferishta*, III, App. p. 454.

² *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 285.

³ Briggs' *Ferishta*, III, App. p. 454.

⁴ *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 215.

Muhammadan force to support him.¹ In order perhaps to divert the attention of Veṅkaṭa II and prevent him from concentrating his forces at Gaṇḍikōṭa, the Sardar governing the fort of Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa, that is, Rāvela Velikoṇḍa Veṅkaṭādri began to make incursions into the territory belonging to the Rāya's army (*Rāyā-rāṇuva*). At the same time, the *pātra*- and the *manne-sāmantas* of Uddagiri under the command of Kampa Nainappa, invaded the Badvāl-sīma, which was at this time under the Maṭlis. Veṅkaṭa directed Maṭli Ananta to repel the invaders and capture the fort of Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa. Ananta marched first against the *pātra*- and *manne-sāmantas* of Uddagiri under Kampa Nainappa and put them to flight in a battle at Kamalakūru. Then he proceeded to Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa and laid siege to the fort, which was equipped with up-to-date weapons of defence and offence. The defenders seem to have offered fierce resistance; but Ananta who was firmly resolved to effect its capture, persisted. A *Bhaṭ* of Ananta's court who was probably an eye-witness recounts in a *chāṭu* how he fought with undaunted courage against the defenders until he demolished one of the bastions of the fort. "O! Ananta" extols the *Bhaṭ*, "unafraid of the gūn-powder bags spitting blazing flames into the sky like wild fire unconfounded by the reports of the musketry vomiting volleys of hissing fire or the thuds of stone (falling down from the catapults) like the torrents of *chitta* rain and unalarmed by the roars of cannon piercing as it were, the quarters, did you not fight at Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa and break down the bastion so as to excite the admiration of the *Pādusā* and other enemies?" Rāvela Velikoṇḍa Veṅkaṭādri was killed in the fight and the fort was captured. Maṭli Ananta seems to have returned after his victory to Gaṇḍikōṭa, where the Vijayanagara army was engaged in besieging that fort. Though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription under study the *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* describes how Maṭli Ananta put to flight the cavalry of Aśvarāya (the Quṭb Shāh) in a battle fought near Gaṇḍikōṭa.²

The next two events referred to in the inscription, (1) Ananta's victory in the battle of Jambulamaḍaka and (2) the instilment of fear in the mind of Nandela Kṛishṇama are connected with the rebellion of Nandyāla Kṛishṇamarāja against Veṅkaṭa II, which broke out, according to the *Kaṭiyats* of Alavakoṇḍa and Chittivēli, about Śaka 1520, Hēvilāmbi (1598 A.D.).³ The expedition against Madhura and other places in the Drāviḍa country under the protection of Maṭli Ananta appears to have been despatched by Veṅkaṭa II even earlier; for in the *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* it is stated that Maṭli Ananta slew Madhura Virappa i.e. Virappa Nāyaka, the ruler of Madhura, obviously during the course of this expedition.⁴ As Virappa Nāyaka of Madhura died in 1595 A.D.,⁵ the expedition must have been sent by Veṅkaṭa II against Madhura in that year or a little earlier. The causes for despatching the expedition are not definitely known. Probably it was provoked by the attack of Virappa, the *nāyaka* ruler of Madhura, on the territories of Tirumalarāya, the governor of Śrīraṅgapaṭṅam and a nephew of Veṅkaṭa II. It is stated in the *Koṅḡudēśarājākkaliṅ charittiram* that Tirumalarāya, on hearing that Virappa of Madhura was coming to Śrīraṅgapaṭṅam with all his forces set out at the head of his army accompanied by his *daḷavāy* Maṭli Veṅkaṭa Ayyan to oppose him. Though he was successful at first and won some victories over the enemy, he was betrayed by his *daḷavāy*, who by a cunning trick delivered him into the hands of his enemy. The *daḷavāy* then returned to Śrīraṅgapaṭṅam with the army.

¹ The *Kumudvatīkalyāṇam* of Maṭli Kumāra Ananta, grandson of Maṭli Ananta of the present inscription, however, mentions two chiefs of the Rāvela family viz. Koṇḍa and Veṅkaṭa: "Aḍache Guṛṅṅamkoṇḍa-narutan-*evvāḍu Rāvela Koṇḍa Veṅkaṭa vīravarula*."

² *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vols. II and III, No. 216 (b) and (c).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 216 (c).

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 212.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 216 (3) 'Madhura-Vīrappan-*evvāḍu maṭṭu-pette*'. The verb *maṭṭu-pette* in this line means to slay, kill, put to death or suppress.

⁶ R. S. Aiyar, *History of the Nāyaks of Madhura*, p. 77.

and began to rule the kingdom himself.¹ It was probably to secure the release of his nephew that Veṅkaṭa II despatched the expedition. Maṭli Ananta seems to have been appointed, if the testimony of the present inscription can be depended up on, as its leader. He was accompanied among others by his son Tiruveṅgaḷanātha, Muluvāḡalu Chikkarāya II, Dāmerla Kari-Chenna and other chiefs. The expedition appears to have reached Madhura without meeting serious opposition and the imperial army laid siege to the town. According to the *Chikkadēvarājavamśāvali*, Virappa Nāyaka seduced several commanders of the imperial army by means of bribes with the object of securing the raise of the siege and the retreat of the imperial forces. This did not avail him much; for, the Maṭlis and others who remained firmly loyal to the emperor pushed on the siege to its logical conclusion. Muluvāḡalu Chikkarāya II claims to have caused the destruction of the pride of the lord of Madhura; Maṭli Tiruveṅgaḷanātha is stated to have defeated the Nāyaka and captured his fish-banner; and Ananta is said to have actually killed him. As a result of this campaign Veṅkaṭa II's nephew was liberated and his authority was thenceforward recognised at Madhura as in the other parts of the empire.

The battle of Jambulamaḡaka and the instilment of fear in the mind of Nandela Kṛishṇarāja are perhaps the last of Maṭli Ananta's military exploits. These two events happened, as pointed out already, during the rebellion of Nandyāla Kṛishṇamarāju which broke out in or a little before Śaka 1520, Hēvalambi (1598 A.D.)², when Veṅkaṭa II was engaged in his expedition against Madhura and other southern feudatory States. Kṛishṇamarāju, a scion of the Nandyāla branch of the Āravīḡu family and a distant cousin of Veṅkaṭa II who was ruling over Nandyāla, the headquarters of his family, threw off his allegiance and attempted to establish his independence.³ His influence was confined not only to Nandyāla and its neighbourhood but extended as far as Gaṇḡikōṭa in the south. Since the days of Sadāśiva and Rāmarāja, the Nandyāla chiefs held Gaṇḡikōṭa as *nāyamkara*; and Kṛishṇamarāju's half-brother Timma was the governor of Gaṇḡikōṭa about this time. Veṅkaṭa II, according to the *Kaṭṭiyat* of Chitṭivēli, set out with his army from Chandragiri to suppress the rebellion, and Maṭli Ellama and his son, Ananta joined him at Siddhavaṭam. When the army reached Jambulamaḡaka (Jammalamaḡugu), they were opposed by Kṛishṇamarāju with the object of checking their advance; but having sustained defeat in the battle he retreated to his capital, Nandyāla; Veṅkaṭa II who pursued him reached Nandyāla and laid siege to the town. Kṛishṇamarāju held out for three months; but unable to offer further resistance, he sued for peace. Through the intercession of Maṭli Ellama, he met Veṅkaṭa II in his camp and offered submission. He was not, however, allowed to remain in his place, but had to

¹ *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vols. II and III, No. 222. A somewhat different account is given by Tirumalārya in his *Chikkadēvarājavamśāvali*: 'Subsequently Rāmarāja (brother of Śrīraṅga I and Veṅkaṭa II) died after a short time. Then his sons Tirumalarāja and others, as they were too young, left the government of Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam in the hands of their *daḷavāy* Rēmaṭi Veṅkaṭayya and went to Penukoṇḡa, where they lived with their junior uncle (Veṅkaṭapatirāja). Afterwards Veṅkaṭapatirāja, being provoked by Virappa Nāyaka of Madhura, marched at the head of his army, laid siege to Madhura in the Pāṇḡya country. Virappa Nāyaka, adopting *bhēḡpāya*, reduced the commanders of the Rāja's army by means of money and jewels. This Tirumalarāja having also accepted the bribe left his uncle, who was to him like a father, and returned to Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam with his elephants, cavalry and foot casting away his fame and religious merit together with his good sense.' (See *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 303). The account of Tirumalārya is not an unvarnished statement of facts. He was a dependent of the Mysore court. In an attempt to justify Rāja Uḡaiyūr's seizure of Śrīraṅgapaṭṇam, he paints Tirumalarāja in black colours, in order to make it appear that the former's aggression was prompted by his desire to punish a traitor.

² *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vols. II and III, Nos. 216(c), 221, 222 and 222(a).

³ *Ibid.*, No. 214.

accompany the emperor to Chandragiri, where he remained in honourable confinement until his death a few years later.¹

The events described in the inscription may now be arranged in the following order :

- (1) The battle of Ūtukūru, the conquest of Siddhavaṭam and the capture of Chennūru (1586 A.D.)
- (2) The Quṭb Shāhi invasion and the victory in the battle of Penugonḍa (1591 A.D.)
- (3) The death of Rāvela Veḷikonḍa Venkaṭādri and the capture of Guṛṅamkonḍa (1593 A.D.)
- (4) The expedition to Madhura and the Drāviḍa country (1595 A.D.)
- (5) The rebellion of Nandēla Kṛishṇamarāju (1598 A.D.)

Three acts of Maṭli Ananta's public utility are mentioned in the inscription under study. Although engaged in warfare throughout the period of his rule, he appears to have evinced keen interest in developing the economic resources of his territories. He built at Siddhavaṭam a tank in his own name (*Anantarāju-cheruvu*). This seems to have been an enlargement of an old *kuṅṭa* or spring that was already in existence in the place.² He also excavated another tank in the name of his father Ellamarāju (*Ellamarāju-cheruvu*) in some place not specified in the inscription. Towards the close of his reign Maṭli Ananta erected a wall around the town of Siddhavaṭam which also served as a wall of protection to the temple of Siddhavaṭēśvara. Ananta seems to have died while the wall was still under construction ; for, it is stated in the Siddhavaṭam village *kaifiyat* that it was completed by his son and successor Maṭli Tiruveṅḷalanātha.³ This wall was later on transformed by Mirjumla into a regular fort by the addition of a few bastions and turrets.

Maṭli Ananta, if we can depend on the opinion of the *Abhinava-Āndhra-kavitā-pitāmaha* Uppugunḍūri Venkaṭa Kavi, a court poet of Maṭli Ellamarāju, was a great poet who could compose eloquent poetry.⁴ The present inscription refers to some *nibandhana-granthis* (commentaries) besides the *Kakutsthaviyayamu* composed by him. The former, whatever they may have been, are not extant ; and the latter was originally published in the literary journal *Sarasvati* at Kakinada and subsequently in a book form in 1904. Ananta's poetry, according to Shri Viresalingam Pantulu, is faultless and charming.⁵ His style is simple and homely and exhibits many of the characteristics of the southern school of Telugu poetry, which flowered at Tanjore and Madhura under the Nāyaka kings. Ananta was not only a poet but also a patron of learning. Besides Uppugunḍūru Venkaṭa Kavi mentioned above the famous satirist Kavi Chaudappa and other writers of lesser importance flourished at his court and shared his bounty. Tradition preserves the memory of the visit of the poets of his court to Gōlkonḍa to participate in a literary debate held in the *darbar* of Malkibhirām that is Malik Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.⁶

No less than eleven *birudas* (titles) of Maṭli Ananta are enumerated in the present inscription, but as most of them are conventional, they hardly call for notice. Only two, *Kaṭakapuri-chūra-kūrahāri* and *akhila-Karṇāṭa-simhāsādhīśvara-dakṣiṇa-bāh-ābhīdhāna-dhāri* deserve consideration, as they have some historical significance. The former means 'one who carried into effect the plunder of the city of Kaṭaka. This title, however, could not have had its origin in any achievement accomplished by Maṭli Ananta ; for, it was borne by some of the Telugu Chōla chiefs earlier. In the inscriptions of the Ceded Districts copied by Mackenzie's surveyors, the title is associated

¹ Ibid., Nos. 211-214.

² Ibid., Vol. II, No. 216 (b), p. 337.

³ Mackenzie Mss., Siddhavaṭam Village *Kaifiyat*.

⁴ *Kakutsthaviyayam*, 1-12 ; See also Shri K. Viresalingam Pantulu's *Āndhra-kavula-charitra*, pp. 318-21.

⁵ *Āndhra-kavula-charitra*, p. 319.

⁶ Ibid.

with the chiefs of the Salakarāju family. Salakarāju Peda Tirumalayya, the brother-in-law and *sarva-sīrah-pradhāni* of Achyutadēva Mahārāya, for instance, is introduced in an inscription at Chemuḷḷapalli in the Cuddapah District dated Śaka 1461, with the title *Kaṭaka-prati-chūrakāra*, a variant of, if not actually a mistake for *Kaṭakapuri-chūrakāra*.¹ Peda Tirumalayya probably participated in Kṛishṇadēvarāya's attack on Cuttack, the only occasion when the Vijayanagara armies are known to have reached the Oriya capital and plundered the city before setting it on fire. That is perhaps the origin of the title and the Maṭlis who belonged to the same family appear to have inherited it.

The other title *akḥīla-Karṇāṭa-sinhāsana-ādhiśvara*, etc. was apparently self-acquired. Maṭli Ananta, as shown by the foregoing account, took a prominent part in all the wars of Venkaṭa II and rendered him valuable services on the battlefield. The assumption of the title is amply justified, as Ananta was actually the right hand man of the emperor in all his military undertakings.

The date of the inscription, as noted already, is given twice, once in chronogram *aśva-ambaka-bāna-bhū*, i.e., Śaka 1527 corresponding to the cyclic year Viśvāvasu in the opening Sanskrit verse and again in words *Vēyin-enūmṭa-yiruvadi-yēḍu* (1527), Viśvāvasu at the beginning of the Telugu *Sisamālikā*. As no other details are given, this date cannot be verified. Śaka 1527, Viśvāvasu, however, corresponds to 1605-06 A.D.

The following countries and places are mentioned in the inscription : Karṇāṭa and Draviḍa; Ūtukūru, Siddhavatam, Chennūru, Jambulamaḍaka, Chandragiri, Penukoṇḍa, Madhura and Kaṭakapuri.

Though Karṇāṭa literally denotes the country inhabited by the people speaking the Kannāḍa language, it appears to denote in the present context the Vijayanagara empire extending from the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā to the Cape Comorin in the extreme south of the peninsula. Draviḍa is the land where Tamil language is spoken.

Most of the other places mentioned in the inscription are situated in the present Rāyalasīma. Ūtukūru is a village in the Rājampēṭa taluk of the Cuddapah District. It is at a distance of about 2 miles to the south-east of Rājampēṭa. Siddhavatam, called Sidhout and Siddhavatam at present, is the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the same district. It is situated at a distance of 10 miles to the east of the town of Cuddapah. Chennūru is a village in the Cuddapah taluk, which stands at a distance of 7 miles to the north of Cuddapah on the Chittoor-Kurnool road. Jambulamaḍaka, called also Jammalamaḍaka or Jammalamaḍugu in popular parlance, is the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Cuddapah District. It is situated at a distance of about 46 miles to the north-west of Cuddapah on the Nellore-Bellary road. Chandragiri is the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Chittoor District. It is a railway station on the Renigunta-Katpadi metre gauge line of the Southern Railway at a distance of 9 miles to the west of Tirupati. Penukoṇḍa is the same as Penugonḍa, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the Anantapur District. It is a railway station on the Guntakal-Bangalore metre gauge line of the Southern Railway at about 46 miles due south of Anantapur. Kaṭakapuri, same as Cuttack, is the old capital of Orissa, on the banks of the Mahānadī. Madhura is identical with Madurai, the headquarters of a District of that name in the Madras State. It is an important railway junction on the Madras-Dhanushkōṭi line of the Southern Railway at a distance of 312 miles south of Madras.

I am grateful to Shri P.V. Parabrahma Sastri, Assistant Director of Epigraphy, Archaeological Department, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, for revising my transcript of the inscription.

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, No. 334 and Part II, para 53, p. 89.

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti || **Sāke=svā(sv-ā)mbaka-bāna-bhū-parimi**[tē varshē cha Vi]svāvasāv=aunna-
tyēna chir-āyushā cha guṇa-bhāj-āchandra-tāram bhūvi | yasy-**Ananta-nripēna**tēna
jānakēn=aiiv=Ōtukūri-ranē prāptas=**Siddhavatō-yam-u**
- 2 jva(jj)vā)la:si(si)lā-sālō viśāli-kṛitah[] [Śāli]vāhananāma-**Sāka-varshamulu vēyin-**
enūnta-yiruvadi-yēdu chanina | **Viśvāvasuv=anamga velayu vatsaramūna sakala-**
Hindūrajya-sarvabhauma |
- 3 **Vira-Vemkatarāya-vibhūndū Chamdra**[girindra]²sīma sāmīrā²jyambbu sēyun=apudū |
bhānu-vānē-āmbhōja-bhānumd=āmbhōrāsi-gaibhīrumd=aivara-gamdda-mūrtti || 1 ||
Birudā-sāmaja-simha-bhīma-kētana-bharta Dēvachōd-ānvaya-bhūvi-
- 4 bhūndū | rana-bhū-balibhūta-Ravela-Vel[ikom]²dda-Vemkkatātri-mahīsa-vira-varūndū
Jaribbulāmadaka-bhū-samgrāma-jayaśāli Katakapurī-chūrakārahāri Namddela-
Krishnāma-naranātha-bhaya-dāna-daksha-dōrdam-
- 5 dda-vichakshanūndū || 2 || **Akhila-Karṇāta-si[mhā]²san-ādhiśvara-dakshina-bāh-ābhi-**
dhāna-dhāri | vidala(i)ta-**Komdrāju-Vemkkata(tā)dri-vibhūndū Chernūri-ha[ra*]**
na sa[m]panna-grihūndū | **Vibudha-stuta-Kaku[t*]sthavijaya-prabāmdh-ādi-kāvya-nibin-**
(ham)-
- 6 dhāna-grāmtha-karta | śrīmad-**Ellamarāju-cheru**[vu-pē]²ra-tatāka-ghatan-ānubhāva-
samghātita-yasūndū || 3 || **Draviḍa-bhū-Madhurādi-dhāti-chalad-ṛaya-bala-rakshan-**
ākshī[na*]-bāhu-bālūndū | Penugomdda-samara-Yāvana-Pādusā-
- 7 garva-kharvikarāna-chaṅ-ākharva-bhujūndū | **Ra[m]ggamāmbbā-kumāra-yatamsa-**
ratnāmbbu para-bhīma-birudula bhāyi-bamddi | vimat-āvanīśvara-vēśya-bhujam-
ggūndū ballāra-gamdd-ānka-bhāsūrumdū || 4 || **Manne-hamvvirum-**
- 8 du māga[la]-rāyamdu-[rā]cha-bebbulipara-rāja-bhikarūndū | **Matli Tiruveringga** mānav-
ādhipa-ratna-ratn-ākarūnd=Ananta-rāja-sauri | tāma tamdri **Yalla-bhūramanūndū**
Komdrāju Tirupatirāju paim-berigi koṭṭi
- 9 tāna katti-monam=dē[che]chukonina **Siddha**[va]tambu chel[la]nga da[na]pēra cheruvu
sēse || 5 || **Hridayam=uppomga Siddhavatēśvarunaku** | aupachārikam=aina sāl-ānt-
tāramūga-pūramu chuttunū
- 10 varānam=ai- parīnamimppa dhātrīm=gattimchechen=āchandra-tārakamūga || **Sri []***

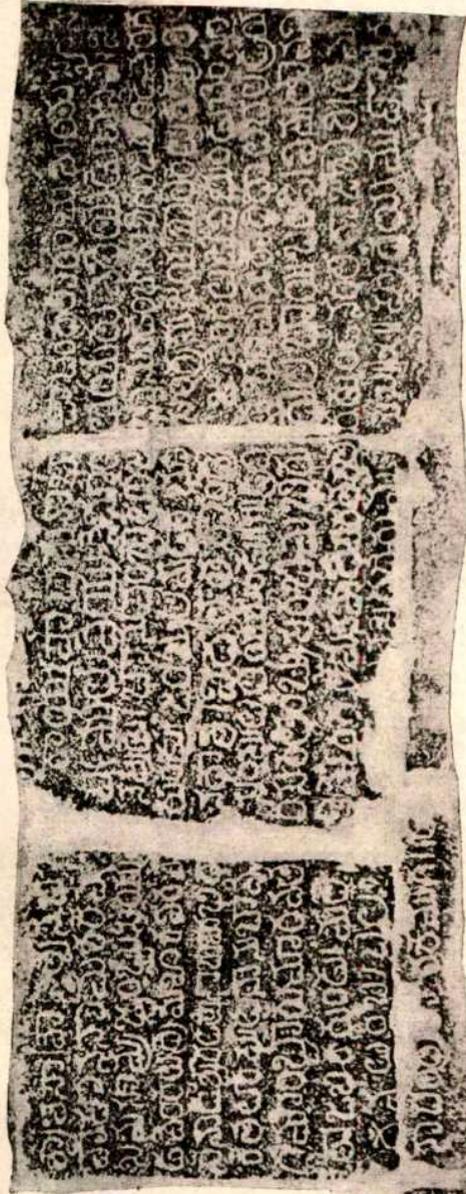
¹ From the impressions sent by the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore.² These letters are broken and lost.

THE SIDDHAVATAM INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VENKATAPATIRAYA II AND MATLI ANANTIA, SAKA 1527

Left Side



2
4
6
8
10



2
4
6
8
10

Right Side



2
4
6
8



2
4
6
8

Scale : One-eighth

No. 19—DADDALA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA BHUVANAİKAMALLA, SAKA 991

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI, DHARWAR

(Received on 11.9.1963)

The inscription edited below, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered by me in November 1962,¹ at **Daddala**, a small village in the Manvi Taluk of Raichur District, Mysore State, while conducting the epigraphical survey of that Taluk. The inscribed stone which lies outside the village measures approximately 92.5 cm × 172.5 cm. On the top is engraved a seated Jaina image flanked by the figures of the moon and sun on one side and those of the cow and calf on the other. It contains twenty-five lines of writing.

The engraving is quite deep and the writing fairly well preserved. The record is written in **Kannada alphabet** and palaeographically, the characters conform to the period to which the record belongs, viz., the 11th century A. D. and contain no specially noteworthy peculiarities. Notice may, however, be made of the sign for medial *e* which occurs in two different forms, one in the usual fashion, indicated by the horizontal stroke on the top of the letter and the other indicated by curved line slanting from the right side of the bottom of the letter and rising above up to the top of the letter, thus resembling the sign for *u*. This feature may be noticed in *re* in *pare* (line 8) and in *pe* in *Pedakalu* (line 10).

The **language** of the record is **Kannada** and the text is in prose except the two usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

The inscription commences with the well-known *praśasti* of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāna, viz., *svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya*, etc. and refers itself to the reign of **Bhuvanaikamalla**, i.e., **Sōmēśvara II** (1068-76 A. D.). Next is introduced *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* **Jaṭāchōḷa-Bhīma-mahārāja** of Pedakalu who belonged to the family of Karikāla and to Kāśyapa-gōtra. He bore, among others, the titles *Kāvērivallabha* and *Oṛeyūrpuravarādhiśvara*. Then figures *mahāsāmānta* Maḷeyamarasa of Mānuve, who is styled *Māhishmatīpuravarādhiśvara* and *Girigōṭemalla*. Though it is not specified, it is obvious that he was a subordinate of Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma.

The purpose of the record is to register a grant of some land, a flower garden, an oilmill and house-sites for the benefit of a *Jinālaya* built at **Ponnapāḷu** by a certain Mākiseṭṭi. The *Jinālaya* is called Girigōṭemalla-Jinālaya apparently after *mahāsāmānta* Maḷeyamarasa who, as stated above, bore the title *Girigōṭemalla*. The grant portion is followed by the usual imprecatory verses.

The record is dated in **Śaka 991, Saumya, Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti**. The other details such as the month, the *tithi* and the week-day are not given. However, in the given year, the Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkrānti occurred on Pushya śu. 8, Thursday, which corresponded to **1069 A.D., December 24**.

The inscription is quite interesting in view of the fact that it mentions a hitherto unknown chief Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma as a subordinate of the Chālukya king. Among the Telugu-Chōḷa families, the one from Pedakalu in **Kurnool District** became quite a prominent one in the Andhra region. Of this family, only two chiefs are known, viz., Jaṭāchōḷa and Bhīma, the latter being generally known as Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma, probably because he was the son of the former.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1962-63, No. B 815.

Jaṭāchōḍa is supposed to have ruled till about 950 A. D.¹ and he was succeeded by Bhīma. It is a known fact that Bhīma was a powerful chief and that he occupied the whole of Veṅgi by killing the Eastern Chālukya king Dānārṇava in about 972-73 A. D.² Bhīma continued in this position for about 27 years. But later, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I took up the cause of the next Eastern Chālukya king Śaktivarman I and helped him in regaining his lost territory by putting down Bhīma. Rājarāja's enmity with the Western Chālukya kings who probably backed Bhīma in his ambitions³ might have been one of the reasons for him to side with Śaktivarman. The latter ultimately succeeded in regaining his throne by killing Bhīma in about 1001-02 A. D.⁴ In this connection it is stated in the inscriptions of Śaktivarman that he uprooted the tree of Jaṭāchōḍa (*Jaṭāchōḍa-vriksha*).⁵ Since no further information about Bhīma or his successors is available, it is believed that the family became extinct after the death of Bhīma. But on the basis of the present record it is possible to surmise that the family continued after Bhīma.

It is indeed not possible to identify Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma mentioned above with Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma of the present record because of the long gap between the dates of the two, but it is almost certain that the latter did belong to the former's family, as the name, the fact that he belonged to Peḍakal and the titles would show. It is likely that he was the grandson of the famous Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma.

• It is noted above that the Western Chālukya king sided with Bhīma in his fights with the Eastern Chālukya kings and in the light of this, it is not improbable that after the death of Bhīma at the hands of Śaktivarman I, his (i.e. Bhīma's) successors fled to the Western Chālukya territory for shelter.

Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma is called in the present record *pāda-padmōpajivi* and *mahāmandalēsvara* of the king. Obviously, he had accepted the sovereignty (as possibly his predecessor did) of the Western Chālukya kings who made them governors of some territories.

The present record does not specify the area governed by Jaṭāchōḷa Bhīma. But judging from its provenance, it may not be wrong to surmise that he was in charge of the administration of the division known as Eḍedore 2000, or the area between the river Kriṣṇā on the north and the Tuṅgabhadrā on the south consisting of a large part of the present Raichur District.⁶ Mānuve, to which Bhīma's subordinate *mahāsāmanta* Maḷeyamarasa belonged, was included in this division.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are **Peḍakal, Mānuve, Ponnappālu, Kantarīke and Koravi**. Of these, Peḍakal is mentioned already. Mānuve is the present Mānvi, the taluka headquarters of that name, which is about ten miles from Daddala, the findspot of the record. Ponnappālu may be the same as Pannūru, a village very near Daddala. Kantarīke and Koravi are the present Kātarki and Koravi which are also quite near Daddala.

A word of lexical interest may be noted here. While detailing the grant, the record describes the land given as *nigara-mattar*. Kittel gives the meaning of this term, viz. *nigara* as beautiful or good, excellent, *atlyuttama*, etc.⁷ In the present context in the record it may be taken to mean fertile land.

¹ *Andhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. 49, Parts 2-3, p. vi.

² N. Venkataramanayya : *The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi*, p. 202.

³ K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, 2nd Edn., p. 181.

⁴ *Ibid*; also N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

⁵ Prabhūparṇu plates, *Andhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. II, p. 693 (quoted in *ibid.*, Vol. 49, Parts 2-3, p. vi, note 13).

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XII, p. 308.

⁷ *Kan-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *nigara*.

DADDALA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA BHUVANAİKAMALLA, SAKA 991



Scale : One-sixth

No. 19] DADDALA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA BHUVANAİKAMALLA,
SAKA 991

TEXT

- 1 Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvanāśraya-sri-prithivīvallabha-mahārāja-
- 2 dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)raṁ paramabhāttāraṁ Satyaśraya-
- 3 kula-tīlakam-Chālūky-ābharanam śrīmad-Bhuvane(nai)kamalla-dēvara vi-
- 4 jaya-rājyam-uttar-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam-āchamdr-ārka-tār-amba-
- 5 ra-saluttam-ire [||*] Tat-pāda-padma-ōpajīvi samādhigata-pāñcha-māha-
- 6 śabda mahāmam*ndalēsvaram ari-durddhara-vara-bhujāsi-bhāsura-pra-
- 7 cham*nda-pradyō[ta*]-dinakara-kula-naṁdanam Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtram Kālikāl-ānvayam
Kā-
- 8 vēri-vallabham kambal-pare-ghōshana[m*] mayūra-pi[m]chchha-dhvajam śimha-lāncchha
[nam O]-
- 9 reyūr-ppuravarēsvaram parachakra-[dhava]lam Mā[rkkō]la-bhīmam gōtra-pavitram śrī-
- 10 man-mahāmandalēsvaram Pēdakalu Jatāchōla-Bhīma-mahārājarū || Samādhigata-
pāñcha-
- 11 mahāśabda-mahāsāman*ntam vijayalakshmi-kātam Māhe(hi)shnati-puravarēsvaram
Madhya-
- 12 dēś-ādhipati sahasra-bāhu-pratāpam nij-ānvaya-mānikyan-eka-vākyaṁ chatu-
- 13 ra-chārāyanan-upāya-nārāyanam Giri-gōtemallam ripū-hrida-
- 14 ya-sellam viśama-hayārūdhā-revanta parabala-kri(kri)tānta māngiya-
- 15 merulam Śrīman-mahāsāman*ntam Manuveya Maleyamarasar Sa(Sa)ka-va-
- 16 rsha 991 neya Saumya-sāmvatsarād-uttarāyana-sāmkrānti-yatīva* ni-
- 17 mitya(tta)dim Śrīyuttavamanta-kolada* Mākīsettiyar Ponnāpālā mādi-
- 18 sida Girigōtemalla Jinālayakke Ponnāpāla paduvana pola mēreya-
- 19 lu bitta nigara mattar-āru ā-poddigeyal¹ Kantarīkeyalu-nigaram-mattar-ā-
- 20 ru Koraviya tenka voladalu bitta nigaram-mattar-ppanneradu antuma-

¹ From impressions.

² This *anusvara* is redundant.

³ Probably the intended reading is *vyatipāta*.

⁴ The meaning of this expression is not clear.

⁵ It appears that the engraver first wrote *ke* and then changed it to *ka*.

- 21 tta¹ [2]4 pūdōmṭa matta¹ 1 gāṇa 1 maneya nivēśana 5
- 22 Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-hē(sē)tuṃ(tur)nri(=nri)pāṇāṃ kālē kālē pālanīyō
- 23 bhavadbhi[h]* sarvvān=ētāṃ(tān) bhāgi(vi)na[h]* pārtthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyō
yācha-
- 24 tē Rāmabhadraṃ(draḥ) || Svadattaṃ(ttām) para-dattaṃ(ttām) n̄vā=ō² harēti vasundharā
[m]* sha-
- 25 shtīm vv(va)rsha-sahasrāṇi mi(vi)shtā(shthā)yām jāyatē kṛimi[h*] ||

¹ Read *mattar* though the form *matta* also occurs in inscriptions.

² The intended reading is *vā yā*.

No. 20—A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM KADWAHA

(1 Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI AND AJAY MITRA SHASTRI, NAGPUR

(Received on 16.8.1963)

Kadwāhā, 12 miles to the north of Esagarh in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh, has a large Hindu monastery and some fifteen temples, and is justly regarded as 'the Khajurāhō of the former Gwalior State'. The present inscription is engraved on a piece of stone slab found in the debris of the Hindu monastery in the fort at Kadwāhā. It was first noticed by Dr. D. R. Patil in the *Quinquennial Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, for the Samvats 1998-2002 (1942-46 A.D.), pp. 23-24, 64, No. 6, and later, by Mr. Harihar Nivas Dvivedi in his *Inscriptions of the Gwalior State* (Hindi), p. 85, No. 627. It is edited here from an excellent estampage supplied by Dr. D. R. Patil, then Director of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat, some twelve years ago.

The record is fragmentary, being a portion of a large inscription. The preserved portion consists of twenty-nine lines and measures 57 cm high by 49 cm broad in the middle. Of the twenty-nine lines preserved here, none is complete as the proper left of the stone has been broken away, while the first nine lines have been damaged even on the right side. The average size of the letters is about 1.25 cm.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the tenth century A.D. Most of the *aksharas* are well formed. As regards individual letters, we may notice that *kh* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top (see *nakh-āmsu*-, line 2); the letter *v* usually consists of three vertical strokes, the middle one being shorter than the other two (see *manayō*, line 3), but sometimes the middle stroke is not fully developed (see, *vikṛṇṇa*-, line 2 and *-ranipadē*, line 10); *th* has a vertical line on its proper left (see *yath-āvdhau*, line 3); *dh* closely resembles *v*, but it has horizontal top-stroke (see *sindhurānām*, line 12); it is noteworthy that the letter *ś* appears in two different forms—(i) one with a loop (see, *tridaś-ēndra*, line 1) and (ii) the other without a loop (see *nakh-āmsu*, line 2). The medial *ē* and one of the components of medial *ō* are sometimes formed by a slanting top-stroke ending in an ornamental curve (see *tapasē*, line 6 and *lōka*-, line 2) while elsewhere they are indicated by a fully developed *prishṭhamātrā* (see *tridaś-ēndra*, line 1 and *manayō*, line 3). One of the components of medial *ai* and *au* is invariably indicated by a long slanting top-line with an ornamental curve at the end.

The language is Sanskrit and the preserved portion is metrically composed throughout. As regards orthography, we may note that the sign for *v* is invariably used to denote *b* (see *yath-āvdhau*, line 3 and *valēna*, line 12); the *anusvāra* is used for *n* in *yasmim vabhūvur*-, line 3; the consonant following *r* is usually duplicated (see *kīrtti*, lines 4, 9, 11 and 17), but it is not so in *smit-ārḍra*-, line 27.

¹ Published by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Bharat, 1947.

As a considerable portion of the record is lost, it is not possible to give a full description of its contents. It begins with two verses which appear to invoke the god Śaśi-śekhara (i.e. Śiva). In verse 3 we have a reference to the mythical sages Vālahilyas. Verse 4 speaks of **Purandaraguru** as the first person, probably of a lineage of the Śaivāchārya. Verse 5 perhaps describes the same person as surpassing the moon in alleviating the agony of the people. Verse 6 seems to refer to the same sage Purandara, while the next verse (verse 7) informs us that he chose a place called **Araṇipāda** for his penance just as Śrikanṭha (i.e. Śiva) chose Dāruvaṇa (i.e. Dārukāvana). The next two verses (verses 8-9) probably describe the same person, viz. Purandara, while verse 10 records the death of this teacher described as the crest-jewel of the Śaivas. Verse 11 introduces his disciple whose name is now lost, but who is described here as *bhuvanāśrayapaṇḍita*, i.e. one who was clever in giving refuge to the (whole) world and describes him as a conqueror of the god of love (Māra) like Sambhu (i.e. Śiva). Verse 12, though lost almost totally, seems to refer to his entrusting the *moṭha* at Araṇipāda to some disciple.¹ Verse 13 introduces his disciple **Dharmaśiva**. Verse 14 tells us that to his hermitage there came a king called **Gōbhata** with his army of elephants. The next verse (verse 15) mentions the sudden death of a person, perhaps the ruler of the place, whose name is not preserved.² The next three verses (verses 16-18) seem to tell us what this sage did on that occasion. It seems that having known the story of the demise of that person, the sage was filled with compassion, and then like Tripurāntaka (i.e. Śiva) conquered the whole army of the foes by means of a bow and arrow acquired by his own miraculous power. The last of these verses (i.e. verse 18) seems to record that this sage, viz. Dharmaśiva, went to heaven after his above-mentioned victory. Verse 19 tells us that he was succeeded by another Śaiva sage just as the sun is succeeded by the moon, to remove the darkness. The name of this successor is lost. Verses 20-21 contain the description of this successor in general terms. Verse 22 informs us that a paramount ruler (*nripa-chakravartin*) called **Harirāja** came to see this sage. From the succeeding four verses (verses 23-26) we learn that on enquiry this ascetic came to know that the king belonged to the family of Pratihāras, otherwise known as the Gūrjaras (verse 27), in which was born a mighty ruler named **Durbhata** and that he was the son of a king whose name is unfortunately lost. Verse 29 tells us that this *āchārya* gave *dīkshā* to him, viz. Harirāja. Verse 30 appears to contain the teaching of the ascetic to the bowing king. The next two verses (verses 31-32) appear to inform us that at the end of the said *dīkshā* ceremony, the king offered some rutting elephants as *gurudakṣiṇā* or fees to the preceptor, who refused to take them, but being repeatedly requested by the king, he was inclined to receive some villages instead. The names of these villages are not preserved. The last part containing about three verses (verses 33-35) cannot be made out as they are very fragmentary.

The present inscription contains no date in its preserved portion. However, the Pratihāra ruler Harirāja was obviously identical with his namesake who issued the Bhārata Kalā Bhavan plate.³ We learn from that record that the Pratihāra king Harirāja was ruling in Vikrama 1040 (984 A.D.). As in the present inscription, he bears an imperial title (viz. *Mahārājādhirāja*) in the other record also. The latter registers Harirāja's grant of two *halas* (measures) of land on the

¹ Perhaps this verse now lost completely, states his foundation of another *moṭha* at Mattamayūra.

² However, the word *śneḥāt* as well as the probability of the expression *nripēna* in this verse may suggest that the person under question was a beloved of the above-mentioned Dharmaśiva and that he was probably killed by the king Gōbhata.

³ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 309 f.

occasion of a solar eclipse while he was staying at Śīyaḍḍṇī (modern Siron Khurd in the Lalitpur Subdivision of the Jhansi District). Harirāja and his *guru*, therefore, flourished in the last quarter of the tenth century A.D.

Harirāja is also known from an unpublished stone inscription found at Chandēri.¹ According to the genealogy in this inscription, Harirāja was the second member of the line, his predecessor being Nilakanṭha. Harirāja was succeeded by ten other kings, viz., Bhīmadēva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarṇapāla, Kīrtipāla, Abhayapāla, Gōvindarāja, Rājarāja, Vīrarāja and Jaitravarma. The inscriptions² of some of these kings have been found at Kadwāhā, which shows that the place was included in their dominion. The present inscription mentions Durbhaṭa as an earlier king of this family. He may have been a predecessor of Nilakanṭha, who is mentioned as the father of Harirāja in both the Bhārata Kalā Bhavan plate and the aforementioned Chandēri inscription. From the description in verse 24 of the present inscription that the preceptor asked an attendant of Harirāja who the latter was, it seems that the preceptor did not know him before. This fact appears to indicate that Kadwāhā was not then included in the kingdom of Harirāja.

Kadwāhā and the adjoining places such as Tērahī, Raṇḍ and Mahuā were previously ruled over by the princes of a Chaulukya family known to us from the inscriptions of the Śaiva *Achāryas* of the Mattamayūra clan. The Raṇḍ inscription tells us that king Avantivarman, who desired to be initiated in the Śaiva faith, went to Upēndrapura and, with great difficulty, persuaded the sage Purandara to come to his capital Mattamayūra.³ The sage founded a *maṭha* at Mattamayūra and another at Araṇipadra (modern Raṇḍ). The name of the royal family to which Avantivarman belonged is not given in the Raṇḍ inscription. But from the similarity of his name to those of the Chaulukya Śiṃhavarman and Avanivarman, the great-grandfather and father respectively of the Kalachuri queen Nōhalā, mentioned in the Bilhari inscription, Kielhorn conjectured that Avantivarman too belonged to the Chaulukya family of Central India. The capital Mattamayūra of this family has not yet been definitely identified, but it was probably Kadwāhā, which vies with Khajurāhō in the number and grandeur of its temples.⁴ The places Tērahī, Raṇḍ and Mahuā, where the Śaiva sage Purandara and his spiritual successors built temples and monasteries and excavated large wells, are within a radius of five miles from Kadwāhā. Kadwāhā, therefore, seems to be identical with ancient Mattamayūra.

Two other members of this family are also known from the fragmentary Māsēr inscription⁵ viz. Narasimha and Kēsarin. They are said to have belonged to the Śulki family, which is probably identical with the Chaulukya family mentioned above. Narasimha was a feudatory of Kṛishnarāja, who was perhaps identical with Kṛishnapa, the younger brother of the Chandēlla king Dhāṅga (950-1005 A.D.).⁶

¹ Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 2107.

² See, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State for 1939-40*, pp. 44-46, Nos. 30-32; H. N. Divedi, *op. cit.*, Nos. 628, 630 and 631.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 f.

⁴ Kadwāhā is not Kadambaguhā as Kielhorn supposed. See *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 208.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 18 f.

⁶ Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 215 ff.

The known kings of this Chaulukya or Sulki family who ruled over the Kadwāhā region may thus be stated as follows¹ :

Avantivarman (825 A.D.)

Simhavarman (850 A.D.)

Sadhanva (875 A.D.)

Avanivarman (900 A.D.)

Narasimha (950 A.D.)

Kēsarin (975 A.D.)

Kadwāhā and the surrounding territory were thus ruled by the princes of the Chaulukya family till the last quarter of the tenth century A.D., when the sage Dharmasīva and his disciple seem to have flourished. At that time, the throne was perhaps occupied by a weak prince, who was probably the successor of Kēsarin, mentioned in the Māsēr inscription. Kadwāhā was then invaded by one Gōbhaṭa who may have been ruling over some neighbouring country. He is not yet known from any other source. In the battle fought at Kadwāhā the ruling prince was killed, but the sage came to the rescue of the people and by his personal bravery and skill in archery he routed the enemy. Soon thereafter, Harirāja, the Pratihāra ruler of the neighbouring kingdom of Chandēri, advanced on Kadwāhā, probably with a view to occupy the territory which was in anarchy. His family was probably an off-shoot of the Imperial Pratihāras of Kanauj, to whom it may have owed allegiance at first. The assumption of an imperial title by Harirāja shows, however, that he had thrown off the yoke of the Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. Harirāja received initiation and blessings from the Śaiva *Āchārya* who was Dharmasīva's disciple and seems to have incorporated the territory in his own dominion. Since then we begin to get records of the rulers of this Pratihāra family from Kadwāhā, the earliest being that of Bhīma, the successor of Harirāja.

Dharmasīva described in the present inscription is evidently different from Dharmasambhu who is mentioned in the Bilhari inscription as the disciple of Mattamayūranātha. Purandara established *mathas* at several places and placed his disciples in charge of them. His disciple Kavachasīva was made the pontiff of the *matha* at Araṇipadra. Another disciple Dharmasambhu or Dharmasīva was probably placed in charge of the *matha* at Madhumatī (modern Mahuā, 4 miles east of Kadwāhā); for his disciple's disciple viz. Purandara was called Mādhumatēya³ in order to distinguish him from his namesake the great *Āchārya* Purandara, who, from his *matha* at Mattamayūra, was designated Mattamayūranātha.⁴ The Śaiva *Āchārya* Dharmasīva and his disciple mentioned in the present inscription, were then probably in charge of the principal

¹ *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd., p. clvi.

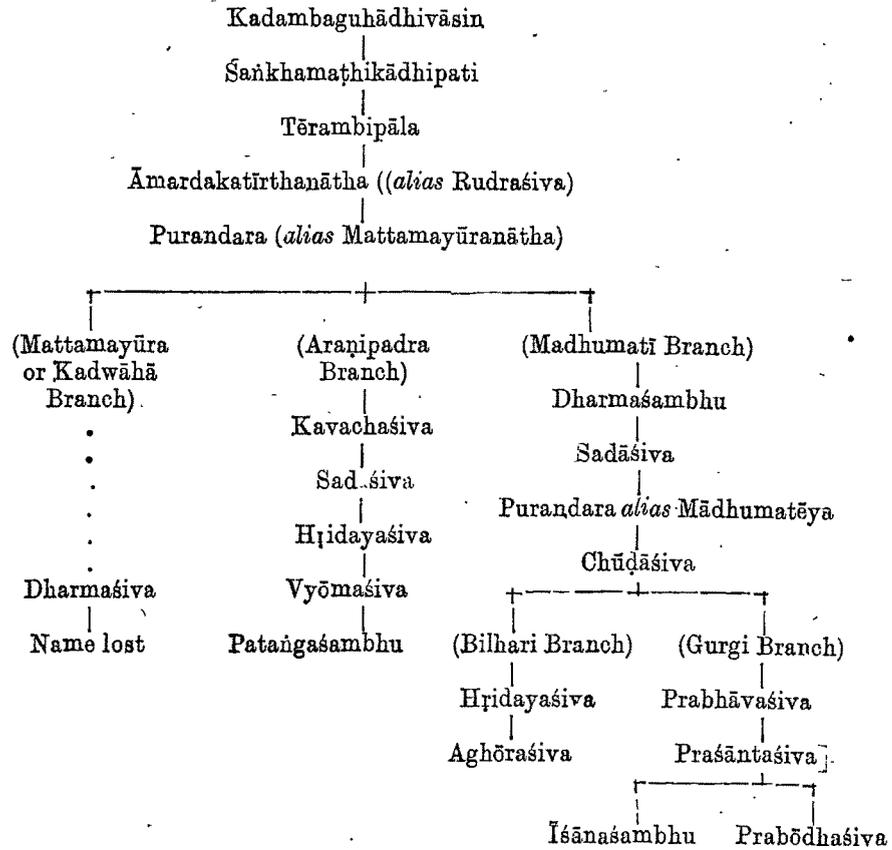
² *Gwalior Rajya ke Abhilekha*, No. 628, p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213. ¶

⁴ *Loc. cit.*

maṭha at Mattamayūra, which we have identified with Kadwāhā. That Kadwāhā was the capital of the country is evident from the fact that it was subject to an invasion by the enemy.

The Mattamayūra clan of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* and its branches in Central India may be stated as follows¹ :—



The first three *Āchāryas* were practising austerities in Malwa.² Purandara came to Mattamayūra (Kadwāhā) at the invitation of king Avantivarman of the Chaulukya dynasty. He established *maṭhas* at Mattamayūra (Kadwāhā), Araṇipadra (Raṇōḍ) and also probably at Madhumatī (Mahuā). We have information about the succession of the Śaiva *Āchāryas* at Araṇipadra and Madhumatī from the inscriptions found at Raṇōḍ and those in the Chēdi country, whose rulers invited the pontiffs of Madhumatī to found *maṭhas* and erect temples of Śiva in their dominion. But about the *Āchāryas* of the main seat viz. that at Mattamayūra (or Kadwāhā) our information is very meagre.

As regards the localities mentioned in our inscription, a few observations about Araṇipadra, which has been correctly identified with Raṇōḍ, will not be out of place here. While editing

¹ This table does not include the *Āchāryas* of the Gōjaki *maṭha* for whom see, *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd., p. clvi. It does not also include the *Āchāryas* of the Karkarōṇi Branch, for whom see, above, Vol. III, p. 201.

² *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd., p. clii.

the Raṇōd inscription Kielhorn thought that the ancient name of the place was Ranipadra. The name occurs thrice in that inscription,¹ but in all the three places the *sandhis* can be so split as to indicate that the real name was Aranipadra, not Ranipadra. It is twice mentioned in our record in lines 6 and 10. The *sandhi* in line 6 (*tēn=Aranipadam*) proves conclusively that the ancient name must have been Aranipada (or Aranipadra) not Ranipadra. The remaining place-name Dāruvana is associated with the Śaiva mythology in the Raṇōd inscription² and in the Amarēśvara temple inscription.³ It cannot be properly identified.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 5, 11, 13, 16, 19, 20, 22, 28, 30, 31, *Vasantatilakā*; verses 2, 9, 14, 17, 33, *Upajāti*; verses 3, 15, 26 *Indravajrā*; verses 4, 8, 10, 27, 32 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 6, 7, 12, 23, 24, 25, 29 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 18, 21 *Mālinī*; verse 34 *Sragdharā*.]

1. --- ○ --- ○○○ --- स्त्रिदशेन्द्रमौलिरत्ना(त्ना)श्रयं चलि --- ○ --- ○ ---
 [1*] --- ○ --- ○○○ --- ○ --- ○ --- --- ○ --- ○○○ --- ○ --- ○ ---
 --- [112*] --- ○ --- ○ ---
2. ○ --- वा विकीर्णनखांशुमाला ससि(शशि)शेखरस्य । लोकत्रयेपि ○ --- ○ ---
 --- ○ --- ○ --- ○ --- ○ --- [112*] --- ○ --- ○ --- ○ ---
 --- ○ --- ○ --- ○ ---
- 3 । ते वालखिल्या मणयो यथाब्धौ(ब्धौ) यस्मि(स्मिन्) व(व)भुवुर्मुनयः पुराणाः ॥
 [3*] कृत्वा [चार] ○ --- ○ --- ○○○ --- --- ○ --- ○ --- --- ○ ---
 --- ○ --- ○○○ --- --- ○ --- ○ ---
- 4 नि । काले यत्यथ कीर्त्तिमौक्तिकलतागु(गु)च्छाकिताशा[त]टस्तत्रासीत्प्रथमः पुरंदरगु-
 [र] --- ○ --- ○ --- [114*] --- --- ○ --- ○○○ --- ○ --- ○ ---
 --- ○ --- ○○○ --- ○ --- ○ ---
- 5 - । चित्तं न यत्तनुभृतां परितापशांतौ सूते सुधां त्रिभुवनेपि सुधामसीचिः ॥ [5*]
 पुण्याग्रणी [1*]
- 6 पुरंदरोपि ॥ [6*] तेनारणिपदं नाम [कृ]ते पदमनिदित(तम्) । श्रीकण्ठेनेव तपसे
 दिव्यं दारुवनं [यथा*] [116*] --- --- ○ --- ○ --- ○○○ --- --- ○ ---
 --- ○ --- --- ○ --- ○ --- ○○○

¹ Cf. पुनर्द्वितीयं स्वयमद्वितीयो गुणैर्मुनीन्द्रोरणिपदसंज्ञम् । line, 13; तपोवनं योरणिपदनाम प्रसाधयामास तपःसमृद्ध्या, lines, 15-16, and येनेदं पुरमापदं धतमसे मग्नः नियोगाद्विधेः । सत्कीर्त्या रणिपदसंज्ञमचिराद्दुद्धृत्य यत्याश्रमम् ॥, line, 28. See also the *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad*, Vol. IV, p. 6, and *Studies in Indology*, Vol. IV, pp. 153 f.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 f.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXV, p. 178, verse 34.

⁴ From an excellent estampage supplied by Dr. D. R. Patil.

- 7 यत्रैलोक्यचूडामणिः । यस्याद्यापि यशोलतेव दशनच्छेदप्रभा[भासु]रं मेरावुद्यदपू [व्वं*]
 - ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - [॥८*] ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - ।
 ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ
- 8 - [प]योदाः । टीकायतः शान्तिरियाय पुण्या त्रयीव शंभोः पुरुषार्थसूतिः ॥ [९*]
 दत्त्वा तापमुपां[शु] - ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
 ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ
- 9 - । कीर्त्तिस्नापितसप्तविष्टपतलः श्रीशैवचूडामणिः शैवे धाम्नि जगाम शाश्वतपदे योगेन यो
 - ॐ - [॥१०*] - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ -
 ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ
- 10 शिष्यः । श्रीशंभुनेव भुवनाश्रयपण्डितेन येन त्रिलोकविजयी विजितः स मारः ॥ [११*]
 दत्त्वारणिपदे [१*]
 . . [॥१२*]-
- 11 स्तस्य धर्मशिव इत्यभवज्जितात्मा शिष्यः सतामभिमतो नयनाभिरामः । यो जन्मनेव
 शुचिना शुचिकीर्त्ति - - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - [॥१३*]
 ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - -
- 12 तस्याश्रमे वर्द्धयतस्तपांसि । तत्राजगामोन्मदसिन्धुराणां व(ब)लेन भूपः किल गोभटाख्यः ॥
 [१४*] स्नेहात्सवर्णा ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - - *]
 ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - [नृ*]
- 13 पेण परागतासुः सहस्रां पपातं ॥ [१५*] तस्यावगम्य स कथां करुणाविमुक्तवापः^१
 क्ष[ण] तदनु कोपविपाट[लाक्षः १*] - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
 - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
- 14 जलद[स्स]लक्ष्मी(क्ष्मीः) ॥ [१६*] अथ प्रभावागतकार्मुकेन(ण) वा(बा)णैश्च दीप्तः
 स धरावृषाकः । आत्[स्व] लीलस्त्रपुरांतकस्य ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
 [॥१७*] ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ
- 15 कं(क)रः सकलमपि स जित्वा शात्रवं शर्व्वकल्पः । सुरपतिरमणीनां पु = प(ष्प)-
 वृष्ट्यावकीर्णः पुरमनुपम - - - ॐ - - ॐ - - [॥१८*] - - ॐ -
 ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ
- 16 लोकपरिमोहरुजः प्रशान्तिं(न्तिम्) । अस्तं गते दिवसकारिणि विश्वनाथे हंतुं
 तमांस्यमृतदोधितिरेव [शक्तः*] [॥१९*] - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
 ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ
- 17 कीर्त्तिजालैः । मुक्ताफलस्तव(ब)करश्मिपवित्र(त्रि)ताशैः कल्पद्रुमैरिव सुवर्णनगाधिराजः ॥
 [२०*] अ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ -
 - - ॐ - - [१*]

- 18 मुखममृतसवि[त्री] [भा]रती यस्य भेजे ललितपदनिवेशा राजहंसाव पद्मं(द्यम्) ॥
[२१*] इत्थं गु[णै] ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ
- ॐ - - [1*] - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ
- 19 दयो नृपचक्रवर्ती तद्दर्शनाय स ययौ हरिराजनामा ॥ [२२*] नमच्छिख[ण्ड]
. [1] [॥२३*]
- 20 लज्जः स तस्यानुचरोत्तमं(मम्) । आयुष्मान्नुपतिः कोयमिति पप्रच्छ संयमी ॥ [२४*]
. [1*]
. [॥२५*] - -
- 21 न्दुगौरं गुणिनां प्र[सू]तिगोत्तं¹ प्रतीहारमहीस्वराणां[णाम्] । यस्मिन्नभूद्भुभट इ-
[त्युपाह्वयः*] - - ॐ - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [॥२६*] - - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ -
ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - -
- 22 प्पमा(?) ण्डिशिखण्डरत्नवलयव्यासक्तपादाम्बु[म्बु]जः । गज्जर्दगूज्जरमेघचण्ड ॐ ॐ - - -
ॐ - - ॐ - - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - [॥२७*]
- - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ
- 23 पूरमनोज्ञपादः शोतप्रकाश इव तापहरः प्रजानां(नाम्) । तस्मादयं स्वरिपु - ॐ ॐ - ॐ
- - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [॥२८*]
- 24 धिः । आचार्यः स ददौ सम्यग्दीक्षां कल्याणकारिणीं(णीम्) ॥ [२९*] एतच्छरीरक-
[मि] - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [1*] - -
ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ
- 25 रेण यमिनातपृष्ठभागे ॥ [३०*] दीक्षाध्वरस्य विरतौ मदमत्त - - - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ -
ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [1*] - - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ
- 26 स नृपो गुरुदक्षिणायै ॥ [॥३१*] भक्त्या दत्तमपि प्रसन्नहृदयस्तस्या ॐ - - ॐ - - -
ॐ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ - - ॐ - [1*] - - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ -
ॐ ॐ ॐ - -
- 27 प्रार्थितोनेकधा ग्रामाणां चकमे स्मिताद्रवदनः स [प्रापि?] - - ॐ - [॥३२*] ॐ - ॐ -
- ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [1*] ॐ - ॐ - -
ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ -
- 28 स्मात्तव वीरलक्ष्मीः ॥ [३३*] इत्थं तेनाहितासी(शी)स्त्रि[भु][वन*] ॐ ॐ - - ॐ
- - ॐ - - - - ॐ - - ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - -
[1*] - - - ॐ - - ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - - ॐ - - ॐ
- - ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ - - ॐ - - ॐ - - [॥३४]
- 29 व गुरोः श्रेयसे शैवं सर्व्वस्वकेचार्या दभे² (?)

¹ Read प्रसूतिगोत्रं.

² The reading of this line is not quite certain and the metre can not be found out.

No. 21—VELPURU INSCRIPTION OF MADHAVAVARMMAN I, YEAR 33

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 9.9.1965)

The subjoined inscription, edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, comes from the village **Vēlpūru**¹ in Sattenapalle Taluk of the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. An early inscription of the time of Aira-Mānasada (c. 2nd century A.D.) from this village has been published in the pages of this Journal.² The present inscription is engraved on two sides of the lower part of a white marble pillar, about 2.75 metres in height, now set up in the front *mandapa* outside the entrance into the Rāmalingasvāmin temple in this village. In 1925, only a portion of this record was copied³ as it was then partly built in. After the removal of this obstruction, it was again copied in 1937-38.⁴ An imperfect transcript of this epigraph has been published in 1948.⁵ When I visited Vēlpūru in the beginning of 1964, I found to my disappointment that a major portion of the record was lost and only a fragment was available. I, therefore, edit the record from the impressions prepared in 1925 and 1937-38 and preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

As already pointed out, the record is engraved on two faces, called hereafter Face **A** and Face **B**, of the pillar. Face **A** has twelve lines while face **B** has only four lines. None of these lines is completely preserved. The first four lines in face **A** have suffered damage in the middle, resulting in the loss of some letters in each line, though they can be restored with the help of other records of the Vishṇukunḍin family to which the king of our record belongs. The proper left side of lines 4-6 is lost while only a few letters or words can be read in the remaining part of this face. Similarly, the proper right side of the face **B** is damaged. Thus the record is very fragmentary. However, from the appearance of the pillar and the inscribed text, it can be seen that the text on face **B** is a continuation of that on face **A**. The inscribed area of the record might have originally measured about 40 cm × 38 cm on face **A** and 24 cm × 16 cm on face **B**. Above the inscription, we find the carved figures of two lions, one behind the other, both facing proper right and resting on their forelegs and having their hind parts raised as we find in one of the Ghaṇṭasāla inscriptions.⁶ Perhaps, the lion was a crest of the Vishṇukunḍins.⁷

¹ Same as *Velupuru* of the *Madras Presidency Atlas*.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 82 ff. and plate.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1925-26, No. B 581.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1937-38, No. B 350.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 1.

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. XXVII, plate facing page 2, inscription A.

⁷ The Rāmatīrtham and Chikkulla plates of this family bear the figure of an advancing lion facing proper right (*ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff. and plate; Vol. IV, pp. 193 ff. and Plate). But the seal of the Tuṅḍi grant of Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, plate facing p. 12) has the figure of a humped bull facing proper right; see D. C. Sircar, *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 131.

The **alphabet** of the record is Southern type and is almost the same as found in the Īpūr plates¹ (set I) which were also issued by the Vishṇukunḍin ruler Mādhavavarman, son of Gōvindavarman. However, the following differences are noteworthy. The medial *i* and *ī* are clearly distinguished in the present record while in the Īpūr plates it is not always the case. The middle stroke of the letter *k* is a straight line in our record while it is a curve in the other. While the final *n* and *m* are denoted in the present inscription by the respective consonants of the normal size with a small stroke above (cf. *śāsan* in line 4, *gāṭavān* in line 10 and *Ditṭham* in line 1) in the Īpūr plates they are denoted by the diminutive forms written slightly below the lines. The form *d* in *Ditṭham* in line 1 is not of usual type in our record. The superscripts *t* and *n* in small characters are noteworthy. As regards **orthography**, the only thing to be pointed out is that the consonants following *r* are invariably doubled. The **language** of the present inscription is Sanskrit, though in the word *Ditṭham* we have Prakritism. The construction *gōtrāt-prabharasya* (line 2) is of syntactic interest.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vishṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman**, son of **Gōvindavarman**, and its **object** appears to be to record the installation of an image of the deity Gaṇeśa and the offering of worship to the same deity.

The record commences with the word *Ditṭham* (Sanskrit *Dṛiṣṭam*) which is not generally met with in lithic records. This is followed by the auspicious word *svastī*. In lines 1-2, there is a reference to the reign of **Mādhavavarman** described as the son of **Gōvindavarman** whose name is associated with two epithets viz. *bhagavach-Chhrīparvatasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta* and *Vishṇukunḍi-gōtrāt-prabhava*. The first expression meaning 'the one meditating on the feet of the divine lord of Śrīparvata' is found in all the Vishṇukunḍin records, while the second one, which will be discussed subsequently in detail, is not found in the other epigraphs, though they mention the name of the family viz., *Vishṇukunḍin*. Lines 2-3 quote the **date** of the record. Here too though the part mentioning the **thirty-third regnal year** of the king is fully preserved the actual date of the record is lost excepting the first letter *taī*. However, it seems that this broken portion contained only three letters of which the last two formed part of the succeeding epithet.² Therefore, one may safely conjecture that the original reading of the broken part of the date must have been *taishyām* meaning 'the full-moon day of the month Taisha'. This would be in line with the other records of the family which invariably give the details of the fortnight and the *tithi*. It may be observed that the month Taisha and the full-moon day are considered to be auspicious for the consecration of images³ which is the purport of our record. Line 3 again mentions the name of **Mādhavavarman**, evidently the same mentioned in the previous line and seems to praise him as one unequalled in valour.

The next two lines (lines 4-5) refer to a person whose name is not preserved. He is described as having gone to the king's camp at 'this place', i.e. where the pillar was originally set up, as the then ruler of the **Vēlpūru-dēśa**,⁴ probably as victorious in many battles and as the donor of a thousand cows. The partly preserved compound word in the next line (line 6) describes evidently the same individual as having been saluted by a person, i.e., a king, belonging to the family of the

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 334 ff. and plate.

² See below, p. 129, note 6.

³ See *The Vishṇudharmōttara-purāna* (Śrī-Vēnkaṭeśvara Press Ed.) *Khaṇḍa III*, Chapter 95, verses 14, 18, 21 and 82.

⁴ It is difficult to be sure whether the expression *iha skandhāvāra-gatō Vēlpūri-dēśam śāsan* actually indicates that the king's camp was outside Vēlpūrudēśa.

Pallavas thus denoting his victory over a Pallava ruler. This person, as suggested by the partly preserved expression *Vishṇukunḍy-adhirāja* in line 7, was apparently a Vishṇukunḍin prince. Lines 8-15 seem to state that, at the command (*śāsitaḥ* in line 8) of Mādhavavarmman, this Vishṇukunḍin prince went to some place, set up a military drum (*ānaka-sthāpana*),¹ brought an image of the elephant-faced Vināyaka (*Dantimukha-svāmin*) and installed the same after offering worship with great care. The last two lines (lines 15-16), contain parts of a verse, describing this Vināyaka as being worshipped by some people.

The inscription under study is important in more than one respect. It is not only the solitary lithic record of the Vishṇukunḍins, but also the earliest of the records of the family discovered so far. The attribute *Vishṇukunḍi-gōtrāt-prabhava* applied to Gōvindavarmman is interesting. In other records of this family, we have expressions, in this context, like *Vishṇukunḍinām . . . Gōvindavarmma*² and *Vishṇukunḍinām . . . Mādhavavarmma*.³ Scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's suggestion that the family name Vishṇukunḍin must have been derived from the modern Vinukonda, a hill-fort town, not far away from Śrīparvata or Śrīsaila, the god of which place was the family deity of the dynasty.⁴ Kielhorn also suggested that this place was the early capital of the Vishṇukunḍins.⁵ Some writers, however, suggested that the name may be of a *gōtra*.⁶ The epithet *Vishṇukunḍi-gōtrāt-prabhava* in our record means '(one) who was the first known (to the world i.e. became famous) from the hill (named) Vishṇukunḍi'.⁷ This interpretation would support Kielhorn's suggestion referred to above. It also indicates that the Vishṇukunḍins became important during the time of Gōvindavarmman.

Gōvindavarmman and his son Mādhavavarmman do not bear the title *Mahārāja* or *rājan* in our record. Even the honorific *śrī* is not prefixed to their names. But there cannot be any doubt regarding the identity of Mādhavavarmman. He is the same king who issued the Īpūr plates (Set I) and whom some scholars call Mādhavavarmman I⁸ while others Mādhavavarmman III.⁹

¹ It is difficult to understand the purpose of this *ānaka-sthāpana* by the prince. According to ritualistic literature of ancient India, prayers to the war-drum should be offered by the king on the occasion of *raṇa-dīkṣhā* or the preparation for war. Cf. *Āśvalāyana-Gṛihyasūtra* (Trivandrum, Skt. Series, No. LXXVIII), Chapter 3, *Khanda* 9, *Sūtra* 16; see also the *Agnipurāṇa* (Ānandāśarma Ed.), Chapter 269, verses 35-37; The *ānakasthāpana* may be connected with that prayer. The worship of Vināyaka is also prescribed among the rituals of *raṇadīkṣhā*; see *Saptāhēna yadū yātrā bhaviṣhyati mahāpatēḥ | tadā dīnē tu prathamē pūjanīyō Vināyakaḥ |* (*Vishṇudharmōttara-purāṇa*, op. cit., *Khanda* II, Chapter 176, verse 2). The above discussion would suggest some war preparation by Mādhavavarmman. In this connection it may be remembered that the poet Bāṇa states that the king Harsha, on the eve of his departure for conquest, worshipped the god Nilalōhita i.e. Śiva (cf. *Harshacharita*, *uchchhāvāsa* VII, para. i.) which is also prescribed by the ritualistic literature.

² Above, Vol. XVII, p. 336, text lines 1 and 3.

³ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 195-96, text lines 2 and 9.

⁴ *The Classical Age*, p. 206.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

⁶ See K. Gopalachari, *Early History of the Andhra Country*, p. 201.

⁷ The word *prabhava* preceded by the ablative *gōtrāt* is to be taken as a rare example of Pāṇini's rule *Bhuvah prabhavaḥ* (I, iv, 31) like *Himavatō Gaṅgā prabhavati* and *Kāśmīrēbhyō Vitastā prabhavati*. An example for this rule in classical Sanskrit is furnished by the grammarian-poet Bhatṭi in the second half of the following verse: *Rāmād-adhīta-sandēśō Vātāj-jātaś-chyuta-smītām | prabhavāntim-iv-ādītyād-apaśyat-Kapikuñjaraḥ ||* (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, verse 614).

⁸ D. C. Sircar, *Suc. Sat.*, p. 104; *The Classical Age*, p. 207.

⁹ K. A. N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, Second Ed., p. 102; *The Classical Age*, p. 223. See also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 92 and note 2, for two opposite views on this subject.

But the person who is described in lines 4-6 cannot be easily identified since his name is not preserved. However, the two epithets *anēka-samāra-mukh-ā[vāpta]-vijaya-śrīmān* and *gō-sahasra-pradāyī* applied to him show that he may be identified either with Gōvindavarman or with Indrabhattāarakavarman, as only these two rulers among the Vishnukundins are known to have borne epithets of this nature.¹ Since Mādhavarman's father Gōvindavarman could not have been mentioned in the present context, we may identify this person with Indrabhattāarakavarman, otherwise known as Indrarvarman. If this identification is accepted, he would be the grandson² and not great-grandfather³ of Mādhavarman, son of Gōvindavarman. His defeat of the Pallavas shows that the latter were subdued and driven away from Vēṅgimaṇḍala during the reign of Mādhavarman I. Indrabhattāarakavarman seems to have been governing, as a viceroy of his grandfather, Vēlpūru-dēsa or the territory round about modern Vēlpūru.⁴

The inscription is silent about the eleven *Aśvamēdhas* and thousand *Agnishōmas* stated to have been performed by Mādhavarman I in the Ipūr plates of his 37th regnal year and the other Vishnukundin records. This may indicate that the king had not performed any one of these sacrifices before his 33rd regnal year. If so it would be difficult to believe that he had performed all of them during the course of 4 or 5 years, before his 37th year, since one *Aśvamēdha* itself would take more than a year.⁵ It has been suggested that these *Aśvamēdhas* were less pompous than those described in the epics⁶ in which case it may be presumed that the king performed them between his 33rd and 37th regnal years, perhaps to celebrate his victory over the Pallavas.

The mention of the elephant-faced Vināyaka in our record provides the earliest epigraphical reference to this god. It is stated that the figure Gaṇēśa in the Śaiva cave temple at Bādāmi attributable to the time of the Chālukya king Pulakēśin I (i.e. the middle of the sixth century) is perhaps the earliest representation of the deity in South India,⁷ whereas the Gaṇēśa images from Sankisa (U. P.) and from Bhūmārā (Madhya Pradesh) are attributed to the fifth century A.D.⁸ In the above mentioned Bādāmi cave, Gaṇēśa is represented as a subordinate deity by the side of the dancing Śiva.⁹ It is also surmised that the image from Bhūmārā too was a 'a door-keeper' in a temple there.¹⁰ However, Dantimukhasvāmin Vināyaka of our record does not appear to have been a subordinate deity.

¹ Cf. the passages *anēka-gō-hirānyā-bhūmi-pradānāśya . Gōvindavarmanāḥ* in the Ipūr plates Set I (above, Vol. XVII, p. 336, text lines 23); and *anēka-samāra-svīghaṭṭa-vijayināḥ . Gōvindavarmanāḥ* in the Polamūru grant (JAHS, Vol. VI, p. 19, text lines 4-6). Again see also the passage *anēka-samāra-svīghaṭṭa-dvirada-gaṇa-vijayaśya . bhūmi-gō-kanyā-hirānyā pradāna-pratilabdha-punīya-jīvan-ōpabhōgasya Indrabhattāarakavarmanāḥ* in the Chikkulla plates (ibid., Vol. IV, p. 196, text lines 12-16).

² See above, Vol. XVII, p. 335.

³ See above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 92 ff.; *The Classical Age*, p. 223.

⁴ Mādhavarman II, another grandson of Mādhavarman I was governing, also as a viceroy under the latter, the territory of Trikūṭa-Malaya identified with Kōṭappakoṇḍa in Narasaraopet Taluk, not far away from Vēlpūru (cf. Sircar, op. cit., pp. 133-34; *The Classical Age*, pp. 209 and 224; and JAHS, Vol. X, p. 191).

⁵ See the *Vāchaspatyam*, s.v. *Aśvamēdha*.

⁶ See D. C. Sircar, op. cit., p. 125.

⁷ A. Getty, *Gaṇēśa*, Oxford, 1936, p. 28.

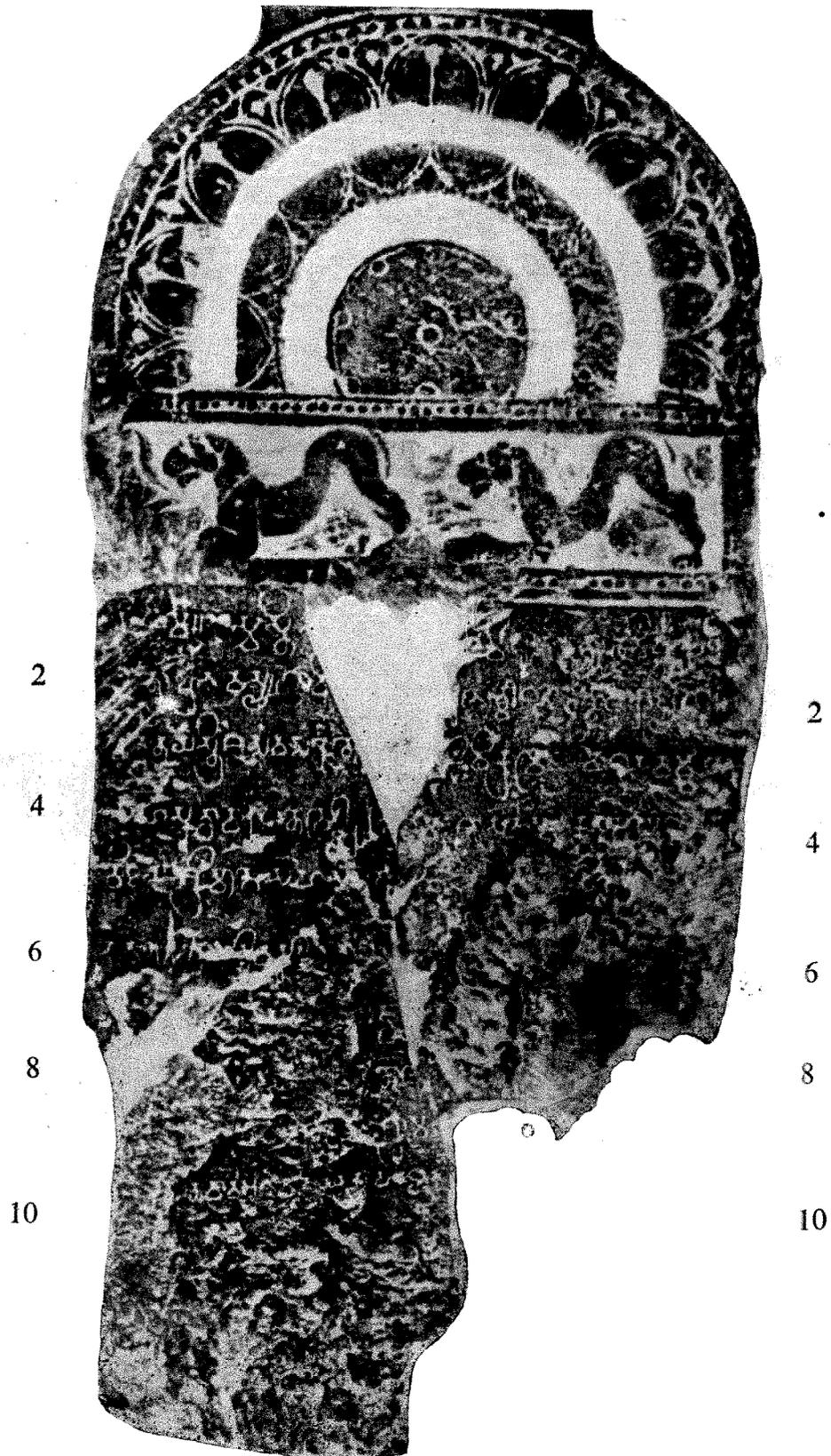
⁸ Ibid., p. 26, and plate 3(b).

⁹ Ibid., plate 8(b).

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 26-27.

VELPURI INSCRIPTION OF MADHAVAVARMMAN I, YEAR 33

Face A



Scale: One-third

Face B



Scale : One-half

Two geographical names occur in our inscription viz. Śrīparvata and Vēlpūru-dēsa. The former is identical with the famous Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, while the latter represents the territory around modern Vēlpūru, the findspot of the record.

TEXT*

Face A

- 1 Diṭṭham Svasti[|*] [Bha]²mi-pā⁴dā -ānuddhyāta[*sya**] Viṣṇukunḍi-
- 2 [gō]trāt=prabhavasya Gōvi....[s]ū⁵nōr=Mmādhavavarmma[ṇō] rājya-pravarddha-
- 3 [mā]nē trayastrimśat-samvatsarē Tai⁶...la-vikramēṇa Mādhavavarmma[ṇā]
- 4 [i]ha skandhāvāra-gatō Vēlpūru[dēsa]m⁷(śarṇ) śāsan [a]n[ō]ka-sama[ra]-[mukh-ā].⁸
- 5 vijaya-śrīmān=gōsahas[ra]-p[ra]dā[y]i na.....
- 6 [na]t-ātula-[Pa]llava-kula.....
- 7[k]u[ṇḍ]ya[dhi?]⁹.... gam[ddha]¹⁰
- 8[r]utō [sā]. tō¹¹
- 9 grāmē
- 10 gatavān [|*] a[tr-ai]va ānaka-[sthā]pan[ā]dika.....
- 11śvarya.....
- 12

* See above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

² From impressions.

³ Only the proper right portion of this letter is preserved. The succeeding broken portion consisting originally of about seven letters may be restored as *gavaḥ-Chhrīparvata-śā*.

⁴ The letter *pā* has an unnecessary *u-mātrā*.

⁵ Only the medial *ū-mātrā* of this letter is preserved. The preceding broken portion consisting of about four letters might have read originally as *ndavarmmaṇaḥ*.

⁶ The broken portion appears to have consisted of only three letters which may be restored as *śhyām=atu*.

⁷ Only the proper right part of the lower portion of a letter, probably *da*, is visible. It is likely that the intended reading is *dēsam*.

⁸ The two *akṣaras* lost at the end of the line may be restored as *vāpta*.

⁹ These doubtful letters perhaps suggest here an expression like *Viṣṇukunḍyadhīrāja* found in the Iṭṭ plates (Set II) (above, Vol. XVII, p. 339, text line 13). If so, it may form part of an epithet of the person introduced in these lines.

¹⁰ Originally *dta* was written.

¹¹ Probably the intended reading is *mārutaḥ śāsīt*.

Face B

- 13nt[i]mukha¹-svāminah pratimām=ānīya(ya)
- 14śa[ta]...[ra]ṇyam² datvā(ttvā) mahā(ha)tā prayatnēna pūjā[ṛi]
- 15vam vi[ja]yēn=n=ānṛitam³ [||*] Sthāpita[ñ=cha] nṛipasy=ā[.]⁴
- 16[|] Vi[n]āy⁵akam namasyanti narā..... [||*]

¹ *Dantimukha* is intended here since *Vināyaka* is mentioned in line 16.

² *Hiraṇyam* seems to be the intended word.

³ The intended reading is perhaps °*evam vijayēn=n=ānṛitam* which may mean '(it is) not untrue (that one doing) like this, shall be victorious'. This is perhaps intended to be a *phala-śruti*. We have here a rare *Parasmaipada* form of the root *jī* following the preposition *vi*. See, Monier-Williams *Skt.-Eng. Dict.*, 2nd Ed., s.v. *vi-jī*.

⁴ The intended word appears to be *ājñā*.

⁵ *Ya* has an unnecessary *ē-mātrā*.

No. 22—A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM BELVADIGI

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(Received on 20.11.1965)

It was in November 1959, while conducting the epigraphical survey of Chitapur Taluk in Gulbarga District, Mysore State, that I copied the inscription at **Belvādigi**.¹ It is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. The inscribed slab was found set up against the back wall of the building housing the officer in charge of the quarrying operations at a site about two miles away from the village.

This is a single line inscription which must have originally contained 9 letters out of which the last two were found broken away and lost at the time of copying. The characters are Brahmi of the 3rd century A. D. and are comparable with those of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of the said period though the letters in the inscription under study do not display ornamental flourishes as those of the latter inscriptions. As regards palaeography, the stroke, almost horizontally drawn, attached to the bottom of the letter *ka*, is especially noteworthy.² The letter *la* is simple and *pa* is without the curve on its left vertical. The letter *chha* is angular and its lines do not meet at the top on the right.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. This is the earliest and only Brāhmī inscription so far discovered in the Gulbarga District.³

Two panels, one below the other, with sculptured figures in relief immediately below the inscribed line add to the interest and importance of the epigraph. The top panel which is damaged depicts a man facing front seated on a circular seat with his left leg folded and kept on it and the right one hanging down ; his left hand is resting on his left lap and his right hand is raised up and holding some object which I am unable to identify. On a smaller circular seat to his right sits, facing him, a woman with her right hand resting on the edge of the seat. A *chauri*-bearer⁴ stands to the left of the male figure. The bottom panel depicts a bullock-cart in the foreground with two bullocks shown standing in the back-ground. An indistinct figure, perhaps of a horse, is carved behind the bullocks. The cart itself is empty with no occupants.

The inscription states that the panels represent the memorial image of a certain **Kalaka**. It is difficult to interpret the sculptured panels with reference to the inscription. We know of a number of inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa referring to the setting up of *chhāyā-khambhas*⁵ (i.e. memorial pillars) commemorating persons killed in a battle-field or otherwise. An inscription⁶

¹ This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B 427.

² Cf. the letter *ka* in *vāsikasa* of inscription No. 31 from Amarāvati, above, Vol. XV, p. 268 and Plate facing p. 267. Also cf. inscriptions Nos. 47 and 48 from the same place, *ibid.*, p. 272 and Plate facing the same page.

³ A Buddhist site with a number of inscriptions in Brāhmī script and Prakrit language has been recently discovered at Sannathi, a village not far from Belvādigi.

⁴ This figure is not very distinct in the inked impression. The right hand, raised up, holds some object which I have tentatively identified with a *chauri*. The left hand, folded up at the elbow, also holds some object which I am unable to identify.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20-22, Plate facing p. 17.

from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is particularly relevant here. It relates to the erection of a *chhāyā-khambha* in memory of a queen. This inscription is engraved on a lime-stone slab below a scene, in bas-relief, depicting the queen being seated in a *mandapa*-like part of a building and attended by a couple of persons. On the analogy of this, it may be said that the seated male figure in the top panel mentioned above represents the deceased Kalaka. It is probable that the inscribed panel was put up, on Kalaka's death, in his memory and that the figure of the *chauri*-bearer to his left represents a divine damsel attending on him. The female figure seated to Kalaka's right probably represents his wife. It is difficult to say whether she performed *saha-gamana* on her husband's death. If she had done so, this will be one of the earliest instances of the practice of *sati* in the Karnāṭaka region. Besides, the present inscription is another interesting example of an early memorial slab containing a sculptured scene.

The bottom panel with the bullock-cart does not render itself to easy interpretation. On the one hand, it may be taken to imply the death of Kalaka at the time of performing a journey in a bullock-cart, perhaps as the result of an accident or, perhaps, in the course of an ambush. On the other hand, the cart with the bullocks unyoked may be taken as a symbolic representation of the journey's end, *i.e.* the end of Kalaka's life. The presence of the horse in the scene is difficult to explain.

TEXT¹

Kalakasa chhaya² pa[ṭimā]³

(Sanskrit : *Kalakasya chhāyā-pratimā*)

TRANSLATION

(*This is the*) memorial image of Kalaka.

¹ From inked impressions.

² There is a mark below the right end of the letter *chha*.

³ The last two letters *i* and *mā* are broken away and lost.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM BELVADIGI



Scale : One-fourth

No. 23—AGALI GRANT OF GANGA SRIPURUSHA, SAKA 669

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(Received on 15.12.1965)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription edited below was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Government Epigraphist for India, towards the end of 1957. It is understood that the original set, along with one or two more sets of copper-plate grants, was displayed at the Central Advisory Board of Archaeology at New Delhi, by the Director, Department of Archaeology, Mysore.¹ Neither the findspot of the present plates nor the details of their discovery are known to me, though they seem to have been found in the old Mysore State area.²

The set consists of five plates, each measuring 23.4 cm by 8.3 cm. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate, 1.4 cm in diameter, through which passes the ring to which is attached the usual Gaṅga seal. This seal is oval in shape, measuring 5 cm in length and 3.9 cm in width and bears in relief the figure of a standing elephant facing the proper left. In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription is similar to the Salem plates³ of the same king dated Śaka 693.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha who ruled from 726 to 788 A.D. The introductory portion consisting of lines 1-35 is the same as that found in the Salem plates of this king mentioned above. The record is dated Śaka 669, 22nd regnal year, Māgha śu. 13, Thursday, when the nakshatra was Punarvasu. This date corresponds to 18th January 748 A.D. when the said tithi ended at 45 and the nakshatra was Punarvasu. The Śaka year was an expired one.

The charter is issued when the royal camp was at Koṇigil-nagara and its object is to register the gift, made by the king, to Nandiśvaraśarman who was the son of Mādhaśarman and grandson of Nandaśarman, who was the resident of Kēsammaḍi and who belonged to Kāśyapa-gōtra, Taittirīya-charaṇa and Prāvachana-kalpa. The gift, which was made free from all encumbrances, consisted of the village Agali on the right bank of the river Toḷle and situated in Eḍeḍiṇḍe in Maṛugare-vishaya. It is stated that since this donee Nandiśvaraśarman had no son, he adopted, in the presence of the king, Mādhaśarman and Māraśarman, the sons of his brother Nāgaśarman and gave them the above-mentioned gift-village Agali. It is also stated that the king Śrīpurusha approved of this gift and that the subjects of Ninety-six thousand District (*shannavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayak*) were the witnesses to this grant.

The inscription was written by Viśvakarmmachārya who is stated to have been an expert in fine arts, the basis of all arts. It appears that this writer was granted a paddy field having the

¹ See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 151 for one of these sets of plates.

² The present set appears to be one of the two sets noticed in *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1947-56, p. 26, which were discovered in the village of Chikkasāraṅgi in the Tumkur District of Mysore State.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 145 ff. and Plates.

sowing capacity of two *kaṇḍukas* out of the field having the sowing capacity of four *kaṇḍukas* and it is stated that this gift also should be protected as if it was a *brahmadēya* or the gift to a *brāhmaṇa*.

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Koṇigil-nagara**, where the royal camp was fixed, may be identified with modern Kuṇigal, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in Tumkur District, Mysore State. It is mentioned as Kuṇuṅgil, Kunuṅgil and Koṇikal in other records.¹ The exact location of the gift-village **Agali** on the right bank of the **Tolle** and the bigger units **Eḍeḍinde** and **Maṇugare-vishaya** is not certain. Eḍeḍinde-vishaya is mentioned in the Maṇṇe plates² of Śaka 724 issued by Rāshtrakūta Khambhadēva. A hero-stone from Hiriguṇḍagal in Tumkur Taluk belonging to the reign of Gaṅga Śrīpuruṣa states that his subordinate Siyagella was governing Maṇugare-nāḍu 300 while in another record from the same place, also of Śrīpuruṣa's reign, the king's son is mentioned as the governor of Maṇugare-nāḍu.³ This Maṇugare-nāḍu is evidently identical with the Maṇugare-vishaya of the inscription. Under study and seems to have comprised portions of Tumkur District. The Ninety-six thousand Division is the same as Gaṅgavāḍi—96,000 Division which comprised the major territory of the old Mysore State. I am not sure about the identification of Kēsammaḍi where the donee resided.

TEXT*

[Metres: Verses 1, 4 *Sragdharā*; verse 2 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5-8 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

First Plate

- 1 Ōm⁵ [*] Svasti jitam-bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padmanābhēna [*] Śrīmaj-Jāhnavēya-kul-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana-bhā-
- 2 skaraha śva(sva)-khā(kha)ḍg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-śī(sī)lā-stambha - labdha - bala-parā-kramō dāruṇāri-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-ōpala-
- 3 bdha-vraṇa-vibhūṣhaṇa-vibhūṣitaḥ Kāṇvāyana-śa(sa)gōtraḥ śrīmat-**Koṅganivarmma-dharmma-mahādhirāja(ja)s**-tasya pu-
- 4 tra[h] pitur=anvāgata-guṇa-yuktō vidyā-vinaya-vihita-vṛittaḥ samya[k*]-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhiyata-rājya-
- 5 prayōjanō vidvat-kavi-kāṇchana-nikash-ōpala-bhūtō nītiśāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri-kuśalō Dattakṣētra-vṛi-
- 6 ttēḥ=praṇētā śrīmān-**Mādhava-mahādhirāja[s*]**-tat-putraḥ pitri-paitāmaha-guṇa-yuktō=nēka-chāturddanta-yuddh-ā-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 332 ff. and *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1919, p. 12, para. 30. The Kadaba plates of Rāshtrakūta Prabhūtarsha referred to here are considered to be spurious.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, N1. 61.

³ See, *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1910, p. 23, paras. 51 and 52.

⁴ From the photographs.

⁵ Expressed by * symbol.

7 vāpta-chatur-udadhi-śa(sa)lil-āsvādita-yaśāḥ śrīmad-Dharivarmma-mahādhīrājah¹ tat-putrō dvija-guru-dēvatā-pū-

Second Plate, First Side

8 jana-parō Nārāyaṇa-charana(ṅ-ā)nudhyātaḥ śrīmān-Vishṇugōpa-mahādhīrājah¹ tat-putraḥ Tryambaka-charaṇ-[āmbhō][ru*]ha-ra-

9 jah-pra(pa)vitrīkrit-ōttamāṅgaḥ sva-bhujā-bala-parākrama-kraya-kṛta-rājyaḥ Kaliyuga-bala-paukāvāsanna-dharmma-

10 vṛish-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhaḥ śrīmān-Mādhava-mahādhīrājah¹ tat-putraḥ śrīmat-Kadamba-kula-gagana-[ga]bhastimāli-

11 naḥ Kṛishṇavarmma-mahādhīrājasya priya-bhāginēyō vidyā-vinay-ātīśaya-paripūrit-āntarādmā(tmā) nira-

12 vagraha-pradhāna-śauryyō vidvatsu prathama-gaṇyaḥ śrīmān-Koṅgaṇi-mahādhīrājah¹ Avinīta-nāmā tat-putrō

13 vijṛimbhamāna-śakti-trayaḥ¹ Andari'-Ālattūr-pPoruḷare Pernnagar-ādy-anēka-samaramukha-makha-huta-prahata-

14 śūra-purusha-paś-ūpahāra-vighasa-vihastīkṛita-kṛitānt-Āgni-mukhaḥ Kirātārjuniya-paṅcha-daśa-ssa(sa)rgga-ṭikā-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 kārō Durvvinīta-nāmadhēyaḥ¹ tasya putrō durddanta-vimardda-vimṛidita-viśvambhar-ādhipa-mauli-mālā-makara-

16 nda-puṅcha(ṅja)-piṅjari-kra(kri)yamāṇa-charaṇa-yugala-nalīnō² Mushkara-nāmadhēyaḥ¹ tasya putraś-chaturdaśa-vidyā-sthā-

17 n-ādhighata-vimala-mati[h*] viśēshatō='navasēshasya nīta(ti)-śāstrasya vakṛi-prayōkṛi-kuśalō ripu-timira-nikā(rā-)

18 karaṇ-ōdaya-bhāskarāḥ Śrīvikrama--prathīta-nāmadhēyaḥ¹ tasya putraḥ¹ anēka-samara-sampāta-vijṛimbhita-

19 dvirada-radana-kulīś-ābhīghāta-vraṇa-samrūḍha-bhāśva(sva)d-vijaya-lakshāṇa-lakshmīkṛita-viśāla-vaksha-sthalaḥ sama-

20 dhigata-śa(sa)kala-śāstr-ārttha-tatva(ttva)s=samārādhita-trivarggō niravadya-charitaḥ=prati-dīnan=abhivarddhamāna-prabhā-

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² Better read nalīna-charaṇa-yugalō.

- 21 vō **Bhūvikrama**-nāmadhēyaḥ api cha [*] Nānā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhaṭ-ō¹ra-kavā-
[t-ō*]tthit-āsrig-dhā-

Third Plate, First Side

- 22 r-āsvāda-pramatta-dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kshōda-sammardda-bhīmē [*] saṅgrāmē Pallavēn-
dran=narapatim=ajayad=yō Vē(Vi)land-ā-
- 23 bhīhānē rājā **Śrīvallah**-ākhyas=samara-sa(sa)ta-jay-āvāpta-lakshmi-vilāsaḥ [|| 1*] Tasya=
ānujō nata-narēndra-kirīṭa-kōṭi-
- 24 an-ārkkā-dīdhiti-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ [*] Lakshmyā svayaṁ vṛita-patir=n **Navakāma**-
nāmā śishta-priyō-ri-gaṇa-dāra(ru)ṇa-
- 25 a-kīrttiḥ [||2*] Tasya Koṅguṇi-mahārājasya **Śivamāra(r-ā)**para-nāmadhēyasya pautrah
samavanata-samasta-
- 26 imanta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭi[ta*]-bahala-ratna-vilasad-amara-dhanuḥ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-
charaṇa-nakha-maṇḍalō Nārāyaṇa-
- 27 charaṇa-nihita-bhaktiḥ śūrapurusha-turaga-varavīraṇa-ghaṭā-saṅghaṭṭa-dāruṇa-samara-
śirasi da[r*]śit-ātmakōpō² Bhī-
- 28 ma-kōpaḥ prakāṭa-rati-samaya-śa(sa)manuvarttana-chatura-yuvati-jana-lōka-dhūrttō Lōka-
dhūrttaḥ sudurddhar-ānēka-yuddha-

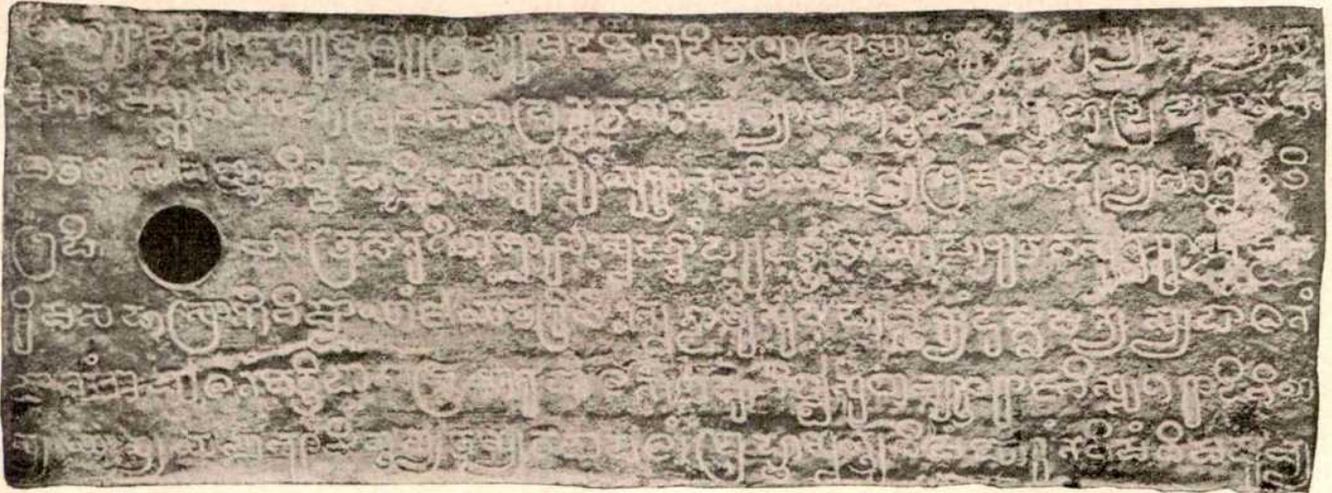
Third Plate, Second Side

- 29 mūrdha(rdhni) labdha-vijaya-saṁpad=ahita-gaja-ghaṭā-kēsari Rāja-kēsari api cha [*] Yō
Gaṅg-ānvaya-nirmmal-āmbara-
- 30 tala-vyābhāsana-prōllasan-mārttaṇḍō-ri-bhayaṁkaraś-śubhakarā[s*]=saṅ-mārgga-rakshākara-
[h [*] saurājyaṁ samupētya rāja-
- 31 samitau rājan-guṇair-uttamai rājā **Śrīpurushaś**-chiraṁ vijayatē rājanya-chūdāmaṇiḥ [||3*]
Kāmō rāmāśu(su) chā-
- 32 pē Daśaratha-tanayō vikramē Jāmadagnyaḥ prājy-aśvāryyē Balārir=bahu-mahaśi(si)
Rabhi(vi)ś=cha prabhutvē
- 33 Dhanēsaḥ [*] bhūyō vikhyāta-śakti[h*] sphuṭataram-akhila-prāna-bhājā[m] Vidhātā
dhātrā spishta[h*] prajānām=pati-
- 34 r=iti kavayō yaṁ praśamśa(sa)nti nityaṁ(tyam) [|| 4*] tēna pratidina-pravṛitta-mahā-dāna-
janita-puṇyāha-ghōsha-mukharita-

¹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* over /ō.

² The Salem plates read *nīhit-ātmakōpō* here.

iv, b

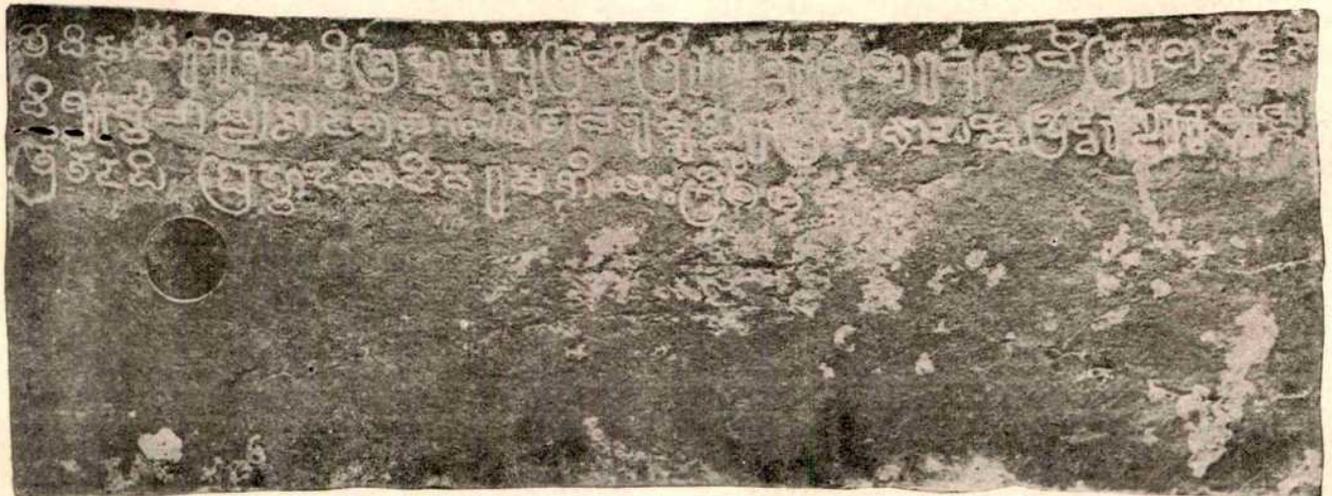


44

46

48

v

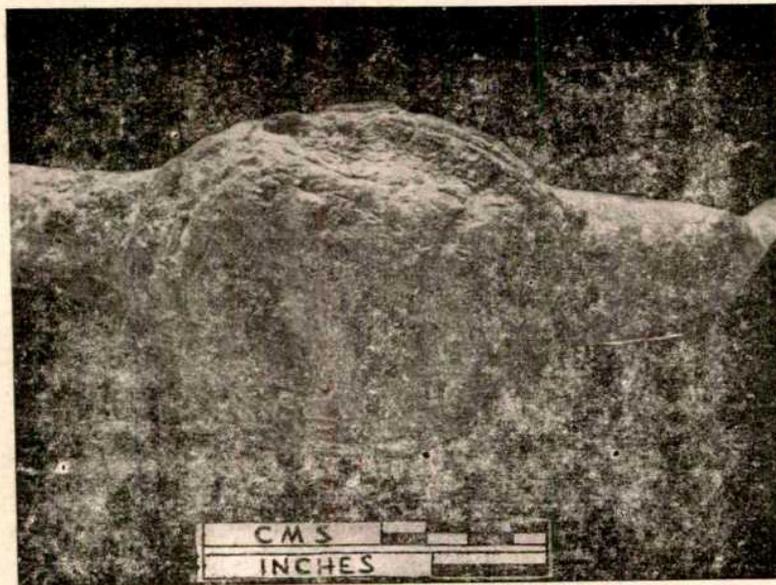


50

52

(From Photographs)

SEAL



(From Photograph)

35 mandir-ōdarēna Śrīpurusha-prathama-nāmadhēyēna Prithivī-ko[m*]guni-mahārājēna
ēk-ōna-saptaty-utta-

Fourth Plate, First Side

36 ra-shaṭ-chhatēshu Śaka-varshēshv-atitēshv-ātmanah-pravarddhamāna-vijay-
aisvarya-samvatsarē dvā-vimśē varttamānē

37 Konigil-naka(ga)ram=adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē Māgha-māsa-sukla-paksha-
trayōdaśyām Punarvvasū-naksha-

38-trē Brihaspativārē Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Taittiri(rī)ya-charanāya Prāvachana-kalpāya
Kēsammaḍi-vāsta-

39 vyāya Nandaśarmmaṇah=pautrāya Mādhasarmmaṇah=putrāya Nandiśvaraśarmmaṇē
Maṛugare-visha-

40 yē Edeḍiṇḍe-nāmadhēya-madhyē Tolle-nadi-dakshiṇa-pārsvē Agali-nāma-grāmas-
sarvva-parihāra-yuktam(ka)m=u-

41 daka-pūrvvan=dattah sa cha grāmah=punas=tath=aiva tēna Nandiśvaraśarmmaṇa svayam=
aputratvād=ātm-ānujasya Nā-

42 ga-śarmmaṇah putrābhyām Mādhasarmma-Māraśarmmaḥbyām rāja-samaksham putrikṛitya
udaka-pūrvvan=dattah [[*]

Fourth Plate, Second Side

43 Mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrīpurushadēvēn=āpi tathā prā(pra)sādaḥ kri[tah] asya
[dāna]sya sā-

44 kṣiṇah Shaṇnavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayah yō=sy=āpaharttā [lō]bhān=mōhāt=
pramādāt bā-

45 dhē tatō sa pañchabhir-mmahadbhiḥ pātakais=samyuktō bhavati yas=samyag=rakshati sa
punyabhāg=bhavati

46 api ch=ātra Manu-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [[*] Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yō harēta vasundharā-
[m] [*] shashtim va-

47 risha¹-sahasraṇi vishthāyām jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 5*] Svan=dātum sumahach=chhakyam
duhkhān=anyasya pālanam(nam)

48 dānam vā pālanam v=ṣṭi(ti) dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(nam) [6*] Bahubhirbba(r=vva)
sudhā bhuktā rājābhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h] [*] ya-

49 sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tāsyā tadā phalam(lam) [7*] Brahmasyan=tu vishm
(sham) ghōram na visham visham=uchya-

¹ Read *varsha*.

Fifth Plate

- 50 tō [*] viśham=śkākinam hanti brahmasvam putra-pautri(tra)kam(kam) [[8*] sarvva-
kal-ādhāra-bhūta-chitra-kal-ābhijñāna
- 51 Viśvakarmāchāryyēṇ=ēdam śāsanam likhitam(tam) | chatuḥ-kaṇḍuka-vrihi-vāpa-kshētrē
dvi-kaṇḍuka ka.¹kshē
- 52 traṁ tad=api brahmadēyam=iva rakṣaṇīyaḥ(yam) śrī

¹ There is an indistinct conjunct letter here which looks like *ndu*. Perhaps the engraver was unnecessarily repeating the word *Kaṇḍuka*.

No. 24—THREE WESTERN KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(Received on 15.11.1965)

Of the three inscriptions edited here and referred to as A¹, B² and C³ for the sake of convenience, A and C were discovered long ago, the former in the Bhuj District and the latter in the Kutch District, while B, also from the Kutch District, was discovered recently. All the three epigraphs are now preserved in the Museum at Bhuj. I copied them in November 1963 during my visit to Bhuj, in connection with my annual collection work. Of these A has been edited in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda*, Vol. XI, pp. 237-38 with a facsimile, B has been merely mentioned in *Indian Archaeology—1961-62, A Review* (cyclostyled copy) IV—8, item No. 21, and a tentative text of C has been published in the *Annual Report of the Museum of Antiquities, Rajkot*, for 1923-24, p. 13. Since these publications and notices have not treated the inscriptions either fully or satisfactorily, they are dealt with below in detail.

All the three records belong to different rulers of the family of the Kshatrapas of Western India, established by Chashtana, the son of Ysamotika.⁴ This family is called by some as the Kārdamakas.⁵

A. Andhau Inscription of Rudradāman I, Year [5]3

This inscription, as stated above, has been published by Messrs. J. M. Nanavati and H. G. Sastri.⁶ They have stated that the stone slab measuring 15'4" × 3'2" × 11", on which the record is engraved, was discovered by Messrs. J. M. Nanavati and M. N. Gandhi on a small mound about half a mile to the south-west of Khāvḍā in the Kutch District.⁷ But this claim to the discovery is not true. For, this inscription is apparently the fifth Western Kshatrpa record noticed in January-February 1906, along with four others, by D. R. Bhandarkar, in *PRAS, WC.*, 1905-06, p. 35 and referred to again by him in *ibid.*, 1914-15, pp. 8 and 67. He has stated therein that this inscription was *in situ* while the other four were removed to the Museum at Bhuj. Besides, on p. 8 of *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, Bhandarkar has also said that a transliteration of the record prepared by K. N. Dikshit and checked by him, was to be published in the *Epigraphia Indica* although this did not come to pass. As regards the findspot of the record, Bhandarkar has stated in two places⁸ that it was found at Andhau in Khāvḍā while at another place⁹ he has said that it was at Khāvḍā.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. B 108.

² *Ibid.*, No. B 109.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B 110.

⁴ This name is read as *Ghsamotika* also. Macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

⁵ E. J. Rapson, *Cat. of the Coins of the Andhra, etc. Dynasties*, Introduction, p. ciii. Rapson, however, is inclined to think that the Kārdamaka princess, referred to as a daughter of the *Mahāksatrpa* Ru[dra] and as the wife of Vāsishthīputra Sāta[karṇi], in a Kaṇheri inscription (*ASWI*, Vol. V, p. 78, No. II; Lüders' List, No. 994) might have been indebted to her mother for this distinction (op. cit., note 2).

⁶ *Journal of the Oriental Institute, M. S. University, Baroda*, Vol. XI, pp. 237-38, and Plate.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁸ *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 35 and *ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 8.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 1914-15, p. 67.

The discrepancy is apparently due to the fact that Andhau is a very small village close to Khāvḍā,¹ probably a hamlet of the latter. This seems to be the reason for the association of Khāvḍā with the inscription by the authors who have published it in the *Journ. Or. Institute*. However, as the other four inscriptions of this class, which have been already published,² are associated with Andhau, it will facilitate easy reference if the record under study is also taken to belong to the same place.

The long and narrow slab on which the inscription is engraved, is of hard stone and owing to long exposure to the weather, it has become worn out in many places, including the inscribed surface. As in the case of the other inscribed slabs from the same place, here also, the entire slab seems to have been left in the shape in which it was quarried and there was no attempt made to dress even the surface on which the record is engraved.

This inscription, like B³ of the other four Kshatrpa inscriptions from Andhau, is incised breadthwise, and occupies an area of 51 cm high and 32 to 52 cm broad. There are seven lines of writing, and the letters are neatly and boldly engraved. Each individual letter is between 3 cm (*e.g.*, *s*) and 4.6 cm (*e.g.*, *r*) high, while the maximum height of a compound letter like *jño* is 9.6 cm. Due to the flaking off of the stone in some places, one letter in line 2, two letters in line 3, three in line 4, two in line 5, three or four in line 6 and one letter in line 7 have been lost. Nevertheless some of them can be restored.

The **characters** are Brāhmī of the first half of the 2nd century A. D. and are similar to those of the other four Andhau inscriptions of this dynasty.⁴ In fact, the characters of our record have such a family resemblance especially to those of A, C and D of the latter group, that one is tempted to say that all these four records might have been engraved by one and the same hand. That the characters of our record are definitely earlier than those of the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman I⁵ can be easily seen from the less developed forms of some of the crucial letters in the former and more developed forms of the same letters in the latter. For instance, in our record the verticals of letters like *k*, *r*, etc. are almost straight, letters *v* and *m* are still rounded at bottom and letters *ś* and *s* retain their early features; but in the Junāgaḍh inscription the verticals of *k*, *r*, etc. have a pronounced curve at bottom, the letters *v* and *m* have developed angularities and the letters *ś* and *s* also show further developments. The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit, and in this respect as well as in **orthography**, this record is similar to the other four inscriptions of this class mentioned above.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Rājan Svāmi Rudradāman* (*i.e.* the first of that name), son of *Rājan Svāmi Jayadāman* who was the son of *Rājan Mahākshatrpa Svāmi Chashtana* and Chashtana is stated to be the son of *Ysāmotika*. It is noteworthy that while Chashtana receives the full compliment of all the three characteristic Kshatrpa titles, his son and grandson are given only the titles of *Rājan* and *Svāmi*. The **date** of the record given in lines 4-5 is damaged and the symbol for the tens has flaked off. Only the symbol for the unit followed by the other details viz., **Śrāvāṇa ba. 5** is preserved. The unit symbol is clearly 3 as mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar⁶ and not 2 as suggested by Messrs. J. M. Nanavati and H. G. Sastri.⁷

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 19 ff., and Plate.

³ *Ibid.*, B on reverse of Plate.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 36 ff., and Plate.

⁶ *PRAS, WC*, 1914-15, p. 67.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 238, text line 4.

The last named two scholars have also read the symbol engraved at the beginning of line 5 as 10 which is evidently a mistake. It is actually intended for *bahuṭa* (i.e. the dark fortnight of the month) as in the case of the other four Andhau records.¹ So the date of the record, as it is, reads [.]3, Śrāvaṇa ba. 5. Though the symbol for tens has flaked off, it is possible to suggest its restoration with the help of other particulars supplied by the record under study.

As has been stated above, the record belongs to the time of Rudradāman I. We know of two groups of dated records throwing light on the reign of this ruler. One of them consists of the four Andhau inscriptions of the year 52. They show that Rudradāman ruled conjointly with his grandfather Chashtana² and both the rulers bore only the simple title of *Rājan*, while Rudradāman's father Jayadāman, mentioned therein, did not bear any title. The second group consists of the only record, viz. the Junāgaḍh inscription of the year 72, which belongs to the independent reign of Rudradāman. Uptil now, only from this Junāgaḍh inscription, besides some undated coins,³ we know that Chashtana bore the titles *Rājan*, *Mahākshatrapa* and *Svāmi*, his son Jayadāman was endowed with the titles *Kshatrapa* and *Svāmi* and the latter's son Rudradāman assumed the title *Mahākshatrapa* besides bearing the title *Rājan*.⁴ A comparison of the style of referring to the set of kings in our record and that referring to the same set of kings in the above-mentioned groups of records, clearly reveals that the date of our record falls somewhere between the year 52, the date of the Andhau records and year 72, the date of the Junāgaḍh inscription. There are two dates, between these years, possessing the unit figure 3, and they are 53 and 63. Since the Junāgaḍh inscription says that Rudradāman acquired for himself the title of *Mahākshatrapa*,⁵ it seems that this event took place round about year 72, and that the ruler was endowed with the other lesser titles like *Rājan* and *Kshatrapa* prior to that. As stated above, our record, though belonging to the time of Rudradāman's independent rule, refers to him merely as *Rājan* and *Svāmi*. Though it is difficult to be certain about the duration of the period when this king continued to be addressed thus, it may not be unreasonable to assume that considerable time elapsed between this stage and the stage when he became *Mahākshatrapa*. The absence of the higher title to this king in our record points to the nearness of its date to that of the four inscriptions from Andhau. Above all, as stated above, the palaeography of our record is so much akin to that of the other Andhau epigraphs, that our record can be taken to be not far removed in time from the latter which are dated year 52, Phālguna ba. 2. On these grounds, the year in the date of the record under study may be read as 50 3 (i.e., 53), by presuming the lost symbol for the tens as the one for 50. The record, with its date thus restored, would show that king Rudradāman was ruling independently on ba. 5 in the month of Śrāvaṇa in the year 53, that is about four months or so later than the other Andhau records. The year 53, just as the years in the other records of this dynasty, is to be referred to the Śaka era and its Christian equivalent would be 131 A. D. The importance of this record lies in the fact that it is not only the earliest inscription known so far of Rudradāman I's independent rule but also the earliest to show that Chashtana, Rudradāma's grandfather, possessed all the three Kshatrapa titles.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of a *yathī*, evidently as a funeral monument, in memory of a certain A[.]ka, son of Śatrumśaha and a novice (*śrāmaṇera*) probably of Jainism, belonging to some *gotra*, the name of which is lost, by his son Dhanadeva. The name of Dhanadeva's father consisted of four letters of which the middle two are completely

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 23 ff., and also Plate.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 154, note 26.

³ Rapson, op. cit., pp. 73 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 36 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 44, text line 15.

lost rendering its reading difficult. But of the two middle letters, the second one was probably *th* as indicated by the presence of an arc, obviously of a circular letter, in the place. Between this *th* and the very first letter *a*, there is sufficient space to accommodate letters like *p*, *m*, etc. We know of an inscription from Bhilsa area, wherein a man with the name Apathaka¹ figures. On this analogy we may restore the first of the two lost letters also as *pa*, and read the name as Apathaka. The name of the *gotra* of this Apathaka is also lost. In line 6, where this was engraved, there is space only for two or three letters after °*sa* of *śrāmaṇerasa* and before *go*° of *gotrasa*. Of these letters one may have been *sa* which should have preceded *gotrasa* so as to read *sagotrasa*. So, the name of the *gotra* should have been composed of only two letters at the most. Two *gotra* names, viz., Opaśati and Śenika, both consisting of more than two letters, are already known from the other Andhau records, as borne by *śrāmaṇeras* of that place and time. Since the *gotra* name in our record was of two letters, it was apparently different from these two. Only one *gotra* name with two letters belonging to the period and region is known, and that is Vachha, from an inscription at Junnar.² But this name and its Sanskrit variant Vatsa,³ are known to be a Brahmanical *gotra* names and it is difficult to say if it was borne by the followers of Jainism too.

An interesting feature of our record is that it contains the expression *yaṭhi* (*yaṭṭhi*) *adhīsthāpitā* in the place of the synonymous expression *laṣṭhi* (*laṭṭhi*) *uthāpita*, meaning, the slab was caused to be erected, of the other Andhau records.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Rājño Mahākshatrapasa
- 2 ⁵ Yasāmotikka°-putrasa s[*vā*]mi-Chā[*shṭa*]--
- 3 nasa putrasa rājño svāmi-Ja[*yadā*]masa putrasa
- 4 rājño svāmi-Rudradāmasa [varshe 50] 3 Śrāvaṇasa⁷
- 5 ba 5 A[*patha*]kasa Śatruṃsaha-pu-
- 6 trasa śrāmaṇera[*sa*].[*ḡo*]trasa putre-
- 7 ṇa Dhanadevena yaṭhi [a][*dhīsthāpitā*] [|| *]

B. Wandh Inscription of Rudrasimha I, Year 105

This inscription was recently discovered at Wandh, Manavi Taluk, Kutch District, Gujarat and has been removed to the Museum at Bhuj where it is exhibited in a gallery, being erected on a pedestal. As stated above, it has been briefly mentioned in the *Indian Archaeology—1961-62, A Review*, and is edited for the first time here. The record is engraved on a rather thin stone slab of irregular shape. The slab was originally long but was subsequently cut to suit the purposes of exhibition in the Museum. It now measures 99.5 cm long and 37 cm broad,

¹ Above, Vol. II, p. 101, No. 42.

² Lüders' List, No. 1174.

³ Ibid., No. 1200.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ A letter somewhat resembling *ysā* seems to have been originally engraved here but subsequently erased owing probably to the fact that the engraving was attempted on an already peeled off surface.

⁶ The doubling of *ḷ* is peculiar to this inscription and to the only copper coin known of the time of Chashāna (see, Rapson, op. cit., p. 75, No. 264). cf. See, above, p. 139, note 4.

⁷ Between *ṇa* and *sa*, some gap exists, due to the fact that the surface there was not even for engraving the letter *sa*.

at its maximum, of which the writing occupies a space 32.5 cm high and 29.5 cm broad. The engraving is indifferent and the writing consists of six lines of which the last line is engraved at the right hand side of the slab. The letters are small and shallow, on account of which several of them in lines 1-2 and some in lines 3-4 have been effaced to such an extent that it is impossible to decipher some of them while the reading of the rest is just possible on the basis of similar passages found in cognate records or with considerable difficulty. The size of the letters varies from 1.25 cm high (e.g., *s*, *t*, etc.) to 6.25 cm high (e.g., *jño*).

The palaeography of this inscription is somewhat cursive and compares favourably with that of the Gundā inscription of year 103,¹ belonging to the same king Rudrasimha as the one of our record. But it must be stated that while the Gundā record is better engraved and better preserved, the record under study, as stated above, is not preserved well owing to indifferent engraving. Generally, the top of the letters is not marked except in one or two instances like *s* (line 2) and *p* (line 6). Of the initial vowels, *a* (line 4), *u* (line 5) and *e* (lines 4-6) occur; the medial *ā* is indicated as usual by a stroke on the right side of the letters; the medial *i* is represented by a curved stroke starting from the top right of the letters; and the medial *au* is indicated by two curved strokes as are used to denote the medial *i* besides a short downward curving stroke attached to the top left of the letters (e.g., *thāu*, line 4). Among the consonants, the forms of the following are noteworthy: *b* is almost a square, *m* has a rounded base as well as an angular base, *v* is elliptical and *h* looks like English *S* lying horizontally. Two symbols for numerals occur in line 3, one for 100 and the other for 5.

The language of this inscription is Prakrit, unlike that of the Gundā inscription of the year 103, where a mixed dialect is employed.² The text is in prose and is written continuously without any punctuation. Interesting instances of Prakritism are afforded by the words *varīse* (line 3) for *varshe*, which is generally used in the cognate records³, *jaśṭi* for *yashṭi* and *bitipā-ayām* (lines 3-4) for *dvitīyāyām* of which the indeclinable form *dvitīyam* is used in three of the four Andhau records.⁴ The use of *tithau* (line 4) when there is already the word *divase* (line 3) is redundant. As regards orthography, the doubling in the word *tithau* (line 4), the use of the initial vowel *e* for *ye* to denote the case ending of the nouns *°sevikae* (line 4), *°gotrāe* (line 5) and *°desīkae* (line 6) and the *ś* for *sh* in the words *varīse* and *jaśṭi* mentioned above are noteworthy.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudrasimha, son of Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi Rudradāman. It is noteworthy that the pedigree of this family starting from Chashtana, the son of Ysāmotika which is usually met with in the records of this family is not given in this record. The date of the record is given in line 3, of which the year expressed by symbols reads 100 5, i.e. 105. The details such as the name of the month and of the fortnight, are difficult to make out as the writing in this place of the stone has been effaced very much. Nevertheless, from the traces of letters like *k*, *i*, and *b* that seem to be preserved, it may be said that the month was Kārttika and the fortnight *bahula*. Then the date would read as year 105, Kārttika ba. 2. The year when referred to the Śaka era, would yield 183 A. D. as its equivalent.

The object of the inscription was to record the erection of the *yashṭi*, that is the slab on which the epigraph is engraved as a funeral monument in memory of a woman (name not legible) who is described as the servant of the mother, as belonging to Atimutaka-gotra and as an inhabitant of

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 233 ff., and Plate.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., pp. 23-25.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 24-25, texts of B, C and D.

Kaśa-deśa, by a person named Ajamitra. In all probability, Ajamitra employed the woman to look after his mother and she discharged her duties loyally and faithfully, but suddenly passed away. Having been moved by the devoted service that this woman rendered to his mother, Ajamitra seems to have set up this stone memorial, in grateful appreciation, to her memory. The importance of this record lies in the fact that it is the second inscription of Rudrasimha I known so far, besides being the only one describing him as *Mahākshatrapa*. The other inscription of the year 103 from Gundā¹ belongs to the reign of this king when he was a *Kshatrapa*.

The only geographical name mentioned in this record is **Kaśa-deśa** which is the same as modern Kutch in Gujarat.

TEXT²

- 1 Rājāno Mahākshā[tra]pasa svāmi Rudra[dāma-putra-
- 2 sa [rājāno Ma]hākshātra]pasa svāmi Rudrasimha-
- 3 sa varīse 100 [5] [Kārttika] ba[hula] divase hitipā-
- 4 ayām³ titthau mātri-sevikae Gom[andra-kam]thita] Atimu-
- 5 taka-sāgotrāe [jasti]⁴ [A]jamitrena uthapita
- 6 Kaśadesūkae []*

C.—Mevāsā Inscription of Bhartridāman, Year 205.

A tentative text of this inscription has already been published in the *Annual Report of the Rajkot Museum* for 1923-24, p. 13, by D. B. Diskalkar who was then the Curator of the Museum. He has stated that he prepared the transcript from a couple of impressions of the record, which he received from Diwan Bahadur Ranchhodhbhai Udayaram who had discovered this inscription, long ago in 1898, along with the well-known Andhau inscriptions. Diskalkar has also stated that though the existence of this inscription was long known, neither D. R. Bhandarkar who visited Kutch twice in 1905 and 1915 nor R. D. Banerji who visited the island in 1919, nor himself when he had gone there in 1923, had visited the place of the inscription to examine it *in situ*. The reason for the absence of any detailed study of the record seems to be that unlike the Andhau records which were arranged to be removed to the Bhuj Museum by the above mentioned Ranchhodhbhaiji after their discovery, this record was not removed to that institution till recently. It is now exhibited in the galleries of the Museum, erected on a pedestal. The flat stone slab on which the epigraph is engraved is of irregular shape with the top rounded. It measures 70 cm high and 45 cm to 35 cm broad from bottom to top. The writing, including the symbols at the top, occupies a space 50 cm high and 40 cm broad at its maximum. Owing to long exposure to the elements of nature, the slab has suffered much damage. Consequently, a number of letters of the inscription have been disfigured, a few of them beyond recognition.

The inscription consists of seven lines of writing of which the last one seems to have been, like the last line of inscription B above, engraved at the right hand side of the slab. The letters composing the lines are progressively small in size. In the centre at the top, above the first line of the writing, there are three figures, sketched in outline, of which the middle one seems to represent a lampstand, the one on its proper right a *damaru* (i.e. kettle-drum) placed on one of

¹ Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 233-35.

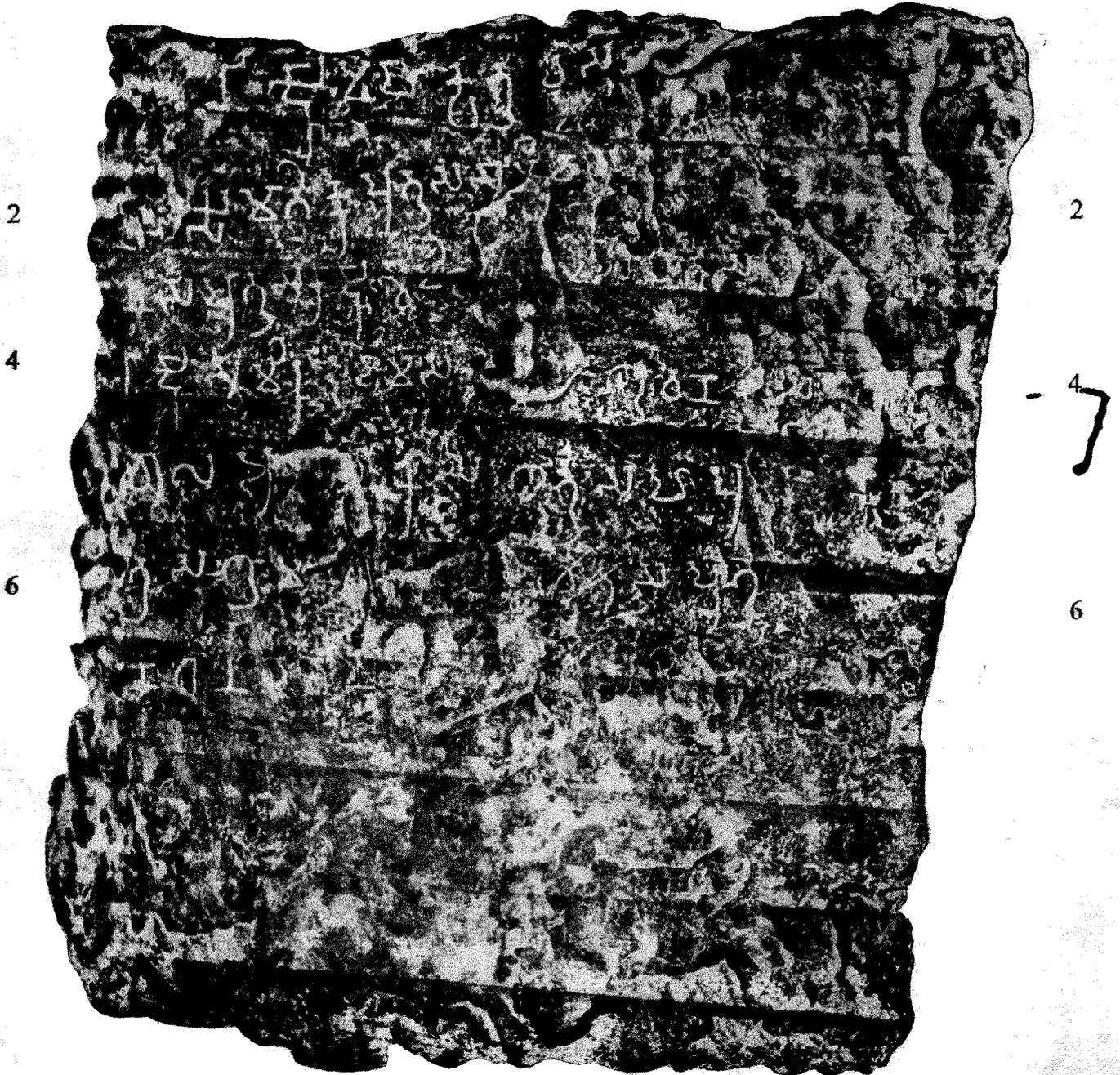
² From impressions.

³ Read *diviyāyam*.

⁴ Read *yashī*.

THREE WESTERN KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS—Plate I

A. Andhau Inscription of Rudradāman I, Year [5] 3



Scale: One-fourth

B. Wandh Inscription of Rudrasimha I, Year 105



2

4

6

2

4

6

Scale : One-third

its faces and the third to the proper left of the middle one, appears to depict a small stand. It is likely that these represent auspicious objects sometimes grouped into eight and called *ashṭa-māṅgala*.¹ Above the stand-like sketch, are a big dot and a crescent-shaped curved line which might stand for the sun and moon. It may be observed here that epigraphs with symbols like the trident-cum-battle-axe,² a bull preceded and followed by a man,³ and a wheel,⁴ are known. But the record under study is the only one known so far to contain representations of these auspicious objects.

The **characters** are Brāhmī of about the second half of the 3rd century A.D. The letters are rather squattish in form with prominent tops. Of the initial vowels only *ā* occurs in line 4. The sign for medial *i* is generally indicated on tops of letters, by a long upward stroke curving to left in a hook form (lines 2, 4, etc.) and only once with a looping at the end (cf. *siddham*, line 1); the sign for medial *u* is indicated at the bottom of the letters by a long downward stroke curving up to left and stopping at the level of half the height of the other stroke; the sign for medial *e* is not different from that of *i* and the sign for *o* consists of two strokes one being similar to the sign for medial *i* and the other a downward short stroke attached to the top left of the letters (cf. *rājño*, lines 1-3). The subscript *y* is regular for the period; the sign for the subscript *r* is exactly the reverse of that of medial *u* (lines 2, 3, 5); and the form of the letter *ksh* is noteworthy (lines 1-3) as also the mark for *virāma* (line 6). Numerical symbols for 2 (line 4) and 5 (lines 4, 6) occur. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit with some influence of Prakrit and the words *naptusya* and *dahitusya* (line 5) are obviously wrong for *naptroh* and *dauhitrasya* respectively. Regarding **orthography** *ri* is indicated by the subscript for *r* (*Bharīdāma*, line 2) and *sa* is used, on the analogy of the Prakrit genitive ending for *sya* (*Kārtikasa*, line 6).

In engraving the details of the **date** and the name of the ruler in whose reign the record was put up, some defects seem to have crept in. The end portion of line 3 reads *varsha śata* after which one would naturally expect an expression for hundreds in words like, *dvi* or *tri*, etc. But this is not the case here. Instead, there are two dots or dashes one below the other at the beginning of line 4 and they stand in all probability for two. This figure is followed by a symbol for 5 and this is followed by an expression which seems to read *utre* (i.e. *uttare*). Taking all these together, the year of the date would be 200 5. The month, the fortnight and the *tithi* are given in line 6, as Kārttika śukla 5. Thus, the date of the inscription is year 205, Kārttika śu 5. The year when referred to the Śaka era, would correspond to 283 A.D. On this date, according to the coins of this family, the ruling king was **Bharīdāman**.⁵ But this date seems to be referred to in the inscription to the reign of a certain unnamed *Rājan Mahākshatrapa* who from the context of the record would be the *putra-prapautra* of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa* Bharīdāman. Obviously, the scribe has committed an error here because instead of stopping with writing *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya Bharīdāmnaḥ*, he had proceeded to write the two expressions, viz. *putra-praputrasya* and *Rājño Mahākshatrapasya*, evidently under the influence of the same expressions occurring in line 2. But since the year 205 falls within Bharīdāman's reign period, there is no doubt that the record is of his time. The absence of full particulars about the genealogy of the family, in this record, is noteworthy. The **importance** of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the only epigraphic record belonging to the time of Bharīdāman and that too of the early part of his reign as *Mahākshatrapa*.

¹ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dict.*, s.v.

² Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 66, and Plate facing p. 68.

³ *CII*, Vol. III, Plate XXX-A.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Plate XXXIII-B.

⁵ Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

The inscription begins with the word *Siddham* and is followed by the passage referring to *Rājān Mahākshatrāpa Svāmi Chashtaṇa* and *Rājān Mahākshatrāpa Bharṭṛidāman*. Then the year of the date discussed above is given in lines 3-4.

In lines 4-5, one Ābhīra Vasudeva is mentioned as the son of a certain Kadamba, as the grandson of Harihivakāṇḍa and as the daughter's son of a person whose name seems to read as Gulaka. There is an expression preceding the word *Ābhīrasya*, which is not clear. The mention of an Ābhīra in our record brings to our mind two other Ābhīras, one the Ābhīra general Bāpaka's son general Rudrabhūti figuring in the Gundā inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I,¹ (181 A.D.) and the other an *Ābhīra* cultivator, son of Sūnhasena, of the Gondal inscription of the time of Rudrasena III (350-51 A.D.)² The mention of an Ābhīra in the present inscription of 283 A.D. which is intermediate between the dates of the two inscriptions mentioned above, is quite interesting, as it throws light on the continued existence and activities of the Ābhīras during almost the entire period of the rule of the Western Kshatrapas.

The further details of the date, of which the year alone has been mentioned in lines 3-4 above, are given in line 6, as Kārttika śukla 5. This is followed by the statement relating to the object of the record. It states that the slab (*yatti*, i.e., *yashṭi*), obviously referring to the one on which the inscription is engraved, was caused to be set up and the work of engraving (of the inscription) was also done. Evidently, this was the work of Ābhīra Vasudeva. The setting up of the inscribed slab is said to be for the welfare of an overlord or king, but the occasion on which it was done is not clear owing to the severe damage caused to the place in the slab where the words relating to this have been engraved.

TEXT³

- 1 Siddham [*] Rājño Mahākshapupasya⁴ svāmi-Chashtaṇa-
- 2 putra-praputrasya rājño Mahākshatrāpasya Bhartri(tri)dāma-
- 3 putra-praputrasya |⁵ Rājño Mahākshatrāpasya |⁵ varsha śata
- 4 2° 5 utre⁷ Kadamba-putrasya [Svatikshava-pratasya]⁸ Ābhīrasya
- 5 Ha[ri]hi[va]kāṇḍa-naptusya⁹ Vasudevasya⁹ Gu[la]ka-dahitusya¹⁰
- 6 Kā[rti]kasa¹¹ [śukla] 5 rājye-ddhasya⁸ ||¹² bhartu[h*] yatti pushtaye
- 7 . . [shthā]pi[tā]¹³ [le]kha-kama cha katam¹⁴ [||*]

¹ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 235-36.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXV, pp. 191-92.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Read *Mahākshatrāpasya*.

⁵ This *virāma* is indicated by two dots one below the other.

⁶ Expressed in the form of two big dots or dashes one below the other, a feature which is rather peculiar.

⁷ Read *uttare*.

⁸ This reading is uncertain.

⁹ Read *naptroh*.

¹⁰ Read *dahitrasya*.

¹¹ Read *Kārttikasya*.

¹² The two D-like signs shown as facing each other engraved here seem to stand for double *danḍas*, which is superfluous.

¹³ May be restored as *pratishṭhāpitā*.

¹⁴ Read *lekha-karmaṇ cha kṛitam*.

THREE WESTERN KSHATRAPA INSCRIPTIONS—Plate II

C.—Mevāsā Inscription of Bharṭṛidāman, Year 205



Scale : One-fourth

No. 25—FOUR BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHOPHNAR KALAN

(1 Plate)

THE LATE M. VENKATARAMAYYA¹ AND C. B. TRIVEDI, BHOPAL

(Received on 25.10.1965)

In June 1964, a set of seven bronze images of the Buddha were discovered in the village **Phophnar Kalan**, situated at a distance of 25 km from Burhanpur, East Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh. A separate paper on these bronzes is being published in the Journal *Lalit Kalā* (No. 12, pp. 16 ff.). Of these seven bronzes, only four standing Buddha images bear inscriptions on their pedestals.

The **characters** of these four inscriptions belong to the Southern class of alphabets and they generally resemble those of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs found at Ajaṅṭā.² Therefore they may also be assigned to the sixth century A.D., though inscription *D* appears to be slightly later. The **language** of these records is Sanskrit. Regarding **orthography** it may be stated that the consonants following *r* are doubled excepting in the last inscription.

None of these records bears any date. Nor is there any reference to the reign of any king. They are all dedicatory in nature. However, they furnish some interesting information. For example the *Śākya-bhikṣukāchārya* who figures as the donor of the image in inscription *B* seems to be connected with other Śākya Buddhist ascetics who donated images of the Buddha in the Ajaṅṭā Caves Nos. VI, IX, XV and XXII. Again the fact that the *mahāpratihāra* Ānandavatsa figures as the son of the donor in inscription *C* appears to indicate the patronage of high officials shown to the Buddhist establishment at Phophnar. Since the script of these records is similar to that of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions at Ajaṅṭā,³ and those of their contemporaries or vassals, viz., the rulers of Māhishmatī in the kingdom of Anūpa found at Bagh and Barwāni⁴ all referable to the 5th-6th centuries, it is likely that the Buddhists of Phophnar received the patronage of the officials of the Vākāṭakas of that time. However, in the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to identify this Ānandavatsa of our inscription.

Inscription A

This inscription consisting of a single line is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of the first Buddha bronze image. It records that the bronze under question is the pious gift of a person whose name seems to read **Nāgabhūti**.

¹ [We regret to record the sad demise of Shri Venkataramayya on 27-5-1966.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 142 ff. and plate; Vol. XXXIII, p. 259 ff. and plate.

³ Ibid.

⁴ CII., Vol. IV, pp. 17 ff. and plate.

TEXT¹

Dēya-dhammō²=ya[m*] Nāva(ga)bh[ā]³

Inscription B

This inscription containing three lines is engraved on the front face of the pedestal of the second Buddha bronze image. It contains two sentences. The first one records the gift of the image by the venerable (*bhadanta*) **Buddhadāsa** who is stated to be the preceptor of the ascetics of the Śākya clan.⁴ The second sentence states, in the well-known *Mahāyāna* style, that the merit accruing to this pious deed, viz., the gift of the bronze, may go to all beings.

TEXT¹

1 Siddham⁵[|*] Dēya-dharmmā(rmmō)=ya[m] Śākya-[bh]ikshuk-āchāryya.⁶

2 bhadan[ta-Bu]⁷ddhadāsasya[|*] yad⁸=atra puṇya[m]

3 tad=[bhavatu sa]⁹rvva-[sa]tvā⁹(ttvā)nām(nām) || |

Inscription C

This inscription is engraved on the four sides of the pedestal of the third bronze image of the standing Buddha. It contains only one line which begins in the left corner of the pedestal on the back side of the image and after running counter-clockwise over four faces of the pedestal ends at the right corner of the right side.

This record also consists of two sentences of which the first one records that the image was the pious gift of a woman named **Vidyādharasvāminī**, who is described as the mother of a certain **Anandavatsa**, designated as *mahāpratihāra*. The second sentence states that the merit accruing to this pious act is meant for the attainment of the unconcealed knowledge (*an-āvaraṇa-jñāna*)¹⁰ of all sentient beings (*sattva-lōka*), who, being impregnated with the

¹ From the original.

² The word *dhamma* (Sanskrit *dharmma*) shows Prakrit influence.

³ This name may be tentatively restored as *Nāgabhūti*.

⁴ The Buddhist teachers of the Śākya clan like Taranakirttana(?), Sanghapriya, Bhadrāsena, *āchārya* *bhadanta* Buidhasēna, Buddhasōma, Sudatta are already known to us from the Ajanta inscriptions. See, Yazdani, *Ajanta*, Pt. III. [The expression *Śākya bhikshu* does not appear to have anything to do with the Śākya clan. It means simply "A Buddhist monk". See Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 146-49, 911, 989-90, 1044, 1046-47.—Ed.]

⁵ Expressed by a spiral symbol.

⁶ [The reading is *bhikshōr-āchāryya*.—Ed.]

⁷ Faint traces of these letters are visible in the original.

⁸ Below *ya* there is an unnecessary stroke which looks like the medial *u*-sign of the modern Nāgarī.

⁹ The medial *ā*-sign is added to the subscript *v*.

¹⁰ This peculiar Buddhist expression is evidently equivalent to *anuttara-jñāna* "supreme knowledge" usually employed in the votive inscriptions. The present expression, however, reminds us of the verse *Avīram jñānam-ētēna jñāninō nitya-vairinā | kama-rūpēṇa Kavintēya*, etc. (*The Bhagavadgītā*, III, 39). There is a Buddhist sect called *Avaranin*. (cf. M. William's *Skr.-Eng. Dict.*, 2nd Ed., s. v. *ā-vrī*). Whether the donor of the present bronze was an opponent of this sect, as he intended the gift for the *anāvaraṇa-jñāna*, is not certain.

FOUR BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS FROM PHOPHNAR KALAN

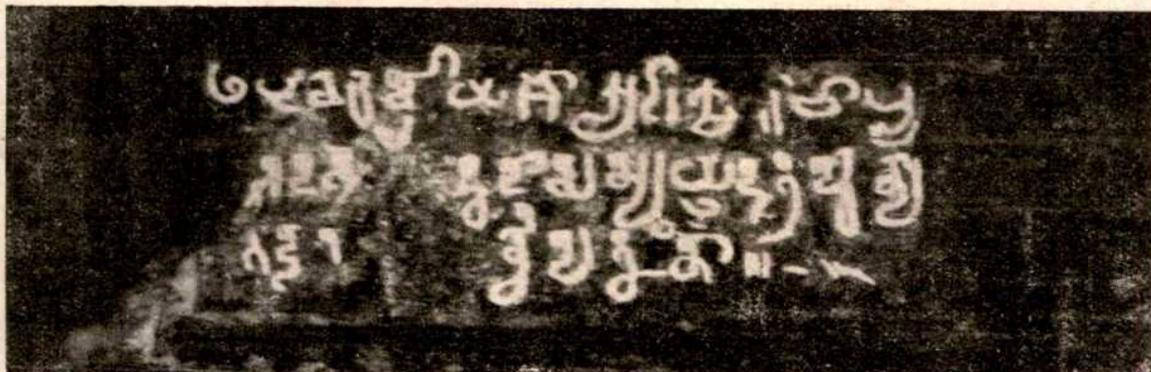
Images



Inscription A



Inscription B



Inscription C

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Inscription D

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

(From Photographs)

unlimited sensory elements (*aparimita-lōka-dhātu*), are entwined in the bonds of all sorrowful attachments (*anusaya-bandhan-āvabaddha*).

TEXT

(Back side)

Siddham¹ [|] Dēya-dharmmō=ya[m] mahā-[p]ratihār-Ānandha(nda)vatsa-mātu[r]=
Vv[i]ddhyā(dyā)-

(Left side)

dharasvāminyā[h *] yad=atra punyan=tad=bhavatv=a-

(Front side)

parimita-lōkadhātustha-sarvy-ānusaya-[ba]ndhan-āvabaddha-

(Right side)

satva(ttva)-lōkasy=ānāvaraṇa-jñān-āvāptayō ||

Inscription D:

This one-line inscription is engraved on the right face of the pedestal of the fourth Buddha image. It records that the image under question is the pious gift of a certain **Kanha**, *i.e.*, **Kṛishṇa**. No detail about the donor is given.

TEXT

Dēya-dharmā(rmō)=ya[m*] Kanhasya ||³

POST-SCRIPT

The second sentence of inscription C is very interesting and is not met with anywhere else in epigraphs. Here the expression *lōka-dhātu* means world or world-system and the compound *aparimita-lōka-dhātu* may be compared with Buddhaghōsha's description *Ēvaṃ anantāni cakkā-vāṇāni, anantā lōka-dhātuyō* (*The Visuddhimagga*, PTS, 1920, p. 207), though we have got expressions like *dasa-sahasīlōkadhātu* (*The Mahāvagga*, PTS, 1929, p. 12) and *ti-sahasī mahā-sahasī-lōka-dhātu* (*The Anguttaramikāya*, PTS, Pt. I, p. 228). Again the word *anusaya* has a technical import and it is defined by Buddhaghōsha as *Tē hi . . . kāma-rāg-ādiṇi uppatti-hētu-bhāvēna anisēnti yēvā ti anusayā*. These *anusayas* are stated to be seven in

¹ From the original.

² Expressed by a spiral symbol.

³ This punctuation is indicated by two very short horizontal strokes put one above the other.

number in the *Vibhāṅga* (PTS, 1904, p.340). However the expression *sarv-ānuśaya* in our inscription reminds us of *sarv-āhaṅkāra-mama-kār-āsmi-mān-ābhinivēś-ānuśaya* of the *Divyāvadāna* (Cambridge Ed., 1886, pp. 210, 314). Similarly the expression *anāvaraṇa-jñāna*, suggested by the verse from the *Bhagavadgītā*, quoted above by Shri Venkataramayya means "knowledge free from obstruction". (Cf. the commentary *jñān-āvaraṇam = jñāna-pratibandhakam* in the *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*, Poona, 1924, p. 63), and it is the same as *a-saṅg-ān-āvaraṇa-jñāna* of the Buddhist literature (See F. Edgerton, *Bud. Hybrid Skt. Gram. & Dict.* s.v. *anāvaraṇa*). This again reminds us of the passage *gata-samasta-klēśa-tad-vāsanasya an-āvaraṇa-jñānasya sukh-aikatānasya ātmanah upari-dēś-āvasthānam muktih*. (Cf. *Sarvadarśanasāṅgraha*, p. 81). Therefore, the second sentence of the record may be translated as "May the merit, that (comes) in this act, be for the attainment of the obstruction-free knowledge by all beings who are in the unaccountable world-systems and who are chained by the chains of all *ānuśayas*".—Editor.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

PART IV

OCTOBER 1967

EDITED BY

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph. D.,
Government Epigraphist for India



©

1967

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA

Price : Inland Rs. 8-00 P. Foreign 18sh. 8d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

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H9088

No. 26—TWO IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ

(1 Plate)

V. N. SRIVASTAVA, MATHURĀ

(Received on 4.9.1965)

The two inscriptions A and B, edited here for the first time, were discovered at Mathurā about two years ago.

A. Inscription of the time of Vāsudēva, Year 93¹

A broken image of the standing Buddha, on the pedestal of which the present inscription is engraved, is stated to have been unearthed during the construction work of the New Bridge over the Yamunā river. Two inked impressions of the inscriptions were handed over to me for study and publication by Shri Brij Kishore, Artist of Mandi Ram Das, Mathurā who also allowed me to examine the sculpture. I am grateful to him for the same. The present whereabouts of the original image are, however, not known to me.

The sculpture in question is broken above its waist and measures 45 cm × 38 cm × 15 cm. The torso is clad in a foldless lower garment with its lower edges forming an irregular triangle on either side. An inverted triangle is also formed, probably by the strings of the drapery, just below the navel in front. A cluster of lotus flowers is shown between the feet of the figure, a feature which is usually associated with the Buddha and Bōdhisattva images from Mathurā. The back of the pedestal which is raised to the height of 13 cm shows four male figures, while four female figures occupy the corresponding left side. Of the male group, the first holds a garland and basket of flowers; the second and the third stand in adoration while the fourth represents a small figure of a seated devotee. In the group of female figures, the leading woman carries a stalked lotus and a basket of flowers while the rest stand in adoration. These probably represent the worshippers or the donors of the image. The image was supported by a gradually diminishing tenon which juts out from the bottom of the pedestal and is partly broken.

The inscription engraved on the pedestal of the image occupying an area of 37 cm × 5 cm and consisting of three lines is in a perfect state of preservation except for an *akshara* in the middle of the third line which is partly cut away. The characters belong to the Kushāṇa type of Brāhmī alphabet found in other Kushāṇa inscriptions from Mathurā, attributed to the second century A.D.² The language of the record is Sanskrit with a slight influence of Prākṛit (cf. the words, *asyam*, *purvayam*, *avirudha*, *Jivasiri*).

¹ This inscription is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66 as No. B 676.

² See, Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, ed. by Janert, *facsimiles* on pp. 265, 269, etc.

H 9088

The epigraph belongs to the time of king **Vāsudēva**, who bears the titles *mahārāja* and *dēva-putra* and who is evidently no other than the Kushāna king of that name. The title *dēva-putra* is not applied to Vāsudēva in his other known inscriptions, though it is often met with in the inscriptions of his predecessors.¹ The date of the record is the year 93, Hē 4, di 25, i.e. the 25th day of the fourth month of the winter (Hēmanta) in the given year. As the Kushāna inscriptions are stated to have been dated in the era founded by Kanishka and as he is generally believed to have ascended the throne in 78 A.D., the date of the record would fall in 171-72 A.D. Thus the present record is the only inscription of the Year 93 which mentions the Kushāna ruler Vāsudēva.²

The object of the inscription which is recorded in the portion following the date of the epigraph in the first line is to record the installation of the image of the holy (*bhagavat*). **Pitāmāha** (i.e. the Buddha) and of a parasol (*chhatra*) probably over it by the honourable (*ārya*) **Dharmēśvara**, **Māgha** and **Dhana** along with their father **Śarvanamdi** and mother **Jiva[s]iri** (Sanskrit *Jīvaśrī*). This is followed by the expression *Śramaṇēnām Kāyastēnām* which is difficult to explain. Probably it refers to an ascetic (*śramaṇa*) who was a Kāyastha.³

TEXT⁴

- 1 Siddham⁵ [|*] Mahārājasya Dēva-putrasya Vāsudēvasya sam 90 3 Hē 4 di 20 5
asya-[m] purvva-yaṁ bhaga[va*]tō Pi-
- 2 tāmahasya sva-matasya avirudhasya⁶ pratimā chhatraṁ cha pratisthāpitaṁ arya-
Dharmēśvaraṁ arya-Māghaṁ
- 3 arya-Dhanaṁ pitaraṁ cha Śarvanamdi mātaraṁ cha Jiva[s]iri purask[ri]tya
śramaṇēnām (?) Kāyastēnām

¹ Ibid., No. 30, mentions Vāsu only and I do not think it could be Vāsudēva as there is hardly space for restoring *dēvasya* in the inscription. Therefore, the present inscription is the only record where the title *dēva-putra* has been used for Vāsudēva. [It is clear from the facsimile (Lüders, op. cit., pp. 269, 270) that there is space for three letters at least if not four, at the end of the second line. Again another Mathura Museum Inscription (Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 69 a) reads *Mahārājasya Rājātīrājasya Dēva-putrasya [shā]hi-Vāsudēvasya*. See also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 where the text reads [*Dēva-putra*]**trasya Vāsudēvasya*.—Ed.]

² Another Mathurā inscription (Lüders List, No. 74) though dated in the year 93, does not refer to Vāsudēva.

³ [See p. 153, note 1 below.—Ed.]

⁴ From inked impressions.

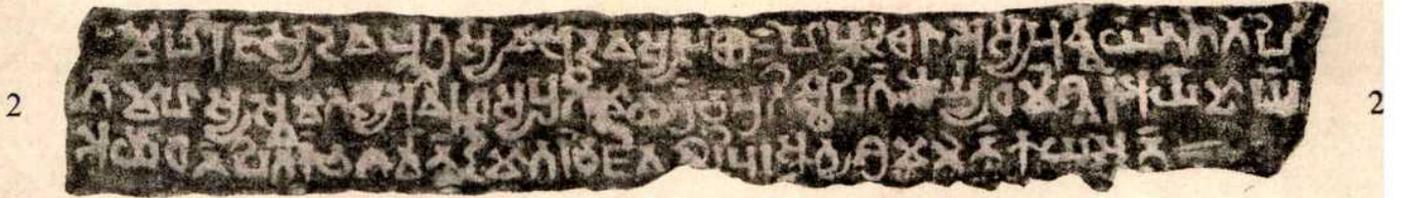
⁵ Expressed by a symbol which looks like the one found in another Mathura inscription of the fourth year of Kanishka (above, Vol. XXXIV, plate facing p. 10).

⁶ Cf. *sva-matāvaruddhasya* occurring in the Mankuwar inscription of Kumāragupta dated in the year 129 CII, Vol. III, p. 46).

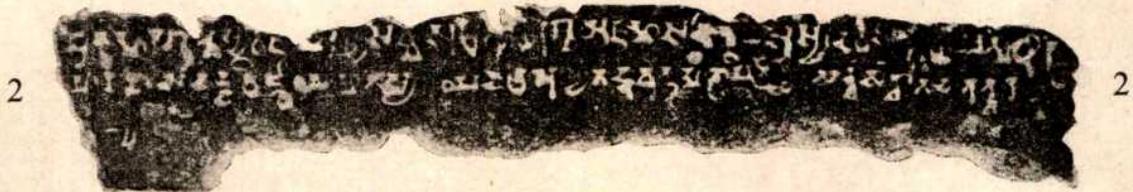
This punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

TWO IMAGE INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

A. Inscription of the time of Vāsudēva, Year 93



B. Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta, Year 125



Scale : One-half

TRANSLATION

In the year 93 of the reign of Mahārāja Dēvaputra Vāsudēva, on the 25th day of the fourth month of Hēmanta, on that date specified as above, an image and a parasol of the Divine One, the holy Pitāmaha, the god who holds his own tenets, who was never refuted (*in respect of his tenets*) has been installed by the venerable Dharmēsvara, venerable Māgha, (and) venerable Dhana along with their father Sarvanandi and mother Jivasrī after honouring the ascetic Kāyasta ?¹

B. Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta, Year 125

A broken sandstone image on the pedestal of which the present inscription² is engraved was discovered while digging for the foundation of a new English Record Room in the Collector's Office in Mathurā. This site seems to be connected with that on which stood the famous Buddhist monastery of Huvishka. The image, of which only the feet and the pedestal are remaining now appears to be that of a standing Buddha and the extant portion measures about 50 cm × 45 cm × 25 cm. On either side of the feet are found damaged figures. The image is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā, and bears the accession No. 64-12. The proper right portion of the pedestal is broken away resulting in the loss of some letters at the beginning of the first two lines and of all the letters of the third line of the record. The top portions of the letters in the first line have also suffered damage. Thus the record is a fragmentary one. The extant portion of the record occupies an area of 35 cm × 4 cm.

The characters of the inscription belong to the northern class of alphabets found in the Gupta records and the language is Sanskrit.

The record refers itself to the reign of Kumāragupta, evidently the Imperial Gupta monarch of that name, and is dated in the year 125, obviously of the Gupta era, while the exact date is quoted in the first line as the ninth day of the month Āsvayuja. As the Gupta era is stated to have started in 319-20 A.D., the date of the present record would fall in the year 444-45 A.D.

The portion containing the purport of the record is partly lost. However, it is evident that the epigraph is benedictory in nature and records the gift of the image on the date given by a native of Mathurā who is described as "being known as . . . mārādāsa-Daṇḍa".³

The inscription, though fragmentary in nature, is important as it is the only dated inscription from Mathurā referring to the reign of Kumāragupta as well as the only known Gupta inscription referring to Mathurā.

The only geographical name occurring in the record, viz., Mathurā is evidently the town from which the inscription has been discovered.

¹ [The reading is *Sarvanandī[m]* . . . *Jivasrī[m]* *Śramaṇāna[m]* (*na*) *k[ā]yasthēna[m]* (*na*). The object portion of the record is to be translated as: "The image of the holy Pitāmaha, who holds his own tenets, and an umbrella, were installed by the writer (*kāyastha*) named Śramaṇa after having honoured the venerable (*ārya*) Dharmēsvara, venerable Māgha, venerable Dhana, and (*his own*) father Sarvanandin and (*his own*) mother Jiva[si]rī (Jiva[ri])." Therefore, the name of the donor of the image is Śramaṇa which can be compared with the name Śramaṇaka belonging to the metal-workers' caste who figures in another Mathurā inscription (Lüders' List, No. 53).—Ed.]

² A. R. Ep., 1965-66, No. B 677.

³ [See p. 154, note 5.—Ed.]

TEXT¹

- 1 śr[ī]-Kumāraguptasya v[ī]a[ya]-r[ā]ya-sa[m]vva[t*]² 100 20 5³ [Ā]śvayuja-
māsē di 9 [⁴asy[ām] divasa-pū[rv]v[ā]y[ām] Māthura[s]ya
- 2 . . mārādāsa-Daṇḍa⁴-vijñāyamānasya⁵ [[*] Yad=a[tra] puṇyaṁ tad=bhavatu mātā-
pitrōḥ sarvva-sa[t*]tvānām dānuttara⁷
- 3⁸—||

¹ From the original and impressions.

² This word stands for *samvatsara*. See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 146, note 8.

³ This figure is partly damaged.

⁴ This punctuation mark is denoted by a horizontal stroke.

⁵ This reading is only tentative. [The reading is mārādāsa[*bha*]ṭṭa-vijñāyamānasya. The intended name seems to be Kumārādāsabhaṭṭa. Cf. the name Jayabhaṭṭa occurring in another Mathurā stone image inscription of the Gupta year 230 (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 273).—Ed.]

⁶ Cf. the expression *Chandaka-bhrātrikā iti vijñāyamānānām* in another Mathurā inscription. (See *liders, Mathurā Inscriptions*, p. 62, text lines 4-5 and note.)

⁷ [The actual reading is *sarvva-sa[t*]tvānām dānuttara*. Evidently the five letters *jñānāvṛtaye* were originally in the third line which are lost now. Cf. the Deorlya stone image inscription (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 711, text line 2).—Ed.]

⁸ All the letters in this line are lost.

No. 27—MENAL INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA PRINCE MEGHANADA,
VIKRAMA 1312

(1 Plate)

RAM SHARMA, MYSORE

(Received on 21. 6. 1965)

The impressions of the inscription, edited below, with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, were received in his Office from the Superintendent, Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Baroda,¹ sometime in 1962. Shri K. V. Soundara Rajan has published² this record but since his reading and interpretation are defective, the epigraph is re-edited in the following pages.

The inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image, preserved in the sculpture-shed at **Mēnal**, in Mandalgarh Tahsil of District Chittorgarh, Rajasthan. It covers a space of 36.5 cm in length and 12.2 cm in width. It contains 7 lines in all and each line generally consists of 31 or more letters, excepting the last line which contains 23 letters only. The letters measure from 1 cm to 2.3 cm in size. The letters engraved deeply are bold and well-preserved though slightly damaged here and there especially in the last two lines.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and some of them may be noted for the palaeographical interest. The letters *ā*, *i*, *ch*, *j*, *dh*, *bh* and *y* are specially noteworthy. The form of *ā* in *āyu* (line 5) is interesting as it looks like the modern form of *śra*. The three dots developing in three different directions can be noted in letter *i* (in *iha*, line 3). In a second case (i. e. *i* in *iyam*, line 2), the horizontal top bar too has been added to the letter. The forms can be compared with those found in the other records hailing from the neighbouring region,³ which definitely show slight development in the forms. So also the letters *ch*, *j* and *dh* found in *Chāhumāna* (line 2), *Rājakumāra* (line 2) and *Sūtradhāra* (line 6) are akin to those of the records mentioned above. All the three letters *ch*, *j* and *dh* assume the modern standard forms. The curved and lengthened left bend of the letter *bh* in *bhādrapada* (line 1) has got at its top a short vertical bar. A second form of this letter is found in *Tribhuvanēśvara* (line 3). The forms of the letter *y* may be seen in *sarubhāgya yōgē* (line 2). *Y* written as conjunct represents the developed modern form which too can be seen further in *dvitīya* (line 7). It may be noted that *y* in *yōgē* is still retaining some features of its old form. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit which is grammatically correct. The rules of *sandhi* are regularly observed excepting once in *nishpannā* for *nishpannā*. The composition of the record is a mixture of prose and poetry. No **orthographical** peculiarity has been found in the record, except that *v* is used for *b* in *Vrahma* (line 4) and *tri* for *tri* in *Tribhuvanēśvara* (line 3).

The portion mentioning the **date** is slightly damaged, resulting in the loss of the upper parts of all the numerals recording the year. However, we may read the year as **Vikrama 1312**, the other details being **Monday, the 12th day of the bright**.

¹ It has been noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B. 844.

² Cf. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XL, Part I (April 1962), pp. 9 ff. and Plate.

³ Cf. Ojha, *The Palaeography of India*, Plate XXVII (Records from Sūmādhā and Chirwā, dated V. S. 1921 and 1330 respectively).

fortnight of the month Bhādrapada, Śravaṇa-nakshatra. The details have been equated with August 16, 1255 A. D. Shri Soundara Rajan reads the date as Saṃvat 1212, but from the ink-impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, it is seen that though the second numeral is slightly damaged, its upward turning which can be seen there suggests that it stands for 3.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Om* followed by the word *svasti*, which is followed by the details of the date referred to above. Then follows the statement that the image of *Rājā-kumāra Dinakara Mēghanāda* was completed on the date mentioned above. This is followed by three verses. The first verse gives the genealogy of Mēghanāda on his father's side and states that he was the son of *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvanēśvara who was the son of *Maṇḍalika* Naravarmaka who, in turn, was the son of Talhana described as the *Chāhamāna-tilaka*. In verse 2, the genealogy of the prince on his mother's side is given. It is stated that his mother was Lakshmādēvī, the daughter of Kirtti-simha who was the son of Kōlhā. The latter was the son of *Rāshtrakūṭa* Yaśabrahma. The object of the inscription, stated in verse 3, is to record the perpetual obeisance of the prince Mēghanāda in the form of his image to the deity Mahānāla Śiva for the enhancement of his fame, worldly pleasure, fortune, sons and longevity. The practice of setting up images of kings in temples was prevalent during this period and similar examples can be noted in other records.¹ In the concluding portion which is in prose, a *Sūtradhāra*, whose name seems to be U[*bha*]yaśiḥa and probably his two sons *Rūpakāra* Sā[*ha*]ṇa and *Dēvasiḥa* are mentioned.

Not much historical information can be gathered from the contents of the inscription, as the names of the members of the family of Mēghanāda and those of his maternal side are not found in the hitherto known genealogies of the various branches of Chāhamānas and Rāshtrakūṭas. However, the epithets *Maṇḍalika* and *Rāṇaka* applied respectively to Naravarmaka and Tribhuvanēśvara indicate that these Chāhamānas and possibly their kinsmen Rāshtrakūṭas were enjoying only a feudatory status. While it is possible to say that the Chāhamānas of our record were the Chāhamāna feudatories ruling over Mēnal, it is not clear who were the paramount rulers. We know that by this time, the Imperial Chāhamānas of Śākambharī who were ruling over the region in question had become practically extinct, but their successors had established themselves well on the seat of Raṇastambhapura. This was the period of Jaitrasimha, about whom we are told that he was a great ruler, fighter and administrator and that he was responsible for subjugating the Malwa region.² But whether he had any sway over the adjacent Mēnal region is not clear.

No certain identification of any of the members of this Chāhamāna family seems possible with the exception perhaps of *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvanēśvara, the father of Mēghanāda. In the inscription of the Guhila Samarasimha, dated V. S. 1330 from Chirwā³ (Udaipur, Rajasthan), we have an interesting statement according to which "Bālāka, the eldest son of one Mahendra, died fighting with the *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana, in the presence of king Jaitrasimha." D. R. Bhandarkar and G. H. Ojha have taken this *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana to be Tribhuvanapāla, the successor of Bhīma II of the Chaulukya dynasty,⁴ but it is doubtful in view of the fact that this Tribhuvanapāla of the Chaulukya dynasty was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. Therefore he cannot be identical with the feudatory *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana. It is more likely that

¹ Cf. *A. R. Ep.* 1962-63, No. B. 845 referring to the obeisance of Bhāvasōmēśvara in the form of his image and Bhandarkar's List, No. 666, dated V. S. 1371, which mentions the installation of an image of *Rāṇaka* Mahipālādēva by the *Samghapati* Dēsala.

² Cf. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 49-50, Dasharath Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 105 and Bhandarkar's List, No. 623.

³ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 579 and *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B. 662.

⁴ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 579, note and No. 534; Ojha, *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Vol. 1, p. 461.

the father of the prince Mēghanāda of the present record is identical with *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana of the Chīrwā *prasaṣti*. If this identification is correct, then it may be surmised that there was some feud between the *Talāra* of Nāgharada and the *Rāṇaka* of Mēnal, in which the former was killed by the latter. In view of the immediate neighbourhood of the territories in question the occurrence of such a feud is not impossible. Their situation in between the Chāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura and the Guhilas of Chittor was perhaps responsible in making them politically important. The non-mention of any imperial power in the present inscription perhaps testifies to the same fact.

Like the Chāhamāna family of Mēnal, it is not known under which royal house their Rāshtrakūṭa relatives were flourishing. It is also not clear which part of the region was under their sway.¹

*Mahānāla*² is the only name of geographical importance which has been mentioned in line 5. It is the same as modern Mēnal.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verse 1 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 2 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 3 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 [Ōm]³ || Svasti || Saṁvat [1312]⁴ varshē Bhādrapada-māsē śukla-pa[kshē] [12] dvādaśyām tithau Sōmē Śravaṇa-nakshatrē
- 2 saubhāgya-yōgē niḥpannā⁵ iyam pratimā ||⁶ Rājakumāra-Dinakara-Mēghanādasya Chāhumāna-
- 3 tilakaś=cha Talha[ṇō] maṇḍalika-Naravarmakas=tataḥ [|*] Rāṇakas=Tri(Tri)bhuvanēs-varas=tatō Mēghanāda-i-
- 4 ha tasya saṁbhavaḥ || [1.||*] Rāshtrakūṭa-Yaśavra(bra)hṁa-putra-Kōlhā-sutasya cha | Kīrttisīmhasya dauhitrō Lakshmā-
- 5 dēvyāḥ samudbhavaḥ || [2.||*] Śrīman-Mahānāla-Śivāya tad-guṇaḥ sach-Chāhumānaḥ subhataś=cha Mēghaḥ | āyu-

¹ It may, however, be pointed out that in a Sati inscription from Kinsaria (above, Vol. XII, p. 56), dated Vikramā 1309, of Jagadhara of Daḥiya or Rāshtrakūṭa family, his grand-father's name appears as Kīrttisīmha.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.

⁴ Śrī Sounlara Rājan reads this date as 1212.

⁵ Read : *nishpannā*.

⁶ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

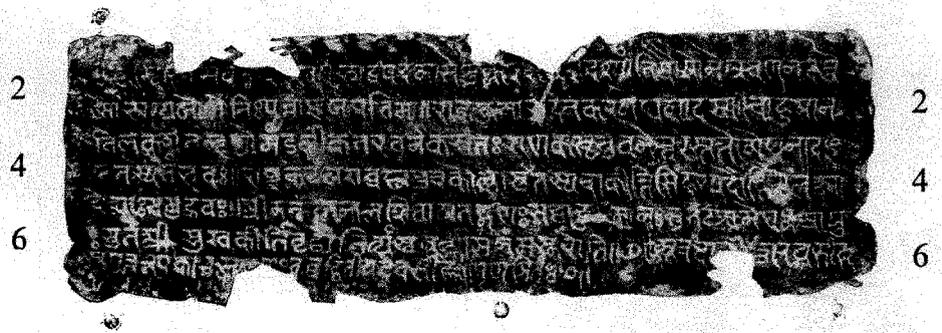
- 6 ḥ-suta-śrī-sukha-kīrti-vṛiddhyai nityaṃ sva-mūrtyā sa namaskarōti || [3*||]¹ Sūtradhā[rah]
U[bha]yasīha-
- 7 [s=ta]t-putra-rūpakāra-Sā[haṇaḥ]² [tatha(thā)] dvitīya-Dēvasīhaḥ 5 praṇamitaḥ³ ||o ||

¹ Between the two double *danḍas* there is an oval symbol with a stroke in the middle.

² The reading of this name is doubtful.

³ Read *praṇamataḥ*.

MENAL INSCRIPTION OF THE CHAHAMANA PRINCE MEGHANADA



Scale : One-half

No. 28—URAJAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN II—YEAR 97

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE AND R. SUBRAHMANYAM, HYDERABAD

(Received on 28.12.1963)

Urajām is a small village situated at a distance of about seven miles to the north-east of Narasannapēṭa in the Srikakulam District. It is full of interesting antiquarian remains. The set¹ of copper-plates under study was discovered by Mr. Sampatrao Jagannayakulu, son of Mr. Kotesaraju, a resident of the village, while digging for earth, in 1935. This set, at the time of its discovery, consisted of **three plates** which were suspended by means of a ring, the ends of which were soldered to a seal. Neither the seal nor the ring is available now. The first plate of the set was given by the owner to the village munsiff of Kambakaya who in turn gave it to the late M. Somasekhara Sarma for decipherment. The remaining two plates were secured by the Collector of the District and sent to the Government Museum, Madras, for deposit. The inscription is edited here from the excellent photographs of the first plate supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, South-Eastern Circle, Hyderabad, and from the impressions of the remaining two plates supplied by the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras.

Each of the three plates measures 17.5 cm long, 6.25 cm high and .25 cm thick. The inscription is well preserved except for the damage caused to some letters on the first and second side of the third plate. The damage caused to the second side is, however, more because of its contact with the earth for a long time. Consequently, a letter at the beginning of each of the lines 26 and 27, and four or five letters at the end of each of the lines 24 and 25 have become worn out, although it is not difficult to make out these letters.

The inscription consists of 27 lines, the lines 26-27 having been written on the left margin, as though to run on with lines 24-25 but with a vertical line dividing the two sections. The first and the last inscribed sides contain five and four lines respectively, while each of the remaining three sides contains six lines of writing. The letters are engraved boldly and in a beautiful manner.

The **characters** are of the Southern class of the box-headed variety and resemble those of the Sānta-Bommāli plates² of *Mahārāja* Indravarman, year 87, and of the Achyutapuram plates³ of the same king, also of year 87. The interesting features of the writing noticed here are the following. Initial vowels *a* (lines 5, 15), *ā* (line 22) and *i* (line 22) occur. Medial *ū* in *sū* (line 2) is indicated by a stroke to the left of the sign for *u* as in the Achyutapuram plates, while it is indicated by a stroke to the right in the Sānta-Bommāli plates. Medial *ai* in *ṇai* (line 2) is indicated by two curved strokes at the top of the letter *ṇ* in the present record as in the Sānta-Bommāli plates, whereas it is indicated by one curved stroke at the top and a similar stroke to the

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1952-53, No. A 6.

² Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 194 ff.; and also *JAHR*S, Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff., and Plate.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff., and Plate. The alphabet of the Parlakimedī plates of *Mahārāja* Indravarman, year 91, bore, probably, a greater resemblance to that of the present record, but unfortunately, its lithograph has not been published by Fleet as promised by him in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132. The alphabet of the Chleacole plates of year 128 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff., and Plate), belonging to a later period differs from the alphabet of our record, at least in some respects, and it may not, therefore, be correct to institute a comparison between them.

left of the letter in the Achyutapuram plates. The language is Sanskrit, and with the exception of three imprecatory verses (lines 19-23) and another verse (lines 24-25), the inscription is written in prose. The words *vētālī* (lines 12, 13, 15), *Jhōlikā* (line 13), *haladra* (lines 13, 16) and *kapāta-sandhi-krama* (line 17) are of lexicographical interest. There is no orthographical peculiarity met with in the present record, except for the use of *v* for *b* in lines 12 and 15.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Indravarman alias Rājasimha* of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. It records the grant, made by the king, of a piece of land with a house in it, to a Brāhmaṇa named Mātrichandraśarman. It is dated in the 97th year, expressed both in words and by numerals, of the reign, i.e. of the Gaṅgas (line 23). The actual date of the grant is given as *Mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsī* (line 11), i.e. Kārttika śu. 15, when Jupiter and the Moon were in the *nakshatra* Kṛttikā. Taking the starting year of the Gaṅga era as 498 A.D.,² the equivalent in Christian era would be **Monday, 23rd October, 595 A.D.**¹

The record begins with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. Then comes a long prose passage (lines 1-8) introducing the *Mahārāja* Indravarman as ruling from **Kaliṅganagara**. This portion resembles exactly the introductory portion of the Achyutapuram plates.³ Then follows the portion (lines 8-12) containing the king's order to the inhabitants of the village **Hōñjēri** situated in the **Krōshṭukavarttanī** (evidently the division of that name), relating to the grant of a piece of land with a house in it, in the village on the occasion of the *Mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsī*. It is stated that this land had been purchased by one Mātrichandraśarman from an inhabitant (*agrahārīka*) of the village Hōñjēri. The king seems to have granted the land, for the enjoyment of a certain deity (*Bhattāraka*), to Mātrichandraśarman, who was a student of Chhandōga *śākhā* and belonged to Vatsa *gōtra*. It is evident that the purchaser of the gift land and the donee are one and the same. It, therefore, seems that the king made the gift to the donee presumably after paying the cost of the land and house. Lines 12-18 describe in detail the boundaries of the gift land. Then follows (lines 18-19) the king's request to the future rulers for protecting the gift. Lines 19-23 contain three of the usual imprecatory verses. Line 23 contains the date of the record mentioned above. A verse in lines 24-25 states that the record was written by Ādityamañchi, son of Vinayachandra, under the order of the king Rājasimha himself. The last sentence, perhaps a post-script, states that one Ravichandra-mahattarasvāmin acted as the executor of the grant (*ājñā*).

There cannot be any doubt that the issuer of this charter namely Indravarman II Rājasimha is identical with his namesake who issued the Achyutapuram plates dated in the year 87⁴ and the Parlakimedi plates dated in the year 91.⁵ The writer of the record, namely Ādityamañchi, son of Vinayachandra is already known to us from the Chicacole plates of Indravarman III dated in the year 128.⁶ However, in that record he figures as the engraver. The executor of the grant, viz., Ravichandra, the head of *mahattaras* (*mahattara-svāmi*), is not known to us from any other source. It may also be observed that none of the records of this king known to us so far contains a reference to the executor of the respective grants. The importance of this record lies in that it furnishes the latest date for the king.

¹ L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 61, 63. The *tithi* is also called *Mahā-kārttikī* when the moon is in Rōhini.

² Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 128, text lines 1-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

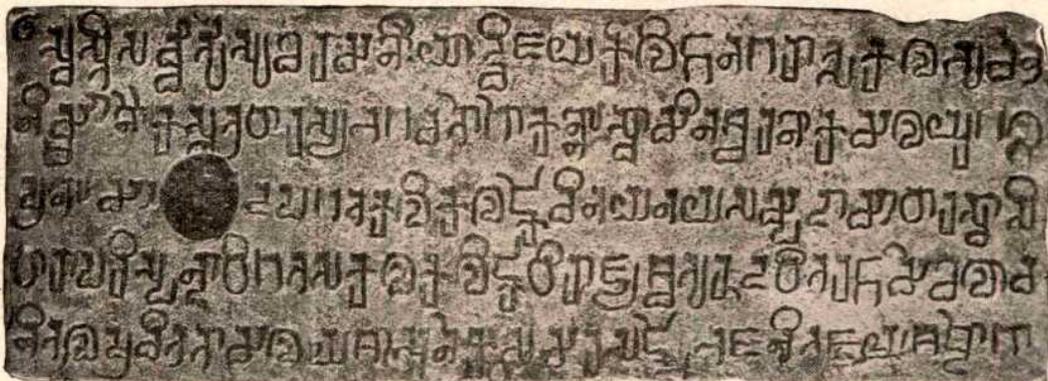
⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff., and Plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff., and Plate.

URAJAM PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN II—YEAR 97

i

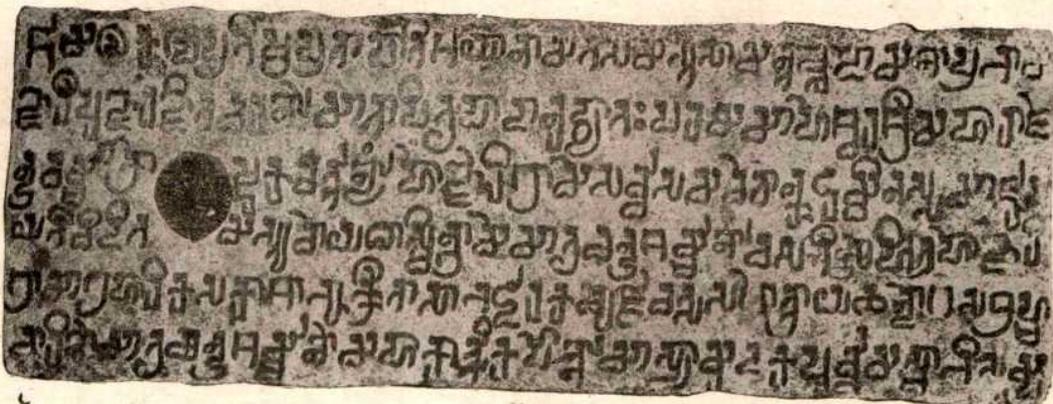
2
4



2
4

ii, a

6
8
10



6
8
10

ii, b

12
14
16



12
14
16

iii, a

18

18
 20
 22

18

20

20

22

22

iii, b

24

24

Scale : Five-sixths

Of the geographical names occurring in this record, **Kaliṅganagara** is identified with Mukhaliṅgam. **Krōshṭukavarttani** has been identified with the region round about Narasannapēṭa, in the Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh. The places such as **Vāsaka** the gift village **Hōnjēri** and others namely **Kāruḍa**, **Taṇḍikuppaka**, **Sūrannatata** and **Dōmbakuppaka** occurring in the description of the boundaries of the gift land cannot be identified.

TEXT

First Plate

- 1 Siddham*[*] Svasti [*] Sarvva-rtu-sukha-ramaṇiyād-vijaya-Kaliṅga-nagarāt-sakala-bhuvana-
- 2 nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya Bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa-svāmināś-charaṇa-kamala-yugala-
- 3 praṇāmād-apagata-kali-kalainkō vinaya-naya-sampadām-ādhāra[*] sv-āsi-
- 4 dhārā-parispand-ādhigata-sakala-Kalinkā(ng-ā)dhirājyas-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mēkhal-āva-
- 5 nitala-pravitat-āmala-yaśā anēka-samara-saṅkshōbha-janita-jaya-śabdō Gā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 ṅg-āmala-kula-pratishṭha[*] pratāp-ātisay-ānā(na)m[i]ta-samasta-sāmanta-chūdā-man[i]-prabhā-ma-
- 7 ṅjari-puṅja-raṅjita-charaṇō mātā-pitri-pād-ānuddhyātāḥ parama-māhēśvara[*] śrī-mahārāj-Ē-
- 8 ndravarmanmā Krōshṭukavarttanyām Hōnjēri-grāmē sarvva-samavētān-kuṭumvi-(mbi)nas=samājñāpa-
- 9 yati [*] viditam=astu vō yath=āsmiṇ=grāmē Mātrichandraśarmmaṇā vasati-sahita(tā)* Hōnjēri-
- 10 grām-āgrahārika-sakāsā[t yā*] bhūkkri(ḥ kri)tā sā Bhaṭṭārakabhujō Vatsa-sagōttrāya Chhandōga-sabrahma-
- 11 chāriṇō Mātrichandraśarmmaṇē Mahā-Kārttika-paurṇamāsyām-udaka-pūrvvam-asmābhi[*] sampra-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 12 ttā-sta(ta)d=viditvā na kēnachit-parivā(bā)dhā kāryy-ēti [*] Simā-lingāni ch=ātra Kāruḍa-simā-vēt[ā]-
- 13 lyām sapta vālmūkās-tatōttarēṇa* Jhōlikā tasyō(syā u)ttarē[ṇa*] Taṇḍikuppaka[*] tad-uttarēṇa haladra-

* From photographs and impressions.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* The letters *ti-sahita* are engraved over some letters which were originally engraved by mistake.

* Read *tad-uttarēna*.

- 14 yugma-vālmika[h*] tasya paśchimēna **Sūra**nnataṭa-vāsaka[m*] yāvach=chhilā tasya dakṣhiṇē-
- 15 na **Dōmva**(ba)**kuppaka**-krishyamānaka-vētāly-antaḥ nivēśana-sahitā antarika-di-
- 16 rghika-khaṇḍasya sīma(m-ā)ntikā liṅgāni haladra-yugmakam=ādim kṛitvā¹ uttarēna* vālmika-
- 17 paṅkti[h*] tasyā[h*] paśchimēna kapāṭa-sandhi-kkramēna kubja-tintiṭikā-trikam tasya dakṣhiṇēna ti-

Third Plate, First Side

- 18 ntiṭikā-panti(nkti)s=tata(tō) vaṭa-vṛiksha[h*] tatō nandi-taru[h*] tad-aranya-ṭaṭa-śilā yā cha [*] bhavishyad-rājabhi-
- 19 ś=ch=āyan=dāna-dharmmō=nupālyas=tathā cha Vyāsa-gītā[s*]=ślōkā bhavanti [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā da-
- 20 ttā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā pñalam(lam) [||*]
- 21 Sva-dattām-para-dattāmvā(ttām vā) yatnād-raksha Yudhishtīra [*] mahīm=mahi(hī)-matām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrē-
- 22 yō=nupālanam(nam) [||*] Shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmida[h*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha
- 23 tāny=ēva narakē vasēdi(sēt || i)ti [||*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samva(samva)tsarā [h*] saptā(pta)-navati[h*] 90 7

Third Plate, Second Side

- 24 Idam Vinayachandrasya sūnun=Ādityama[nchinā] [||*]
- 25 śāsanam **Rājasīnha**(rīha)sya likhita[m] s[va]-mukh-[ājñayā] [||*]
- 26 *Ājñā Ravichandra-
- 27 mahattara-svāmi [||*]

¹ The four letters *uttarēna* are engraved over some letters which were originally engraved by mistake.

² Read *tad-uttarēna*.

³ Lines 26 and 27 engraved at the top left corner above the ring-hole of this side give the impression that they are the beginning portions of lines 24 and 25 respectively; but that they are different is clearly indicated by the vertical line introduced between these two sections of writing.

No. 29—A CHAHAMANA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA 1189

(1 Plate)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

(Received on 9.8.1963)

Sometime in 1962 a set of impressions of this inscription¹ was received in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, from the Exploration Assistant, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Sub-Circle, Jodhpur. The inscription is stated to have been discovered at the village of **Bassi** in the Parbatsar Tahsil of the Nagaur District of Rajasthan. It is edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is said to have been engraved on a white marble pillar lying loose under a banyan tree at the site called *Tiro* about a mile to the south of the village Bassi. It contains three lines of writing which is in a bad state of preservation. The inscribed area measures about 5 cm high and 26 cm broad. Two letter each appear to have been lost at the beginning of the second and third lines and also at the end of the first and second lines. The record is written in Nāgarī characters which are regular for the period. As regards palaeography the letter *bh* (cf. *dēvībhīr-ābhīḥ patnībhis-tīsrībhiḥ*, line 3) is of interest in that it has an archaic form and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the 10th and 11th centuries such as the Bayānā inscription² of Chittralēkhā, dated V. S. 1012, and Banswara plates³ of Bhōjadēva, dated V. S. 1076. That our record belongs to a transitional stage is indicated by the use of *prishthamātrās* (cf. *°pālādēvō* and *°mahādēvī* in line 2 and *°dēvī* and *°lōkam* in line 3) as well as *śīrōmātrās* (cf. *Sōmala°* in line 2) in indicating the medial vowels *ē* and *ō*. The form of *ku* in which the medial *u* is attached to the right hand vertical loop of *k* is also interesting (cf. *°kula* in line 1). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The use of *v* for *b* (cf. *vrahmalōka*, line 3) may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the record.

The record is dated **Vikrama 1189, Kārttika-sudi 5, Sunday**. It regularly corresponds to the **16th October, 1132 A.D.**

The inscription begins with *siddham* symbol of which only the top portion is preserved. It is followed by the date quoted above and a passage in prose in lines 1-3. It states that *Mahā-[rājādhirāja]⁴ Ajayapālādēva* who was an ornament of the Chāhamāna family, went to the heavens (*brahmalōka*) together with his three wives, apparently on the date mentioned above. Of the three queens who committed *satī*, only the name of the chief queen (*paṭṭamahādēvī*) *Sōmala[dēvī]⁴* can be made out without any doubt. While the name of the second queen appears to end in *°shthaladē*,⁵ the name of the third queen seems to be *Śrīdēvī*.

The Chāhamāna king Ajayapāla of the present inscription is no doubt identical with Ajayarāja, Ajayadēva or Salhaṇa⁶ of the Imperial Chāhamāna family. This is borne out not

¹ This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 884.

² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 120 ff., and Plate.

³ Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 181 ff., and Plate.

⁴ The *aksharas* given in square brackets have been lost.

⁵ From the ending of the name it is clear that *°dēvī* was contracted to *dē*. It is not certain whether the name of the chief queen was also given as *Sōmaladē*.

⁶ Bhandarkar's List, p. 381.

only by the date of the record but also by the mention of his queen Sōmaladēvi, also called Sōmalākhā elsewhere. It is interesting to note that though she is called simply as a queen in the Bijōliā inscription¹ dated Vikrama 1226 of his grandson Sōmēśvara's time, in our record she is styled as *paṭṭamahādēvi* (i.e. chief queen). That she was enjoying a high status during the rule of her husband is proved also by the coins bearing her name evidently issued by herself, found side by side with the coins of her husband Ajayarāja.²

No inscription belonging to the reign of Ajayarāja has been discovered so far. The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it not only mentions the names of his two hitherto unknown queens but also gives the date of the death of Ajayarāja. This date enables us to arrive at an approximate date of the accession of his son and successor Arṇōrāja. The earliest known inscription of the latter is dated Vikrama 1196.³ However, as a verse⁴ in the Bijōliā inscription mentioned above alludes to the defeat of Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa (i.e. Paramāra Naravarman of Malwa) by Arṇōrāja, the latter was believed to have ascended the throne sometime before the death of Naravarman in about Vikrama 1190 (1133 A.D.).⁵ Besides, a verse in the fragmentary Chāhamāna *praśasti* in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, seems to suggest that Ajayarāja after having placed his son Arṇōrāja on the throne obtained final beatitude in the forest adjoining the sacred lake Pushkara.⁶ The event must have taken place before Vikrama 1189, the date of the death of Ajayarāja. Arṇōrāja, therefore, must have ascended the throne sometime before Vikrama 1189 (1132 A.D.).

TEXT

- 1 [Siddham*] [h*] Samvat 1189 Kārttika-sudi 5 [Ra]vau || Chāhamāna-kula-tilaka-ma[hā]..
 2 ..⁹ [ja]-srīmad-Ajayapālādēvō¹⁰ paṭṭamahādēvi-srī-Sōmala[dēvi]¹¹-
 3 ..śhṭhaladē¹²-srī-¹³srīdēvi¹³bhir-ābhīḥ patnībhis-tisrībhiḥ saha vra(bra)hma-lōka[th]
 [gata][h*] ||

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 84 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 210-11.

³ Bhandarkar's List, No. 243.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 104, verse No. 17.

⁵ According to a copper-plate inscription from Ujjain, Yaśōvarman performed the annual funeral ceremony of Mihārāja Naravarman on the 8th day of the bright half of Kārttika of Vikrama 1191 (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 351 ff.).

⁶ Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 180, text lines 13-14.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ The four *aksharas* lost at the end of the first and the beginning of the second line may be restored as °rājādhira°.

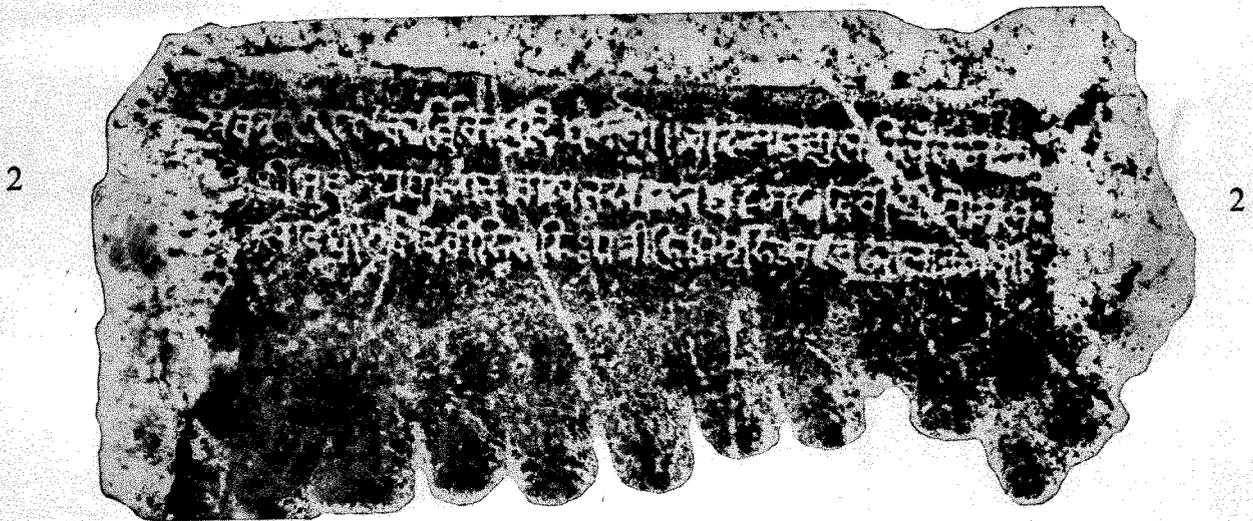
¹⁰ The reading of these five *aksharas* is uncertain.

¹¹ The *aksharas* restored as *dēvi* have been completely lost.

¹² Read °dēvi.

¹³ The *ē-mātrā* of *dē* is merged with the *i-mātrā* of the previous letter *srī*.

A CHAHAMANA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMA 1189



Scale : One-half

No. 30—MAHUL (TROMBAY) INSCRIPTION OF HARIPALADEVA, SAKA 1075

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, BOMBAY

(Received on 20.2.1965)

This stone inscription, the text of which is published here for the first time, was found at Māhul, near Trombay, in 1958 and preserved in the Trombay House of the Stanvac Refinery. Consequent to the change in the management of the refinery, it is now removed to the godown of the ESSO refinery in its head office at Māhul, where an inked estampage of it was made for me in 1964. The inscription was earlier noticed by the Government Epigraphist for India in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1958-59, p. 45, wherein it is entered as No. B 171. An excellent photograph of this record was furnished to me by Dr. G.S. Gai, the present Government Epigraphist for India, from which the accompanying facsimile is made. I am thankful to him for kindly allowing me to publish it here.

The inscribed stone is a large slab of yellowish-white sandstone and bears on its top the figures of the Sun and the Moon with a *kalāśa* in the centre. Leaving some space in between, the slab is smoothly dressed in the middle for the writing of the inscription which consists of ten lines only. Towards the bottom of the record appears the ass-curse pictorially represented, as seen in some Śilāhāra and Yādava inscriptions of the period.¹

The inscription is very neatly engraved and is in a fair state of preservation. It occupies a space of about 44 cm × 22 cm and the letters are about 2 cm high. The characters are Nāgarī of the period to which the record belongs and there is nothing noteworthy about their forms. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Marāṭhī, characteristic of some Śilāhāra and Yādava records.²

The date of the record, given in lines 2-3 both in words and numerical figures, is Śaka 1075, Śrīmukha, Āshāḍha śu. 15, Sunday, lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to 7th July 1153 A.D., but the week-day was Tuesday.³

The record is one of Haripālādēva, evidently a ruler. As regards his identification, it may be stated that though he is not given any royal titles and the name of his family is not mentioned, there is no doubt that he is identical with the homonymous king of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Northern Koṅkaṇ, for the following reasons. Firstly, only a king can issue a *vyavasthā* of the nature of this record. Secondly, the find-spot of the record lies in the Śilāhāra kingdom. And thirdly, the date falls within the reign-period of this ruler. The other six records of this king already known to us range in dates from Śaka 1070 to Śaka 1076.⁴

The record commences with the symbol for *Siddham* which is followed by *svasti jayas=ch=ābhya-udayas=cha*. Then the date quoted above is given in lines 2-3. This is followed in lines 4-7 by the king's regulation (*vyavasthā*) exempting the Brāhmaṇas of the village Māhavala in Shaṭshasṭi-vishaya from the payment of the house-tax called *griha-dēṇaka* and stipulating a levy of 3 per cent

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 269 ff.

² Ibid.

³ L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 309.

⁴ These records are those from Sōpārā, Agashi, Borivli and Karanjon (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II p. 19, note 3), one in the British Museum (Kielhorn's Southern List, No. 310) and one from Ranjali (*Sources of Medieval History of the Deccan, Marāṭhī*, Vol. IV, pp. 62-65).

on the groves from them. It is stated that this gift was intended for the welfare of the king. In lines 7-8, the above regulation is repeated in Marāṭhī with the difference that here the levy on the arecanut groves is stated specifically to be 3 baskets per 100 baskets. Then in lines 9-10, it is stated that the grove called *Dōmvila-vāṭikā* belonging to a certain Gōvardhana-bhaṭṭōpādhyāya was made tax-free. From the mention of this *vāṭikā* as belonging to a Brāhmaṇa, it appears that all the other *vāṭikas* too in the village were owned by the members of the same community. In lines 9-10, there is an imprecation against interference with this order by any.

The importance of this record lies in the fact that it deals with the peculiar house-tax called *griha-dēnaka*. The only other records where this tax is known to occur are the recently discovered, not yet published, *vyavasthā-patra*¹ issued during the reign of Śilāhāra Mummuni, dated Śaka 975, where it is coupled with another tax called *paḍanaka*, and the Cintra inscription² of Aparāditya I, dated Śaka 1059. The interesting point of this record relates to the levy on the arecanut groves. The Konkan tract, in which lay the Shatshasṭi-vishaya referred to in this inscription is well known for its coconut, areca and palm-groves and it is but natural that the ruler of this territory had an interest in them. That this was the case is borne out by at least two other records³ of this Śilāhāra dynasty.

Only two geographical names occur in this record. Of these, **Shatshasṭi-vishaya** is identified with Salsette which is a well-known place in the Thana District, Maharashtra; and the village **Māhavala** is the same as Māhul, about 1½ miles from Trombay (anglicised form of Turbhā) the findspot of the record. *Dōmvila-vāṭikā* may be identified with Dombivli near Kalyan.

TEXT*

- 1 Om^o || Svasti [*] Jayās=ch-ābhyudayaś=cha [*] Sa(Sa)ka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvat-sara sa(=a)tēshu da-
- 2 sa(sa)su pa^omchāsaptaty-adhikēshu yat=āmkatō=pi Sa(Sa)ka-samvat 1075 Sri-(Śri)mukha-
- 3 samvatsar-āntargata Āshāḍha-su(su)ddha 15 Ravidinē Sōma-parvani nija-srē (srē)-
- 4 yō-rthinā mayā śri-Haripāladēvēna Shatshasṭivishay-āntargata-Mā-
- 5 havala-grāmīya-viprāṇām griha-dēnaka⁷-[ni*]rmukṭih tathā vāṭi⁸kānām
- 6 tri⁹ka-sa(sa)tam grāhyam=iti dēja(ya)-vyavasthayā udakātisarggēṇa sā(śā)sarē prati-
- 7 pāditaḥ(tam) || Māhavala-grāmē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇā griha-dēnai na gēhāvēm [*] vā[t]ji-
- 8 yām pōphalim sa(sa)tam pra¹⁰ti dā¹¹la 3¹² gēhāvēm [*] tathā cha¹³ śri-Gōvardha[na-bhaṭ]-
- 9 tōpādhyāyā Dōmvilavāṭikā sarvani(na)maschham(syam) || I sā(śā)[sana-vya]-
- 10 vasthā jō tāli tēhāchiyē māyā gāḍhaū -alaghām ||

¹ The text of this was kindly made available to me by Shri G. H. Khare, to whom my thanks are due.

² *Festgabe Dr. Hermann Jacobi*, pp. 189-90.

³ These are (1) the Bhoighar transcript of a grant of Chhittarāja, dated Śaka 949; and (2) Divē Āgar plates of Mummuni, dated Śaka 975.

⁴ From the original stone and ink-impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ This letter has an unnecessary cross-stroke in it.

⁷ Between *dē* and *nā* an *akshara nā(?)* was originally engraved but subsequently erased.

⁸ The unnecessary strokes in the lower hook of *ti* are to be ignored.

⁹ This letter is engraved away from the alignment.

¹⁰ There is an unnecessary stroke added to the letter *pa*.

¹¹ Originally *ya* was engraved but it was subsequently corrected into *dā*.

¹² For a symbol for 3 similar to this, see Bühler's Tables, No. IV, sub-table, line XII.

¹³ This letter has an unnecessary stroke which makes it look like *sha*.

MAHUL (TROMBAY) INSCRIPTION OF HARIPALADEVA, SAKA 1075

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

2
 4
 6
 8
 10

Scale : One-half

No. 31—TWO MAITRAKA CHARTERS

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI AND P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(Received on 23.12.1965)

The two copper-plate inscriptions which are edited here, belong to the dynasty of the **Maitrakas of Valabhī**. They are called here A¹ and B² for the sake of convenience. A has been published in the *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XII, pp. 51 ff. It is stated that the original plates were acquired long ago by Shri Sarabhai Nawab of Ahmedabad from a gardener of Pāliṭānā and that they were recently presented to Muni Punyavijayaji of Ahmedabad.³ These plates were obtained by us from Muni Punyavijayaji through the kind help of Dr. B. J. Sandesara, Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. We are thankful to both these persons for making the plates available to us for examination and editing in the pages of this Journal. The original plates of the record B belong to "Mohenjodaro", a firm in New Delhi and their existence was made known sometime ago by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Joint Director General of Archaeology in India (now Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Punjab University, Chandigarh). Impressions of this record were secured by Shri Charanjit Lal Suri, Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, and it is edited here for the first time.

A. Charter of Dhruvasēna I, Year 207

This consists of a **set of two copper-plates** of which the first plate measures about 25 cm × 16.8 cm while the second plate measures about 25 cm × 17 cm. As in the case of the other copper-plate charters of this dynasty, the two plates were originally strung together by two rings. So, there are two ring holes in each plate, those of the first plate being at its bottom and those of the second plate at its top. Of the two rings, only one which is circular in shape was found with the plates, its diameter being 2.8 cm and thickness 4 cm. The plates have suffered from slight damage which is evident more in the first plate, especially at its top and bottom. Consequently, some letters in the first two lines of the record have been distorted, and a bit of metal near the ring-hole at the proper left bottom of the plate has been broken and is missing. Each plate bears the writing only on its inner side. There are altogether twentynine lines of writing, the first plate containing 14 lines and the second 15 lines. The rims of the plates have been raised slightly in order to protect the writing which is fairly well preserved. The letters are boldly and clearly engraved and are comparable in execution to those of other early plates⁴ of Dhruvasēna I who issued the present charter too. The two plates together weigh 985 g while the ring alone weighs 30 g.

The **characters** of the inscription are the western variety of Southern alphabet and are similar to those of other early records of this family⁵ especially to those engraved by Kikkaka.

¹ Registered as No. A 11 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64.

² This is No. A 3 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64.

³ *Journal Or. Inst.*, Baroda, Vol. XII, p. 51.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, Plates between pp. 106 and 107 and pp. 110 and 111; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, Plate between pp. 300 and 301.

⁵ *Ibid.*

They will be found to differ somewhat from those employed in the record B edited below, as well as other inscriptions¹ of its class. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the text is partly in prose and partly in verse. The **orthographical** peculiarities of the text are similar to those of other earlier records² of the family.

The particulars of **date** are given in lines 28-29 as **Samvat 207, the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika**. The year when referred to the **Gupta era** would correspond to **526-27 A.D.**

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I**, described as *paramabhāgavata*, the younger brother of *Mahārāja* Dr̥ṇasiṃha, who was the younger brother of *Senāpati* Dharasēna I, whose father was *Senāpati* Bhaṭakka. As in some other records³ of his reign, here also the king bears the title *Mahārāja* only. The present inscription belongs to the early part of the reign of Dhruvasēna I.⁴

The text of this inscription in lines 1-13 is the same as that of the Mōṭā Māchīālā plates.⁵ The passage in lines 14-20 relates to the gift of land to Brāhmanas. It is stated (lines 14-15) that the gift consisted of an extent of land measuring 100 *pādāvarttas* which was held as a trust by three persons named Dāmaka, Chakrika and Mātāṅgaka, and a well with a circumference of 12 *pādāvarttas*, situated in the south-western boundary of the **Akshasaraka-maṇḍali** in **Hastavaprāharāṇi**. Lines 16-18 state that the gift was made by the king, for the spiritual merit and welfare of his parents and for realising his own desires in this world and in the other world, to three Brāhmanas named Mahilaka, Viśvaka and Vadra, who belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Vājasaneyya-charaṇa and who resided at **Arṅkōṭṭaka**. The gift is stated to be a *brahmadēya* and to have been made to last till eternity, to be enjoyed hereditarily by the donees and for enabling them to perform the rituals like *baḥi*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, etc. (lines 18-20). This is followed by the king's order that no one should cause any hindrance to the gift and his appeal to the future kings of his own family to preserve the gift. After this, there is a prose passage in lines 23-24 containing an imprecation which is followed by three usual imprecatory verses (lines 25-27). Line 28 states that the signature was of *Mahārāja* Dhruvasēna himself. The *dūtaka* was *Pratīhāra* Mammaka and the writer was Kikkaka both of whom are already known from other records of this king. The particulars of the date, referred to above, are given in lines 28-29.

Of the **geographical** names, **Valabhī** and **Hastavapra** are already known from other records of this family. **Akshasaraka** is known from two other charters of the same king, viz., the Gaṇḍēgaḍ plates⁶ of the year 207 and the Pāliṭāṇā plates⁷ of the year 210. In these records, this name occurs in the compounds, *Akshasaraka-prāpa* and *Akshasaraka-prāvēśya* respectively. The term *prāpa* which has been taken to be synonymous with *prāvēśya* has been explained as meaning *antargata*.⁸ This would make the compound *Akshasaraka-prāpa* to mean "included in *Akshasaraka*" so that *Akshasaraka* would be the name of a sub-division in which the gift villages of the

¹ Above, Vol. XI, Plate facing page 116, and Vol. XXXI, Plate between pp. 302 and 303.

² Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 105, for remarks on this aspect.

³ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1295, 1297, 1306, and above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 299 ff., and Plate.

⁴ Three records are dated in the year 206 (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1293 and 1294 and above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 299 ff., and Plate) and four records including the present one are dated in the year 207 (cf. *Journ. Or. Inst.* Vol. XII, p. 52).

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 299 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 319 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 109-10.

⁸ Ibid., p. 81 and note 1 and p. 85; and Vol. XVII, pp. 106-07. For *contra*, see *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 109-10.

TWO MAITRAKA CHARTERS—PLATE I

A. Charter of Dhruvasēna I, Year 207

i

2	ॐ श्री ध्रुवसेनाय नमः ॥ यथा ॥ १ ॥	2
4	॥ २ ॥	4
6	॥ ३ ॥	6
8	॥ ४ ॥	8
10	॥ ५ ॥	10
12	॥ ६ ॥	12
14	॥ ७ ॥	14

ii

16	॥ ८ ॥	16
18	॥ ९ ॥	18
20	॥ १० ॥	20
22	॥ ११ ॥	22
24	॥ १२ ॥	24
26	॥ १३ ॥	26
28	॥ १४ ॥	28

Scale : One-half

above-mentioned records lay. That Akshasaraka of our record was a sub-division is indicated by the expression °*maṇḍalī* in the place of °*prāpa* or °*prāvēśya*. The identification of this sub-division as also that of **Amkōṭṭaka** is, however, not certain.

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 ¹Siddham² [| *] **Valabhītaḥ** prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakānā(nā)m-atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍa-
- 2 l-ābhōga-samsakta-saṃprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānu-
- 3 rāgō=nurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-[ā]vāpta-rājya-śriḥ(śriḥ) paramamāhēśvara-śrī-sēnāpati-
- 4 **Bhatakkas**=tasya sutas=tat-pada-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śirās=śirō-vanata-śatru-chūdā-maṇi-
- 5 prabhā-vichehhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-didhitih dīnānātha-jan-ōpajivyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhē-
- 6 śvaras=sēnāpati-**Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pāda-praṇāma-prasasta-vimala-mauli-maṇir-Mmanva(nv-ā)di-
- 7 praṇīta-vidhi-vidha(dhā)na-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihita-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatiri-(r-a)khila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ā-
- 8 bhōga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam=upahibha(ta)-rājy-ābhishēka-mahā-visrāṇan-[ā]vapūta-rājya-śriḥ
- 9 paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-**Drōṇasimhas**=si[m]ha iva tasy=ānujas=sva-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-ā-
- 10 nīkānām=ēka-vijayī śaraṇ-aishinā[m] śaraṇam-avabōddhā gā(śā)str-ārttha-tattvānā[m*] Kalpatarur=iva suhra(hṛi)-
- 11 t-praṇayinām yath-ābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadah paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhātta-(ttā)raka-pād-ānudhyātō
- 12 mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** ku[śa]lī sarvvān=ēva svāna(n=ā)yuktaka-dhi(vi)niyuktaka-chāta-bhāta-drāṅgika-mahattā(tta)[ra*]-dhruva(v-ā)-
- 13 dhikarāṇika-dāṇḍapāsik-ādīn=anyāmś=cha yathā-saṃbaddhyamānakān=anudarśayā(ya)-ty=astu vō viditām yath[ā]
- 14 **Hastavaprāharanyām Akshasaraka-maṇḍalyā** aparadakshīṇa-simni Dāmaka-Chakrika-

Second Plate

- 15 Mātāṅgaka-pratyaya-kshētram pādāvartta-śatām dvādaśa-pādāvartta-parisarā cha vāpī
- 16 śtat-sa-bhūta-vāta-prā(pra)tyāyam s-ōparikaram **Amkōṭṭaka**-vāstavya-Brāhmaṇa-Mahilaka-Viśvaka-

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.

- 17 Vādra-Brāhmaṇebhyaḥ Bhāradvāja-sagotrēbhyaḥ Vāji(ja)sanōya-sabrahmachāribhyō mayā mātā-
- 18 pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aiḥik-āmushmika-yath-ābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam =ā-chandr-ā-
- 19 rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sthiti-sama-kālīnam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-ā-
- 20 dyānām kriyāṇām samutsarppaṇ-ārttham=uda[k-ā]tisarggēṇa brahmadāyō niṣṛiṣṭaḥ yata ēshām
- 21 uchitayā brahmadāya-sthityā bhūmja(ñja)tām kra(kṛi)shatām karshayatām pradīsatām-ścha(cha) na kēnachit
- 22 pratishēdha-paripanthanā kāryy=āsmad-vaiśajair-āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāny=asthira[m]
- 23 mānushyam sāmānyam cha bhūmi-da(dā)na-phalam-avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō= numantavyaḥ [| *] yaś-cha(ch=ā)chchhindyā-
- 24 d=āchchhidiyama(mā)nam v=ānumōdō[ta*] sa pañcha(pañcha)bhir=mmahāpātakais=s-ōpapātakais=samnyuktas=syād=api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītā-
- 25 [ś*]=śiōkā bhavanti [| *] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [| *] āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasōt¹ [| | 1*]²
- 26 Bahubhir=vvasudha(dhā) bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [| | 2*]²
- 27 Vinddhyā(ndhy-ā)ṭavi(vi)sv(shv)=atōyāsu śushka-kōtara-vāsinah [| *] kṛiṣṇ-āhayō hi jāyantē brahmadāya[m] haranti yē [| | 3*]²
- 28 Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [| *] Dūtakah Pratihāra³ Mammakah [| *] Likhitam Kikkakēna [| *] Sam 200 7 Kārttika
- 29 śu 3 [| *]

B. Charter of Dharasēna II, Year 252

This charter consists of a set of two copper-plates each measuring 29 cm by 22 cm. The plates have each a couple of ring-holes each about 1.5 cm in diameter. The holes are at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second plate. Through these holes passed two rings by which the plates were held together. Only one of the rings is now preserved. The plates are preserved fairly intact and they contain writing only on their inner sides. There are altogether 35 lines of writing, the first plate containing 16 lines and the second plate 19 lines. The engraving is obviously shallow and the letters are not bold. Consequently good impressions of the writing are difficult to secure. The weight of the plates and the ring has not been recorded.

The characters of the inscription are the western variety of Southern alphabet and are similar especially to those of the Pāliṭānā plates⁴ of Śilāditya I Dharmāditya, dated in the year 286, with the tops of letters scooped out in neat squares. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is partly in prose and partly in verse. The orthographical features of this record are similar to those of the other records of this family.

¹ The two *aksharas* *sē* and *t* are engraved below the line, one below the other.

² Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ An *ā-mātrā* seems to be attached to the letter *ra*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, Plate facing p. 116.

The date of the record is given in line 35 as **Sarṁvat 252, Vaiśākha ba. 15**, the year and the *tithi* being expressed by numerical symbols. The year when referred to the Gupta era would correspond to **571-72 A.D.** It may be mentioned here that about half a dozen charters of this king are known to have been issued on this very date¹ but the significance of the choice of this date is not known.

The inscription issued from **Valabhi** refers itself to the reign of **Mahārāja Dharasēna II**, described as *Paramamāhēśvara*. As in some other charters² bearing the same date, the king is styled as **Mahārāja** only, while in other records³ he is styled as *Sāmanta* or *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja*.

The introductory part of the text of this charter is the same as that of the other records of this king, as for instance, the Mōṭā Māchīālā plates.⁴ It (lines 1-21) contains the genealogy of the king who is stated to be the son of **Mahārāja Guhasēna**, the younger brother of **Mahārāja Dhara- paṭṭa**, who was the younger brother of **Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I**, who in turn was the younger brother of **Mahārāja Drōṇasimha**. This Drōṇasimha is stated to be the younger brother of *Sēnāpati* Dharasēna I, who was the son of *Sēnāpati* Bhatārka. Lines 21-22 contain the king's order addressed to the officials like *Ayuktaka*, *Viniyuktaka*, *Drāṅgika*, *Mahattara*, *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa*, *Dhruvādhikaranika*, *Dāṇḍapāsika* *Rājasthāniya* and *Kumārāmātya*. Lines 22-26 refer to the contents of the order, viz. the gift, made by the king, of land in some villages, for the spiritual merit of his parents and for the realisation of his desires both in this world and in the other world. The first plot, 90 *pādāvarttas* in extent, is stated to be situated to the north of a piece of land called *Piṭikākshētraṁ* in the centre of the eastern boundary of **Bhaṇḍavāṭaka-grāma**. It is also stated that this plot was given along with *Bilamana*, the meaning of which is not clear. The next plot of land, 40 *pādāvarttas* in extent, situated to the south of the above-mentioned plot, is stated to have been enjoyed by a certain Saṅgama. The third plot of land of which the extent is not given is stated to be situated to the north of the village **Chachcharaka** in **Maḍasa-rasthali** and to have been enjoyed by two persons named Ka[dh]ika and Kambhāra. A tank in the *Pāṭahaka*, probably in the above-mentioned village, besides a well, perhaps of the extent of 12 *pādāvarttas*, situated to the south of the same village was also granted. The fourth plot of land which was situated on the eastern boundary of the same village is stated to be of the extent of 14 *pādāvarttas*. The fifth plot of land of the extent of 30 *pādāvarttas* is stated to be in the village **Bhārivikaṇḍa-padraka**. Lines 26-28 state that these plots of land in the three villages (*tribhis=sthānaiḥ*) were donated along with the rights such as *udraṅgam*, *uparikaram*, *vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiranyādēyam* and *utpadyamānavishtikam* and privileges like *samasta-rājakiyānām-a-hastaprakshē-paniyam* and according to the *bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāya*, to the Brāhmaṇa Puvanāga who belonged to Kausika-gōtra and who was a student of the Maitrāyaṇiya school. The parentage of this donee is not given here. His native place or his place of residence is also not mentioned. The gift is stated to have been made, in line 28, to enable the donee to perform *balī*, *charu*, *vaiśvadēva*, *agni-hōtra* and *atithi-pañcha-mahāyajña*, and in lines 28-29, it is stated that the gift was a *brahmadēya* and it should last till eternity and was for the enjoyment of the donee and his descendants. Lines 29-34, in prose and verse, contain the usual imprecatory passages. The writer of the record was *sāndhivigrahika* Skandabhāṭa (line 34) and the *dātaka* was Chibbira (line 35),

¹ K. J. Virji, *Ancient History of Saurashtra*, pp. 262-63, Nos. 21-26.

² Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1318-22.

³ Ibid., Nos. 1317, 1323, 1326, etc.

Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 301 ff., text lines 1-18.

both of whom are known from other records of the same king. Line 35 contains the statement “(this is) my own hand, of *Mahārāja* Dharasēna”, as well as the date 252, Vaiśākha ba. 15, of which the year and the *tithi* are expressed by numerical symbols.

Of the **geographical** names, **Valabhī** is already known. **Maḍasarasthālī** is the same as Maḍasarasthālī occurring in the Jesar plates¹ of the time of Śilāditya III and Maḍasaras mentioned in a record of Dharasēna II's time.² The identification of **Chachcharaka-grāma** is not certain although it is not unlikely that it is the same as the village granted to the Brāhmaṇa Chhachchhara in the Jhar plates³ of the time of Dharasēna II and which probably got the name after that donee. The other places namely **Bhaṇḍavātaka-grāma** and **Bhārivikaṇḍa-padraka** are known from this record only and their identification is not certain.

TEXT⁴*First Plate*

- 1 ⁵Svasti [| *] **Valabhīta**[h] prasabha-prana(ṇa)t-āmitra(trā)ṇā[m] Maitraka(kā)ṇām=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍalābhōga-sa[m]sakta-sata-labdha-pratāpa[h*]
- 2 pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjapō(v-ō)pārjjit-ānurāgō=nurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śrīh paramamāhēśvara-
- 3 śrī-sēnāpati-**Bhatārkkah** tasya sutas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitri(trī)krīta-śīrāh śūc-vanata-śatru-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-
- 4 viçchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-dīdhitir=ddīn-ānātha-kṛipāṇa-jāṇa(n-ō)pajivyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-**Dhara-**
- 5 **sēnas**=tasy-ānujatsa(s=ta)t-pād-ābhi-praṇāma-prasasta-tara-vimala-maulir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna⁶-dharmā Dharmmarāja
- 6 iva vihita-vinaya-vya[va*]sthā-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōg-aika-svāminā paramasvāminā svayā(ya)m=upahita-rājy-ābhishē-
- 7 kō mahā-viśrāṇan-āvāpta-rāja-śrī(śrī)h paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-**Drōnasīmha**[h*] sīmha iva tasy-ānujaḥ sva-bhuja-bala-
- 8 parākramēṇa para-gaja-ghat-ānikānām-ēka-vijayī śaraṇ-aishīnām śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstrī-ārtha-tat[t*]vānām Kalpatari(ru)r=iva
- 9 suhṛit-pranayinā[m] yath-ābhilashita-phala-bhōgadah paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnas**=tasy-ānuja-
- 10 [s*]=tach-charaṇ-āravinda-pranati-pravidhauta(t-ā)śēsha-kalmashaḥ su-viśuddhas=sva-charit-ōdaka-kshālita-[sa*]kala-kali-kalaṅka[h*]

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 114 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 302-03, text lines 23-24.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 187.

⁴ From impressions.

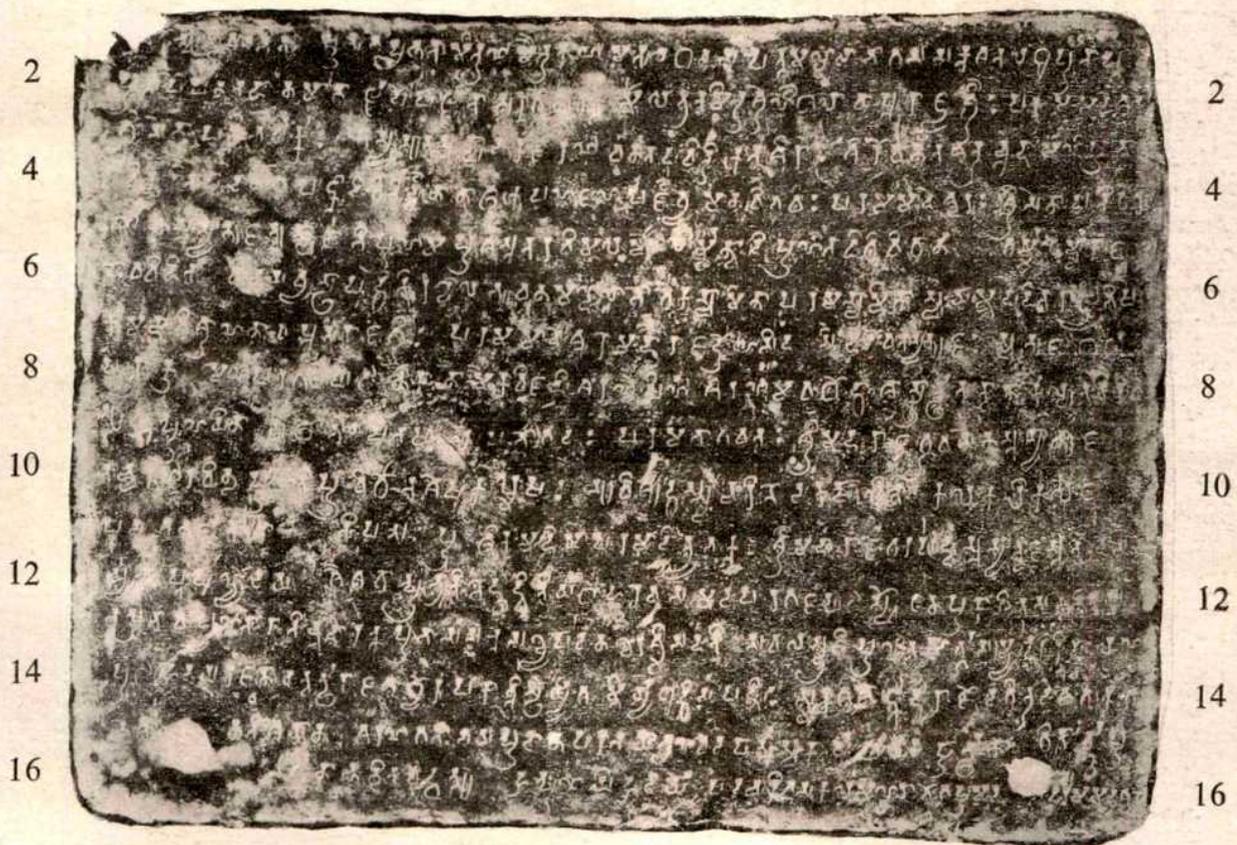
⁵ A bit of the plate from this place has been broken and is missing. It is, therefore, not certain whether it contained the symbol for *Siddham* which is usually found in the charters of this dynasty.

⁶ Space that could accommodate two *aksharas* is left blank between *na* and *dha*, as the engraver seems to have thought that the sign for the subscript *r* of *śrī* of the previous line was a hindrance to engraving *dharmma* here. The engraver, moreover, seems to have been obsessed with this idea, in the rest of the plate also.

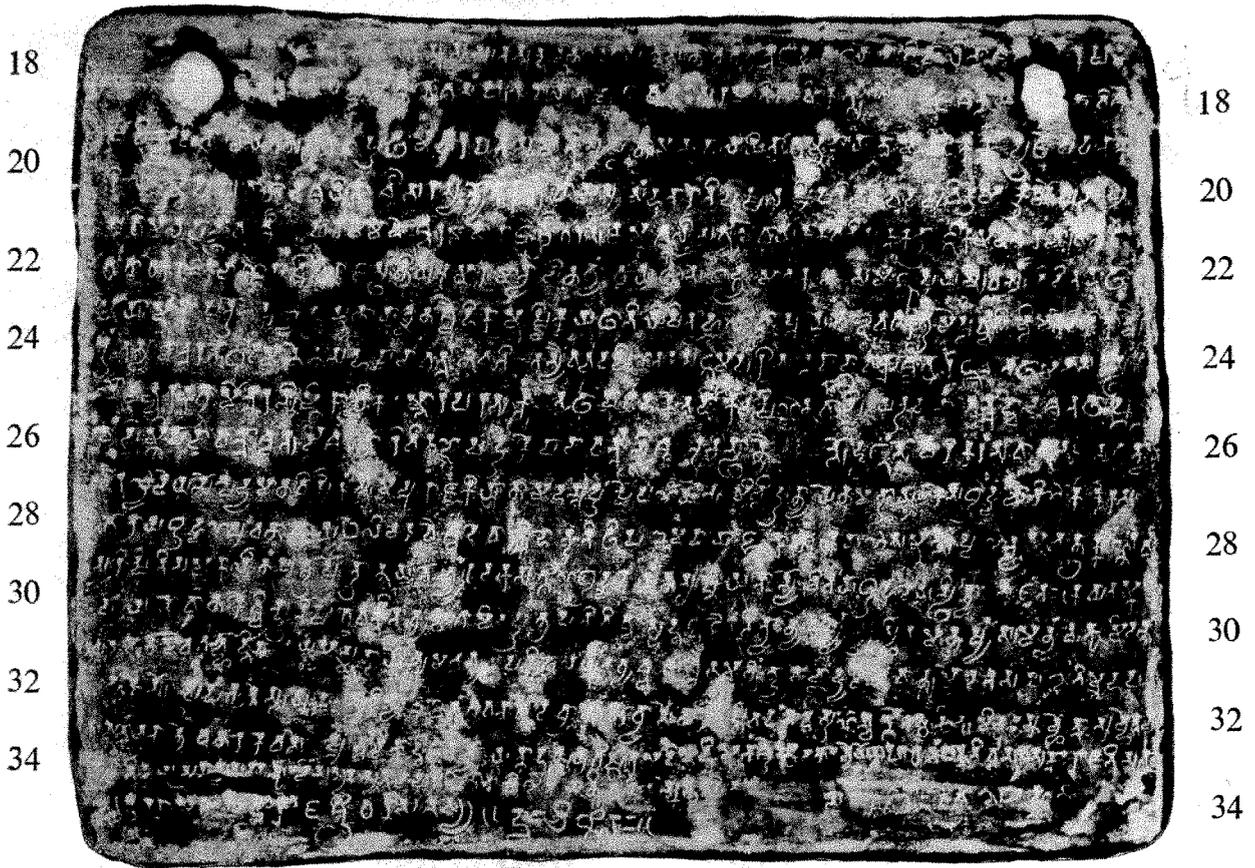
TWO MAITRAKA CHARTERS—PLATE II

B. Charter of Dharasēna II, Year 252

i



ii



Scale : One-half

- 11 prasabha-na(ni)rjjit-ārāti-pakshaḥ prathita-mahimā param-āditya-bhaktaḥ śrī-mahārāja-
Dharapattas=tasya(sy-ā)nujas=tat-pāda-sapa-
- 12 ryy-āvāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[h*] śaiśavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvītīya-bāhur=ēva sa-mada-para-
gaja-ghat-āsphōṭana-prakāśita-sat[t*]va-nikasha[s*]=
- 13 tat-prabhāva-pranāt-ārāti-chūdā-rakta-prabhā-samsakta-savyē(vya)pāda-nakha-raśmi-sa[m*]-
hati[h*] sava(ka)la-smṛiti-pranīta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana(na)-
- 14 prajā-hṛidaya-ramja(rajā)nād=anvarttha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-ga(gā)mbhīryya-
buddhi-sampadbhiḥ Smara-Śasānk-ādirāj-ōdadhi-Tri(Tri)dasaguru-Dha-
- 15 nēsān=atīśayāna[h*] śaraṇāgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā trīṇavad=apāsta-sva-kāryya-
phalah prārthan-ādihik-ārtha-pra-
- 16 dān-ānandita-vidvat-suhrit-prānāyi-hṛidayō pāda-chāri(=i)va sākala-maṇḍal-ābhōgā-prama-
(mō)dā[h*] paramama(mā)hēsvara[h*]

Second Plate

- 17 śrī-mahārāja-Guhasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pādā-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-nirvṛittā-Jāhnavi-
jal-aughā-vikshālit-āsōsha-kalmashah
- 18 pranāyi-sata-sahasr-ōpājīvyā-bhōga-sampad-rūpa-lōbbhād-iv=āsri(śrī)taḥ sara[sa*]ma(m-ā)-
bhigāmikair-gguṇais=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśē-
- 19 sha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddharah prathama-narapati-samatisriṣṭhānām=anupālayitā
dharma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kā-
- 20 riṇām=upaplavānām darśayitā Śrī-Sarasya(sva)tyōr=ēkādhivāsasya samhat-ārāti-paksha-
lakshmi-parikshōbha-daksha-vikramah kram-ōpasampra(pīā)-
- 21 pta-vimāla-pārtthiva-śrī[h*] pā(pa)ramamāhēsvara-mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēnah=kuśali sarv-
vāmē(n=ē)v=āyuktāka-viniyuktāka-drāṅgika-mahattara-chāta-bhāta-
- 22 dhruvādha(dhi)karaṇika-dāṇḍapāśi[ka]-rājastha(sthā)ni(ni)ya-kumaramāty-ādīn=anyāmś=cha
yathā-sa[m]badhyamānaka(kā)n samajñāpayassa¹ vas=samviditam yathā
- 23 mayā mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanas=ch=aihiḥ-āmushmika-yath-ābhilashita-phal-
āvāptayē Bhaṇḍava(vā)taka-gra(grā)mē pūrva-sīmni madhyē Piṭikā-kshē-
- 24 tram tasya ch=ōttaratō Bīṭamanēna saha pādāvarttā navati² tasy=aiva cha dakshinataḥ
Sāngama-paribhukta-pādāvarttās=chatvāriṇśa(riṇśa)t=tathā Maḍasarastha-
- 25 li-Chachcharaka-grām-ōttara-sīmni Kā[dhī]ka-Kāmbhāra-para(ri)bhuktaṁ tathā
Pāṭahakē tadākaṁ dakshinēna vāpī yatra pa(pā)dāvarttā dvādaśa tathā pū-
- 26 rva-si(sī)mni pādāvarttās=chaturdaśa Bhārivikaṇḍa-padrakē pādāvarttās=tri[m*]śa[t ||*]
tri(tri)bhi(bhis)=sthānaiḥ s-ōdraṅgam s-ōparikaram sa-vā[ta]-bhūta-dhānya-
- 27 hiraṇy-ādēyam s-ōtpadyamāna-viśṭīkam samasta-rājakīyānām=a-hasta-prakshēpaṇīyam
bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna Maitrāyani(ni)ka-sabri(bra)hmachāriṇē Kauśika-sa-

¹ Read sam=ājñāpayaty=astu.² There is a hyphen-like stroke after this, and it may be taken to indicate the *visarga*, required by the word *navatiḥ*.

- 28 gōtrāya Bra(Brā)hmaṇa-Puvanāgāya bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-ānti(gni)hōtra(tr-ā)tithi-pañcha-
mahāyājñakānām kra(kri)yānā[m*] samutsarppaṇ-ārtthama(m-ā)-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-
- 29 sari[t*]-kshiti-sama-kālinām putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōgyam udaka-sarggēṇa brahmadēyam
na(ni)sriṣṭam yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhūmjataḥ kṛishataḥ=ka-
- 30 rshayatō vā na kaiśhit=pratishēdhē varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatihis=ch=āsmad-
vaśsa(vaśsa)jair=anityāny=aiśvaryānya(ṇy=a)sthira[m*] mānushyam [sā]ma(mā)nyam
cha bhūmi-da(dā)na-
- 31 phala-dāna¹mavagāchchadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyas=cha
yas=ch=ainama(m-ā)chchihimtyā(chchhindyā)d=āchchidyamāna[m] v=ānumōdēta sa pañ-
chabhi[r*]=mmahāpā-
- 32 takais=s-ōpapātakais=sam[m*]yuktaḥ syō(syā)d=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēda-Vyāsēna
Vyāsēna² [| *] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah [| *] āchchēttā
āchchēttā² ch=ā-
- 33 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasētpū(t [||1*]³ Pū)rvva-dattā[m*] dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha
Yudhisṭh[i*]ra [| *] mahīm mahi(hī)matām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(nam)
[||2*]² Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rajabhis=Sa[ga*]r-ā-
- 34 dibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam=iti (lam [||3*]³ iti)
|| Likhita(m) Sandhivahika⁴ Skandabhāṭṇa ||
- 35 Sva-hastō mama mahārāja-śrī-Dharasēnasya || Dū Chibbirah || Sarṁ 200 50 2 Vaiśākha ba
10 5 [||*]

¹ The letters *dāna* here are redundant. Read *phalam=ā*.

² This word is redundant.

³ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ Read *Sādhivāhika*.

No. 32—CHINTAKAMANTA GRANT OF SOMESA

(2 Plates)

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(Received on 17.12.1965)

In the year 1962, Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, secured facsimile impressions of a number of copper-plate grants¹ which were lying in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. These along with similar impressions of a number of stone inscriptions are said to have belonged to the collection of Sir Walter Elliot. In his introduction to the *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts of the Bombay Presidency*, the late Dr. Fleet has remarked thus : " The first systematic collection of copies of these inscriptions was made by Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., who, when in Madras Civil Service, was employed for a long time in the Kanarese districts. Besides a large number of facsimile impressions of copper-plate grants, he compiled manuscript copies of no less than five hundred and ninetyfive stone-tablet inscriptions from the Kanarese country alone and in the Sanskrit and Kanarese languages, in addition to a large number of others from the Telugu country and in the Telugu language. The results of his labour were published in his paper on *Hindu Inscriptions*, which appeared first in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, First Series, Volume IV, p. 1 ff., and was afterwards reprinted, with corrections and additions, in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, Vol. VII, p. 193 ff. One copy of his collection of inscriptions from the Kanarese Country in two volumes entitled *Carnāṭaka-Dēśa Inscriptions*, was presented to the library of the Edinburgh University ; and another copy of it was given to the Royal Asiatic Society, London. And his collection of original copper-plate charters was presented, on his death, to the British Museum". The original plates of the record edited below must, therefore, be in the British Museum.

The set, to judge from the impressions, consists of **six plates**, each measuring 13·8 cm long and 9·7 cm wide with ring holes of 1·5 cm diameter cut on the left margins of the plates. An examination of the impressions shows that the holes must have been cut after the record was engraved. In doing so some letters of the writing around the ring holes got damaged.² It may be noted that the holes for which space was provided are not all of a uniform size. It is not impossible that some letters as in text lines 13-15 might have got damaged due to corrosion also. The edges of the plates also have been raised all round and flattened to a uniform width of 0·8 of a centimetre. The first five plates are numbered consecutively 1, 2, 3 and so on, the numbers being engraved in Tamil numerals on the inner face of each plate on the flattened edge just to the left of the ring-hole ; we do not know if the last plate, viz., the 6th, is numbered on its outer face but the engraver has made use of the surface of the flattened edge at the bottom of the inner face to engrave the last few words of the imprecatory verse at the end of the record. The first and the last plates are engraved only on their inner faces. Each face of the plate contains on the average 9 or 10 lines of writing except the last one which has 12 lines and the entire text runs to 97 lines.

The charter which belongs to the **chief of Kalukadapura** is composed in Sanskrit and Tamil languages and engraved in the Grantha script assignable palaeographically to the 13th century. While the stone inscriptions of this family found in the Cuddapah and parts of the Anantapur Districts contain an admixture of Grantha and Tamil, this copper-plate charter, **the only one known so far of this family**, uses the Grantha script throughout, even for the portion of the text which is in Tamil. In doing so, the scribe of the record has here and there used the Tamil *k* (°āga, line 55, *bhattarke* line 64, etc.). The use of the Tamil *ā* (line 66), *ra*

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, Nos. A 8-42. No. 31 is edited here with the permission of the Government Epigraphist.

² See text lines 4-7, 43 and 53.

(lines 49, 50, etc.), *la* (lines 63, etc.), *la* (lines 46, 49, 59, etc.) and the dot (*pulli*, lines 34, 62, 74, etc.), may also be noted. The last, i.e. the *pulli* has assumed the form of a vertical stroke in the word *nāl* (line 23). The transliteration of the word *tannudaiya* in line 46, in Grantha, follows the form of pronunciation and not the written form of the word.¹ In all other cases the written form is transliterated as for example in *vinōdamāka* (lines 36), *kuṭutta* (line 49), etc. The use of *anusvāra* in place of the class nasal in *mahājanamgaḷukku* (line 65), *Tiruvaramga* (line 65), etc., may be noted. The use of horizontal and vertical strokes to represent one-sixteenth and one-fourth respectively may be noted in lines 70-74 and lines 75-77. This is the only known Tamil inscription in the Telugu area which is written in Grantha characters.

The charter opens with an invocation to god Vishṇu in his incarnation as the primeval boar and gives, in seven verses, the genealogy of the ruling chief *Sōmēśa*. It then records in prose the date, viz., *Virōdhi*, *Makara-saṅkramaṇa*, *Ēkādaśi*, *Friday*. The details correspond to 1289 A.D., December 23, f.d.t. 46. But the *saṅkramaṇa* occurred on the following Monday. The charter then proceeds with the *praśasti* of *Kaṇḍa*(*Gaṇḍa*)*dēva-mahārāja* who is said to have been ruling from *Āṇḍappūr*. Here it introduces the donor *Allu-Gaṅga-Chōḷa-mahārāja* of the Solar race with a string of epithets, and records the grant of the village *Chintakāmanta*, renamed as *Rāyarpuram* after his maternal uncle (*ammāmaṇ*) *Rāyidēva-mahārāja*. The village was granted to *Perumāḷ Sōmayājiyār* of *Kōmapuram* who, in turn, divided the grant into 36 shares and distributed it among several *brāhmaṇas*. The record here enumerates the endowments that were already in existence as *dēvadāna* and *brahmapuri* lands and which were, therefore, excluded from the present grant, and ends with the verse *Svadattām*, etc.

The genealogy of the reigning chief *Sōmēśa* with which the record commences may now be examined. It is given in the following order: Vishṇu, *Sōma* (Moon); from him, many kings; in this family *Bhuvanādhipa*; in his family, *Āhavamalla*; his son *Gaṅga* whose son was *Sōmidēva*; his son was *Gaṅga*; his son *Rāyidēva* whose sons were *Gaṅga*, *Kēsava*, *Sōmēśa* and *Siddha*. Of these four, *Sōmēśa* was the ruler under whose authority the present grant was made. The *Tāḍpatri* inscription of *Udayāditya* dated Śaka 1120^o gives a genealogy of this family as follows: *Attirāja*; *Āhavamalla* and his queen *Bāgaladēvi*; their son *Kali Gaṅga* and his queen *Bettāmahādēvi*; their son *Sōmidēva* and his queen *Kaṅchaladēvi* and their son *Udayāditya*. The identity of *Āhavamalla*, *Gaṅga* and *Sōmidēva* of the *Tāḍpatri* inscription with their namesakes of the present charter is obvious. The *Tāḍpatri* inscription supplies us with two additional names in this genealogy, viz., *Attirāja*, the father of *Āhavamalla* who is the earliest historical member mentioned in our charter, and *Udayāditya*, son of *Sōmidēva*. *Sōmidēva* thus had two sons, *Udayāditya* and *Gaṅga*. Another member of this family earlier than *Āhavamalla* was *Malla-mahārāja* of the two *Ālampūr* inscriptions which furnish dates in *Chālukya-Vikrama* years 2 and 4 with details which correspond to 1078 and 1080 A.D. respectively.³ The relationship between *Malla* and *Attirāja* is, however, not known.

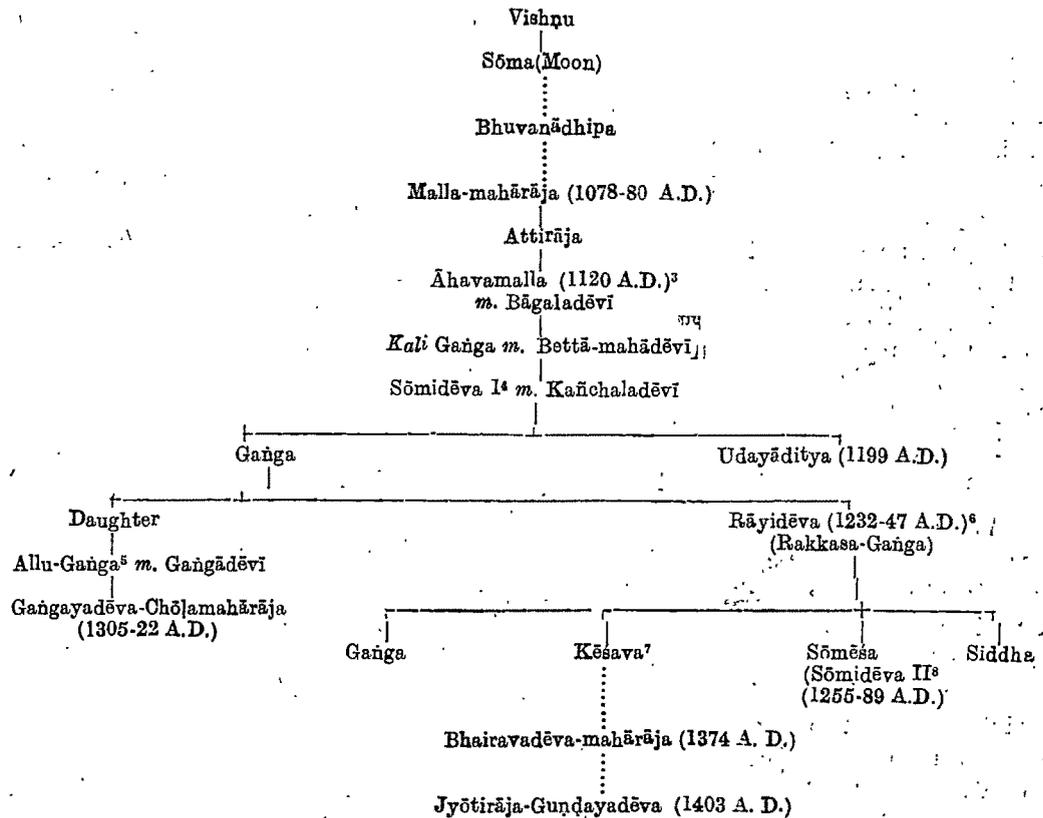
¹ In transliterating the text in Roman script we have adopted this principle throughout.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 116 ff. The details of date, viz., *Kālayukti*, *Māgha* ba. 15, Thursday, solar eclipse have been equated to 1199 A.D., January 29. The impression and the published text (*SI*, Vol. IV, No. 798) give the date wrongly as Śaka 1130. While citing this record in his article on the *Māchupalli* inscription of *Sōmidēva-mahārāja*, M. Venkataramayya has duly corrected this date and discussed at length the genealogy of this family.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, Nos. B 119-20. No. B. 119 is dated *Chālukya-Vikrama* 2, *Kālayukta*, *Pushya* ba. 3 Monday, *Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti* corresponding to 1078 A.D., December 24. The published text of this record in the *Telingāna Inscriptions*, pp. 126-27 gives the date wrongly as year 26 on the basis of which this *Malla-mahārāja* has been identified with *Āhavamalla* (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 116). No. B 120 furnishes the date *Raudra*, *Pushya* amāvāsya, solar eclipse which corresponds to 1080 A.D., November 14. The *Taṅgaṭūru* inscription of *Āhavamalla* (*Local Records*, Vol. IX, p. 260) gives him the date Śaka 1073 (1152 A.D.) according to Venkataramayya. If *Malla* is to be identified with *Āhavamalla*, the interval between his earliest date 1078 A.D. and the latest, 1152 A.D., would be too long which is very unlikely. Hence the reason for considering *Malla* as an earlier member of the family and predecessor of *Attirāja*.

It is not improbable that the former was the grand-father of Āhavamalla. A later member of this family, Bhairavadēva-mahārāja is also known to us from an inscription¹ at Pulivendla, Cuddapah District. This bears the date Śaka 1296, Ānanda, Kārtika śu. 1, Saturday, which corresponds to 1374 A.D., October 7. The relationship of this chief to the other members of the family is also uncertain. A still later member probably of this family is Jyōtirāja Guṇḍayadēva of a record² from Sōmireḍḍipalle, Cuddapah District, dated in the year Svabhānu, Śrāvana śu. 15, Firday, lunar eclipse. The record is assignable palaeographically to the 14th-15th century and the details of the date correspond to 1403 A.D., August 3.

The genealogy discussed above may be summarised thus :



¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. 143.

² *Ibid.*, 1941-42, No. 48.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 577. On an examination of the impression it is found that the cyclic year Śārvari in the Chālukya-Vikrama-kāla is quoted. This Śārvari could be equated only to 1120 A.D. The Taṅgaṭūru inscription of this chief (*Rangacharya's List*, I, Cd. 580; *Local Records*, Vol. IX, p. 260) gives the date as quoted by Venkataramayya (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 116), Śaka 1073 (contra, Rangacharya's *List* Ś. 1013), Prajōtpatti, Māgha śu. 15, Thursday equated to 1152 A.D., January 24. See note 3, supra p. 176.

⁴ An inscription from Hojal, Bellary District, (*A. R. Ep.*, 1914, No. 479) dated in the 12th year in the reign of Jagadēkamalla II (Śukla, Vaiśākha śu. 15, Monday = 1149 A.D., April 25) refers to one Sōmidēvarasa as ruling the 12 villages. It is not known if this chief is identical with Sōmidēva I.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1911, No. 446; *SII.*, Vol. X, No. 312.

⁶ The relationship of this Telugu-Chōḍa chief with the Kalukaḍa chiefs is discussed in the sequel.

⁷ This chief is also called Murāri-Kēsava in *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 319.

⁸ Sōmidēva referred to in the Guṇḍūru inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 622) dated Śaka 1206, Tārana is probably identical with this chief.

It has been pointed out that the Kalukaḍa chiefs adopted the *praśasti* commencing with the words *anēkasamara-saṅghaṭṭan-ōpalabdha*, etc. of the Vaidumbas and bore their characteristic titles *Trailōkyamalla*, *Bhujabalavīranārāyaṇa*, *Audumbarābharāṇa* (*Vaidumbābharāṇa*), *Kalukaḍa-puravarādhisvara*, *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēsari*, *aṣṭamahāsiddhi-Siddhavaṭadēva-dīvyāśrīpādapadmārādika* etc.¹ It is noteworthy that these epithets are conspicuously absent for Sōmidēva, the ruling chief of the charter under discussion. On the other hand they are all applied to Gaṇḍadēva-mahārāja who is stated to be ruling from Āṇḍappūr. An additional detail that this record furnishes about Gaṇḍadēva is that he belonged to the Ātrēya-gōtra. The last or the latēst among the Vaidumba chiefs known to us hitherto was Bhīma-mahārāja of the Pālagiri inscription² of Śaka 978 (1056 A.D.). Between him and Gaṇḍadēva of our charter there is a long gap of about two centuries. During this period we hear of a Vaidumba-mahārājan Tīḍalīsan who figures as a donor in an inscription³ from Kalakaḍa, Chittoor District, dated in the 49th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I (1118-19 A.D.). Another chief who calls himself simply Vaidumbarāyan without any epithets or titles attached to him figures in an inscription⁴ of Rājādhirāja II from Chidambaram dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king (1165 or 1167 A.D.). The political condition in this area at the period of our charter was such that the Kalukaḍa chiefs were confronted by the powerful Kāyastha chief Ambadēva. The presence of the Pāṇḍyas also in this region at this juncture as revealed by a number of inscriptions at Nandalūr and its neighbourhood⁵ leads us to surmise that they were there to oppose Ambadēva.⁶ It is also likely that they found it expedient at this juncture to reinstate Kaṇḍa or Gaṇḍadēva-mahārāja, a scion of the Vaidumba family to gain their ends. The proximity of the date of this charter (1289 A.D., December 23) to that of an inscription at Nandalūr⁷ dated in the 15th regnal year of Jaṭavarman Sundarapāṇḍya (Virōdhi=1290 A.D., February 20) and the nearness of Āṇḍappūr (which may be identified with Āḍupūru in the Rajampet Taluk across the boundary of Nandalūr and within three miles of it) to Nandalūr lend support to the above surmise.

As for the donor of the village, Allu-Gaṅga, he is described with a string of epithets such as *Nandagirisūryavamśēsvara*, *Chōḍavamśa-pradīpa*, *Pāmiḍipuravarādhisvara*, *Bhōganāthadēvadīvyāśrī-pādapadmārādika*, etc. He is no doubt identical with Allu-Gaṅga, the adversary of Kāyastha Ambadēva who claims to have vanquished him along with Kēsava and Sōmēsa in his Tripurāntakam inscription⁸ of Śaka 1212 (1290 A.D.). The relationship of Allu-Gaṅga with Kēsava and Sōmēsa which is undefined in the Tripurāntakam record is revealed for the first time in the charter under study. He is said to have granted the *agarahāra* Chintakāmanṭa renaming it as Rāyarapuram after his maternal uncle (*ammāman*) Rāyidēva. This establishes that Rāyidēva's sister was Allu-Gaṅga's mother.⁹ The present charter, it may be pointed out, is the only record in which

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 116 ff.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 323.

³ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 284-87.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 263.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1907, Nos. 590-93, 614; 1911, No. 425.

⁶ The title *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēsari* borne by the Kalukaḍa chiefs and here by the Vaidumba leads us to surmise that they were not friendly to the Pāṇḍyas. In his account of the events of this period Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has stated that the Kalukaḍa chiefs sought the help of the Pāṇḍyas about this time (*The Early History of Dekkan*, pp. 631-32).

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 590; above, Vol. X, p. 142.

⁸ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 465.

⁹ *Bhārati*, Vol. XV, part I, p. 147 ff. It has been suggested here that Allu-Gaṅga was the son-in-law of Rāyidēva himself. It is not improbable that he was both the nephew and son-in-law of Rāyidēva.

Allu-Gaṅga himself figures while he is referred to in the Tāllāproddaṭūru inscription only as the father of Gaṅgayadēva, son of Gaṅgādēvi.¹

The Tāllāproddaṭūru inscription (Śaka 1244=1322 A.D.) referred to above ascribes the achievement of capturing the entire wealth of Gaṅḍapendāra Gaṅgayasāhiṇi (*Gaṅḍapendāra-Gaṅgaya-sāhiṇi-sarvasvabandikāra*) to this Gaṅgayadēva, the son of Allu-Gaṅga. An inscription² from Peddapolamaḍa, Anantapur District, furnishes an earlier date, Śaka 1227 (1305 A.D.) for Gaṅgayadēva. The latest date available for Gaṅgayasāhiṇi from inscriptions³ is Śaka 1179 (1257 A.D.), i.e. 48 years earlier than the earliest date (1305 A.D.) known for Gaṅgayadēva. It is quite possible that his father Allu-Gaṅga along with his uncle and father-in-law Rāyidēva or Rakkasa-gaṅga, fought with success the Kāyastha Gaṅgayasāhiṇi but had soon to face defeat from Ambadēva as a reprisal, for, the latter in his Tripurāntakam inscription⁴ (Śaka 1212=1290 A.D.) claims to have defeated Allu-Gaṅga along with Kēsava and Sōmidēva as has been already pointed out. Perhaps Gaṅgayadēva assisted his father in his conflict with Gaṅgayasāhiṇi as a boy.

To take up the grant proper, the village Chintakāmanta was first made over to Perumāḷ Sōmayājiyār of Haritagōtra belonging to Kōmapuram. He, in turn, divided it into 36 shares as intended by the donor (text line 55) and distributed them thus : four shares each for the five sons of Perumāḷ Sōmayājiyār, namely Viśvēśvara-Sōmayājiyār ; Vaḷḷappillān-bhaṭṭar, Tiruvaraṅgachchiriyān-bhaṭṭar ; Āṇḍapillai-chottān and Govinda-appan-bhaṭṭar. These five will share one additional *vṛitti* among themselves ; one and one-eighth⁵ share each to Balēndumauli-Upādhyāyar of Kaṇḍinya-gōtra who belonged to Gōmaṭham, ¹Periyālvān-bhaṭṭar of the same *gōtra* and belonging to Eṭṭukkūru, Yajñamūrṭi-bhaṭṭar of Kaṇva-gōtra who belonged to Chirupudūr and Venṇaikkūta-bhaṭṭar of Śaṇḍila-gōtra who belonged to Kuravaśēri ; one and a half⁶ share each to Vāmana-bhaṭṭar of Kausika-gōtra who belonged to Uviyūr ; Pillān-bhaṭṭar of Bhāradvāja-gōtra who belonged to Rāyūr and Chingapperumāḷi-bhaṭṭar of the same *gōtra* ; one share each to Peddi-bhaṭṭar of Upamanyu-Vasishṭha-gōtra, Enmarugan-Kēsavan, probably of the same *gōtra*, Rāyidēva of Atri-gōtra, *gaurava-vṛitti*,⁷ Allāpeddi of Śrīvatsa-gōtra and Komari-peddi of Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

The record then proceeds to enumerate the endowments that were already in existence as *dēvadānas* and *brahmapuris* which were obviously excluded from the above 36 *vṛittis* or shares. Their extent is specified in terms of *kulakam* of seed (*vichchupāḍu*)⁸ sowable in the respective plots. The total extent of such *vichchupāḍu* plots comes to 95 *kulakam*. The term *kulakam* is perhaps the same as *koḷaga*, a measure of capacity. The deities in respect of whom the *dēvadānas* were assigned are Kēsavapperumāḷ of Ārimaḍukkai (15 *kulakam*), Chingapperumāḷ of Chirumakūr (10), Kēsavapperu-aśi (perumāḷ) of Kalarpūr (5), Nilakaṇṭhadēvar of Taḍarūr (10), Mahādēva of Kalavūr (5) and lastly another deity (*dēvar* perhaps Mahādēvar) of this village, i.e. Chintakāmanta (5+5=10). The brāhmaṇas who were the recipients of the *brahmapuris* are Madhurāntakabhaṭṭar of Eṭṭukkūr (10), Perumāḷ-Sōmayājiyār of the same family

¹ Gaṅgādēvi of this inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1935-36, No. 308) was probably the daughter of Rāyidēva.

² *Ibid.*, 1964-65, No. B 31.

³ *Ibid.*, 1937-38, No. 233.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 465.

⁵ This is indicated by the digit one followed by two horizontal strokes.

⁶ The digit one has been omitted inadvertently in the text. The fraction half is indicated by two vertical strokes.

⁷ The meaning of this term is not clear. Could it stand for *guru-vṛitti*? If so, could it have been meant for Perumāḷ Sōmayājiyār himself?

⁸ This term probably is the local form for *vittupāḍu* or *vidappāḍu* in Tamil.

(10), Perumā Āchēhānbhattar of Rāyūr (5), Tiruvarāṅgan of the same family (5) and Varantāruvān of Rāyūr (10).

Of the geographical places mentioned in the charter, Āṇḍappūr, the capital of Gaṇḍa-dēva, has already been identified with Ādupūru in the Rajampet Taluk. A Tamil inscription¹ in Ādupūru itself also mentions this village by its early name as Āṇḍappūr. The gift village Chintakāmanta renamed Rāyarpuram² is not identifiable. Titturālaghattu, Nuruṅgal-kāṇavāy, Amataguttaigal, etc., described as boundaries are evidently topographical features rather than place names.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 3, 5 *Upēndravajrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Svasti[*] Ādyah Krōḍ-ākritir=yyushmān=Vishṇuh pu-
- 2 shnātu sarvādā. [[*] yad-damshtr-āgrē rarāj=ēyan=narttak-iva vasu-
- 3 ndharā. [[1*] Pāyād=viśva-nivāsa-bhūmīr=amalāt svāntā-
- 4 d=anantād=viḥmū Sōmā Sōmā-kul-āgrānī[h*] sva-ta-
- 5 [na]yam srishṭvā sudhā-pūritam [[*] lōkānān=timir-a-
- 6 paṇōdana-vidh[au] dakshan=niyuṅjy=ānaghām yō-
- 7 [sau]⁴ Saurir=aganya-punya-nivahō Lakshmyā sa-
- 8 ha krīdatē [[2*] Tatō babhūvur=bbahavō narēndrā vi-
- 9 khyāta-viryō(ryyā) bhuvanē(nai)kavīrah(rāh;) [| *] yēshām śi-

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 rō⁵-bhūṣhaṇa-ratna-dīpa-nunnaṇ=tamaś=satrubhir=ēty=aranyam [[3*] Ta-
- 11 ssa(t-sa)nnihitō rājā babhūva Bhuvanādhipah [[*] sannāhē
- 12 sannatīn=chakrah parā yēna parājitāh [[4*] Tasy=ānvayē
- 13 ch=Ahavamalla-nāmnā Mallāri-tulyō Bhuvanāikamallah [[*]
- 14 kalhāra-dāmnā kamaniya-vākshā babhūva bhūpas=sama-
- 15 rē Kṛitāntah [[5*] Gaṅga-kshōnī-patis=tasmād=abhūd=āmīta-

¹ A. R. Ep., 1913, No. 241.

² There is a village by name Rāyavaram on the west bank of Cheyyēru running through the Rayachoti Taluk but this does not answer to the description of the boundaries of Rāyarpuram.

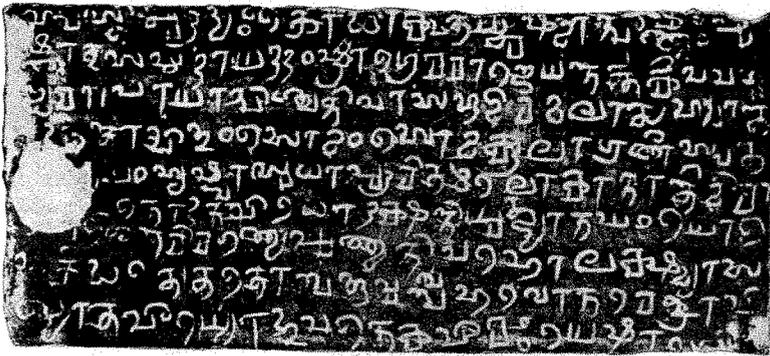
³ From impressions.

⁴ The medial ē sign of this letter is at the end of the previous line and its remaining two constituent parts have been cut off when the ring hole was made.

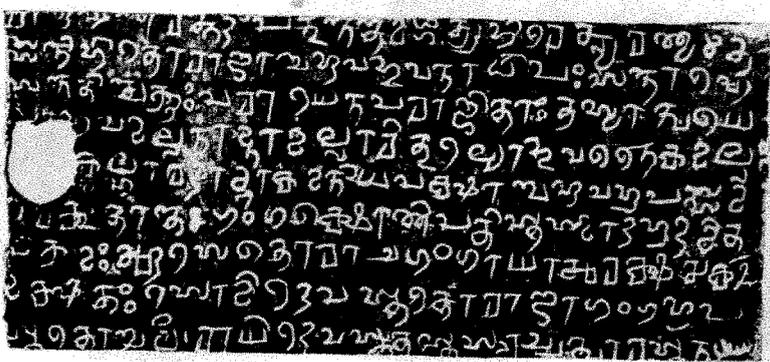
⁵ The ē sign is at the end of the 9th line.

CHINTAKAMANTA GRANT OF SOMESA—PLATE I

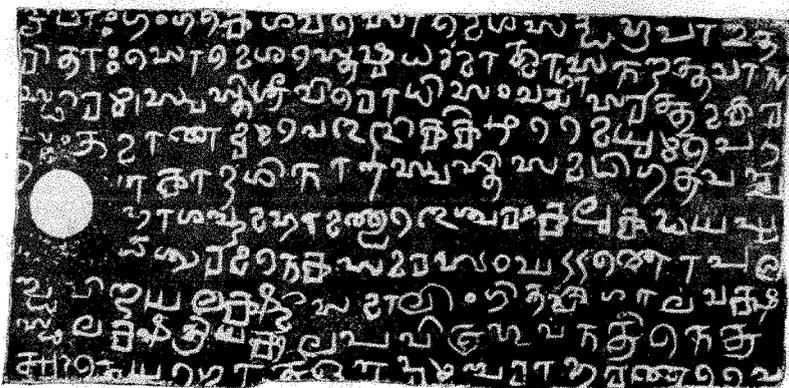
i

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8

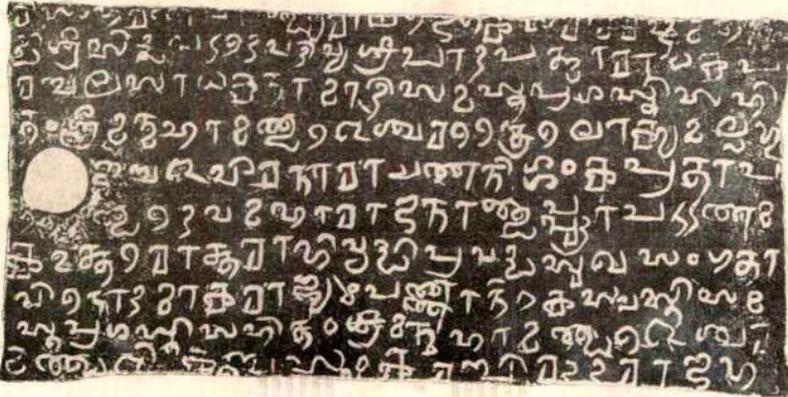
ii, a

10		10
12		12
14		14
16		16
18		18

ii, b

20		20
22		22
24		24
26		26
28		28

iii, a

30		30
32		32
34		34
36		36
38		38

iii, b

40		40
42		42
44		44
46		46
48		48

Scale : Three-fifths

- 16 vikramah [|*] ā sētōr=ā cha Gaṅgāyā arakshat kshi-
 17 [ti*]m=akshataḥ [| 6*] **Sōmidēvas**=tatō rājā **Gaṅga**-bhūpa-
 18 s=tatō balī | **Rāyidēvas**=tatas=tasmāch=chatvāras=tanay[ā]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 nṛipāḥ [| 7*] **Gaṅga-Kēsava-Sōmēsa-Siddha**-bhūpā it=ī-
 20 ritāḥ [|*] Sōmēsas=tēshu dharm-ātma śā¹sanān=dattavān
 21 sthiram[| 8*] Svasti [|*] śrī-**Virōdhi-samvatsarattu Makara-**
 22 **saṅkramā**(ma)ṇamum **Vellik-kiḷamaiyum per-**
 23 **ra Ēkādaśi-nāḷ** [|*] svasti samadhigata-pañcha-
 24 [ma]hāśabda mahāmaṇḍalēśvarān Kalukaḍaya-pu-
 25 [ravarā]dhīśvaram=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭaṇḍō(n-ō)pala-
 26 bdha-vijayalakshmi-samāliṅgita-viśāla-vaksha-
 27 sthala kshatriya-kula-pavitra bhuvana-triṇētra
 28 Ātrēya-gōtra Audumbar-ābharāṇa vai-

Third Plate, First Side

- 29 ri-saṅharāṇa Pāṇḍyarāya-gaja-kēsari ashta-mahā[si]-
 30 ddi-śrī-Siddhavatadēva-divya-śrīpāda-patma(dm-ā)rādhaka pa-
 31 ra-bala-sādhaka-nām-ādi-samasta-prasasti-sahi-
 32 tam śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Trailōkyamalla Bhu-
 33 jabaḷa-Viranārāyaṇa Niśśamka-pratāpa
 34 **Ka²dadēva**-mahārājan=**Āṇḍappūr** paṭṭaṇama(m)
 35 uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi-prava[r*]ddha[māna*] sukha-saṅga(ka)th
 36 vinōdam=āga³ rājyam paṇṇānirka svasti sama-
 37 sta-prasasti sahitam śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara
 38 maṇḍalika-be(ba)sava[śa*]mūkara birū(ru)darāja-bha-

¹ Śā is engraved below the line.

² Ka is engraved at the beginning of the next line. There are faint traces of the letters *ganda* right below the ring-hole.

³ See above, p. 176 and foot-note 1.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 39 yaṁkara sakala-kalā-parāyaṇa mūva-rāya asura-nā¹-
 40 rāyaṇa nitya-satya-pravōda(bōdha) arirāya-jaga-jhampa vai-
 41 bhava-nilimpa Nandagiri-Sū[r*]ya-vamś-ēsvara Pāmiḍi-pu-
 42 ravarādhīsvara Chōḍa-vamśa-pradīpa arirāya-jaga[t*]trā²-
 43 [ṇa] Bhōganāthadēva-divya-srī-pāda-patm(dm)-ārādhaka
 44 para-bala-sādhaka-nām-ādi-samasta-praśa-
 45 st[i]*-sahitam śrīman-mahā-maṇḍalēsvarann=**Allu-Gaṁga-**
 46 **chōḷa-mahārājan** tanna(nnu)ḍaiya ammāman **Rāyi-**
 47 **dēva-mahār[ā][ja*]n** pērilē **Chintakāmantayai**
 48 chatu[s*]-sīmaiyum sarvva-bādhā-parihāram=āga

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 49 kuḍutta ūr [n*] sīmai kilakku āru āgnēyattu-
 50 kku Ēṁgikūḍinahajī terku Amata⁴guttaiga!
 51 ten⁵-mērkuttaikku Nuruṁgal-kaṇavāyil
 52 *kōṇai mērkuttaikku Nuruṁgal-kaṇavāyi-
 53 ninṇum Ārimaḍugaikku[p*]=pōna vaḷi vāya-
 54 [vyattu]kku Titturālaghaṭṭu vadakkum=iśānyamum=āru [i*] i-
 55 ppaḍi chatu-sīmaiyum piṇi(ri)ttu 36 vṛittiy=āga ku-
 56 duttōm [i*] Svasti yajana-yājana-addhyayana-
 57 addhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-ṣaṭ-ka[r*]mma-niya-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 58 tar=āna Kōmapurattup-Perumā] Sōmayājiyār=**Allu-**
 59 Gaṁga-chōḷa-mahārājāva(vi)n kaiyilē Chintakāma[ṇtai]-
 60 y=āna **Rāyarpurattaip**-perṇu 36 vṛittiy=ākki
 61 nānā-gōtra-mahājanamgaḷakku kuḍuttōm [i*] Kōma[pura]-

¹ The medial ā sign of nā is engraved in the next line.

² The medial ā of trā is engraved in the next line.

³ This sign has been cut away when the ring-hole was made.

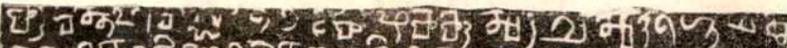
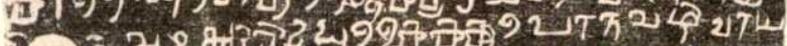
⁴ Ta is engraved below the line.

⁵ The medial e of ten is engraved at the end of the previous line.

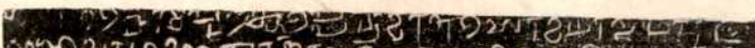
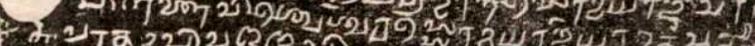
⁶ The kombu for the ō sign is engraved at the end of the previous line.

CHINTAKAMANTA GRANT OF SOMESA—PLATE II

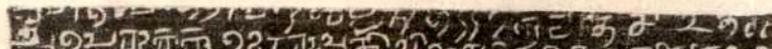
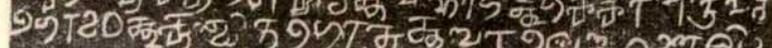
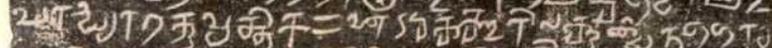
iv, a

50		50
52		52
54		54
56		56

iv, b

58		58
60		60
62		62
64		64
66		66

v, a

68		68
70		70
72		72
74		74

v, b

76	...	76
78	...	78
80	...	80
82	...	82
84	...	84

vi

86	...	86
88	...	88
90	...	90
92	...	92
94	...	94
96	...	96

Scale : Three-fifths

- 62 ttu Harita-gōtrattup-Perumā! Sōmayāji[yār]
 63 pillai Viśvāsvaras-Sōmayājiyārku vṛitti
 64 4 avar tambi Vallappillān-bhattārku vṛitti 4 a-
 65 var tambi Tiruvaramgach-Chiriyā!chchān-bhattār[kku] vṛitti
 66 4 avar tambi Andapillaich-Chottān[ukku] vṛitti [4]

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 67 [avar tambi] Gōvinda-appan-bhattārku vṛitti 4-inda a-
 68 űju pōrukkum=oru vṛitti vibhāgittuk-kolluvadu[||]
 69 Gōmathattu Kuṇḍina-gōtrattu Balēdumauli-u-
 70 pādhyā[ya*]rku vṛitti 1=². Eṭṭukkūril Kuṇḍina-gōtra-
 71 ttup=Periyā[[v*]ān-bhattārku vṛitti 1= Chiru[pu]-
 72 dūr Kaṇva-gōtrattu Yajñamū[r]tti-bhattārku vṛitti 1=
 73 Kuravaśēri Saṇḍila-gōtrattu Venṇaikūtta-
 74 bhattārku vṛitti 1= Uviyūri(yūr) Kauśika-gō-
 75 trattu Vāmana-bhattārku vṛitti ||³ Rāyūr Bhāradvāja-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 76 gōtrattup=Piḷlān-bhattā[rku*] vṛitti || anda gōtrattu Chi-
 77 ṅgapperumāli-bhattā[rku vṛitti ||]. Upamānya Vasishtha-gō⁴-
 78 trattup=Peddi-bhattā[rkku vṛitti 1] ttilē Enmarugan
 79 Kēśavan(nu)[kku*] vṛitti 1 A[tri]-gōtrattu Rāyidēvan(nu)[kku*] vṛitti 1
 80 gaurā⁵[va*]-vṛitti 1 Śrīvatsa-gōtrattu Allālapeddi[kku*]
 81 vṛitti 1 Bhāradvāja-gōtrattuk-Komāripeddi[kku*] vṛi-
 82 tti 1 āga vṛitti 36-kkum aṣṭabhōga-tēja-svā-
 83 myamum sarvva-bādha-parihāram-āgak-kūḍuttōm [||*] inda a-
 84 garattukku munb-illa dēvaḍānamum brahmapurigaḷum-u-
 85 ḷlapadi [||*] Ārimaḍukkaiyik-Kēśavap-perumālu-

¹ The medial ā of yā is engraved below the line.

² See pp. 176 and 179 above.

³ See pp. 176, 179 and note 6 above.

⁴ The length of ā in gō is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

⁵ The medial ē sign of kē is engraved at the end of the previous line.

⁶ The ē of the ga is engraved at the end of the previous line.

Sixth Plate

- 86 kku 15 kuḷakam viḥchu-pāḍuch=Chirumakūrch=Chimḡappe-
 87 rumāḷukku 10 kuḷakam Kalarpūr Kēsavapperua-¹
 88 śikku 5 kuḷakamum Oṭṭikku kiḷakku pūṭṭaiyu[m]
 89 Taḍaru(rū)ri Nilakaṇṭhadēvaṅku 10 kuḷakam Kalavūr Mahādē-
 90 vaṅku 5 kuḷakam ivv-ū*[r*]d-dēvaṅku 5 kuḷakamum Amaḍa-
 91 guṭṭai-pāḍe 5 kuḷakak-kollai Eṭṭukū-
 92 [r] Madhurāntaka-bhaṭṭaṅku 10 kuḷakam andak-kuḍiyil Peru-
 93 mās(!)-Sōmayājiyāṅku 10 kuḷakam Rāyūrp-Perumāḷ=[Ā]-
 94 chchān-bhaṭṭaṅku 5 kuḷakam andak-kuḍiyil Tiruvaramḡanukku
 95 5 kuḷakam Rāyūr Varantaruvānukku 10 kuḷakam | Svadatt[ām]
 96 [para]dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*]shashṭim varsha-saha[srā]-
 97 [ṇi viṣṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih] [||*]³

¹ Read *Kēsavapperumāḷukku*.

² *vū* is engraved below the line.

³ This line is engraved on the rim of the plate.

No. 33—NOTE ON THE APHSAD INSCRIPTION OF ADITYASENA

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 21. 1. 1966)

Verses 11-12 of the Apsad inscription¹ of the 'Later Gupta' king Ādityasēna, which describe the events of the reign of his great-grandfather Dāmōdaragupta, run as follows :

Yō Maukharēḥ samitish=ūddhata-Hūṇa-sainyā

valgad-ghatā vighatayann=uru-vāraṇānām |

sammūrchchhitah suravadhūr=varayan=mam=ēti

tat-pāṇi-paṅkaja-sukha-sparśād²=vibuddhah ||

Guṇavad-dviḥ-kaṇyānām nān-ālanākāra-yavanavatīnām |

pariṇāyitavān=sa nripah śataṁ nisṛiṣṭ-āgrahārāṇām ||

The second half of verse 11 was translated by Fleet in the following words : " he became unconscious [and expired in the fight] ; [and then, waking again in heaven], and making a choice among the women of the gods, saying, '[this one or that] belongs to me,' he was revived by the pleasing touch of the water-lilies that were their hands."³ It is, therefore, generally believed that the 'Later Gupta' king Dāmōdaragupta died on the battle-field while fighting with his Maukhari enemies.

Pandit Kshetresachandra Chattopadhyay, however, thinks that the inscription speaks not of Dāmōdaragupta's death, but of his swoon (cf. *sammūrchchhīta*) and subsequent awakening, i.e. regaining consciousness (cf. *vibuddha*).⁴ He complains that Fleet got his meaning by making two additions, viz., '[and expired in the fight]' and '[and then, waking again in heaven and]', for which, in the Pandit's opinion, 'there is absolutely no warrant either in the text or in its context'. It is further suggested that verse 12 speaks of what Dāmōdaragupta did after the event described in the previous stanza, so that he must have been alive then. The Pandit, therefore, suggests that the author of the Apsad inscription describes how Dāmōdaragupta was seriously wounded in the course of fighting and fainted away, but regained consciousness ultimately. Our attention is drawn in this connection to Act III of Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacharita* describing the revival of the fainted Rāma through Sītā's touch.

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff.

² Read *spariśād* for the sake of the metre.

³ *CII*, Vol. III, p. 206.

⁴ *Achārya-Pushpāñjali* (D. R. Bhandarkar Volume), ed. B. C. Law, pp. 180 ff.

We have found it difficult to accept the Pandit's interpretation of verse 11 of the Apsad inscription.¹ It is well known that, according to a popular military convention of ancient India, a hero dying in action at once goes to heaven where he obtains the remarkable opportunity of enjoying heavenly damsels. The purpose was of course to dissuade warriors from fleeing from the battle-field.² In any case, the popularity of the said convention is vouched for by thousands of 'hero-stones' (often bearing inscriptions), discovered especially in the western and southern regions of India, and by Indian literature. Out of the innumerable references in the early and mediæval works of Indian literature, attention may be drawn to the following passages respectively from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Raghuvamśa* and the *Rājataranginī*:

I. *Āhavē tu hatam śūram na śochēta kathañchana |*
aśōchyō hi hataḥ śūrah svarga- lōkē mahīyatē ||
Var-Āpsarah-sahasrāṇi śūram=āyōdhanē hatam |
tvaramāṇāni dhāvanti mama bhartā bhavēd=iti ||³

(None should mourn the death of a hero in the battle, because a warrior under such circumstances goes straight to heaven. Thousands of heavenly damsels run after a hero dying on the battle-field, each shouting, 'He will be my husband.')

II. *Kaśchid=dvishat-khadga-hrit-ōttamāṅgaḥ*
sadyō vimāna-prabhatām=upētya |
vām-āṅga-samsakta-surāṅganah svam
nṛityat-kabandham samarē dadarśa ||⁴

(Someone, whose head was struck off by the enemy's sword, at once became a god; he now found his own headless body dancing on the battle-field while he was embracing a celestial nymph with his left arm.)

Parasparēṇa kshatayōḥ praharōr=
utkrānta-vāyvoḥ samakālam=ēva |
amartya-bhāvē=’pi kayōśchid=āsīd=
ēk-āpsarah-prārthitayōr=vivādah ||⁵

¹ See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 70, note 5.

² Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 94-95.

³ *Mahābhārata*, BORI ed. XII, 99, verses 43 and 45.

⁴ *Raghuvamśa*, VII, 51; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, XVI, 49. It may be incidentally mentioned that the poor style of the imitation exhibits clearly that the later cantos of the *Kumārasambhava* are not from the pen of Kālidāsa.

⁵ *Raghuvamśa*, VII, 53; cf. *Kumārasambhava*, XVI, 48: *Anyō=’nyam rathināu kavchid=gata-prāṇau divam gatau | ehām=apsarasaṁ prāpya yuyudhātē var-āyudhau ||* See also XVI, 36: *Ākshipy=ābhīdivam nīlāḥ patta yaḥ karibhiḥ karaiḥ | divy-āṅganābhīr=ādātum raktābhīr=drutam=īshirē ||* "The enamoured heavenly damsels became eager to get [as their husbands] quickly the foot-soldiers who had been reaching heaven, having been thrown towards it by the elephants with their trunks."

(Two warriors having been wounded by each other and killed at the same time were still fighting even after becoming gods, because of the selection of both of them by a single divine girl.)

III. *Vidadrau sa tu tad-yōdhair=hatais=cha parishasvajē |*

a-divyair=mēdinī divyair=dēhais=tv=apsarasām gaṇaḥ ||¹

(He fled, while his soldiers embraced with their mortal bodies the earth, and with their heavenly bodies a band of the celestial nymphs.)

Now the stanzas quoted above show that the heroes dying while fighting enjoyed the heavenly damsels only after death when they were in the land of the gods. This is also clear from epigraphical literature. At the battle of Koppam, the forces of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla concentrated their attack on the elephant on which the Chōla king Rājādhirāja, who was himself leading his army, was riding and wounded him mortally, so that, as the Chōla records say, Rājādhirāja 'went up into the sky and became a sojourner in the country of Indra, where he was welcomed by the women of the sky'.²

Under these circumstances, the *suravadhū-varaṇa* (selection of the celestial girls for enjoyment) does not appear to have been possible for Dāmōdaragupta when he was still alive. For this, he must have reached the abode of the heavenly damsels after his death on the battle-field. If, after describing the heroic death of Dāmōdaragupta, the poet states that 'the said king' (*sa nripaḥ*, i.e. the hero whose death is described above) had given *agrahāras* to learned Brāhmanas and also spent money for their marriage (both the deeds being prescribed in the *Dharmaśāstras* as highly meritorious), the description scarcely proves that the king's death cannot be referred to in the previous stanza. Because the heroic death of Dāmōdaragupta was his only achievement, the author of the inscription emphasised it and added to it a trifle. If, on the other hand, the king had merely fainted away on the battle-field and afterwards recovered, that was hardly an achievement worthy of being mentioned by the panegyrist.

Moreover, we have also description of the heroic death of other kings in a language strikingly similar to that of the Apsad inscription. Thus verse 5 of the Yenamadāla inscription³ of the Kākatiya princess Gaṇapāmbā (Gaṇapāmbikā) describes the death of her grandfather Mādhava (Mahādēva, c. 1195-99 A.D.), who died while fighting with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri probably in the course of an invasion of the Yādava kingdom, in the following words :

Jātō Mādhava-bhūpatir=gaṇa-giris=tasmān=mahīvallabhād=

yas=suptvā sumahāhavē gajavadhū-kumbha-dvayaṣy=ōpari |

prakhyāt-āpsarasa=stana-dvaya-iaṭē prābōdhi yōdh-āgrānir=

lōkē khyāta-viśāla-nirmala-yaśā vīraśriyām=āśrayaḥ ||

"To that lord of the earth (Prōla II) was born king Mādhava (Mahādēva) who was a mountain of virtues and the resort of the fortunes of heroes, and whose great and spotless fame was celebrated

¹ *Rājatarāṅginī*, VIII. 453; cf. also VII, 1436, 1479; VIII. 197, 472; etc.

² See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, 2nd ed., p. 257.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 97.

in the world. Having fallen asleep (*suptvā*) on the two temples of a female elephant in a great battle, this foremost among warriors awoke (*prābōdhi*) on the two breasts of a distinguished nymph [in heaven] (i.e. was killed while fighting)."

It will be seen that, while the second half of verse 5 of the Yenamadala inscription describes the death of the Kākatīya king Mādhava (Mahādēva) as awakening [in the embrace of an *Apsaras* in heaven] from a sleep, the death of Dāmōdaragupta is likewise described in the Apsad inscription as awakening [at the touch of the *Apsaras* in heaven] from a swoon. The words used to indicate this awakening of the heroes in heaven in the two epigraphs are derived from the same verbal root, viz. *prābōdhi* (from *pra-budh*) in the Yenamadala inscription and *vibuddha* (from *vi-budh*) in the Apsad record. A comparison of the language of the two epigraphs makes it quite clear that the 'Later Gupta' king Dāmōdaragupta died on the battle-field while fighting with his Maukhari enemies, while Kākatīya Mādhava (Mahādēva) died in an engagement with the Yādavas of Dēvagiri.¹

¹ See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 101, foot-note 2.

No. 34—KONDGULI INSCRIPTION OF BHULOKAMALLA, YEAR 7

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(Received on 19.11.1965)

In June 1963, the superintendent, South-Western Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, Aurangabad, sent to the Government Epigraphist for India, impressions of three unpublished inscriptions from Bijapur District, Mysore State. One of them, hailing from the village of **Koṇḍguli** in Sindgi Taluk of the said District, which was found engraved on three faces of a square stone pillar lying in the debris in a *maṭha* on the outskirts of the village, is being edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The record commences on the central face of the pillar which has 20 lines of writing and continues on the left face, which also consists of 20 lines. The last line in the left face ends in the middle suggesting thereby that 17 more lines of the text, engraved on the right face, form a supplement to the main record.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī characters of the 12th century but the language is Kannāḍa. As regards orthography, owing to the adoption of the Nāgarī alphabet, *l* and *ḷ* are, as a rule, represented by *l* while *r* is indicated by an additional stroke at the bottom left side of *r*. Medial *e* and *o* are indicated by the sign for *ē* and *ō*. However, numerical figures occurring in the record are all in Kannāḍa.

The inscription refers itself to the seventh year of the reign of **Chālukya-Bhūlōka-malla**, i.e. the Western Chālukya king of Kalyāṇa, **Sōmēśvara III** who succeeded his father **Vikramāditya VI** sometime in 1126 A.D.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the introduction of the ruling monarch, viz., **Sōmēśvara III**, who receives in this record all the regular titles and epithets of the kings of his dynasty. He is stated therein to be ruling from his capital or camp (*nelevidu*) at **Māhura**. Then follow the details of the date, viz., **Regnal Year 7, Paridhāvin, Pushya, Paurṇamāsyē, Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṅkramaṇa**, corresponding to **1132 A.D., December 24**, the week-day being Saturday.

The main object of the inscription, which immediately follows the above details of date, is to record three endowments each of 20 pieces of gold in *vartaka-lokki-gadyāṇa*, yielding interest at the rate of 4 *visas* per gold (*pon*) per month (*tiṅgaḷiṅge*), jointly by **Kēsīmaya-daṇḍanāyaka** and **Gaṇapati-daṇḍanāyaka**. The three endowments were entrusted to the care of the *mahājanas* of the *agrahāra* of **Koṇḍaṅguli** with the stipulation (1) that the amount of interest from the first grant be utilised for the feeding of the teacher (*upādhyāya*) imparting lessons on *Sūtra-saṅhitā* and the *pīriya-granthas*; (2) that the interest amount from the second grant be spent on feeding the teacher imparting lessons on *Saṅhitā* and the *kīriya-granthas* together with the *Yājñavalki*; and (3) that the interest amount from the third grant be utilised for the feeding of the teacher who imparted education to children (*bāla-śiksheyan mārpa upādhyāyarge*) by teaching them *akshara* (the alphabets), *vyākaraṇa* (grammar) and *Rūpavatāra*, a Sanskrit grammatical treatise intended for youngsters.

¹ This is registered as No. B 358 of A.R.Ep., 1963-64.

The contents of the right face (lines 41-57) record four supplementary grants (1) of 10 gold pieces in *kāṭaka-priya-gadyāna* by *Bhāṇḍārīga* Rāmadēvanāyaka with the stipulation that the interest amount, at the rate of 4 *vīsas* per gold per month be utilised for providing tender betel-leaves (*sauparṇa-tāmbūladāna*) apparently to the deity Kēśavadēva; (2) of 2 gold pieces in *kāṭaka-gadyāna* by Brahmādēva-bhaṭṭa with the stipulation that the interest amount at the rate of 4 *vīsas* per gold per month be utilised for offering betel-leaves (*tāmbūla-dāna*) to the same deity; (3) of one *solage* of oil from the oil-mill by the *Mahājanas* of Koṃḡamguli for burning a lamp (*dīpa-dāna*) in the temple of the god Kēśavadēva; and (4) of one *vattar* (i.e. *mattar*) of flower garden for offering flowers (*pushpa-dāna*) to the same deity.

The inscription ends with this and does not contain the usual imprecatory passages.

The inscription reveals interesting details regarding the system of education in Karnāṭaka in the 12th century. Among the subjects for study mentioned in our record, *Sūtrasamhitā* is obviously a mistake for *Sūtasamhitā*, the well-known religious text forming a part of the *Skanda-purāna*. The *Samhite* of gift number 2 of the main grant may stand for the Vedic *Samhitās* in general while the *kīriya-granthas* and the *Yājñavalki* probably refer to literary works like *kāvya*s and *nāṭaka*s and to the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* respectively. What has been read in the appended text as *Yājñavalki-sahita* could also be *Yājñavalkisamhite* in which case the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* or the *Vājasaneyasamhitā* may have been meant. Along with the learning of *akshara* (alphabets) and *vyākaraṇa* (grammar), we find that the *Rūpāvatāra* was also prescribed as a text book for *bālaśikshā*. It is interesting to note that the author of this grammatical work was one Dharmakīrti, a Buddhist monk who, at the very outset of his work, claims that his work is meant for youngsters.¹ This may be the reason why *Rūpāvatāra* and *vyākaraṇa* find separate mention in the record, denoting respectively basic and advanced Sanskrit grammar.

The date of Dharmakīrti is not known. While editing a part of the *Rūpāvatāra*, Rao Bahadur M. Rangacharya observed that Dharmakīrti 'appeared to have lived in the latter part of the twelfth century of the Christian era'. Epigraphical evidence, however, clearly points out an earlier date for Dharmakīrti. The inscription under study is itself dated in 1132 A.D., in the first half of the 12th century. A Tamil inscription of the 3rd year of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Vikramachōladēva, belonging to 1120 A.D. and hailing from Tiruvāḍuturai in Mayavaram Taluk, Tanjore District, Madras State, provides lands for feeding, among others, those studying medicine, grammar and the *Rūpāvatāra*.² Again, the fact that in the first half of the 12th century the work had gained so much popularity as to be taught in two places so far removed as Koṃḡguli in Bijapur District and Tiruvāḍuturai in Tanjore District suggests that the *Rūpāvatāra* must have been written well before 1120 A.D. Dharmakīrti may have to be, therefore, referred to the middle of the 11th century at the latest.

The record mentions interesting varieties of gold coins of the *gadyāna* type. Of these, *varttaka-lokki-gadyāna* were obviously gold coins minted by the merchant-guild of Lokkiguṇḍi. The name of this coin reminds us of other such varieties mentioned in a few

¹ *Rūpāvatāra* (ed. by M. Rangacharya), p.1. The stanza reads:

Sarvajñam=anantaḡaṇam praṇamya
bāla-prabōdhan-ārtham=imam |
Rūpāvatāram=alpam sukālāpam-
rijuṃ karishyāmi ||

² *A.R.Ep.*, 1925, pp. 83-84, para. 18. Also see *ibid.*, No. B, 159.

other inscriptions like *Lokkiy-achchhina-gadyāna*¹ and *Lokki-śrāheya-gadyāna*² which were also minted at Lokkigunḍi. The other varieties mentioned in [our inscription are *Kaṭaka-priya-gadyāna* and the *Kaṭaka-gadyāna*. They were obviously minted at the royal mint in the capital city (*kaṭaka*). It is likely that those coins which had a higher gold content were called *priya-gadyāna*.

Konḍguli, the findspot of the inscription, is mentioned [as *Koṇḍamguli*. *Māhura* which is referred to as the king's *neleviḍu* or camping place cannot be identified with certainty, though there is a place called *Māhur* in the Kinwat Taluk of Nanded District, Maharashtra State, situated at a distance of about 100 miles to the north of *Kalyāna*, the capital city of the Chālukyas.

TEXT

Central Face

- 1 Svasti [| *] Samasta-bhuvan-āsraya śrī-
- 2 pri(pri)thvī-vallabha mahārājādhirāja
- 3 paramēśvara paramabhattāraka Satyā-
- 4 śraya-kula-tilaka Chālukya-ābhara-
- 5 ṇa śrīma[ch-Chālukya]-Bhūlōkamalladē-
- 6 vara vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ā-
- 7 bhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandr-ā-
- 8 rka-tār-ambaraṃ saluttam=ire Māhura-
- 9 da neleviḍinolu(lu) sukha-saṃkathā-
- 10 vinōdadiṃ rājyaṃ-geyyuttam=iralu
- 11 śrīmach-Chālukya-Bhūlōka-varshada 7 [ne]-
- 12 ya Paridhāvi saṃvatsarada Pushyada
- 13 Paurṇamāsye Āditya-vā[ra]d=uttarā-
- 14 yaṇa-saṃkramaṇa-parvad-amdu | śrīmat-sa-
- 15 rvaṇamasyad=agrahāraṃ Koṇḍamgu-
- 16 ly-asēsha-mahājanaṃgalimge
- 17 śrīmat-Kē[si]m(si)maya-damḍanāyakaruṃ Ga-
- 18 ṇapati-damḍanāyakaru[m] kūḍi vidyā-[dā]-
- 19 na-nimittav=āgi Sūtra-sa[mhi]ta-piri-
- 20 ya-graṃthaṃgalaṃ(laṃ) pēlva(lva)v-upādhyāyarge poṃna

Left Face

- 21 vriddhiyale grāsa ṇaḍavaṃt=āgi
- 22 poṃge tiṃgali(li)mge vīsaṃ nā-
- 23 lkara vadḍiyalu koṭṭa vartaka-

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 1928-29, No. E, 233; *SII*, Vol. XV, No. 22.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 1925-26, No. B 437.

* From inked impressions.

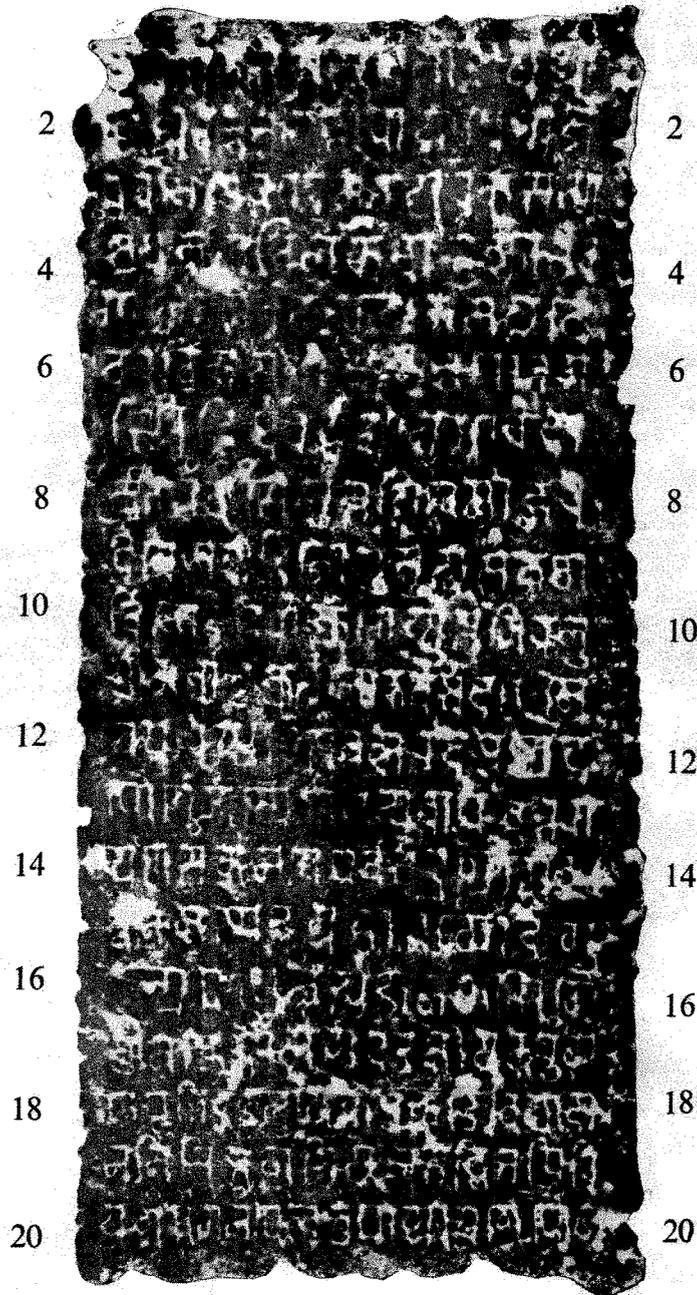
- 24 lokki-gadyāṇa 20 matta[m]
 25 saṁhiteyuṁ ki[ri]ya graṁthaṁga-
 26 lum(lum) Yājñavalki sahita pēlva(lva)
 27 upādhyāyarge poṁna v[ri]ddhiya-
 28 le grāsa naḍavaṁt-āgi poṁ-
 29 ge tiṁgali(li)ṁge viṣaṁ nālka-
 30 ṛa vṛiddhiyīm koṭṭa vartaka-lo-
 31 kki-gadyāṇa 20 mattav-āksha-
 32 ra-vyākaraṇa-Rūpavatāram-im-
 33 t-initumaṁ pērdū vā(bā)la-śikshe-
 34 yaṁ māṛpa upādhyāyarge poṁ-
 35 na vṛiddhiyale grāsaṁ naḍavaṁ-
 36 t-āgi poṁge tiṁgali(li)ṁge
 37 viṣaṁ nālka[ra] vṛiddhiyīm ko-
 38 ṭṭa vartaka-lokki-gadyā-
 39 ṇa 20 [*] Ī dharmavaṁ mahāja-
 40 naṁgalu(lu) naḍasuvaru[*]

Right Face

- 41 śrīmatūbhā(mad-Bhā)indāriṅga[m] Rāmādē-
 42 vā-nayakaru sauparna-
 43 da tāmbūla-dānakk(kke) poṁ[ge]
 44 tiṁgali(li)ṁge viṣaṁ 4[ra] vṛi[ddhi]-
 45 yalu koṭṭa kataka-priya-
 46 gadyāṇa 10 mattaṁ Brāhmādē-
 47 va-bhattaru tāmbūla-dānakk-ā
 48 vṛiddhiyale koṭṭa katakaṁ ga-
 49 dyāṇa 2 śrīmat-sarvanama-
 50 syad-agrahāra Koṁḍaṁguliya-a-
 51 śēsha-mahājanāṁgalu(lu) śri-
 52 Kēśavadēvarge dipa-dā-
 53 nav-āgi gāṇavāyileya-
 54 lli devasa[da]lu sollage
 55 yeṇṇeyaiṁ koṭṭaru mattaṁ pu-
 56 shpa-dānav-āgiy-are vattaru
 57 tōṛaṭamaṁ koṭṭaru [!]*]

KONGGULI INSCRIPTION OF BHULOKAMALLA, YEAR 7

Central Face



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750.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

PART V

JANUARY 1968

EDITED BY

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Government Epigraphist for India



PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA
1969

Price : Inland Rs. 8.00 P. Foreign 18sh. 8d. or 2\$ 88 cents

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H9089

No. 35—A NEW GREEK INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA AT KANDAHAR

(1 Plate)

D. SCHLUMBERGER AND E. BENVENISTE, STRASBOURG

(Received on 20.11.1965)

The document.—by D. Schlumberger, Professor at Strasbourg University, former Director of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.

The discovery of the inscription here published and studied¹ we owe to Dr. W. S. Seyring, a German physician. The stone, when he first noticed it in November 1963, was lying in the ruins of Old-Kandahar in front of a small Moslem shrine. He bought it and presented it to the Afghan National Museum in Kabul, thus saving this most important document from probable destruction.

In February 1964, an inquiry was conducted on the spot by A. A. Motamedi, Director General of the Afghan Department of Antiquities and two members of the Délégation Archéologique Française: M. Le Berre, architect and at the time, director *ad interim*; and G. Fussman, archaeologist.

The inscription, they were told, had turned up somewhere in the area of the old city, and has been brought to the shrine by a labourer. But this man could not be found and neither the date, nor the precise spot of the find could be ascertained.

In September 1964, D. Schlumberger spent two days at Kandahar, in a renewed effort for finding out something, with the assistance of M. Paul Bernard, of Miss May Elziere, acting as interpreter and several others: with no result whatsoever.

The stone is a rectangular block of porous lime-stone, 45 cm high, 69.5 cm wide, 12.13 cm thick, in excellent condition, except on the left side, where the upper and lower corners are somewhat damaged.

¹ First published by D. Schlumberger, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 1964, pp. 126-40 from a squeeze and photographs made by M. Le Berre, difficulties being solved and important observations being added by L. Robert. A first copy and translation had been made in Kabul by G. Fussman. Published anew by E. Benveniste in *Journal Asiatique*, 1964, pp. 137-57, with a thorough commentary. These two articles are here condensed. They should be consulted for details. [Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article in Sanskrit expressions—Ed.]

H91089

TEXT¹

1 ἐν σέβειᾳ καὶ ἐγκράτειᾳ κατὰ πάσας τὰς διαιτησίας· ἐγκρατὴς δὲ μάλιστα ἐστὶν
ὅς ἂν γλώσσης ἐγκρατὴς ᾖ. Καὶ μὴτε ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαίνοιωσιν, μὴτε τῶν πέλας ψέγωσιν
περὶ μηδενός· κενὸν γὰρ ἐστὶν· καὶ πειράσθαι μᾶλλον τοὺς πέλας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ
4 μὴ ψέγειν κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶντες ἑαυτοὺς αὔξουσι καὶ τοὺς
πέλας ἀνακτῶνται· παραβαίνοντες δὲ ταῦτα, ἐξ ἡλεστέτεροι τε γίνονται καὶ τοῖς
πέλας ἀπέχθονται. Οἱ δ' ἂν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινοῦσιν, τοὺς δὲ πέλας ψέγωσιν φιλοτιμότερον
διαπρίττονται, βουλόμενοι παρὰ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἐγλαμψαι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον βλάπτουσι
8 ἑαυτοὺς. Πρέπει δὲ ἀλλήλους θαυμάζειν καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων διδάγματα παραδέχεσθαι.
Ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶντες πολυμαθέστεροι ἐσονται, παραδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις ὅσα
ἕκαστος αὐτῶν εἰσίσταται. Καὶ τοῖς ταῦτα ἐπισκοῦσι ταῦτα μὴ ὀκνεῖν λέγειν ἵνα δε-
αρμίνωσιν διὰ παντός εὐσεβοῦντες. Ὅγδοσι ἔτει βασιλεύοντος Πιοδάσου
12 κατέστρεπται τὴν Καλίγην. Ἦν ἐξωρημένα καὶ ἐξηγμένα ἐκεῖθεν σωματίων
μυριάδες δεκαπέντε καὶ ἀναιρέθησαν ἄλλαι μυριάδες δέκα καὶ σχεδὸν ἄλλοι τοσοῦ-
τοι ἐτελεύτησαν. Ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου ἔλεος καὶ οἴκτος αὐτὸν ἔλαβεν· καὶ Σαρδέως ἤγεγεν
δι' οὗ τρόπου ἐκέλευεν ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀπορῆν τε καὶ σὺντασιν πεποιθῆναι
16 περὶ εὐσεβείας. Καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι δυσχερέστερον ἀπέλιπε ὁ βασιλεὺς· καὶ ὅσοι ἐκεῖ οἴκων
βραμνῆναι ἢ σαρμῆναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες οἱ περὶ τὴν εὐσεβείαν διατρίβοντες, τοὺς ἐκεῖ οἴκοι-
ντας εἶδει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως συμφέροντα νοεῖν, καὶ διδασκαλὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα
ἐπαισχύνεσθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν, φίλους καὶ ἐταίρους ἀγαπᾶν καὶ μὴ διαψεύδεσθαι,
20 δούλοις καὶ μισθωτοῖς ὡς κοινώτατα χρῆσθαι, τούτων ἐκεῖ τῶν τοιαῦτα διατριβο-
μένων εἰ τις πέθνηκεν ἢ ἐξήκται, καὶ τοῦτο ἐμ παραδρομῇ οἱ λοιποὶ ἤγεινται, ὃ δὲ
βασιλεὺς σφόδρα ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐδυσχεραίνεν. Καὶ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν εἶσαν

Line 5. On the stone: AKAEESTEROI. Louis Robert: AK(L)EESTEROI

Line 12. KATESTREPTAI. Louis Robert: KATESTRA)PTAI. E. Benveniste does not consider this emendation necessary.

KALIGGEN. EN read by Louis Robert.

Line 15. SYNTAXIN. Louis Robert: SYNTA(S)IN. E. Benveniste does not consider this emendation necessary.

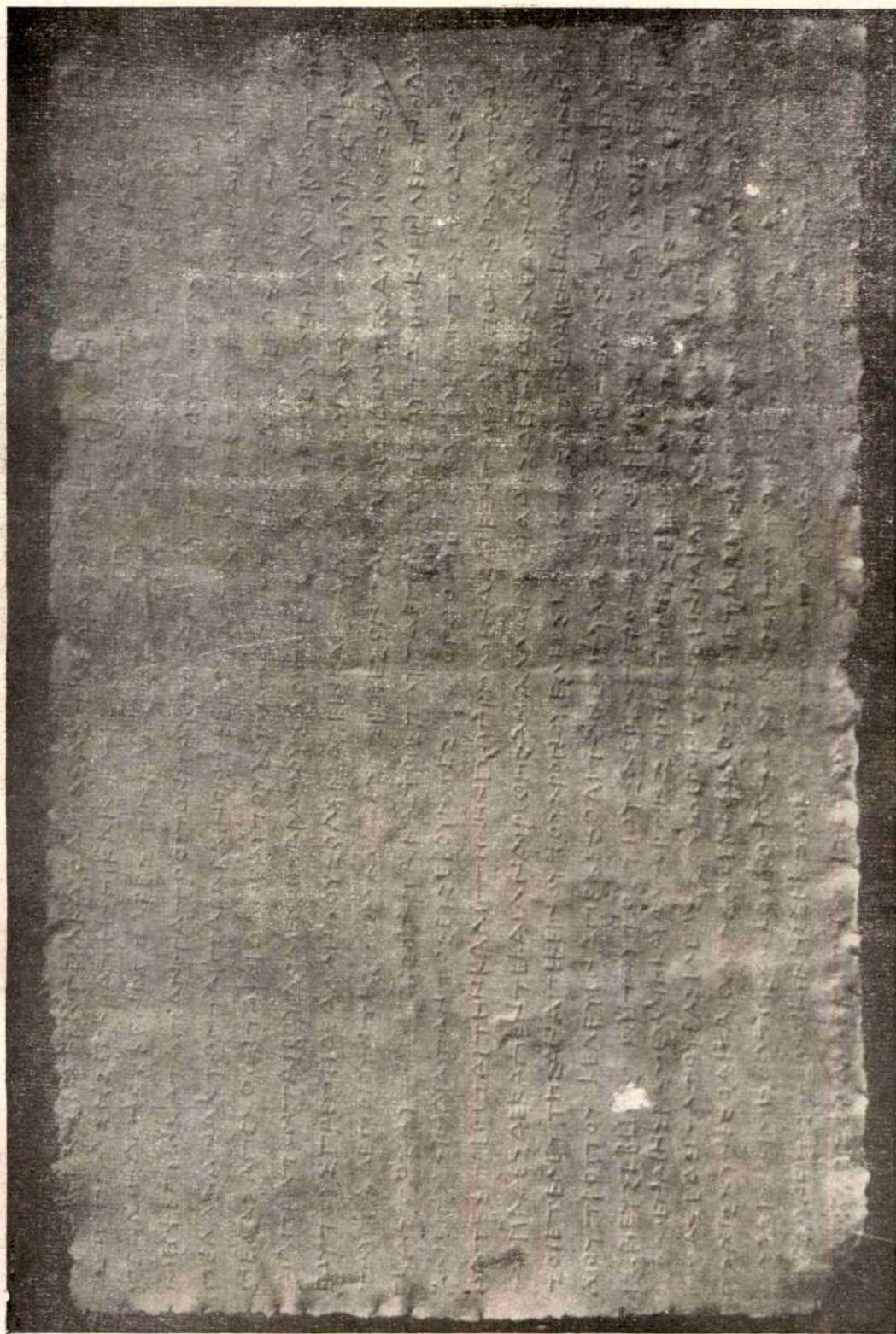
Line 21. HEGEINTAI, read by Louis Robert for HEGENTAI.

TRANSLATION

... piety and self-control in all schools (of thought). Now he is most master of himself who controls his tongue. And may they neither praise themselves nor blame other (schools) about anything; for this is vain, and it is better to praise other (schools) and to abstain from blaming them in any respect. In so doing they will extol themselves and gain the favour of the other (schools); in transgressing this, they will harm their reputation and estrange other (schools). They

¹ From a squeeze and photographs.

A NEW GREEK INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA AT KANDAHAR



(From Photograph)

who praise themselves and blame other (schools) behave in a rather conceited way; in striving to outshine others they rather do harm to themselves. It is fit that people respect each other and accept each other's teachings. In so doing they will grow in knowledge, transmitting to each other whatever each of them knows. And there should be no hesitation in saying so to those who act accordingly, so that they will ever keep on living piously.

In the eighth year of his reign Piodasses overwhelmed Kalinga. One hundred fifty thousand persons were captured and deported, a hundred thousand others were killed and about as many died. From that time on he was overcome by pity and compassion, and it weighed on his mind. Just as he had given orders to abstain from (consuming) living beings, he has been zealous in organizing piety. And this he took with even more grief: the brahmans and sramans and all others who lived there (in Kalinga) practising piety;—those who lived there had to mind the king's interests, to revere and respect master, fathers and mothers, to love and refrain from deceiving friends and companions; to treat as gently as possible slaves and servants,—if, of all those who thus behaved someone died or was deported, this too others felt it as a personal sorrow, and the king was deeply afflicted thereby. And, as amongst all other nations there are

Anybody familiar with the Asoka inscriptions will recognize at once what we have here: the greater part of the Twelfth Major Rock Edict, and the beginning of the Thirteenth.¹ But our document is not just one of the Prakrit texts of these Edicts turned into Greek. Although some passages are rendered with great accuracy as, for instance, the two opening sentences of the Thirteenth Edict, others are modified (for examples see Prof. Benveniste's commentary, below); and some are suppressed as, for instance, at the end of the Twelfth Edict, the one mentioning the *dhamma-mahāmattas*. The inscription, then, is not so much a translation, as a free and sometimes shortened adaptation from one of the Indian texts, faithful to the spirit and general meaning of Asoka's proclamation rather than to its wording. According to Prof. L. Robert it might be described as a redrafting of the king's doctrine, in very correct and fluent Greek, devoid of any provincialism; the vocabulary stems from the best literary tradition, and includes a number of technical terms borrowed from the contemporary philosophical and political language.

Palaeographically too, as pointed out by Prof. Robert, the inscription is a thoroughly normal Greek product of the period: the shape and spacing of the letters, their fine and careful engraving show the same characters as in less remote parts of the Greek world.

Both language and writing, then, testify to the unity and vigour of Greek culture in the 3rd century B.C.²

Our inscription is the second Asoka document to turn up at Old-Kandahar. As will be remembered, a Graeco-Aramaic inscription of this king has already been found there in 1958.³ It was a Rock Inscription, belonging to a well-known class of short texts, called *samkhritena lekḥāpitā* "caused to be written concisely", and mentioned in the Fourteenth Major Rock Edict.⁴ The find, important as it was, did not seem to open the way for new discoveries. The inscription being *in situ* on the cliff, both the Greek and the Aramaic versions being complete, no

¹ On the stone a space, equivalent in length to about three letters, has been left blank between the end of the Twelfth Edict and the opening sentence of the Thirteenth. (See plate, middle of line 11.)

² See Prof. L. Robert's remarks, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie*, 1964, pp. 134-140.

³ See J. Filliozat, *A Graeco-Aramaic inscription of Asoka near Kandahar*, above, Vol. XXXIV, 1961-62, pp. 1-8 (with bibliography).

⁴ J. Filliozat, *op. cit.*, p. 4, quoting E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, 1958, p. 794.

further research on the spot, no excavations for missing parts either of a monument or of the text had to be thought of.

The case is different with the new inscription. One has but to consider the abrupt way it starts and it ends, in both cases right in the middle of a sentence, to realize what it is: a fragment torn from a longer text. Two other blocks must of necessity have existed: one above our block for the beginning of the Twelfth Edict, and one below for the end of the Thirteenth Edict. Now the fact that we know of four places in India¹ where the Fourteen Major Edicts have been inscribed together on the rock, forming so to speak one body of texts, makes it at least likely that we had here a rendering in Greek of that same body. On the other hand this cannot be proved. The only thing we know for sure is that a Greek adaptation of two at least of the Major Rock Edicts, the Twelfth and the Thirteenth, had been inscribed; at Kandahar, on some kind of structure, one block of which we possess, while the existence of others (two at least) cannot be doubted.

This is a novelty, let us stress it. All other known inscriptions of Aśoka are engraved either on rocks, or on so-called pillars, i.e. monolithic shafts of columns. Here, for the first time, we have a text inscribed, as it seems, on a wall belonging to a structure in stone, or some parts of which at least were made of stone. Considering the thinness of the block, this wall is likely to have been a retaining rather than a free-standing wall. Nothing more can be said. Was this wall part of a religious or of a secular building, did it belong to a temple, a *stūpa*, a palace, a defensive structure? We do not know.

As has been said above we have tried in vain to ascertain the spot where the stone had been found. Nevertheless it should be borne in mind that new fragments of the inscription, other blocks of the monument may turn up at any time. The French Archaeological Delegation is making plans for new investigations on the site of Old-Kandahar.

II. *Greek text and Prakrit versions: some remarks*—by E. Benveniste, Professor at the Collège de France, Paris.

Before comparing the Greek text of our inscription with the parallel Prakrit texts, two general observations may not be out of place: one about the country where the inscription was discovered, the other about the name of the king who had it set up.

The country is the province called by the Greeks Arachosia, by the Arab geographers Ruxxād or Ruxxāj. Now it should be remembered that the two Prakrit texts found nearest to Arachosia; the inscriptions of Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra (North-West Frontier Province, West Pakistan), show some peculiarities clearly betraying the proximity of an Iranian population. They are written in the so-called Kharoshthī characters, derived from the Aramaic alphabet, while all other Aśoka inscriptions are in Brāhmī characters. Moreover, the Shahbazgarhi text has the Old-Perisan word *dīpi*, meaning "inscription", in its original form, while everywhere else it appears in the adapted Indian form *līpi*.

In the same area have been found two fragments of Aśoka inscriptions in Aramaic, one from Taxila (North-West Frontier Province), the other from Pul-i Daruntaḥ, near Jelālabād (Eastern Afghanistan).² To these we have now to add the two inscriptions from Kandahar, of which the first is linked with them by its Aramaic text (containing, let it be remembered, at least five genuinely Iranian words),³ while its Greek text, and the new inscription,⁴ bring the proof that Greek too was being used in the area.

¹ Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra, Kalsi, Girnar.

² Bibliography of these inscriptions in A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila* (Mém. D.A.F.A., I) II, 1947, p. 390, n.1. On the text from Pul-i Daruntaḥ see W. B. Henning, *The Aramaic inscription of Aśoka found in Lampāka*, *Bullet. School Orient. Afr. Studies*, XIII, 1949, pp. 80-88.

³ E. Benveniste, *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, p. 44.

⁴ This inscription, let it be recalled, may well have been bilingual too.

Thus the existence in Arachosia of a population of Greeks and Iranians, living in close association, can no more be doubted, a fact already clearly indicated by the compound name *Yonakamboja* (in the Thirteenth Major Rock Edict) designating, as if they formed one people, the Greek *Yonas* (*Yavanas*) and the Iranian *Kambojas*. For, as was shown previously, the Iranian population in question was none other than the famous *Kamboja* people.¹

In his inscriptions the king usually calls himself *devanampriyo priyadrasī raya*. This formula has generally been understood by modern scholars (V. Smith, E. Hultzsch, D. R. Bhandarkar, J. Bloch) as containing two epithets, *devanampriyo* i.e. "the Beloved of the Gods" and *priyadrasī*, meaning something like "of gracious mien" (J. Bloch: "all regard amical"), the personal name of the king being considered omitted. The word *Aśoka*, supposed to be this name, occurs but twice in the inscriptions (at Maski and at Gujarā). The words *devanampriya* and *priyadrasī*, on the other hand, both occur more than a hundred times.

Thus the king is believed, by the modern, normally to speak of himself without revealing his name. One cannot help being struck by such a strange self-designation.

The two inscriptions at Kandahar no longer allow this view to be accepted. They show unquestionably *Priyadrasī* (Aramaic *pydrś*, Greek *PIODASSESES*) to be the king's name,² as E. Senart had rightly admitted as early as 1886.³ Thus the frequent formula *devanampriya priyadrasī rājā* literally means: His Majesty (*devanampriya* approximately) the king (*rājā*) *Piyadassi*, a regular and clear title.

Let us now confront the Greek text with the Indian versions. We shall quote the Shahbazgarhi text. The first part of the inscription, lines 1-11, faithfully renders the Indian version.

Line 1. As in the first Kandahar inscription *EUSEBIA*, to be translated by "piety" is the Greek rendering for *dhamma*. Already V. Smith had considered "piety" the best equivalent for *dhamma*. About *DIATRIBE* see below.

"Now he is most master of himself (*EGKRATES*) who controls his tongue". Here we have the counterpart of *AKRATES*, given by the 1958 inscription. It is a good rendering of *vachagutī*.

Line 2. "And may they neither praise themselves nor blame other (schools) about anything; for this is vain" exactly renders the opposition of *ataprashamḍapuja* and *parapashamḍagarana*, "to honour one's own sect, to belittle other's sects." At first sight the words "for this is vain" would seem to be in addition. But it is rather to be considered the equivalent of *aprakarapasi*, the meaning of which had not been understood this way by modern philologists (E. Hultzsch: "on improper occasions"; J. Bloch: "hors de propos").

Line 3. "And it is better to praise other (schools) and to abstain from blaming them in any respect" is equivalent to *Pujetaviya va-chu paraprashamḍa tena tena akarena*, *KATA PANTA TROPON* being a rendering of *tena tena akarena*, "on every occasion." But the Greek text adds *KAI ME PSEGEIN* "and abstain from blaming"; in order to go on opposing the same words.

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1958, p. 45 sq.

² R. Thapar seems to come near to this opinion, but not quite consistently when she says "the word *Priyadarśi*, the title used by *Aśoka*" (see, *Asoka and the decline of the Mauryas*, Oxford, 1961, p. 7) and "we are of the opinion that *Aśoka* was his personal name, and *Priyadarśi* was, as it were, an official name, which he probably began to use after his coronation" (*Ibid.*, p. 227).

³ E. Senart, *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi II*, 1886, p. 319.

Line 4. "In doing this they will extol themselves and gain the favour of the other (schools); in transgressing this they will harm their reputation and estrange other (schools)" is equivalent to *evam karatam ataprashamdam vadheti paraprashamdasā pi cha upakaroti tada añatha karami[ō] ataprashamda cha vñati paraprashamdasā cha apakaroti*, yet with a difference of some importance: the Greek verbs in the middle voice "they win for themselves, they alienate from themselves" are not tantamount to the Prakrit verbs in the active voice *upakaroti* and *apakaroti* "they favour, they harm (others)".

Line 8. "It is fit that people respect each other" should be equivalent with *so sayamō vo sadhu* (Shahbazgarhi) "concord is to be commended",¹ inspite of the difference.

Lines 9-11. While, in the Prakrit text, the *devanampriya* twice appears as he who urges respecting the *dhamma* the Greek text omits mentioning him, simply saying "in so doing they will grow in knowledge, transmitting to each other whatever each of them knows", = *kiti savraprashaṃda bahusruta cha kalaṇagama cha siyasu*. POLYMATHESTEROI renders *bahusruta*, while *kalaṇagama* has been dropped. "And there should be no hesitation in saying so to those who accordingly" is equivalent to *ye cha tatra tatra prasana tēsham vatavo*, a sentence diversely understood,² the meaning of which is now perfectly clear, in spite of slight differences; to render the Indian word *prasana*, meaning "those who are well disposed for, who are in sympathy with", the Greek has "those who act accordingly"; and, while the Prakrit version simply says: "one should tell them", the Greek text says, more emphatically: "one should not hesitate telling them". At first sight the following words "so that they will ever keep on living piously" look like an addition. But it seems they should rather be considered a shortened and free rendering of the next Indian sentence, the first part of which has been omitted, while *salavaḍhi* "progress in the essential", has become in Greek, "keeping on living piously".

These are the last words of the Greek text of the Twelfth Edict. The closing lines of the Indian text, mentioning the *dharmamahatras* and other officials have been dropped.

The two opening sentences of the Thirteenth Edict (lines 11-14) faithfully follow the Prakrit version, with nevertheless one notable difference: while, according to the Prakrit "a hundred thousand people were killed and many times that number died (*bahutavatake va mūte*)", according to the Greek "about as many died".

In the Prakrit text there follows a sentence which has been dropped here, only to reappear a little later (lines 15-16) as we shall see: "afterwards, now that Kalinga was annexed, the Beloved of the Gods very earnestly practised *dhamma*, desired *dhamma* and taught *dhamma*".³

Lines 14-16. The first sentence, "from that time on he was overcome by pity and compassion, and it weighed on his mind" obviously renders *so asti anusochana devanapriyasa vijiviti Kaligani* "since he has conquered Kalinga, the Beloved of the Gods feels remorse". But the next sentence has, at first sight, no Prakrit equivalent. Its first part "Just as he had given orders to abstain from (consuming) living beings" recalls line 5 of the first Kandahar inscription: 'the king abstains from (consuming) living beings' and seems to show this inscription to be earlier. The second part of the sentence "he has been zealous in organizing piety" we believe to be an equivalent, shifted to this place but nevertheless recognisable, of *tivre dhrama(silana dhramakamata dhramanusasti cha devanapriyasa*, the passage that was to be expected right after the two opening sentences and which, as we have seen, is missing there. The first of these three expressions *dhrama(silana* is

¹ Translation by R. Thapar, op. cit. p. 255.

² A correct translation had already been proposed by D. R. Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1925, p. 299: "Those who are favourably disposed towards this or that sect should be informed".

³ Translation by R. Thapar, loc. cit.

obscure, but the second and the third seem to accord with the Greek: *dhramakamata* "love for the Dharma" is not far from SPOUDE, i.e. "zeal for the Dharma"; *dharmanusati*, "admonition of the Dharma" we consider to be equivalent with SYNTAXIS PERI EYSEBETAS.

Lines 16-22. Of this long sentence the beginning clearly accords with the Indian text "And this the king took with even more grief" is a good equivalent for *idam pi chu tato gurumatataram Devanam priyasa*, including the rendering of the comparative. "The brahmins and sramans and all others who lived there (in Kalinga) practising piety" closely reproduces *ye tatra vasati bramana va sramana va anine va prashanda*. The transcription BRAMENAI SRAMENAI (as it seems from a nominative singular BRAMENS, SRAMENES) is a novelty; until now we only knew the form BRACHMANES. What we have here is simply an adaptation of *bramana*, *sramana*, the forms given by the Shahbazgarhi text. Our inscription teaches us the Greek equivalent of *pasanda* (*prasanda*), a word usually translated by "sect". It is DIATRIBE, a fact of considerable interest, already apparent at line 1. In the Buddhist scriptures *pasanda* means "heresy". In the Asoka inscriptions it designates any kind of faith, including the king's faith. Without considering the etymology, which remains obscure, one is tempted to suppose the original meaning of the word to have been "faith (as distinct from others), specific doctrine", a secondary development, due to Buddhist dogmatism, having later brought about the meaning of "heretical sect".

Line 17. "those who lived there", echoing "all others who lived there" (line 16), is tantamount to *grahathas*, "householders". "To mind the king's interests" seems to render *agrabhuti susrusha* (usually translated by "obedience to superiors", where the exact meaning of *agrabhuti* remained uncertain¹ (Senart: "autorités").

Lines 18-22. The merits of "those who lived there" are enumerated, the different aspects of their pious conduct being, in spite of some slight differences in wording, the same as in the Indian version.

At the end we have the case of a rare Greek expression, the sense of which can be fixed with the help of the Indian text. This expression EM PARADROME HEGEINTAI (line 21) had been held by D. Schlumberger and L. Robert to mean: "they consider it a minor matter" ("les autres le tenaient pour secondaire"), the idea being that, while some people were deported or died, the others who had escaped misfortune remained little affected, the king alone being deeply grieved. The Prakrit passage has been translated as follows by R. Thapar, p. 256: "Even those who are fortunate to have escaped . . . suffer from the misfortune of their friends, acquaintances, colleagues and relatives", other translation in English (Bhandarkar), French (J. Bloch), German (Lüders) agreeing with this meaning. Thus the Greek text would contrast the indifference of "the others" with the king's grief, while the Indian text, quite at the opposite, shows "the others" sharing the pain of those whom the war had struck. Such a discrepancy can hardly be accepted. We believe EMPARADROME to mean something like "in accompaniment, in association (with)", the meaning of the passage then being tantamount to "this (misfortune) the others resented by sympathy, as if it were their own". In this expression we probably have a free equivalent of *pratibhagan (cha) etam savramanusanam*, "this after-effect is of (felt by) all men". The Greek and the Indian versions would thus be in agreement.

At the end of the sentence "and the king was deeply affected thereby" is a close rendering of *gurumatam cha devanam priyasa*.

Of the following sentence we have but the first words: "and as amongst all other nations there are" . . . With the help of the Prakrit texts we can restore "brahmins and sramans". But here,

¹ J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d'Asoka*, Paris, 1949, p. 126, n. 7.

just here, an important difference is to be noted between the Shahbazgarhi version and the others. According to these brahmans and sramans "are to be found everywhere except with the Greeks". At Shahbazgarhi this restriction has been dropped, and no mention is made of the Greeks. How had this passage been drafted at Kandahar, in a text destined for the Greeks themselves? Unfortunately we cannot know.

No. 36—A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKSHATRAPA RUPIAMMA FROM
PAWNI

(1 Plate)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 3.8.1966)

Pawni on the bank of the Waingangā in the Bhandara District is an ancient place. Many years ago an inscription and a stone relic box are said to have been found there, but no notice of them has been preserved and they are not traceable now. Nearly thirty years ago the place was inspected by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit who recommended to Government some sites for protection. A notice was accordingly issued, but it was not followed up. Soon after the foundation of the Madhya Pradesh Samshodhan Mandal I visited the place in company with some members of the Mandal. Our attention was drawn to a large inscribed slab which was then lying in a pit there. The inscription was copied and later edited by me in this Journal.¹ It records the establishment of a *pādūkā-paṭṭa* by Bhagadatta, the king of the Bhāra family. It is not dated, but on the evidence of palaeography it may be referred to the beginning of the Christian era. The slab has since been removed to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Later, a small coin was found in the same pit. It is of Dimabhāga and has been published by me in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*.²

The present pillar inscription was discovered while digging in a field belonging to Mr. Maniram Lanjewar at Pawni nearly eight years ago. It remained unnoticed until Mr. G. N. Dikshit, my former student and now Head Master of the Waingangā High School at Pawni, drew my attention to it nearly two years ago. He sent me an eye-copy of the record at my suggestion. It was not possible to read the whole record from it, but it clearly showed the word *Sidham* in the beginning, which indicated that it was an ancient record. I then requested Mr. V. P. Rode, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, to get the record copied for me. He kindly sent Mr. Mulay of the Museum to Pawni for the purpose. From the estampages taken by him the record could be read completely. Later it was also copied by Dr. G. S. Gai in the course of his visit to Nagpur. The stone containing the inscription has since been removed to the Museum. I edit the inscription here from an excellent estampage supplied by Dr. Gai.³

The record is inscribed on a fragment of a stone pillar which is broken irregularly. It measures 30 cm in breadth and from 30 to 57 cm in height. On this fragment there is at the top a semi-circular figure of a half lotus, measuring 13 cm in height and below this, separated by two horizontal lines, there is an inscription in three lines in early Brāhmī characters. The first two lines measure nearly 29 cm but the third is only 9 cm in length. The characters are of about the second century A.D. The angular form of *chhā* in *chhāyā-khambho*⁴ in line 3 is noteworthy. The language is Prakrit. Worthy of note are the change of *p* to *v* in *Mahākhattava* and the use of a conjunct consonant in that word.

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 11 ff.

² *JNSI*, Vol. VI, pp. 9 f.

³ [The inscription has been noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B 346 and introduction p. 7.--Ed.]

⁴ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

The object of the inscription is to record that the sculptured pillar (*chhāyā-khambho*) was of (i.e. was set up in memory of) *Mahākshatrāpa Kumāra Rupiāmma*. The use of the title *Mahākshatrāpa* in connection with Rupiāmma shows that he probably belonged to the Śaka race. He is called *Kumāra* like the *Mahāsenāpāti* Eli-Ehavuladāsa in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription.¹

The *Kshatrapas* and *Mahākshatrapas* were Governors appointed by foreign Emperors to rule over the provinces of their Empire. From inscriptions and coins we know the names of the Śaka *Kshatrapas* Bhūmaka and Nahapāna, who were appointed probably by the Kushāna Emperors to govern Gujarat, Konkan and Maharashtra. The inscriptions of Nahapāna range in date from the year 41 to 46, which are usually referred to the Śaka era, and thus correspond to 119 to 124 A.D. These *Kshatrapas* ousted the Sātavāhanas from the aforementioned territory and ruled there for a few years. From the inscriptions of Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta in the caves at Nasik and Junnar we know that Nahapāna ruled over a large territory extending from Ajmer in the north to Poona in the south and from Kathiawad in the west to Malwa in the east. He was later overthrown by the great Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Satakarni, who wrested Northern Maharashtra, Konkan, Gujarat, Kathiawad, Malwa and other provinces from him. Later, Chashtana, who also was a *Kshatrāpa* probably appointed by the Kushānas, conquered Kathiawad and Malwa from the Sātavāhanas. His descendants continued to rule over these provinces until the last of them was overthrown by Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya in circa 395 A.D.

These *Kshatrapas*, though Śaka or Scythian by race, were soon Hinduised and assumed Hindu names. Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Chashtana are foreign names, but their descendants in the second generation assumed Indian names. As stated before, Nahapāna's son-in-law was Ushavadāta (Rishabhadatta). His daughter married to the latter was named Dakshamitrā. Chashtana's son was Jayadāman and grandson, Rudradāman. The *Mahākshatrāpa* of the present inscription bears the name Rupiāmma, which does not appear Indian. He was therefore probably one of the early *Kshatrapas* ruling over Vidarbha.

It was known for a long time that Western Maharashtra and Konkan had been conquered by the Kushānas and placed under *Kshatrapas*, but it was not known that Kushāna power had spread to Vidarbha also. The importance of the present inscription lies in this, that it has shown for the first time that Vidarbha also had passed under the rule of the Kushānas. As a matter of fact, Kushāna coins have been found much further in the east in Dakshina Kosala or Chhattisgadh. Many years ago, the late Pandit Lochānaprasad Pandeya sent me some copper coins of Early Kushāna emperors for decipherment. Recently Mr. Balchand Jain also has discovered some coins of the type in Chhattisgadh. Since copper coins do not travel much farther from the region where they are in circulation, it is not unlikely that Kushāna power had spread to Chhattisgadh also; but we have so far no indisputable evidence of it. The present inscription, however, leaves no doubt that it had spread to Vidarbha.

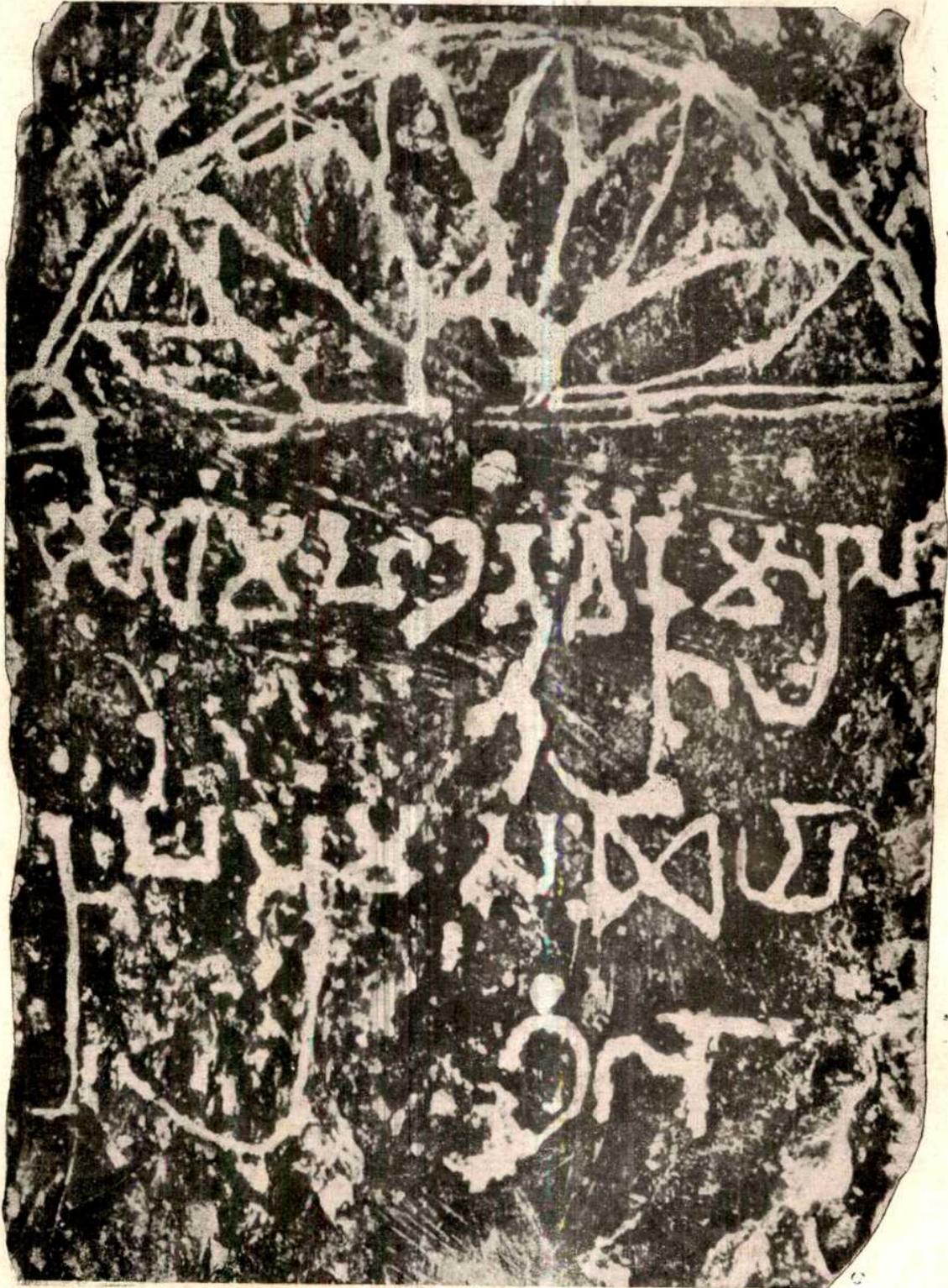
The pillar set up in memory of the *Mahākshatrāpa* Rupiāmma is called *Chhāyā-khambho* (Sanskrit *Chhāyā-stambha*). This is the earliest instance of the use of this word. Later, we notice it in several records. Thus, an inscription recently discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records the erection of a *Chhāyā-stambha* in memory of Eli Ehavuladāsa. Another inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa records the erection of another *Chhāyā-stambha* in memory of the deceased queen Vammabhatā in the 11th regnal year of the Ikshvāku-king Rudapurisadata.² That a *Chhāyā-stambha* meant a sculptured pillar is shown by the panel of three figures viz. the queen and her two attendants, carved above the record on this pillar. Another early record mentioning a *Chhāyā-stamba* (sculptured pillar) has been discovered at Gaṅgaperūru in the Cuddapah District.³ It is of about the

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.

³ *ARSIE*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 228.

A PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF MAHAKSHATRAPA RUPIAMMA FROM PAWNI



2

2

Scale : One-half

third or fourth century A.D. and records that a person named Śivadāsa died in a fight on the occasion of a cattle-raid. As that record is on the broken shaft of a pillar, it is not possible to say if it originally contained any sculpture, but that the *Chhāyā-stambhas* were usually memorial pillars is also shown by an inscription in the Kūrmēśvara-temple which records that the Gaṅga king Bhānudeva dedicated to the god Kūrmanātha the images of his father and mother with lamps in their hands.¹ As the present stone is only a fragment of a pillar, it is not possible to say whether it originally contained any sculpture.

Rupiamma bears the title of *Kumāra* besides that of *Mahākshatrapa*.² This recalls the use of that title in connection with the name of the *Mahāsēnāpati* Eli Ehavuladāsa in the aforementioned Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscription. As Eli Ehavuladāsa was the step-brother of the then reigning king Ehavula Chāntamūla, the editor of the inscription took *Kumāra* in the sense of 'a prince'.³ The use of the word in connection with the name of a *Mahākshatrapa* shows that it was used as a title of high personages. It corresponds to the title *Kumārāmātya* noticed in several records of the Gupta period.

The present pillar was erected on the bank of the Waingāṅgā. Such *Chhāyā-stambhas* were generally erected at holy places such as the sites near temples or the banks of sacred rivers. From very early times the Waingāṅgā has been regarded as very holy. The *Mahābhārata* says that one who fasts for three nights on the bank of the Venā (Waingāṅgā) gets an aerial car to go to heaven.⁴ It is not therefore surprising that this sculptured pillar should be erected in memory of the *Mahākshatrapa* Rupiamma on the bank of the Waingāṅgā.

Rupiamma's successor does not seem to have ruled in Vidarbha for a long time. Like Nahapāna, he was overthrown by the Sātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarni. The latter seems to have conquered Vidarbha first and established himself in the Waingāṅgā region before he invaded Western Maharashtra and exterminated the Kshaharāta *Kshatrapa* Nahapāna. In the record which he got incised in a cave at Nasik soon after his victory he describes himself as *Bennākāta-svāmi*, i.e. the ruler of the Venā (or Waingāṅgā) region.⁵ The meaning of this epithet was not known for a long time. The occurrence of the territorial expressions *Bennākata*⁶ and *Bennākārparabhāga*⁷ in the inscriptions of the Vākātakas, however, leaves no doubt that Venākāta or Bennākata means the Waingāṅgā region.

The present short pillar inscription has thus shed very important light on the ancient history of Vidarbha.

TEXT:

1 Sidham [| *] Mahakhattava-Kumārāsa

2 Rupiammasa chhāyā-

3 khāmbho [| *]

¹ *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1205.

² *Mahākhattava-kumāra* cannot be taken in the sense of 'a son of Mahākshatrapa', for in that case the name of the Mahākshatrapa would have been stated. Besides, *kumāra* is nowhere used in the sense of a son in Kshatrapa inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 10.

⁴ Vanaparvan (Chitrasālā Press Ed.), *adhyāya* 85, verse 33.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 ff.

⁶ *CII*, Vol. V, p. 50.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁸ From the estampage supplied by Dr. Gai and the original stone. I have received some help in the decipherment and interpretation of this record from Mr. N. L. Rao and Dr. Gai.

No. 37—MAHISANTOSH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAPĀLA,
YEAR 15

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 15.11.1966)

A few years ago, the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of West Bengal, Calcutta, collected an inscribed stone image of the Sun-god discovered at the village of Mahisantōsh (Dinajpur District, East Pakistan) from the Prāchya Bhāratī Library at Bāluṛghāṭ (West Dinajpur District, West Bengal). The village lies about three miles to the south of Bāluṛghāṭ near the bank of the river Ātrēyī. More than half a century ago, N. K. Bhattasali described the extensive ruins and antiquities of Mahisantōsh, the name of which he was inclined to associate with that of the Pāla king Mahipāla I (c. 990-1040 A. D.) of Bengal and Bihar.¹ It may be noted, however, that the inscription under study points to the prosperous condition of the village at least about a century earlier. Bhattasali was further inclined to identify the village with the city of Vilāsapura whence the Bāṅgaḍh plate of Mahipāla I was issued,² though, as rightly pointed out by B. B. Ray,³ Vilāsapura stood on the Bhāgrathī (Ganges) and could hardly have been identified with Mahisantōsh on the Ātrēyī, far away from the Ganges.

Bhattasali's description makes it clear that Mahisantōsh represents an old city which contained a fortress (about 400×300 yards). Much of the walls (about 12 or 13 cubits in height) of this fortress and parts of the moat around them are still extant. That Mahisantōsh continued to enjoy its importance during the period of Muslim rule is indicated by a mosque that was built there in A. H. 875 (1470 A. D.) by Sarāf Khān, a courtier of Sulṭān Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. A Darga at the village is celebrated in wide areas of North Bengal. Bhattasali thought that the mosque had been built on the ruins of a big temple of the Pāla age. Only the *kirtimukha*, originally at the door of the said temple, is now traceable and it is said to be about three maunds in weight and 2 feet 3 inches in both length and breadth. There is also a big mound covering the ruins of what is known as the Bāradvārī (literally, 'the structure having twelve or many doors').

Recently, one of my research Assistants named Ramprasad Majumdar, who happened to notice the two-line inscription on the pedestal of the image at the state Archaeological Galleries, showed me an indifferent eye-copy of the record, which he had himself prepared. A glance at the eye-copy convinced me of the importance of the date portion of the epigraph, though it was not possible to read all the *aksharas* of the record from the copy. I therefore requested the Directorate for a few inked impressions. The attitude of the Directorate was, however, unhelpful; but, learning in the meantime that the inscription had been copied about the beginning of 1965 by Shri P. R. Srinivasan, Superintendent for Epigraphy, I wrote to Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India. Dr. Gai not only sent me two impressions of the inscription, but also permitted me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. For this I am thankful to him as well as to Shri Srinivasan.

¹ See *Praṇṇī* (Bengali), Kārttika, B. S. 1321, pp. 48 ff. Mahitōsha, the same as Mahisantōsha, is even now a personal name in Bengal, so that the village of Mahisantōsh may have been so called after a person of that name.

² He also associated the name of the neighbouring Mahigañj with that of the same Pāla king and identified Bhūṭśālā in the neighbourhood with the original home of the Varendra Brāhmanas of the Bhaṭṭasāli-gāñi.

³ *Ibid.*, Agrahāyana, B. S. 1321, p. 230.

Of the two estampages, the first giving the impression of the two lines of writing at the lower end of the pedestal is better and the letters can be read from it without difficulty, even though the preservation of the writing is not exceptionally satisfactory and the engraving of the letters rather careless. But the other estampage offering an impression of the whole pedestal is important because it suggests that the concluding letters of the epigraph were engraved about the middle, a few inches above the writing at the lower end. Unfortunately these letters, about five in number, are rubbed off and their reading can only be tentative.

The main inscription in two lines covers an area about $14'' \times 1\frac{1}{2}''$ and an *akshara* is about $\frac{1}{2}'' \times \frac{1}{2}''$ in size. The characters belong to the East Indian alphabet of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. and internal evidence would suggest that the record was engraved near about 900 A. D. An interesting palaeographical feature of the epigraph is the use of a cursive form of the Bengali type of *anusvāra* in *saptamyām* in line 1. The engraving is indifferent as already indicated above and the language is corrupt Sanskrit. The record is dated in the year 15, the seventh *tithi* of the month of Mārga (Mārgaśirsha), during the victorious reign of the illustrious Mahēndrapāladēva. In the royal name, the *ē-mātrā* in *hē* resembles the corresponding vowel-mark in *dē* while *ndra* has been written as *ndhra* and *h* and *d* have their left limb rounded and angular respectively. King Mahēndrapāla of the record is undoubtedly the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch of that name, who ruled in c. 885-908 A. D.

The inscription records that the *Āditya-bhaṭṭāraka*, i.e. the image of the Sun-god bearing the epigraph, was caused to be made by a person named Lōkanandin who was the son (*sūnu*) of Gaṅganandin and the grandson (*naptri*) of Viṣṇunandin. About seven *aksharas* at the end of line 2 appear to mention a *Gaṇaka* (accountant or astrologer) whose name began with the *akshara* *vī* (probably Visajara = Vishajvara). The traces of the *aksharas* about the middle of the pedestal are unfortunately not of any help to us. The said person was probably responsible for writing or engraving the document.

The date of the inscription is of importance to the student of East Indian history since it throws welcome light on the problem of the struggle between the Pālas of Bengal and Bihār and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Western India and especially on that of the Gurjara-Pratihāra occupation of Eastern India. Till now, Mahēndrapāla's occupation of South Bihar was known from his (1) British Museum inscription of year 2, (2) Bihārsharif (Patna District) Buddha image inscription of year 4, (3) British Museum inscription of year 6 or 9, (4) Rāmgayā (Gaya District) Daśāvatāra panel inscription of year 8, (5) Gunariyā (Gaya District) inscription of year 9, and (6) Bihārsharif inscription of a doubtful date,¹ while his rule over North Bengal was indicated by the Pahāḍpur (Rajshahi District) inscription of year 5.² The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it definitely suggests the continued hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra monarch over wide areas of Bihar and Bengal as late as the fifteenth year of his reign, i.e. down to about 900 A. D.

The struggle between the Pālas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras began with Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) on the one hand and Vatsarāja (c. 775-800 A. D.) and his son Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-33

¹ Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, Nos. 1641-42, 1644-47. No. 6 (Bhandarkar's No. 1647), in which the date read as the year 19 is supposed to be wrong, is now regarded as the same as No. 3 (Bhandarkar's No. 1644) in which the date is read as year 6 or 9. See R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 64; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 175.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1643; *Mem. ASI*, No. 55, p. 75; *ARASI*, 1925-26, p. 141 [H. C. Ray has wrongly taken the date of this inscription as year 13. Cf. *DINI*, Vol. I, p. 303.--Ed.]

A. D.) on the other.¹ According to certain epigraphic records of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (c. 794-814 A. D.), his father Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja who had previously overpowered the king of Gauḍa (i.e. Dharmapāla) and snatched away the latter's two white umbrellas (i.e. his insignia of sovereignty).² Vatsarāja seems to have routed Dharmapāla as an ally of king Indrāyudha or Indrarāja of Kanauj, who is known to have been ruling in the north in the year 783 A. D. (Śaka 705) according to a tradition recorded in the Jain *Harivaṃśa*.³ But Vatsarāja's defeat at the hands of Dhruva gave Dharmapāla the opportunity to lead a vigorous attack on Indrāyudha who therefore appealed for help to Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda II (c. 775-80 A.D.) and the Rāshtrakūṭa king sent his younger brother Dhruva against Dharmapāla.⁴ Dhruva defeated the Gauḍa king in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doāb (i.e. the Kanauj region),⁵ though soon afterwards he went back to the Deccan where he occupied the Rāshtrakūṭa throne by removing his brother. Dharmapāla then ousted Indrarāja from the throne of Kanauj, which he gave to his protégé Chakrāyudha.⁶ Indrāyudha thereupon appealed to Gōvinda III who had earlier defeated Nāgabhaṭa II. Dharma and Chakrāyudha now surrendered to Gōvinda III who seems to have accepted Chakrāyudha as the king of Kanauj.⁷ Gōvinda's departure to the Deccan, however, enabled Nāgabhaṭa II to put greater pressure on Chakrāyudha and his support, the king of Vaṅga (i.e. Dharmapāla), both of whom were defeated

¹ This struggle is usually represented as a tripartite contest among the Pālas, Gurjara-Pratihāras and Rāshtrakūṭas for the purpose of occupying Kanauj. But the struggle was really quadripartite considering the participation of the Āyudhas of Kanauj and the mention of the Āyudha monarch in the Jain *Harivaṃśa* side by side with the Gurjara-Pratihāra and Rāshtrakūṭa emperors. The Rāshtrakūṭa records also show that their struggle with the Gurjara-Pratihāras began with the success of Dantidurga (c. 740-56 A. D.) against the Pratihāra king (probably Nāgabhaṭa I) at Ujjayinī while Gōvinda III is stated to have appointed Kakka his viceroy in Līṭā (South Gujarat) for the protection of Mālava (in the Mahī valley in Gujarat) from Gurjara-Pratihāra aggression. This struggle had nothing to do with the occupation of Kanauj because it started when the city was under the occupation of Yaśōvarman (c. 725-53 A.D.) and the contest was apparently confined to the Mūlva-Gujarat region. Cf. *dattaṃ yēn-Ōjjayinīyām=api nṛipati-mahādānam=āścharya-bhūtam and saudhē=smiṃ kṛita-Gurjarēndra-ruchirē* in the Ellora Daśavatāra cave inscription of Dantidurga (A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 34 note 12 and p. 40, note 33); *Hiranyagarbham rājanyair-Ujjayinīyām yad=āsitam | pratihārikṛitam yēna Gārjarīśādi-rājakam* in the Sañjān plates of Amoghavarsha I (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 243, verse 9); *Gauḍēndra-Vaṅgapati-nṛijaya-durvidagha-sad-Gārjarēśvara-dig-argalatām cha yasya | nītvā bhujām vāhata-Mālava-vakshanārtham svāmī tath=ānyam=api rājya-phalāni bhukṛtē* in the Baroda plates of Kakka (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, lines 39-40). For Mālava, see *Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 1-5.

² Cf. *Hēlā-svīkṛita-Gauḍa-rājya-kṛmīlā-mattam pravēśy=āchirād=lurmārgiṃ marumdhyc m=eritilalcir=yō Vatsarājyām ōlāik | Gauḍiyām śarad-indu-pāda-dhavalam chhatra-dvayam kēvalm=amān=prāhṛita tād-yc tē=pi kṛkubhām prāntē sthitam tat-kshayāt* in records like the Radhanpur and Wani Dindori plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 157; above, Vol. VI, p. 243).

³ *JRAS*, 1909, p. 253 : *Sākēshv=śbda-satēshu sapṭasu diśāṃ pañch-ōttarēsh=ōttarēm pāt=Indrāyudhā-nāmnī Kṛishna-nṛipajē Śrīvallabhē dakshinām | pūrām śrīmād-Avanti-bhūbhṛitī nṛipē Vats-ādhrājē=prerim Svuryāpām=ādhrimvādalē Jaya-yutē vīrē Varāhē=vatī ||*

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 59. The Rāmēśvaram inscription speaks of the presence of the army of Gōvinda II in the valley of the Ganges (ibid., p. 63, verse 7 : *yat-sainya-nāgēndra-mad-āmbuvatticāc=Gēngiṃ pṛ yō Yān ura-vīd=vibhātī*). The same expedition seems to be attributed to Dhruva in the Sañjān plates. Dhruva was the *de facto* ruler during his brother's reign.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 244, verse 14 : *Gaṅgā-Yamunayōr=madhyē rājñō Gauḍasya nāśyataḥ | lakshmi-ml-āravindāni śvēta-chchhatrāṇi yō=krat.*

⁶ Maitreya, *Gauḍalēkhamala*, p. 57, verse 3 : *Jitv-Indrarāja-prabhṛitīm-arātīm-uparjita yēna Mahōdaya-brīh | dattā punaḥ sā balin=ārthayitrē Chakrāyudhāy=ānati-vāmanāya*; cf. ibid., p. 14, verse 12 : *kṛishyat=Pañchāla-śrīddh-ōḍḍirīv-kanakamaya-sv-ābhishēk-ōḍakumbhō dattaḥ śrī-Kanyākubjas=salalita-chalita-bhrū-latā-lākshma yēna.*

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 245, verse 23 : *svayam=ēv=ōpanatay cha yasya mahatā=tau Dharma-Chakrā-yudhan.* For Gōvinda's success against Dharma (Dharmapāla), see also ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 131, verse 23, and for that against the Gauḍas, cf. ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 102-03.

by the Gurjara-Pratihāra king.¹ One of Nāgabhaṭa's vassals claims to have driven away (*anīnaśat*) Dharma² while another says that he had obtained fame in fighting with the Gauḍas at the battle of Mudgagiri (Monghyr) which lay in the heart of the Bihar portion of Dharmapāla's empire.³ Nāgabhaṭa II now transferred his capital from the Jodhpur region to Kanauj.⁴ Dharmapāla's son Dēvapāla (c. 810-50 A. D.) claims to have humbled the pride of the lord of the Gurjaras⁵ and this may refer to the recovery of Western Bihar from the Gurjara-Pratihāras. But the Pratihāra king Bhōja I (c. 836-85 A. D.), grandson of Nāgabhaṭa II, ruled over a vast empire extending from the western border of Bihar to the Arabian Sea and was apparently more powerful than Dēvapāla.⁶ And the great might of the Gurjara-Pratihāras was exhibited by Bhōja's son Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A. D.) who occupied considerable parts of Bihar and Bengal from Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 855-910 A. D.), the grandson of Dēvapāla's brother, between the 17th and 54th year of the Pāla king's reign.⁷ As we have seen above, Mahēndrapāla is now found to have been in occupation of wide regions of Bihar and Bengal at least from his 2nd to his 15th regnal year. The success of Mahēndrapāla must have made Nārāyaṇapāla's position precarious as the lord of Bengal and Bihar. During the period in question, the Pāla king may have been ruling over a small part of Bengal or Bihar either as an independent monarch fighting with the Gurjara-Pratihāras or as a subordinate ally of Mahēndrapāla. He seems to have succeeded in recovering his lost possessions after Mahēndrapāla's death when his sons, Bhōja II and Mahīpāla I, were probably involved in a civil war and fighting for the Gurjara-Pratihāra throne. It is not improbable that Nārāyaṇapāla utilised the opportunity by siding with one of the two rivals.

There is a view that the Bāghāurā image inscription discovered in the Tippera District is dated in the 3rd regnal year not of Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A. D.) or II (c. 1080-83 A. D.) of the Pāla house, but of Mahīpāla I, son of Mahēndrapāla I of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty.⁸ We have of course now to take into account the Nārāyaṇpur image inscription of the 4th regnal year of the same king discovered in the same District.⁹ The said theory however does not appear to be easily acceptable in view of the fact that, before Nārāyaṇapāla's 54th regnal year (c. 909 A. D.), the Pālas

¹ Cf. *jitvā par-āśraya-kṛta-sphuṭa-nīcha-bhāvaṃ Chakrāyudham vinaya-namra-vapur-vjarājat and nirjitya Vaṅga-patim-āvirabhād-vivasvān-udyan-iva trījagad-eka-vikāśakō yaḥ* (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 103, verses 9-10).

² Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 7, verse 9 : *dharmam-avann-āpi nityaṃ raṇōdyatō-vīnuśad=Dharmān.*

³ *JRAS*, 1894, p. 7 : *yaśō Mudgagirau labdham yēna Gauḍaiḥ samān raṇē.*

⁴ Hiuen-tsang locates the capital of Ku-che-lo (Gurjara) at Pi-lo-mo-lo (Bhillamāla, modern Bhinnāl in the Jodhpur Division), while the *Prabhāvakacharita* mentions Āma-Nāgāvalōka (Nāgabhaṭa II), who died in 833 A. D., as ruling from Kanauj. The Barah plate issued by his grandson from Kanauj only three years later in 836 A. D., seems to support the Jain tradition regarding the transfer of the Gurjara-Pratihāra capital. It records the grant of a village in the Udumbara-viśaya within the Kālañjara-maṇḍala of the Kānyakubja-bhukti made originally by Maukhari Śarvavarman, but later approved by Nāgabhaṭa II. This fact also points to Nāgabhaṭa's rule over the Kanauj territory. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 174 ff.

⁵ *Gaujalēkhamālā*, p. 74 : *utkālīt-Ōlcala-kulām hrīta-Hūna-garvaṃ kharvīkrīta-Draviḍa-Gurjara-nāthadarpam.*

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. XVIII, p. 109, verse 18 ; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 89, verse 9 (. *Bhōjadēv-āpta-bhūmiḥ śrī-Guṇāmbhōdhi-dēvaḥ āsi-prakaṭa-prīthu-pathēn-āhṛitā Gauḍa-lakṣmīḥ.*)

⁷ The Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla was issued from Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in his 17th regnal year and records the grant of a village in Tirabhukti (Tirhut) in North Bihar. Another inscription on a brass image of Pārvaṭī from Bihārsharif is stated to have been dedicated by a resident of Uddandapura (Bihārsharif) in the 54th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla. See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1618-19.

⁸ *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 137 ff.; *N. Ind. Ant.*, Roās Vol., pp. 382 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25 ; cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 51 ff.

succeeded in re-establishing their hold on Bihar, and apparently also on Bengal, whereas the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of Pratihāra Mahipāla I seem to have been later than 909 A. D.¹

TEXT²

- 1 [Siddham []]³ Sasvat⁴ 15 Mārgga-sukla-saptamyām śri-Mahēndhra(ndra)-
pāladēva-vi(vi)ja⁵a-rājyē Vishnu-
- 2 [na]ndi-naptā(ptrā) Gaṅganandi-sunū⁶ Lōkanandhi(ndi)nā Aditya-bhattarakah kārita
iti [] Gana(na)ka-Vijājarā⁶

¹ Even if the 54th year of Narayanpala's reign is placed a few years later, it has to be remembered that Mahendrapala I seems to have been succeeded by his son Bhōja II and that his other son Mahipāla I was probably the usurper of the throne of Bhōja II. The earliest known date of Mahipāla I is offered by the Haddāla plate of the 23rd December, 914 A.D. (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1086).

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read *sambat*.

⁵ Read *sunu* or *sunūna*.

⁶ As suggested above, the reference may be to a *Ganaka* whose name may be Visajara-Vishajvara. The concluding *asharā* of the inscription were probably incised elsewhere about the middle of the pedestal, as suggested above, apparently for shortage of space. The first two of them look like *gūna* or *gūnā*. For illustrations of the Surya image and the inscriptions on its pedestal, see S. C. Mukherjee in *Indian Museum Bulletin*, January, 1907, pp. 44-45 and Plates

MAHISANTOSH IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAPALA, YEAR 15



2

2

Scale : One-half

No. 38—DHANTA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA SOMASIMHA,
VIKRAMA 1277

(1 Plate)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

(Received on 28.2.1966)

This inscription¹ was discovered at Dhāntā in Sirohi Tahsil and District, Rajasthan, while I was conducting the epigraphical survey of the said Tahsil. It is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the goddess Mahishāsūramardīnī locally called 'Jōgmāyā'. The image which is made of marble stone is broken into two pieces and now stands on a platform near a well called 'Pādarlā' *arahaṭ* in the village along with some other damaged images of deities like Durgā and Gaṇēśa. Some more images of these deities were also found on a small mound near a well called 'Rūpāwālā' *arahaṭ* outside the village where, according to local tradition, a temple existed. It appears that the above-mentioned images were installed in this temple which was probably dedicated to god Śiva. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that a black stone image of Viṣṇu was also found in a field near the same village. This appears to indicate that there existed here another temple dedicated to Viṣṇu. The inscription is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

It consists of four lines of writing which is in a bad state of preservation. The fourth line has been completely effaced and nothing can be made out except the word *kārāpitā* in the end. Though the third line has also suffered considerable damage, some words can be made out here. No damage has, however, been done to the first two lines which can be fully deciphered. The engraving has been very careless. While some of the letters or parts of letters are boldly incised, others are very shallow. The inscribed area measures 36.5 cm by 7 cm.

The characters are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period. It is, however, noteworthy that the medial vowels *ē* and *ō* have been indicated here as well as in a number of inscriptions of the time of Dhārāvarsha only by *śīrōmātrās*,² while some other inscriptions of about the same period from this region use both *prishṭhamātrās* and *śīrōmātrās*.³

The language of the record is Sanskrit written in prose. The orthography does not call for any remarks. The name of the month Māgha is spelt as Māha due to the influence of local dialect.

The inscription is dated [Vikrama]- Saṃvat 1277, Māgha śudī 2, Monday, corresponding to 1221 A. D., December 28. It refers itself to the reign of Sōmasiḥa of Chandrāvati. Though he is not endowed with any title, there is no doubt that he is identical with the Paramāra king Sōmasiḥa, son of Dhārāvarsha. So far only four inscriptions of this king have been found. Of these three were discovered in Sirohi District and one from Nāṇā in Pali District. His known dates are V. S. 1287, 1290 and 1293.⁴ The present inscription, therefore, provides the earliest date for him.

The record begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a passage in lines 1-3 which states that an image, apparently of the goddess Mahishāmardīnī on the pedestal of which the record is

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.* 1964-65, Introduction p. 7 and App. B, No. 562.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, Plates I-IV between pp. 50 and 51.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, Plate between pp. 208 and 209, and *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Plates facing pp. 212 and 222.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 487, 488, 509 and 525.

engraved, was caused to be made in Dhānatā-grāma during the victorious reign of Sōmasiḥa ruling at Chandrāvati on the above-mentioned date.

The above-mentioned passage includes the expression *Sīgāradēvī-kālē pravartamānē*. Though the exact significance of this expression is not clear, it shows that Sīgāradēvī was connected with the work of the creation of the image. We know that Sīgāradēvī or Śrīngāradēvī was the queen of Dhārāvarsha from some records of his time also. An inscription from Ajahāri,¹ dated V. S. 1240 (1183 A. D.) and belonging to the reign of Dhārāvarsha, gives the name of his queen as Sīgāradēvī and mentions her as the chief-queen (*paṭṭa-rāṇī*) and as making a grant along with Kumāra Pālhaṇadēva. The Jhādōli inscription², dated V. S. 1255 (1198 A. D.) and belonging to the reign of the same king, gives the name of this queen as Śrīngāradēvī. Here she is stated to be the daughter of the Nādōl Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇa and the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha. Sīgāradēvī of the present inscription is evidently identical with Sīgāradēvī or Śrīngāradēvī of the above-mentioned inscriptions. She might have been the mother of Sōmasiḥa, though the inscription under study does not give any information about their relationship.

According to G. H. Ojha, Dhārāvarsha had two queens named Gīgādēvī and Śrīngāradēvī, of whom the former was the chief queen. He adds that both of them were daughters of the Nādōl Chāhamāna king Kēlhaṇadēva.³ He, however, does not mention any source for this information. D. R. Bhandarkar, while recognising Śrīngāradēvī as the chief queen of Dhārāvarsha, also mentions Gīgādēvī, at one place, as another queen of that king without referring to any source.⁴ However, at another place he remarks: "He (i.e. Kēlhaṇa) had one daughter named Śrīngāradēvī who was married to the Paramāra king Dhārāvarsha and another named Lālhaṇadēvī who was married to the Pratihāra chief Vighraha."⁵ As no queen of Dhārāvarsha of the name Gīgādēvī is known, it appears that the name of Gīgādēvī has been given by Bhandarkar on the authority of Ojha whose view seems to have been based on the wrong reading of an inscription from Jhādōli⁶ noticed by him. Dated V. S. 1243 (1187 A. D.), this inscription⁷ belongs to the reign of Kēlhaṇa and mentions the name of the chief queen (*paṭṭamahārāṇī*) of the Maṇḍalika Dhārāvarsha. Ojha reads the name of this queen as *Gīgādēvī* but the correct reading appears to be Sīgādēvī which stands for Śrīngāradēvī. Dhārāvarsha, therefore, had no queen named Gīgādēvī.

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it provides the earliest date for Sōmasiḥa as stated above. Prior to the discovery of this record, he was believed to have ascended the throne sometime before V. S. 1287 (1230 A. D.),⁸ the date of the two Mount Ābū inscriptions of his reign. As the latest known inscription of his father Dhārāvarsha is dated V. S. 1276 (1219 A. D.),⁹ it was believed that Prahlādāna, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, ruled in the intervening period.¹⁰ The present inscription which is dated V. S. 1277 (1221 A. D.) not only increases the reign period of Sōmasiḥa by about 10 years but also shows that Prahlādāna, if he ever ascended the throne, ruled for a very short period, not exceeding a few months. It is even likely that he did not ascend the throne at all, for the Pāṭnārāyaṇ inscription¹¹ of the

¹ Ibid., No. 399.

² Ibid. No. 437. For the text of this inscription, see *Prāchīna-Jaina-lēkha-saṅgraha*, pp. 262f. No. 430.

³ *Rājputānēkā Itihās*, Vol. I, p. 177.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, p. 398.

⁵ Ibid., p. 382, footnote 9.

⁶ *Sirōhī Rājyākā Itihās*, p. 25. Also cf. Lala Sita Ram, *History of Sirōhī Raj*, p. 32.

⁷ See *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B 640.

⁸ *Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

⁹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 473.

¹⁰ *Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 77 ff.

DHANTA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA SOMASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1277



Scale : Seven-fifteenths

G. S. Gai.

Ep. Ind, Vol. XXXVII

end of the 13th century omits his name and describes Sōmasimha as successor of Dhāravarsha. As the Mount Ābū inscription, dated V. S. 1265 (1208 A. D.)¹ describes Prahādāna as the heir-apparent of his brother, it may be assumed that he had predeceased Dhāravarsha who was probably alive, as will be seen below, at least till V. S. 1278. But, according to a statement made in the *Sōmasaubhāgya*, a work composed in the latter half of the 15th century, Prahādāna was the lord of Arbudāchala.² The trustworthiness of this statement may, however, be questioned in view of the late date of the work. Even if it has an element of truth, it may be assumed that Prahādāna was governing the Ābū region on behalf of Dhāravarsha.

It is believed by many scholars that the Milachchhikāra mentioned in the drama *Hammīra-mada-mardana* of Jayasimha-sūri, one manuscript of which is dated V. S. 1286, is identical with *Sultān* Iltutmish (1210-1236 A. D.).³ The drama describes the defeat of Milachchhikāra or Iltutmish at the hands of Vāghelā Viradhavala when the former invaded Gujarat. In this expedition, Iltutmish had to face the combined might of Viradhavala and the three lords of Marudēśa (i.e. Marwar) whose names are given as Sōmasimha, Udayasimha and Dhāravarsha.⁴ The date of Iltutmish's invasion of Gujarat has been fixed in V. S. 1278 (1221 A. D.).⁵ It will, thus, be seen that Dhāravarsha was not only alive in V. S. 1278 but also fought against Iltutmish along with his son Sōmasimha. The mention of both Dhāravarsha and Sōmasimha as lords of Marudēśa in the *Hammīra-mada-mardana* perhaps indicates the joint rule of the father and the son. It is, however surprising to note that our inscription not only does not refer to their joint rule but also does not mention the name of Dhāravarsha at all. The context where his chief queen Sīgāradēvī figures in our inscription seems to indicate that she was alive. Can this fact be taken as an evidence to prove that Dhāravarsha was also alive on the date of our inscription? Even if he was alive, it is certain that he was not on the throne of Chandrāvati, for according to our inscription, Sōmasimha was ruling at that time.

Dhāpatā-grāma mentioned in the record is evidently the same as Dhāntā where the inscription was found.

TEXT*

- 1 [Siddham]? [|| *] [Sam]vatu(t) 1277 Var[shē] Māha-sudi 9 Sō[mē] śri-Chandrāvati-
tyām||⁹
2 śri-S[ō]mas[i]ha-vijaya-rājyē Dhā[ṇa]tā-grām[ē] śri-S[ī]gāradēvī-
3 . . .¹⁰ kalē prava[rta]mā[nē] [dēvī Sā¹¹] [kā]rāpitā [*] [Pa]li . . . ku
4 la¹² kārāpitā ||

1 Bhandarkar's List, No. 454.
2 D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 317.
3 Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 152, note 32; D. C. Ganguly, op. cit., p. 315. But, according to A. K. Majumdar, this identification is untenable (cf. *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 159).
4 *Hammīra-mada-mardana*, Anka II, verse 8.
5 Dasharatha Sharma, op. cit., p. 152 and note 34. D. C. Ganguly's view that Iltutmish invaded Marwar in 1227 A. D. does not appear to be correct.
6 From inked impressions.
7 Expressed by a symbol which is damaged.
8 Read *Māgha*.
9 The two vertical strokes here are superfluous.
10 I am unable to give a satisfactory reading of these two *aksharas*.
11 The reading of the *aksharas* is uncertain.
12 Although traces of letters can be seen here, these are too faint and uneven to yield any satisfactory reading.

No. 39—NILMANGALA GRANT OF VENKATA (II), SAKA 1554

(2 Plates)

S. R. RAO AND B. DUTTA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 29.12.1955)

The set of copper-plates, edited below, was brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao by Sri G. T. Manjicka Nayagar, Madras. According to Mr. Nayagar, this set is owned hereditarily by his family. On examination the set proved to be a new discovery and it is being edited for the first time. We are grateful to Mr. Nayagar for giving us the record for study.

The set contains five copper plates each measuring 17.5 cm in height from bottom to the tip of the rounded top of the handle-like part, and about 12.7 cm in breadth. The ring-hole is about 1.2 cm in diameter. The plates are strung together by a ring which bears a seal containing the figure of a boar facing left, the legend *Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśa* and the figures of the sun and the moon. The first and the last plates bear writing only on the inner side, whereas the remaining three plates are engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 148 lines of writing, distributed as follows: The first side of the third plate contains 18 lines, the second side of the fourth plate 20 lines, the fifth plate 15 lines and the remaining sides 19 lines on each. The plates are numbered serially with the Telugu numerals 1 to 5. They have raised rims and as such the writing is in a good state of preservation. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 2280 g.

The characters of the inscription are Nandi-Nāgarī. In respect of palaeography and orthography, this charter resembles the already known charters of the king who issued the present charter.¹ The text of the record is composed entirely in Sanskrit verse with the exception of *Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēśāya namaḥ* in the beginning, and *Śrī Vēṅkaṭēśa*, in Kannaḍa characters, at the end.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Peda-Vēṅkaṭa II**, the elder son of Śrīraṅgarāya IV and is dated **Śaka 1554** (expressed by the chronogram *Vēda-bāṇa-kalamba-imdu*), **Śrīmukha Kārtika śu. 15, lunar eclipse**. The cyclic year for Śaka 1554 was Āṅgīrasa and not Śrīmukha.² The other details given here, however, are regular for the Śaka year and they correspond to **Wednesday, the 17th October, 1632 A. D.**

The charter contains in verses 1-28 a detailed genealogical account of the Āravīḍu dynasty of Vijayanagara and a description of the ruling king Vēṅkaṭa II (verses 29-37). These verses are identical with those found in the other copper-plate charters³ of the king and do not add anything new to our knowledge of the history of the dynasty.

The formal portion of the grant records the details of the date (verses 38-39), already discussed, and the gift made by the king. It is said that the gift was made in the presence of god Vēṅkaṭēśa which is invariably the case with all the other copper-plate charters of the family. The donee was the (Brāhmaṇa) Nāgarībhaṭṭa, who was the son of Koṇḍabhaṭṭa and grandson of Udaya-giryalu-bhaṭṭa. He is stated to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Āpastamba-sūtra and

¹ Above, Vol. III, pp. 236 ff., etc.

² See, *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. A 28.

³ E. g. the Kūniyūr plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 246 ff.) and the Koṇḍyāta plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128 ff.).

Yajus-sākhā and to be a resident of the famous Jayaṅḡaṅḡa-Toṅḡamaṅḡala (verses 40-42). The gift consisted of the village **Nilmaṅḡala** also called **Rāghavaśrīpura** and its hamlet **Kuttanūr-Maṅambākkam** (verse 53). It was included in **Reṅḡāyira-velippattu**¹ and was famous in the (division) **Chaṅḡādikōṭṭam** of **Kōṅḡādināḡu**, in **Paḡaviḡu-mahārājya** and it was situated to the east of **Varatturu**, to the south of **Paḡapa-grāma**, to the west of **Māḡambākkam**² and to the north of **Kūṭṭanūru** (verses 42-48).

The composer of the charter was **Rāmakavi**, son of **Kāmakōṭi** and grandson of **Sabhāpati** and the writer was **Achytārya**, son of **Gaṅapārya** and grandson of **Viraṅāchārya** (verses 49-51). These persons are already known from several charters of the rulers of this dynasty. Then there is an imprecatory verse (verse 52) followed by a reference to **Kuttanūr-Māṅambākkam** as a hamlet of the gift village (verse 53). The charter ends with the colophon **Śrī-Vēṅkaṭēsa** engraved in bold **Kannaḡa** characters.

The **importance** of this inscription lies in the fact that it is one of the few copper-plate records belonging to the early independent rule³ of king **Vēṅkaṭa II** who ascended the throne in 1630 A. D. It may be pointed out that there are charters issued by him earlier when he was a prince.⁴

Of the **geographical** places occurring in the charter **Jayaṅḡaṅḡa-Toṅḡamaṅḡala** is the well-known ancient territorial division identical roughly with the territory comprising the modern districts of Chingleput and North Arcot; **Chaṅḡalipaṭu** is evidently identical with the modern Chingleput, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Madras; **Nilmaṅḡalam** may be identified with **Nilamaṅḡalam** (12°30'N., 80°00'E.) situated to the north-east of Orattur which is obviously identical with **Varatturu** of the record; **Māṅambākkam** may be the same as **Māḡambākkam** situated to the east of **Nilamaṅḡalam**; and **Paḡapa-grāma** may be identified with **Kiḡappaḡappai** situated to the north of **Nilamaṅḡalam**. **Kūṭṭanūr** and the remaining places cannot be identified.

TEXT⁵

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 3, 23, 27, 38-48, 52 and 53 *Ślōka*; verses 4, 6, 26, 31, 34 and 37 *Sārdūlavikrīḡita*; verse 5 *Sragdharā*; verses 7 and 35 *Rathōddhatā*; verses 8, 13, 20 and 25 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 9, 14 and 33 *Prīṭhvi*; verses 10 and 18 *Śikharīṅi*; verse 11 *Sailaśikhā*; verses 12, 21, 22, 28 and 29 *Indravajrā*; verse 15 *Mālinī*; verse 16 *Pushpitāgrā*; verses 17, 19, 32 and 51 *Upajūti*; verses 24 and 50 (?) *Āryā*; verse 30 *Maṅjubhāshīṅi*; verses 36 (half) and 49 *Gīti*].

First Plate

- 1 श्रीवेंकटेशाय नमः । यस्य संपर्कपुण्येन ना-
- 2 रीरत्नमभूच्चि(च्छ)ला । यदुपास्यं सुमनसां तद्वस्तुद्व-
द्व-
- 3 माश्रये ।[1१*] यस्य द्विरदवक्त्राद्याः पारिषद्याः परशतं(श्शतम्) ।
- 4 विघ्नन्निघ्नन्ति भजतां विष्वक्से(क्से)नं तमाश्रये ।[1२*] जय-

¹ Read *velippattu*.

² Read *Māḡambākkam*.

³ Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. A 28.

⁴ See e.g., *A. R. Ep.*, 1933-34, No. A 4, dated Śaka 1546, about 8 years earlier than the present one.

⁵ From photographs and the original plates.

- 5 ति श्रीरजलधेजितं स[व्ये]क्षणं हरेः । आलवनं
 6 चकोरण(णा)ममरायुष्करं महः ।[1३*] पौत्रस्तस्य पुरु(रु)-
 7 रपा(वा) बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस्यात्मज[*] ।¹ संजज्ञे नहुषो
 8 ययातिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तद्वसे(शे) भ[र*]तो
 9 बभूव नृपतिस्तत्संततौ शंतनुः ।¹ तत्तुरो(र्यो) विजयो-
 10 भिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्(त्प)रीक्षिततः ।[1४*] नंदस्तस्याष्ट-
 11 मोभूत्समजनि नवमस्तस्य राज्ञच्च(श्च)लिककक्षमाप-
 12 स्तत्स[प्त*]म[*] श्रीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेन्द्रः ।
 13 तस्यासीद्विज्जलेन्द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेमालि-
 14 रायस्तार्तीई(यी)को मुरारौ कृतनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मा-
 15 यापुरीशः ।[1५*] तत्तुर्योजनि तातपिन्नममहीपालो
 16 निजालोकनत्रस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हर-
 17 न् दुर्गाणि सप्ताहितात् । अन्है(है)केन स सोमिदे-
 18 वनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञे सुतो वीरो राघवदेव-
 19 राडिति । त[त*] श्रीपिनमोभूनु(न्तृ)पः ।[1६*] आरवी-

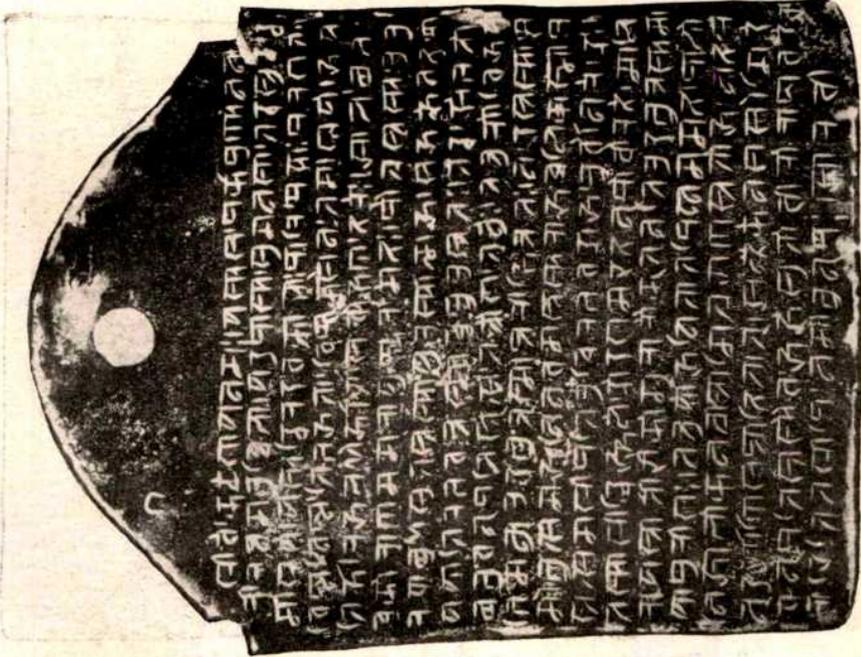
Second Plate : First Side

- 20 टिनगरीविभोरबू(भू)दस्य बुक्कधरणीप-
 21 तिस्सुतः । यन सालुवनृशिहा(सिंह)राज्यमप्येध-
 22 मानमहसा स्थिराकृत(तम्) ।[1७*] स्वःकार्मिना[*] स्वतन
 23 कांतिभिराक्षिपंती बुक्कावनीपतिलको बुध-
 24 कल्पशाखी । कल्याणिनी कमलनाभ इवाब्धि-

¹ This *danda* is unnecessary.

NILMANGALA GRANT OF VENKATA (II), SAKA 1554 — PLATE I

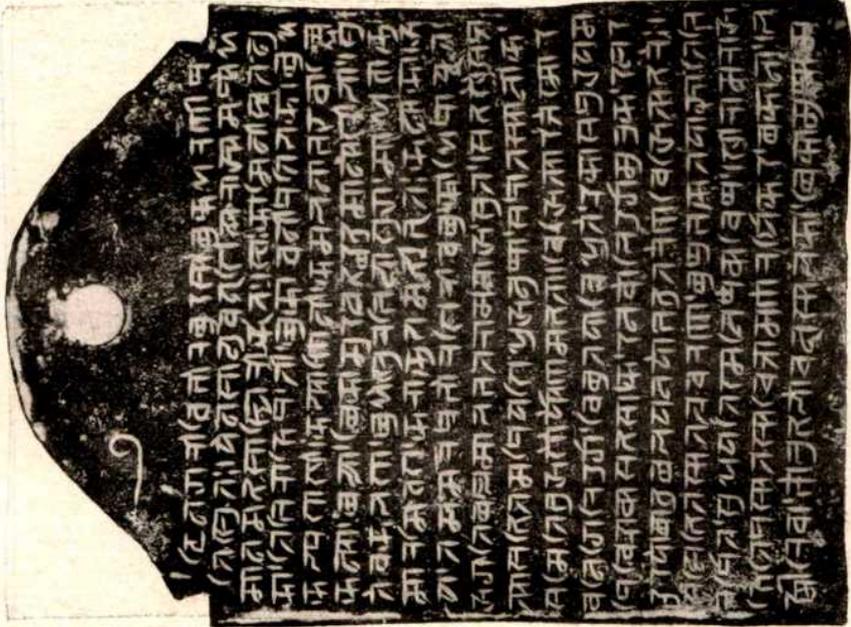
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- 25 कन्यां बल्लांबिकामुदवहद्रहुमान्यशीलां(लाम्) ।[118*] सु-
- 26 तेव कलशांबुधेस्सुरभिलाशुगं माधवात्कु-
- 27 मारमिव शंकरात्कुलमहीभूतः कन्यका । ज-
- 28 यंतममरप्रभोर[पि*] शि(श)चीव बुक्काधिपाच्छृ(च्छृ)तं
- 29 जगति बल्लमालभत रामराजं सुतं(तम्) ।[119*] सहस्रै[.*] सप्त-
- 30 त्या सहितमपि य[.*] शि(सि)धुजनुषां सपात(द)स्यानीकं
- 31 समिति भुजशौथ्येण महता । विजित्यादत्तेश्मा(स्मा)द-
- 32 वनिगिरिदुर्गं विबु(भु)तया विधूतैर्द्र[.*] कासपु(प्प)डयम-
- 33 पि विद्राव्य सहसा ।[120*] कंदनवोलिदुर्गमुरुकंदलद-
- 34 द्रु(भ्यु)दयो बाहुबलयन¹ यो भ(व)हुतरेण विजित्य हरेः ।
- 35 सन्निहितस्य तत्र चरणांबुषु भक्ततया ज्ञातिभि-
- 36 रर्पितं सुधयति श्म(स्म) निषेव्य विषं(षम्) ।[121*] श्रीरामराज-
- 37 क्षितिपस्य तस्य चिन्तामणेरर्थिकदंबकानां(नाम्) । ल-
- 38 क्षमीरिवांभोरुहलोचनस्य लकां(क्कां)विकामुष्य म-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 39 हिष्यलासीत् ।[122*] तस्याधिकै[.*] समभवस्त(त्त)नयस्त-
- 40 पोभि[.*] श्रीरंगराजनृपति[.*] शशिवंशधी(दी)पः । आसं(सल)
- 41 समुल्लसति धामनि यस्य चित्रं नेत्राणि वैरि-
- 42 सुद्रु(दृ)शां च निरंजनानि ।[123*] सती तिरमन्त्रावि-
- 43 कां चरितलीलयारुंधतीप्रथामपि तिति-
- 44 क्षया वसुमतीयशो रुंधती(तीम्) । हिमांशुरिव ये

¹ Read बाहुबलेन.

- 45 हिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्गुणैरमोदत सधर्मि-
 46 णीमयमवाप्य वीराग्रणीः ।[1१४*] रचितनयविचारं
 47 रामराजं च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वेंक-
 48 टाद्रिक्षितीशं(शम्) । अजनयत स ये(ए)तानानुपूर्व्या
 49 कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्यामेव राजा महो(हौ)-
 50 जाः ।[1१५*] सकलभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति
 51 निहत्य स रामराजधीरः । भरतमनुभ-
 52 गीरथादिराजप्रथितयशाः प्रशशास चक्र-
 53 मुर्व्याः ।[1१६*] व्यराजत श्रीवरवेंकटाद्रिराज[:*] क्षि-
 54 तौ लक्ष्मणचारुमूर्तिः[1*] ज्याघोषदूरीकृतमे-
 55 घनादः कुर्वन् सुमित्राशयहर्षपोषं(षम्)।[1१७*] त्रिषु
 56 श्रीरंगक्षमापरिवृड(वृढ)कुमारेष्वधिरणं विजि-
 57 त्यारिक्षमापान्ति(पांस्ति)रुमलमहारायनृपतिः ।

Third Plate ; First Side

- 58 महौजाशशां(स्सां)म्राज्ये मुमतिरभिषिको(क्तो) नि-
 59 रुपमे प्रशास्त्युवीं सर्वामपि तिसृषु मूर्तिष्वि-
 60 व हरिः ।[1१८*] यशस्वि(स्वि)नामप्रसरस्य यस्य पट्टा-
 61 विसैके¹ सति पार्थिवेदोः । दानांबुपूरैरभिषिच्यमा-
 62 ना देवीपदं भूमिरियं द्व(द)धाति ।[1१९*] सामादयो विधिमु-
 63 का(खा)दिव सत्यवाच[:*] सामाद्युपायनिवहा इव सा(सां)युगीना-
 64 त् । रामादयो दशरथादिव राजमौलेत(लेस्त)रमा(स्मा)दमेयय-

¹ Read पट्टाभिवेके .

- 65 शसः स्तनया भभुः¹ ।[1२०*] राजा ततोभूद्रघुनाथनामा श्रीरं-
 66 गराय[:*] श्रितपारिजातः । श्रीरामराय[:*] शिशिरांशुरू(रु)-
 67 व्यः² विख्यातिमान् वेंकट[दे]वरायः ।[1२१*] श्रीर(रं)गराय-
 68 स्सहजेषु तेषु पारं गतो नीतिपय[:*]पयोधेः । अष्टा-
 69 दुशिक्षु³ प्रथितश्शय(स्स) लेभे पट्टाभिषेकं पेनगोडरा-
 70 ज्ये ।[1२२*] अथ श्रीवेंकटपतिदेवरायो नयोज्व(ज्ज्व)लः । अत्र-
 71 नीमशिषत्कीत्या(त्या) दिशो दश विशोभयन् ।[1२३*] तज्ज्य(ज्ज्या) य-
 72 श(सः) सुरदृ(द्रु)मलज्जावहचरितरामराजविभोः । जात-
 73 स्तिरुमलराज[:*] ख्यात[:*] श्रीरंगरायोपि ।[1२४*] श्रीरंगरा-
 74 यनृपतेस्तनयेषु तेषु पारं गिरामधिगतः कवि-
 75 पुंगवानां(नाम्) । रत्नेषु कौस्तुभ इवांबुधिसंभवेषु श्री-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 76 रामरायनृपतिश्शु(स्सु)चिरं व्यलासीत् ।[1२५*] पूर्वं
 77 विश्रु(श्रु)तरामराजनृपतेः श्रीरामभद्राकृतेः
 78 कल्याणोदयशालिनस्तनुभवा[:*] पंच प्रप्रं(पं)चा-
 79 वने ।[*] दक्षा नीतिपथानुगास्समभवन् क्षीरापगा-
 80 कामिनो ।⁴ गीर्वाणालयभूरुहा इव बुधश्चेणीष्ट-
 81 दानोत्सुकाः ।[1२६*] आज्ञाविजितसुग्रीवाः प्राज्ञावन-
 82 कृताग्रहाः । सर्वे ते विबुधग्राह्याः⁵ गुणै रुचिर-
 83 विग्रहाः ।[1२७*] विख्यातचर्येषु नृपेषु तेषु ।⁶ श्रीरं-

¹ Read °यशसस्तनया बभूवः .

² The *visarga* is unnecessary.

³ Read अष्टासु दिक्षु .

⁴ This *danda* is unnecessary.

- 84 गराज[*] शिशिरांशुर्व्याः । विश्वत्रये विश्व(श्रु)त-
- 85 कीर्तिरासीत् शौ(सौ)रेषु शालेष्विव पारिजात ।[126]
- 86 श्रीरंगराजस्य तपोविशेषस्तोष(पि)ष[*] शेष-
- 87 गिरीश्वरस्य । काह(ह)ण्यभूमना कमर्तय्य' शो
- 88 भौ पुत्रावभूतां पुरुहूतभोगो ।[129*] पेदवेंकटेंद्र-
- 89 पिनवेंकटाधिराडिति नामको प्रकृति-
- 90 पालनोत्सुको । खरदूषणप्रहृतिदक्षिणाबु(बु)-
- 91 भौ ददतः प्रमोदमिव रामलक्ष्मणौ ।[130*] श्रीशाली
- 92 पेदवेंकटेंद्रनृपतिर्जष्टो^१ वयोभिस्तयोः ।^२ शौर्यौ-
- 93 दार्यगभीरथा(ता)धृतिकलापूर्व^३श्च सर्व^४गुणैः ।
- 94 यस्यारातिनृपालभेदनकलायात्रासु सेनार-

Fourth Plate ; First Side

- 95 जः।^१पूरैर्भूजंलधिभवेदिति हरिश्चित्ते श्च(च)
- 96 धत्ते स्थितिं(तिम्)।[131*] श्रीरंगराजेंद्रकुमारकेस्मिन् वी-
- 97 रोत्तमे वेंकटदेव^२राये । पट्टाभिषिक्ते पेनुगोडरा-
- 98 ज्ये तदाभिषिक्ताः सुधियोपि हेम्ना ।[132*] यथा स्फुकुलो-
- 99 द्रह[*] स्वा(स्व)यमरुंधतीजानिना स्वगोत्रगुहणा सु[धी]-
- 100 तिलकतात्तयार्थेण यः । यथाविधि यशस्वि(स्वि)ना विरि(र)-
- 101 चिताभिषेकक्षणाद्विभिद्य यवनाश(सु)रान्विजयते प्र-

^१ Read कमनीय° .

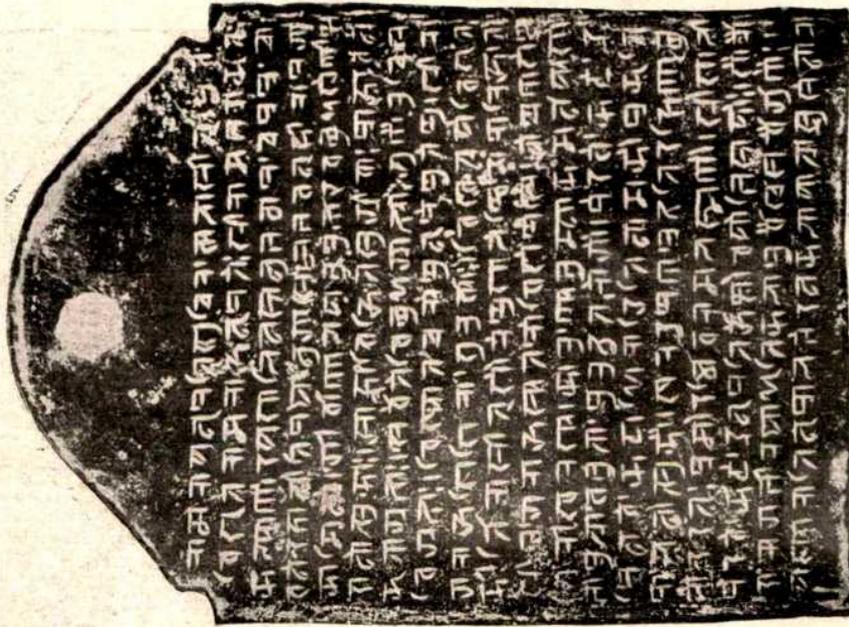
^२ Read °उर्वेष्टो .

^३ This *danda* is unnecessary.

^४ देव is written below the line.

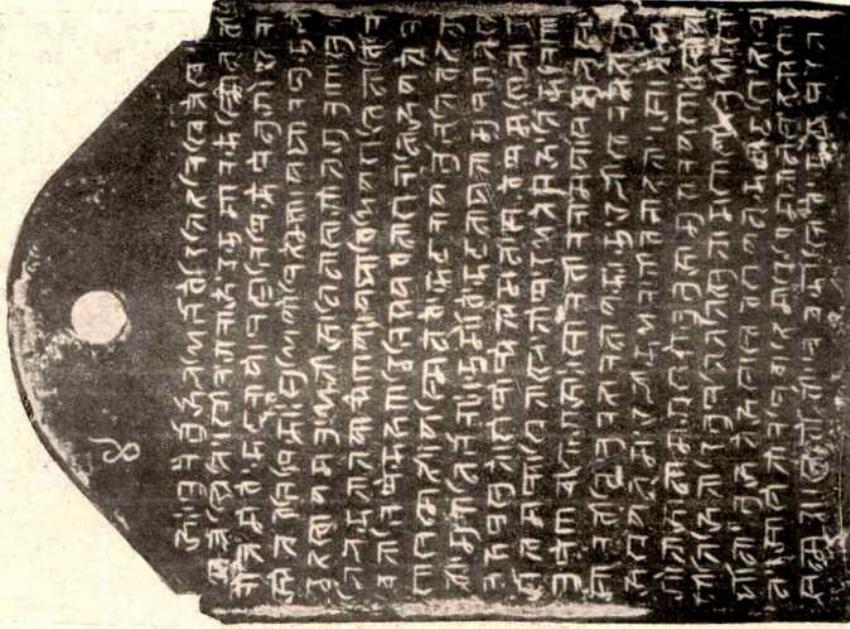
NILMANGALA GRANT OF VENKATA (II), SAKA 1554 — PLATE II

iii, b



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iv, a



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iv, b

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v

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134 136 138 140 142 144 146 148

Scale : Two-thirds

- 102 शासन्मही(हीस) ।।[३३*] यस्मिन् वकटरायभूमति वहत्यु-
- 103 वी(वी) मुदा निर्भरा-। कर्मा वकटनाथतामुपगतस्त-
- 104 दक्ष[ण*] प्रसु(स्तु)ते। शेषोप्येत्य मनीस वेषमखिला दु-
- 105 गत्वमप्याश्रितास्सतोष दधते भजति करिणा
- 106 रूपेण चाशागजा ।।[३४*] सारवीररा(र)मया समुल्लस-
- 107 आरुवीटिपुरहास्नायकः । कुडलीश्वरमहाभु-
- 108 ज[*] श्रयन् मडलीकधरणीवराहता(ताम्) ।।[३५*] आत्रेय-
- 109 गोत्रा(त्र)जानामप्रसरो भूमुजामुदारयशा ।।[३६*] स्वो(सो)यं
- 110 णी(नी)तिजितादिभूपतिततस्सुत्रामशाखी सुधी । सा-
- 111 र्थानां भुजतेजसा स्ववशयन् क[र्ना]टशिं(सिं)हास-
- 112 नं(नम्) । आ सेतोरपि चा हिमाद्रि विमतान् संहृत्य शा-
- 113 सन्मुदा । सर्वोवी प्रचकास्ति वेंकटपति-

Fourth Plate Second Side

- 114 श्रीदेवसायाग्रणी ।।[३७*] वेदबाणकलवे(वे)दुग-
- 115 णिते शकवत्सरे । श्रीमुखा(खा)ह्वयके वर्षे मासि
- 116 कात्ती(त्ति)कनामनि ।।[३८*] पक्षे वलक्षे पुण्यायां घाते(ण)माश्यां(स्यां)
- 117 महातिथौ । सोमोषराघ(ग)समये वेंकटेश्वरस(स)
- 118 त्रिघौ ।।[३९*] भारद्वाजसगीत्राय वराप[स्त]बिसुत्रि-
- 119 णे । यजुश्शोका(खा)वतामग्रयाइ(यि)नेभि(भो)ष्टदाइ(यि)ने ।।[४०*] य-

¹ This, *dānda* is unnecessary.

² Read मन्त्रय

³ Read समुल्लसन्तार

⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted. Of Kondyāta plates which read—

अतिविहदतरगघट्टो मतिगुहरारट्टमगधमान्यपदः ।

- 120 जनादिम(ष)ट्कर्मनिरताय महात्मने । उदयगिर(र्यं)-
 121 लुभट्टपौत्रायामित्रकशिने ।[1४१*] कौडभट्टार्यपुत्रा-
 122 य नागंभट्टबुधाय च । जगत्ख्यातजयंकौडतों-
 123 डमं[ड*]लवाशि(सि)नं(नम्)।[1४२*] पडवीडुमहाराज्ये चंगलिप[ट्ट]-
 124 सीमकं(कम्) । चंगाटिकोट्टविख्यातं कोनादिनाडुके
 125 स्थितं(तम्)।[1४३*] रेंडाइवेलुपत्तुस्थं वरस्तुरोश्च पूर्व-
 126 कं(कम्) । पडपग्रामस्य दक्षिणं माडंबाकस्य प-
 127 श्चिमं(मम्) ।[1४४*] कुत्तनूरुमहाग्रामस्योत्तय(र)स्यां दिशि
 128 स्थितं(तम्) । राघवश्रीपुरख्यातं(त)प्रतिनामसम-
 129 न्वितं(तम्)।[1४५*] नील्मंगलमहाग्रामं शोभितं शोभ-
 130 नैर्गुणैः । सर्वमान्यं चतुस्सीमासहितं च समंततः ।[1४६*]
 131 [अ]ष्टभोग्यादिस(सं)युक्तं ऐकभोज्यं सभूरुहं(हम्) । पुत्र-
 132 पौत्रादिभिर्भोज्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्) ।[1४७*] श्रीवीरवें-
 133 क[ट*]पति[म*]हारायमहीपतिः । सहिरण्यपयोधा-

Fifth Plate

- 134 रापूर्वकं दत्तवान् मुदा ॥[४८*] श्री ॥
 135 श्रीवेंकटपतिरायक्षितिपतिवर्यस्य
 136 कीर्तिधुर्यस्य ॥(1) शासनमिदं सुधीजनकुव-
 137 लयचंद्रस्य भूमहेंद्रस्य॥[४९*] श्रीवेंकटपतिराय-
 138 गिरा सरसमभाणीत्सभापतेः पौत्र[ः*] । कामको-
 139 टिसुतो रामकवि[ः*] शासनवाङ्मयं(यम्)।[1५०*] श्रीवीरणा-
 140 चार्यवरेण(ण्य)पौत्रो वराच्चु(च्यु)तार्यो गणपार्यपुत्रः

- 141 सूक्ता(क्त्या) लिखद्वेकटरायमौलेः पद्यानि हृद्यान्य-
 142 थ शासनस्य ॥[५१*] दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाश्रे(च्छ्रे)यो-
 143 नुपालनं(नम्) । दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्चु(च्यु)तं प-
 144 दं(दम्)।[५२*] राघवश्रीपुरख्यातं(त)प्रतिनामसमन्वितं(तम्) । कृत्तग-
 145 रमणंवाक उपग्रामसमनि(न्वि)तं(तम्) । नीलमंगलमहाग्राम[म्*]
 146 शोभितं शोभनैर्गुणैः ।[५३*]
 147 श्रीवेकटे-¹
 148 श¹

¹ In Kannaḍa characters.

No. 40—JODHPUR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA VISALA,
VIKRAMA 1174

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(Received on 24-7-1965)

The slab containing the inscription edited below was originally fixed in the inner side of the northern wall of the building called Topkhana at Jalore, the headquarters of the District of the same name in the Jodhpur division of Rajasthan State. Finding it fixed in the wall upside down, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu removed it to the Sardar Museum at Jodhpur about the beginning of the year 1933 where it is now preserved. The same scholar has also published the record, without facsimile, with a brief introduction in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LXII (1933), p. 41. As the inscription deserves to be properly edited, it is published here from the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹

The epigraph is engraved on a thick white stone slab measuring 2' 3.5" by 1' 10". The right end of the slab has suffered slight damage resulting in the loss of a couple of letters in lines 3, 4, 5 and 7. The record contains 14 lines out of which 13 lines are fairly well preserved and there are traces of some letters in line 14. This last line might have contained the name of the writer of the inscription, as the preserved portion is complete with the date portion.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. Both *śirō-mātrās* and *prishtha-mātrās* have been used to indicate the medial *ē*, *ō*, *ai* and *au* (cf. lines 1, 2, 4, 6, etc.). Initial *ā* is met with in line 3 and final *t* in [*Sam*]vat, line 13. The figures for 1, 4, 5 and 7 are found in line 13. The language is Sanskrit and, except the two lines (lines 13-14) giving the date of the record, the entire text is in verse. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally doubled. *S* is written for *ś* in *Viśvāmītra*, line 1, *kalasam*, line 12, and *sudī*, line 13.

The record is dated Samvat, i.e., Vikrama Samvat, 1174, Āshāḍha śu. 5, Bhaumavāra (line 13). This date regularly corresponds to 25th June 1118 A.D., whether the Vikrama year pas Śrāvaṇādi or Kārttikādi.

The inscription commences with a symbol for *Siddham* followed by a verse (verse 1) which refers to the mythical origin of the Paramāra dynasty from the fire pit, usually found in the inscriptions of the dynasty. It is stated that Paramāra was caused to be born in a pit by the angry sage Vasishṭha in order to conquer Viśvāmītra (who had carried away the former's cow)

¹ The record has been noticed in *A. It. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 487. It was first noticed by D.R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Reports, Arch. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, 1908-09, p. 54. See also Bhandarkar's List, No. 194.

and destroy the enemy (*para-māraṇāya*). Verse 2 introduces 5 kings of this Paramāra family. First, there was Vākpati—his son, Chandana—his son, Dēvarāja—his son, Aparājita whose son was Vijjala. Verse 3 mentions Dhārāvarsha who seems to be the son of Vijjala, though this relationship is not specifically stated in the record.¹ Dhārāvarsha's son Visala is introduced in verse 4 as the reigning king. The last verse (verse 5) states that Visala's queen Malaradēvi made a golden cupola for the temple of Sindhurājēśvara. This is followed in line 13 by the date portion which has been discussed above.

The record thus introduces seven kings of the Paramāra dynasty starting with Vākpati and ending with the ruling king Visala. No historical event is mentioned with regard to any of them. However, the importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it introduces a hitherto unknown branch of the Paramāra family. Except Vākpati, the other six rulers are not known from any other branch of this family. Since Visala is known to have been ruling in 1118 A.D., his sixth ancestor Vākpati may be placed in *circa* 970 A.D. according to the general convention of 25 years' rule for a generation.²

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identification of Vākpati, the founder of this Jalore branch of Paramāras. G.H. Ojha and B.N. Reu think that he probably belonged to the Abu branch of the Paramāras and that he might be connected with Dharanivarāha of that family.³ On the other hand, D.R. Bhandarkar,⁴ D.C. Ganguly⁵ and H.C. Ray⁶ are inclined to think that Vākpatirāja of this inscription should be identified with Vākpati II-Muñja of the main Paramāra family of Mālwa or Ujjain and Dhārā. B.N. Reu says that Vākpati II-Muñja had no male issue and adopted his nephew Bhōja whereas Vākpatirāja of the inscription under study is stated to have a son called Chandana.⁷ There is no evidence to show that Bhōja was adopted as a son by Vākpati II of the main line although it is known that the latter was succeeded on the throne of Mālwa by his younger brother Sindhurāja who in turn was succeeded by his son Bhōja. It is well-known that Vākpati II-Muñja died under tragic circumstances when he was taken as a captive in the territory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāna during the reign of Taila II. It is not unlikely that this Muñja had a son called Chandana who was appointed as a

¹ Bhandarkar and Reu also take Dhārāvarsha as the son of Vijjala. It is also possible that Dhārāvarsha was another name of Vijjala.

² B.N. Reu (*loc. cit.*) has inadvertently stated that the time of this Vākpatirāja would be V.S. 1150 or 1093 A.D.

³ G.H. Ojha, *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 182; B.N. Reu, *op. cit.*

⁴ *List*, No. 194, note 2; cf. also p. 398 and note 1.

⁵ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 64; cf. also *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 96; *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 73.

⁶ *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, pp. 924-25.

⁷ We learn from Mērutunga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* that Vākpati-Muñja had sons. The Vasantgaḍh inscription of Paramāra Pūrṇapāla of Abu branch, dated Vikrama 1099, states that Vākpati-Muñja had a son called Aranyarāja. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 10 ff., see also *Bhōjacharita*, ed. by Chhabra and Sankaranarayanan, Introd. p. XIII, f.

governor in the Jalore region. And the family of this Chandana is known only from the inscription under study. It is apparently after this Chandana that the *vihāra* called Chandana-vihāra and Mahārāja-sri-Chandana-vihāra in some of the inscriptions of the Chāhamāna ruler Chāchigadēva is named.¹ The temple of Sindhurājesvara mentioned in the record might have been named after Sindhurāja, the younger brother of Munja, and situated at Jalore, the findspot of the inscription. Malaradēvi, the queen of Visala, is known for the first time from this record.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 3 *Āryā*; Verse 2 *Sardalavikrīḍita*; Verses 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*].

- 1 Siddham¹ []² Jētun-Visvā(svā)mitram-vaśi(si)shṭa(shṭha)-munin=āti-kōpa-pūrnēna []³
- 2 paramāranāya janita[h*] kundē tēn=aiiva Paramāra[h*] || 1*
- 3 Āsīd=Valrpatirāja⁴-nāma-nripatih śri-Paramār-ā[]⁵
- 4 tat-putrō-jani Chandan-āvanipatih tan-[n]andānō Dēva-⁶[]⁷
- 5 tat-putras=tv=Aparājita[h*] sāmabhavat=praudha-pratāpa[h*] sū-⁸
- 6 putrō=bhūd=Aparājitasya vijayī śri-Vi⁹jjalō bhūpatih [] 2*
- 7 Sēnānī-iva Sambhōh Pradyumana¹⁰ iv=āthavā Harō[r*]=nū.¹¹ []¹²
- 8 Dakshē(kshō) v=Āmvu(mbū)jasūtē[r*]-Dhārāvarshō narādhipatih || 3*
- 9 Dhārāva[r*]ślasya putrō=yañ jāto Visala-bhūpatih || (|)
- 10 yēna bhū-māndalikānām dhārma-mārggō=tra darshi(rēi)taḥ || 4*
- 11 Rājñi Malaradēvyā(vi) tu patnī Visala-bhūpatē[h*] || (|)
- 12 sauvarṇam kalasam(sam) mūrddhni Sindhurājesva(sva)rē kṛitam(tam) || 5*
- 13 [Sa]m¹³vat 1174 Āshādha¹⁴ sudi 5 Bhaumē ||
- 14 [.. Rājādhirāja]¹⁵

¹ See, above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 46-47.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* above *rā*.

⁵ The two lost *aksharas* may be restored as *nvayē*.

⁶ The lost *akshara* may be restored as *rāt*.

⁷ The lost *akshara* may be restored as *dhīh*.

⁸ As this *akshara* is damaged, it is difficult to say whether the writer meant it to be *Vi* or *Bi*. But since the sign for *ḥ* is denoted by *v* only in *v=Āmvuja* for *v=Āmbuja* in line 8 below, the reading *Vijjalō* is to be preferred.

⁹ Read *Pradyumna*.

¹⁰ The lost *aksharas* may be restored as *nam*.

¹¹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra*-like mark above *ta*.

¹² The upper portion of *sa* with the *anusvāra* mark above can be seen.

¹³ There is a gap between *shā* and *dha* caused by the chipping of a piece of stone which existed at the time of engraving the record.

¹⁴ The reading of this word is not certain.

JODHPUR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARA VISALA, VIKRAMA 1174

2 जलद्विस्वामि वृवविष्टु निना तिको वृष्टेष्टु
 2 पप्रमा रूणा यत्र नितकं एतानि व प्ररमा
 4 श्रीश्री वा क्यति राजनाम नृपतिः श्रीपरमा
 4 तस्युवा नृति चंद्रना वृष्टिपतिः तु नरना एव
 6 तेषु वृष्टु ये सजित समरु वाद्योद प्रताप सु
 6 पुदी हूर पसा इति सकि यीथी निहलं हू पतिः
 8 से नानी स्वशं काः प्रद्यु मनः वा धवा ररु
 8 मरु वा सु रु म्रु न का स वरि त रा विष ति
 10 मनी रु प सु प्र वा य जा नि वी सु ल र प ति
 10 ये न रु मं डली वी नां व मे ना सो व र स वि त
 12 रा को म रु र र सु अ ठ पा वी वी म ल रू प ति
 12 सा व रु क ल स म र्दि सि पु री डो सु र र त
 14 व र १३४ या वा ट सु रि प से

Scale : One-fourth

No. 41—MAHULPARA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA-DHARMARATHA,
YEAR 11

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(Received on 26.11.1965)

The copper-plate inscription¹ edited below is now in the possession of Mr. S.C. De, Assistant Director of Archives, Government of Orissa, Bhuvanēśvar. In December 1964 when I visited Bhuvanēśvar during my collection tour, I got its impressions through the kind help of Mr. B. Venkataraman, I.A.S., Home and Cultural Affairs Secretary to the Government of Orissa. It is stated that the charter was discovered at **Mahulpara**, Nayagarh Sub-Division, Puri District, by a villager and that it is owned by him.

The charter consists of **three rectangular plates** each measuring approximately 26.1 cm × 18.4 cm at its maximum. The plates are strung together to a circular ring now cut and badly bent. The top right corner of the first plate is cut away. The ends of the ring which is 1.3 cm thick are soldered to a circular **seal** with a diameter of 5.5 cm. The seal which is broken at its top bears, in its counter-sunk surface, a figure in relief representing Gajalakshmi with two arms, seated on a lotus-flower in the *padmāsana* pose, with her left hand kept on the left lap. A beautiful lotus with stalk is carved on either side of the goddess, and on the fully blossomed and double-flexed flower stands, in the characteristic posture, an elephant facing the goddess and engaged evidently in pouring water on her crown, although the foreparts of the elephant and the goddess' crown have been broken and are missing. Of the three plates the first and the third plates contain writing only on one side while the second plate has writing on both sides. There are altogether 63 lines of writing, of which 15 lines are on the first side while 16 lines are on each of the other sides. The writing is well preserved in spite of the fact that the rims of the plates have not been raised. The three plates together weigh 3387 g, while the ring with seal weighs 1128 g.

The **characters** are Nāgarī as prevalent in the 11th century in Kalinga, and they resemble those of the Paṭṇā plates of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta² and of the Ratnagiri plates of Karna.³ As in the case of the alphabet of the latter, several letters of this record also have nail heads. Such letters as *t*, *p* and *y* have forms which, with further development, cause the alphabet in course of time to be designated Gauḍīya or proto-Bengālī.⁴ Of initial vowels the charter employs *a* (lines 6, 28, 35, 44), *ā* (lines 45, 52), *i* (line 55), and *u* (line 47). It is noteworthy that the initial vowel *u* is not different from the letter *ḍ* (line 48). The signs for the medial vowels are generally normal for the period. However, the forms of some of them are noteworthy. The sign for medial *u* is a triangle attached to the left of the vertical of the letters while medial *ū* is

¹ *A.R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 53.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 340-41, Plate between pages 342-43.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff., and Plate.

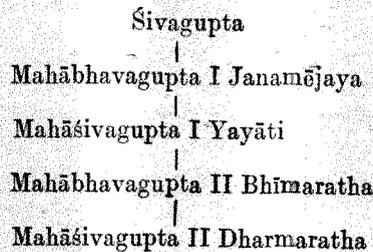
⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 236.

indicated by a small stroke curving to the right attached to the bottom tip of the verticals of letters. The medial *ē* is indicated generally by a *prishtha-mātrā* but once it has been indicated by a *śirō-mātrā* (see *yat-kē*¹, line 20). The final consonants *t* (line 10), *n* (lines 15, 16, 24, etc.) and *m* (lines 13, 36, 41, 50, 51, etc.) occur. The letter *j*^h occurs once in line 19; *p* is written in one way upto line 25 and somewhat differently from line 26 onwards; *y* is different from *p* upto line 27 but approximates to it from line 28; and the *avagraha* is employed in lines 31, 36 and 53. Symbols for both *Siddham* and *Om* occur in line 1.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the text is partly in verse and partly in prose. Of the ten verses of the introductory portion of the record, a majority are found in other cognate records. As regards orthography, the following points are of interest. While *nta* is clear in lines 5 and 28 (*antar*^o) it is engraved as *tta* in lines 45 (*bhwatti* for *bhavanti*, *°yatti* for *°yanti*), 46 (*°lgayatti* for *°lgayanti*), 60 (*attar*^o for *antar*^o) and 61 (*mattri* for *mantri*). The letter *b* is invariably indicated by *v*; the consonant following *r* is generally doubled; sometimes *s* is used for *ś* (e.g., *rasmī* for *raśmī*, line 14) and occasionally class nasal is employed for *anuscāra* as in *-ratnānśu* for *ratnānśu* (line 14).

The record refers itself to the reign of *Paramabhṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahāśivagupta-Dharmaratha*, son of *Paramabhṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Mahābhavagupta-Bhīmaratha* who is stated to be the son of *Yayāti*. The first two rulers are endowed with the titles *Sōmakulatilaka* and *Trikalīngādhipati*. The date of the record is given as **Saṁvat 11, Phālguna ba. 3**. The year is apparently of the regnal reckoning of king Dharmaratha, the issuer of the charter.

The importance of this charter lies in the fact that this is the only record belonging to the reign of **Mahāśivagupta-Dharmaratha** discovered so far, and we learn that he ruled at least for 11 years. Till now it was only from the Balijhari¹ and the Bhuvanēśvar² inscriptions of Uddyōtakēsari, that we know that Dharmaratha ruled after his father Bhīmaratha. The inscription under study supports the genealogy which was originally suggested by Fleet³ and recently confirmed by Dr. Sircar,⁴ but which in the meanwhile underwent a change in the hands of D.B. Bhandarkar.⁵ This genealogy with the addition of the king who issued the charter under study will be as follows :



It must be mentioned here that in the record under study, the grandfather of the donor is called simply *Yayāti*. But there can be no doubt that he was Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti. D.R.

¹ JBORS, Vol. XVII, pp. 15 ff.; IHQ, Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

² JRASB (Letters), Vol. XIII, pp. 63 ff.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 327.

⁴ The Age of Imperial Kanauj, pp. 145-49; and The Struggle for Empire, pp. 209 ff.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, pp. 403-04, and Nos. 1556-1573.

Bhandarkar takes the king Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti of the Jāṭeśingā-Duṅgri plates¹ as the first of that name and as the father of Mahābhavagupta I Janamējaya, although in the records of the latter his father is called Śivagupta and Śivaguptadēva² and not Mahāśivagupta-Yayāti. But from the details of the charter Dr. Sircar has rightly identified this king with Mahāśivagupta III-Yayāti.³

The inscription begins with symbols for *Siddham* and *Om*. This is followed by four verses (lines 1-10) in praise of the city of **Yayātinagara** which are also found with some variations in the records of Mahāśivagupta I-Yayāti and Mahābhavagupta II-Bhīmaratha, the grandfather and father respectively of Mahāśivagupta II-Dharmaratha. The short parenthetical prose passage in line 10 states that the charter was issued from this Yayātinagara. In verse 5 (lines 10-12) king **Yayāti** is described and he is stated to belong to the lunar race. Verses 6-8 (lines 12-19) describe his son **Bhīmaratha**. In verses 9-10 (lines 19-24) there is a description of **Dharmaratha**, son of the above-mentioned king. The prose passage, in lines 24-28, refers to Mahāśivaguptarājadēva, evidently the donor of the record, as meditating on the feet of his father Mahābhavaguptarājadēva. The passage, in lines 28-31, states that the king having paid obeisance to the Brāhmaṇas of the **Antaruda-vishaya** in the village **Bhilvi-grāma** of the **Abhayanā-khaṇḍa** of the same Antaruda-vishaya, addressed the following officials. They are *Samāhartṛi*, *Sannidhātṛi*, *Niyukta*, *Adhikārika*, *Dāṇḍapāśika*, *Piśunavētrika*, *Avarōdhajana*, *Rājñi*, *Rāṇaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Rājavallabha*, *Bhōgijana*, etc. This list of officials is almost the same as found in the cognate records⁴ except for the addition of *Bhōgijana* here. Lines 31-37 contain the purport of the charter namely the grant made by the king of the above-mentioned Bhilvi-grāma, making it tax-free, to *Rāṇa-śrī*-Abhimanyu, who was the son of Vasu and grandson of Dāmōdara and who belonged to Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras*. The grant of the village is stated to have been accompanied by the privileges like *pratīhāra*, *andhāruva*, *padāti-jīvya*, *hastidaṇḍa*, *varabali-vardda*, *chingola*⁵ and *adattā*, together with *nidhi*, *upanidhi*, etc. In lines 37-38, the king is stated to ask the above-mentioned officials to reckon with the gift by presenting their appropriate share of the rights in the village due to the king, evidently to the donee. The passage in lines 39-40 contains the appeal of the king to future kings for the protection of this gift as if it is theirs. Then follow thirteen of the usual imprecatory verses (lines 40-56) met with in the records of this region.

The verse 24 (lines 57-59) mentions the *Sandhivigrahi* Kumundipāla, and his description is similar to the description of the *Sandhivigrahi*s figuring in other cognate records as for instance the Katak copper-plate charter of the third year of Mahābhavagupta I.⁶ The next verse 25 (lines 59-62) is similarly in praise of the writer of the record, Nētradēva who is stated to be *Mantrivara* and *Mahākshapatalādhi-kṛita*. The date of the record mentioned above is then given, which is followed by the statement that the charter was written, apparently wrong for engraved, by *Vijñānin* Sōllaṅgāka.

Of the **geographical names** occurring here, **Yayātinagara** is identified with the modern Binka, in the former Sonapur State,⁷ while the gift village **Bhilvi-grāma**, **Antaruda-vishaya** and **Abhayanā-khaṇḍa** cannot be identified.

¹ *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 52 ff.

² Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1557-60, 1562.

³ *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 210-11.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 342, etc.

⁵ This is called *chingola* in the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 38).

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 358, text lines 66-69.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 271.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 6, 8-10, 24-25 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 4 *Upajāti*; verse 5 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Sragdharā*; verse 11-13, 15-21, *Anushtubh*; verse 14 *Indravajrā*; verse 22 *Śālinī*; verse 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Om³ [| *] Svasti prēma-niruddha-mugdha-manasōḥ sphāribhavach-chakshushōr-yūnōr=yatra [vichi]-
- 2 tra-nirbhara-rāta-kriḍā-kraman-tanvatōḥ | vichchinnō=pi krit-ātimātra-pulakair-āvirbhavat-sitkri-
- 3 tair-āślēshair=glapita-klamaiḥ smara-rasaḥ kāmam=muhus-tāpyatē || [1*] Yatr-āśēsha-visēsha-rū-
- 4 pa-mahim-āpāst-āpsaraḥ-kāntibhir-jjāt-ērpyā(rshyā)-kalahēshv=api prañayinaḥ ka[r]ṇ-ōtpalais-tādi-
- 5 tāḥ | jāyantē praviśat-sita⁴-smara-sara-prōtthāpit-āntar-vyathā-syandi⁵-svēda-jal-āvasēcha-
- 6 na-vaśānvi(n=ni)rjjāta⁶-rōm-āṅkurāḥ || [2*] Aty-uttuṅga-karindra-danta-musala-prōd-bhāsi-rōchis-chayair=dhvānta⁷-
- 7 dhyan(dhvaṁ)sana-nishphalīkṛita-śarach-chandr-ōdayais=sarvvaḍā | yatr-āsīd=asati-janasya visa(sa)dam=muktā-
- 8 mayam=maṇḍanam saṅkēt-āspadam=apy=atīva dhavala[m*] prāsāda-sri(sri)ṅg-āgrataḥ || [3*] Mahānadi-tuṅga-ta-
- 9 raṅga-bhaṅga-sphār-ōchchha⁸lach-chhīkaravadbhir-ārāta(t) | yasmin=rat-āsaktimad-aṅganānām śram-āpanō-
- 10 dah kriyatē marudbhiḥ⁹ || [4*] Tasmāt śrī-Yayāti-nagarāt | Lōka-traya-prathita-śubhra-yaśō-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The Katak plates of the 9th year of Mahāśivagupta I read *praviśaṅkita*- here (see above, Vol. III, p. 352, text line 5).

⁴ The above-mentioned plates read °*sāndri*° here (ibid., text line 6).

⁵ The above-mentioned plates read °*niryjāta*° here (ibid., text line 6).

⁶ The same plates read °*dhvasta*° here (ibid., text line 7), which has been corrected to °*dhvānta*° (ibid. foot note 3).

⁷ The *daṇḍas* are engraved below the line.

⁸ The above mentioned Katak plates read °*ōtsa*° here which is corrected to °*ōchchha*° (above, Vol. III, p. 352, text line 10).

⁹ The sign for medial ḥ is only faintly engraved.

MAHULPARA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA-DHARMARATHA, YEAR 11

i

2	२७ सुमि... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥	2
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6	...	6
8	...	8
10	...	10
12	...	12
14	...	14

ii, a

16	...	16
18	...	18
20	...	20
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24	...	24
26	...	26
28	...	28
30	...	30

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Scale : One-half

- 11 vitāna-vyāpt-āṣṭa-dik-prasabha-nirji(rj)ita-vairi-varggah | Soma-ānvaye | kila | va(ba)-
bhūva-sugitakirtī
- 12 h śrīman-sarōja-vadanō nripatir=**Yayāti** ||[5*] Yat-khadg-agra-vipātita-dvīpa-ghata-
kumbha-
- 13 sthālād-ullasan-mukta-jāla-vibhūṣitām | prati-rānam | prithvi-vadh-ūrahasthalam |
sasva(sasva)d-da(dū)ra-naman-narādhipa-
- 14 śirō-ratnāṅsu(mṣu)-jāl-āmalā yat-pād-āmbuja-rēnavas=samātaya | tad-rasmi(śmi)-lakshman=
dadhuh ||[6*] Madyal-lō-
- 15 l-āli-mālā-kula-karata-puta-syandi-dāna-pravāhan | sindūr-ārakta-ku¹mbhān | sita-
prithula-
- Second Plate, First side*
- 16 radān |² Kāmadēv-ādi-samjñān | jity-Ajāpālam=ajau | janita-sura-vadhū-vismaya-smēra-
vaktrah-sa-dvā-
- 17 triṅsa(mṣa)t-karindran-sara-nikara-hat-ārōhakān-agrahid=yah ||[7*] Tasmād=vismaya-
hētu-hēti-ladita-prastāvan-āka-
- 18 [r*]ṅnanair-r-ddhūtā-kampita-pūrvva-Rūdra-mukūṭa-prīt-Ēndru-nirvarṇnitah | bhrāmyat-
kī[r*]ttir=ajāyat=āhava-hata-sva-
- 19 sth-āri-gīt-ōdayah śrīman=**Bhīmarathō** yatah svam=udaran=Tār-āchirād=archchati(ti)
||[8*] Yah | kāvy-āmrīta-nirjhara-
- 20 sya mahātah | sōtā mahibhrit-patis=tyāgah | satyam=iti | dvāya[m] |³ kah⁴ bhavad=
abhyētya yam-modatō | yat-kē-
- 21 li-jvalit-Andhra-Gauda-nagarī-dhūmāvālī-thaukitām=vi(bi)bhrad-bhātī-masim-vidhūr*]=
nnija-kula-pritya-kala-
- 22 nīkīritah ||[9*] Yō dhārmēna cha vikramēna cha dhiya ch=āścharya-kāryēna cha
prāgalbhyēna cha dēva-rāja-pada-
- 23 vim-prāptō mahimāndalō | sa śrī-Dharmmarathas=tatō-ri-nivaha-dhvāns-aika⁵ hētuh-
kīrti-dān-āna-
- 24 ndita-vandī-vrinda-mukhara-kshma-mandalo-jātavan ||[10*] Paramamahēsvara-paramabhā-

¹ The sign for medial *i* is only faintly engraved.

² This *ku* is written below the line.

³ This *dvāya* is not necessary.

⁴ The mark of *anusvāra* seems to have been wrongly placed on *h* of the following word *kāli*; while here a small-curved stroke is placed.

⁵ A mark of *anusvāra* is placed on *h* by mistake, and it seems that it ought to have been placed on *ya* of the preceding word *dvāya*.

⁶ Read *dhvāns-aika*.

- 25 ttāraka-mahārājādhira¹ja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kalingādhpati-śrī-Mahā-
- 26 bhavāguptarājadēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramamāhēśvara-paramabhāttāraka-mahārājādhi-
- 27 rāja-paramēśvara-Sōmakulatilaka-tri-Kalingādhpati-śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadē-
- 28 vaḥ kuśali Antaruda-vishayasa(sya) . Abhayanā-khaṇḍiya Bhilvi-grāmē | Atasad-
vishyayi² vā(brā)-
- 29 hmaṇān=[sa][m*]pūjya samāhartṛi-sannidhātṛi-niyukt-ādhikārika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-pisuna-
vētrik-āvarōdha-
- 30 jana-rājñī-rāṇaka-rājaputra-rājavallaḥbha-bhōgijana-pramukha-samasta-janapadāna(n)
samājñā-
- 31 payati | viditam=astu bhavatām yath=āsmābhir=aya[m*] grāmaḥ sa-pratīhārah
andhāruvi-padāti-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 32 jīvyā-nastidaṇḍa-varava(ba)līvardda-chiṅgōla-adatt-ādi-sahitaḥ sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpani-
- 33 dhiḥ sa[r*]vva-vā(bā)dhā-varjitaḥ sarvv-ōparikar-ādāna-samētās=chatur-sīmā-paryantaḥ
s-āmra-madhū-
- 34 kaḥ sa-gartt-ōsharas=sa-jalasthalaḥ Kāśyapa-sagōtrāya | try-ārsha-pravarāya | Dāmō-
- 35 dara-pautṛāya | Vāsu-putṛāya | Rāṇa-śrī-Abhimanyu-nāmnē | salila-dhārā-purassara-
[m*] | ā-
- 36 chandra-tār-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāl-ōpa-bhōg-ārtham mātā-pitrōr-ātma³naś=cha puṇya-
yaśō-
- 37 bhivṛiddhayē | sa-pratīhārēṇa tāmra-śāsanēn=ākari-kṛitya pratipādita ity=avagatyā-
sva(sa)-
- 38 muchita-kara-bhōga-bhāg-ādikam=upanayadbhir=bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam=
iti , bhā-
- 39 vibhiś=cha bhūpatibhir=ddattir=iyam=asmadiyā | dharmma-gauravād=asmad-anurōdhā
- 40 ch=cha -sva-dattir=iv=ānupālaniyā | tathā ch=ōktaḥ dharmma-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=
vvasudhā da-
- 41 ttā rājabhīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
[|| 11*]

¹ The sign for subscript *v* is wrongly engraved at the bottom of this *akshara*.

² The intended reading seems to be *atas-tad-vishayīya*.

³ The letter *ma* looks exactly like *mē*.

- 42 Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [[*] sva-dattāt=phalam=ānāntyam=
para-datt-ānupāla-
- 43 nē [[[12*] Shashṭim=varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā
cha dvau tau nara-
- 44 ka-gāminau || [13*] Agnēr=apatyam prathamam suvarṇa[m] bhū[r]=Vvaishṇavi sūrya-
sutās=cha gāvah | yah kāñcha-
- 45 nam gāñ=cha mahiñ=cha dadyād=dattās=trayas=tēna bhavatti(nti) lōkē(kāḥ) [[[14*] Āsphō-
ṭayatti(nti) pitarō va-
- 46 lgayatti(nti) pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas=trātā bhavishyati [[[15*] Bhūmiṁ
yah pra-
- 47 tigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya-karmṇau niyataḥ
svargga-gāmi-

Third Plate

- 48 nau [[[16*] Tadaḡānām sahasrēṇa vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavāñ=kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-
harttā
- 49 na śudhyati || [17*] Suva[r*]ṇnam=ēkam gām=ēkām bhūmēr=apy-arddham=aṅgulam |
haran=narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhūta-
- 50 samplavam [[[18*] Haratē hārayēd=yas=tu manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamvō(mō)-vṛitaḥ |
su-va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaḥ pāsais=tirya-
- 51 g-yōniḥ sa gachchhati || [19*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharām |
sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā
- 52 pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [20*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[r*]=Vvra(Bra)hmā Sōmō Hutāsanaḥ |
Śūlapāṇi-
- 53 ś=cha Bhagavān¹=abhinandanti bhūmidam [[[21*] Sāmānyō=yam dharmā-sētur=ṇi-
pāṇām kālē kālē pā-
- 54 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē
Rāmabha-
- 55 draḥ [[[22*] Iṭi kamala-dal-āmvu(āmbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-
jivita-
- 56 ñ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puruṣaiḥ parakīrttayō vilōpyāḥ
[[[23*]
- 57 Nipnātaus²=saha-dēvarāja-guruṇā maitrīm=mañishā-guṇair=vvī(bi)bhrāṇaḥ paramā-[m*]
guṇ-aika-va-

¹ This *na* is without the usual loop.

² Read *Nishnātas*.

- 58 satih Kumundipālah¹ kṛitī | kurvāṇaḥ kila sandhi-vigraha-padam yaś=chandra-sūryā-
tmi²kām mū-
- 59 [r*]ttin=tatva-nivipta(shta)-dhīḥ prakāṣayaty=āścharya-varshī satām [[[24*] Yat-kīrtti-
prasara-prabhūta-mā(ma)hima(mā)-
- 60 prōdvikshaṇ-āmlita-vriḍā-vēga-vaśād=ayam=malinatām=atta(nta)r=vvidhattē śasī | sa śrī-
- 61 mattri(ntri)varō mahākshapaṭalādhyakshaḥ satām-agraṇīr=ēkaś=sāsanam³=abhyalīkha-
- 62 d=idam śrī-Nētradēvaḥ svayam [[[25*]]] Saṁvat 11 Phālguna-vadi 3 || Vijñāni-Sōllaṅgā-
kēna li-
- 63 khitam=iti⁴ ||

¹ Metre requires the name to read as *Kumundipālah*.

² Since the part of the letter *t* forming the conjunct letter has been engraved to the left of the letter, the *i-mātra* has been shown at the top.

³ Read *ētaś=chhāsanam*.

⁴ These letters are engraved at the bottom right corner.

No. 42—TWO BHANJA COPPER PLATES

(2 Plates)

J. SUNDARAM, MYSORE

(Received on 10-11-1965)

Impressions of the following two copper plates, called A and B, were found among the old collection in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, with whose permission they are edited here. The source from which they were received and their findspot are not ascertainable.

Both A and B consist of a **single** plate with writing on both the sides. In Plate A, the text is almost complete but for a few letters in the end. This plate contains 16 lines of writing on each side. The seal for the plate is soldered on to the top of the single copper plate. The round seal is edged in the form of a full-blown lotus and contains the figure of a couchant bull facing a trident on the proper left with a crescent above it, all cut in relief on a counter-sunk surface. The legend reading *śrī-Raṇabhañja[sya]*, is engraved below these symbols in a strip reserved for the purpose while scooping out the portions above and below. There seems to have been a seal similarly attached to the other copper-plate (Plate B) but no impression of the same has been preserved along with those of the plate. The latter contains twenty lines of writing on the first side and fourteen lines on the other side. The writing on this plate is very much damaged. Only the central portion is fairly clear, the portions all around being very much worn out.

The **characters** employed in our inscriptions are very similar to those found on the Pāmanghāṭī plates of Raṇabhañja and Rājābhañja,¹ the Ukhunda plate of Prithvībhañja² and the Bhañja grant from Khiching.³ They can also be favourably compared with those of the Ādipur plates of Narēndrabhañja.⁴ Many of the letters in Plate B bear the arrow-head of the Siddhamātrikā alphabet. Palaeographically this writing has been assigned to the 11th century, as it resembles the writing in the Naḍagām plates of Vajrahasta dated Śaka 979.⁵

The **language** of both the inscriptions is Sanskrit. But as in the other plates of the rulers of the Bhañja dynasty the language is full of mistakes. There are many instances of omission and commission and confused use of letters. See for example °*vidhyijñah* for °*vidhijñah* (line 3) *sāsānikṛītyātīyāchattā*° for *sāsānikṛītyāchātā*° (line 27), *śrī-Kōṭyāśramahātāpadhika* for *śrī-Kōṭyāśrama mahātāpōvan-ādhiśhānē* (lines 3-4), *bhūpālā* for *bhūpālān* (line 19), °*vasēn* for °*vamśē* (line 6) and *asa[n]k ya-sāmānya-nṛipatīh sad-ārchchita*° for *asānkhya-sāmānta-nṛipati-sad-ārchchita*°

¹ *JASB*, Vol. XL, pp. 161 ff.

² *IHQ*, Vol. XIII, pp. 418 ff.

³ *Above*, Vol. XXX, pp. 220 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 147 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 134. Also see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 220-21.

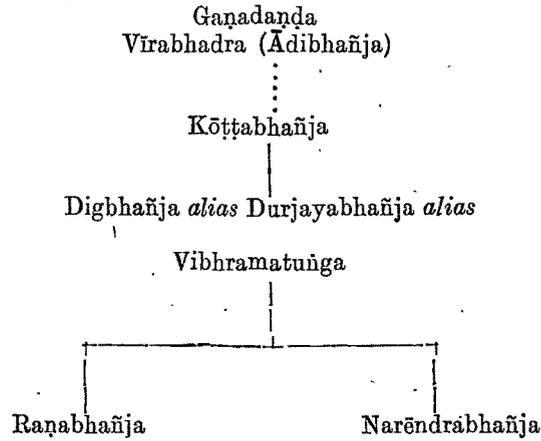
(lines 8-9) of Plate A. Similar mistakes in Plate B are not wanting. Another more interesting feature of these two records is that in both of them not only the issuer of the respective charters but also their fathers, are described as addressing all the kings regarding the grants. This fact indicates that the drafters of these documents simply copied the introductory part of the text ; i.e., verses 1-7 from that of their fathers without the least alteration.

Plate A commences with a *Siddham* symbol followed by the expression *śrī-Raṇabhañja-dēvasya* meaning that the charter under question is of the king of that name. It is followed by the auspicious word *svasti* and an invocatory verse (verse 1) in praise of Bhava (i.e., Śiva) who was evidently worshipped by the Bhañja ruler who issued the charter and by his predecessors. Then follows the introductory portion comprising seven verses (verses 2-8). It is stated that in the place called Kōṭyāśrama there emerged from the peahen's egg the king Gaṇadaṇḍa Virabhadra who was protected by the sage Vasishṭha (verses 2-3). In this Ādibhañja family was born the king named **Kōṭṭabhañja**, the overlord of numerous *sāmantas* (verses 3-4). His son **Rāyābhañja**, the worshipper of Hara (i.e. Śiva), was on the side of **Diśābhañja** and had his seat at **Khijīṅgakōṭṭa** (verses 5-7). His son was **Bhañjamahārāja Raṇabhañja**, who too was a worshipper of Hara and had his seat also at Khijīṅgakōṭṭa (verse 8).

Then follows the formal portion of the grant in prose in lines 19-30. It records Raṇabhañja's grant, by issuing a copper plate charter, of the village **Vānivadā** in [Ā]ḍa-grāma-vishaya to Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇamitra, son of Bhaṭṭa Harimitra, son of Bhaṭṭa Lōkamitra, who belonged to the Kuśika-gōtra with the *tririshipravara* viz., Vaiśvāmītra, Daivarāta and Audala, and hailed from **Vikhatī** (lines 19-27). Then follows the injunction that this village granted for the merit and fame of the donor and of his parents should not be entered by the *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (lines 27-30). Then follows the incomplete imprecatory portion (lines 30-32) which requests all to honour this gift for all time to come.

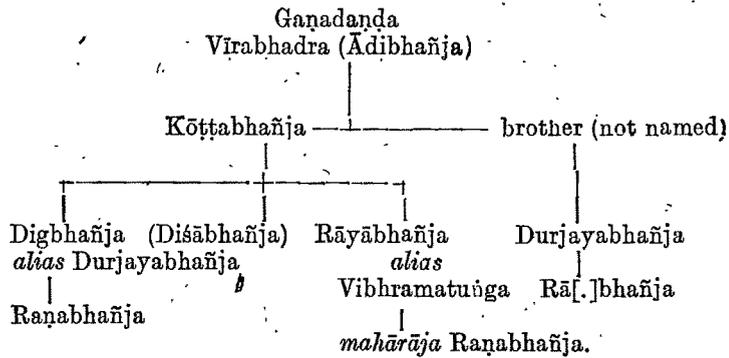
In **Plate B**, as stated above, the beginning portion is damaged and the first few letters of each line discernible are also erased. But the extant portion shows that all the eight verses of the introductory part are more or less identical with those of Plate A. The only difference is that the names of Kōṭṭabhañja's nephew (*bhrātrija*) **Durjayabhañja** and of the latter's son **Rā[.] bhañja**, the issuer of the charter, are substituted here in the place of **Rāyābhañja** and his son **Raṇabhañja** of Plate A. The partly preserved name of the issuer of the present grant, viz., Rā [.] bhañja reminds us of the name Rāyābhañja of the Plate A and of Rājābhañja of the Bāmanghāṭī plate. These eight verses are followed by a prose passage wherein the Bhañjamahārāja is seen addressing the kings and making a grant probably of a village to a Brāhmaṇa. The details regarding the donee and the village granted are lost in the erased portion at the end of the plate. But this much is clear that the donee, as in Plate A, hailed from **Vikhatī** and belonged to the Kuśika-gōtra and that he was a grandson (?) of Harimitra who was probably identical with the father of Nārāyaṇamitra, the donee in Plate A. These details as clearly seen and as deduced suggest that this record was issued later but not long after Plate A. On the second side of the plate, the beginning portion is very much damaged. Then are given the imprecatory verses followed by a statement that whatever is written above must be taken as authentic without reference to omissions and commissions in the text.

The importance of these plates lies in that they enable us to understand better the genealogy of the Bhañjas of Khijingakōṭṭa. On the basis of the material supplied by various charters, this genealogy was reconstructed by scholars as follows:—



According to the present plates it is clear that Kōṭṭabhañja had besides Digbhañja, another son named Rāyābhañja who was an ally of Disābhañja (*Disābhañja-pakshā-sthita*). As Disābhañja seems to be the same as Digbhañja,² we have to conclude that Rāyābhañja held a subordinate position to Digbhañja, his brother. The son of this Rāyābhañja was Bhañja-mahārāja Raṇabhañja, the issuer of the charter A. He seems to be identical with *mahārāja* Raṇabhañja, son of Vibhramatuṅga of the Āḍipur plates³ as indicated by the title *mahārāja* which is not applied to Raṇabhañja, whose father is said to have been Digbhañja or Durjayabhañja. So the father of the *mahārāja* Raṇabhañja of our record and the Āḍipur plates must have been identical and Vibhramatuṅga must be taken to have been a title of Rāyābhañja rather than that of Digbhañja.

According to Plate B Kōṭṭabhañja had a nephew (*bhrātṛija*) named Durjayabhañja, whose son was Rā[.]bhañja. So, in the light of the present plates, the revised genealogy can be presented thus:—



¹ *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, p. 151 and Vol. XXX, p. 223.

² Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 155-61.

The genealogy supplied by these two plates and the details about the donees in the two records, suggesting that the donee of Plate B was only removed by one generation from that of Plate A, lead us to conclude that the son of Durjayabhañja ruled in Khijñgakōṭṭa later than but not long after Ranabhañja.

Though the present records are not dated, the period of rule of these rulers can be determined on the basis of the Bāmanghāṭī Plate (I) of Ranabhañja,¹ which is dated 288 or 188 and the subscript to the Ādipur plate (I) dated 293 or 193.² Both these dates are expressed in symbols and they have been assigned to the era used by the Bhaumakaras who are supposed to have been the overlords of the Bhañja rulers of this branch.³ The symbol used in these records for expressing the hundred was previously taken to represent 200 but recently the opinion has been expressed that they actually represent 100 and the dates have to be read as 188 and 193.⁴ On the basis of the details of date given in the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa,⁵ wherein the year 198 has been expressed according to the decimal system and on the basis of palaeography, the commencement of the Bhaumakara era has been fixed at 831 A.D. As we have identified Ranabhañja of the present plates with the king figuring in the subscript of the Ādipur plates, Plate A must have been issued round about the year 193 of Bhaumakara era, i.e. 1024 A.D. The son of Durjayabhañja of Plate B could have ruled subsequent to the year 193.

Khijñgakōṭṭa has been identified as the modern Khiching, 90 miles to the west of Baripada in Mayūrbhañj and Kōṭyāsrama as Kuting, thirty-two miles from Baripada.⁶

PLATE A

TEXT

Obverse

- 1 Siddham⁷ [| *] Sri-Ranabhañja-dēvasya | Svasa(sti) |⁸ Sakāla-bhū(bhu)van-aika-
- 2 nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bhi)durō [Vābhā(Bhavō)] [Bhavāmi(ni)]sa[h] [|] vividha-sa-
- 3 mādhī-vidhyi(dhī)ññah sarvājñō vah-sivāy-ā[stu] [|] 1*¹⁰ Sri-Kōṭyā-
- 4 sra[ma][hā]tāpadhika¹¹ | māya(yū)randam bhī(bhī)tvā Ganādandō

¹ *JASB*, Vol. XL, p. 166, where the date has not been properly read.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 157.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 221.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 135, where the symbol resembling the Nāgari letter *lū* has been taken to represent 200 and the same symbol with a slight alteration, the resultant looking like *lu*, has been understood to stand for 100.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 189 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 300.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ Expressed by symbol.

⁹ This verse is in *Āryā* metre.

¹⁰ Though this verse seems to be in *Upagītī* metre, it is defective.

¹¹ Read: *Asit-Kōṭy-āsrama it, mahātāpōvan-ābhishthānē* as in other plates to suit the metre. Cf. Above, Vol. XXX, p. 224, note 7.

TWO BHANJA COPPER PLATES — PLATE I

A
Obverse

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16

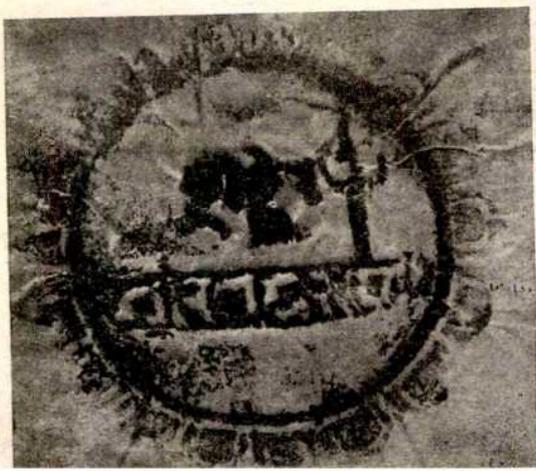
2
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32

कुरासाववसुदिठयासा
 व्यासशतलीसलरुतेदिवेद
 मालीसाववकायाउरुयाली
 माइकाभयिलाह्रिवालेवेद
 धनयावीपिदिनेरुउलीवाव
 शंगवीलीनीवीनीनकुखीक
 शानुपिदुगामिनदतगाउंउरुल
 यापेरुद्वालाकनेरुसातोना
 मरुदुउपरीमिनुसाभुशय
 धीरुदेवासाहालमिनसाका
 बीनोमूसामुकीकयाशाठदूरु
 धीणलुमात्रायिनारलम
 सुधुनाइवगविबद्धीयापुनी
 धादीकुरीरुणनदरीसाद
 कुरीरुमिरेवक्याधातुसाद
 निरेनीनकलतमेसाउलीसुवाक

(From Photographs)
Seal



- 5 Vi(Vi)rabhadra-ākhyā[h ||2*] ¹Pratī(ti)pakṣa-nī(ni)dhanu(na)-dakṣa(kṣhō) Vasishtha-mu-
(ni)-
- 6 pālītō nripatih | tasy-**Ādibhañja**-vasōm(vamśō) rī(ri)pu-vana-dā-
- 7 vānala[h*] khyātaḥ | [| 3*] ²Su[**Sū**]rah śuchi(chi)r-vvinni(ni)tō jātaḥ [śrī]-
- 8 **Kōṭṭabhañja**-nām-ākhyā[h* | *] [śrō]shṭhaḥ⁴ śrīmān=āsa[m]kya-sā-
- 9 [mā]nya-nripatih | sad-ārchechita-ravaraṇa⁶ [| 4*] Śrī-**Di(Di)sābha[ñja]**-
- 10 pakṣa-sthita[s*]⁶=tasya suta[h*] sura⁷-samō balavāna(n |)vari-
- 11 shṭha[h*] śu(śū)rah samuna(nna)ta-yasā(śāh) [pra]vijita-śatru|(truh ||)⁹ [5*] Rā-
- 12 jā Yudhi[shṭhi]rādīd-iv-āvva(va)nī-pālanē⁹ [cha] nī(ni)tya[m] rataḥ
- 13 [kuśala-karma]-[vi*]dhau praśa(sa)[ktah] [||6*]**Khijīṅga**¹⁰kōṭṭa-vā-
- 14 si(si) Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kṣhapita-pā[pa]h [| *] Śrī-**Rājābha-**
- 15 **ñjadēva**[h*] sa-vi[na*][yam] prāha [cha*] bhū(bhū)pāla(lān)-[| 7*] Tasya suta * **Khi**-
- 16 jīṅgakōṭṭa-vāsi [Ha]-

Reverse

- 17 ra-charaṇ-ārādhana-kṣhapita-pāpō Bhañja-
- 18 mā(ma)hārāja-śrī-**Raṇabhañjadēva**[h*] ku-

¹ This verse is in *Upagiti* metre.

² This and the following four verses are metrically defective.

³ Read *ḥhañjākhyāḥ* and the metre will be *Upagiti*.

⁴ The two Bāmanghāṭi plates and the Khiching plate have *putrah tad-anurūpāḥ śrēṣṭhikāḥ*. But, whereas in the case of Bāmanghāṭi plate of Raṇabhañja alone these phrases apply to Digbhañja, in the other instances they refer to Raṇabhañja. The Khandadēuli plates though not giving the identical phrases describe Digbhañja as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja. The Ukhunda plate has *tasy-āvvaḥ bāhūva śrēṣṭhikāḥ* in the identical place describing the connection between Kōṭṭabhañja and Raṇabhañja. The Keshari plate describes Durjayabhañja as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja but does not use similar phrases.

⁵ Read *śrīmān=asamkhyā-sāmanta-nripati-sad-ārchechita-charaṇaḥ* as in the Bāmanghāṭi plates. The Ukhunda and Khiching plates have *śrīmān=asamkhyā-sāmantaḥ nripati-sat-ārchechita-charaṇaḥ*. The Keshari plate has *°māṇḍalika-sat-ārchechita-charaṇa*.^o The Khandadēuli plate does not contain this epithet.

⁶ The Bāmanghāṭi plate of Raṇabhañja has *śrī-Digbhañjō jagat-prathitaḥ* (The reading given on p. 165 of *JASB*, Vol. XL is wrong). The Bāmanghāṭi plate of Rājābhañja, the Ukhunda plate of Prithvibhañja and the Khiching plate have *jagat-prathitaḥ* applied to Raṇabhañja. The Khandadēuli plate though mentioning Digbhañja does not contain this passage. The text of the Keshari plate, after the invocatory stanza, differs from the other plates in the presentation and Adhibhañja is stated to have been made the head of 88,000 villages.

⁷ Other plates have *ātmajaḥ smāra-samō*.

⁸ Other plates have *pravijitya satrūn*.

⁹ Read *Rājā Yudhiśhīra iv-āvani-pālanē*.

¹⁰ Read *Khijīṅga* to suit the metre. Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 225. f.n.2.

- 19 śali [||8*] sāna na |¹ prāhaḥ(ha) bhūpālā(lān) [| *]
 20 [Ā]ḍagrāma-viśa(sha)yē Vā[ṇi]vadā-
 21 grāma[h*] prāga(g)-vidita-chatusī(s-sī,mā-vachchhinaḥ
 22 vachchhinnah |² Vikhati-vinigata³-Kushi(si)ka-
 23 gōtra-Vi(Vai)śvāmitra-Dē(Dai)varāta-Ō(t-Au)dala-
 24 prā(pra)vara-bhaṭṭa-Lōkamitrasya pautrā-
 25 ya bhaṭṭa-Haharimitrasya⁴ mu(pu)trāya
 26 śrī-bhaṭṭa-Narāyaṇamitra(trā)[ya*] sā[nā]
 27 [nya]⁵-[tā]mvra(mbra)-sā(sā)sanikṛityāty-āchatta-bha
 28 ṭṭa-pavēśah⁶ mātā-pitrō-ralama-
 29 sa punya-jaśō-vivaddhīyō⁷ prati(ti)-
 30 pādī(di)tō-smābhīh | tad=īśāsya da-
 31 [tti]-dharmma-gauravatayā yāva⁸d-āchandr-ārka-
 32 kshiti(ti)-sama-kāla(lam) dharmma-dākshinya(nya)tayā⁹

PLATE B

Obverse

- 1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6 [shtha]-muni-pāhitō nripatih[|*] [ta]

¹ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read *sānucyām*.

² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

³ Read *vinirgata*.

⁴ Read *Harimitrasya*.

⁵ Read *sāmānya*.

⁶ Read *°krity-āchātī-bhaṭṭa-pravēśah*.

⁷ Read *mātā-pitrō-ātmanas=cha punya-yaśō-bhividdhayē*.

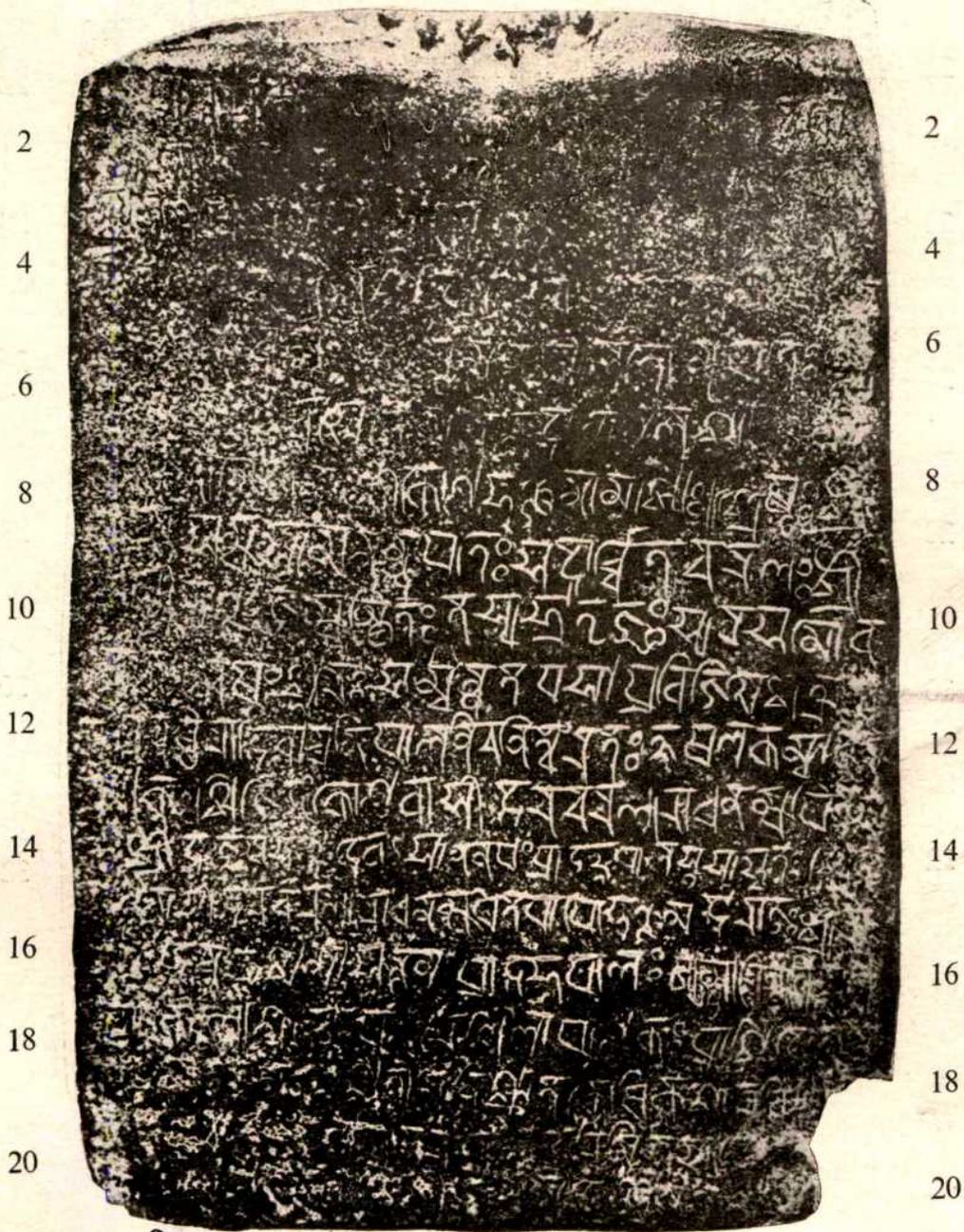
⁸ Read *Tad=asyā dattē-dharmma-gauravād=yāva°*.

⁹ This record ends here. Evidently the expression like *bhavadbhīḥ paripalanīy-ēti* is omitted.

TWO BHANJA COPPER PLATES — PLATE II

B
Obverse

i, a



Reverse

i, b

22

22

24

24

26

26

28

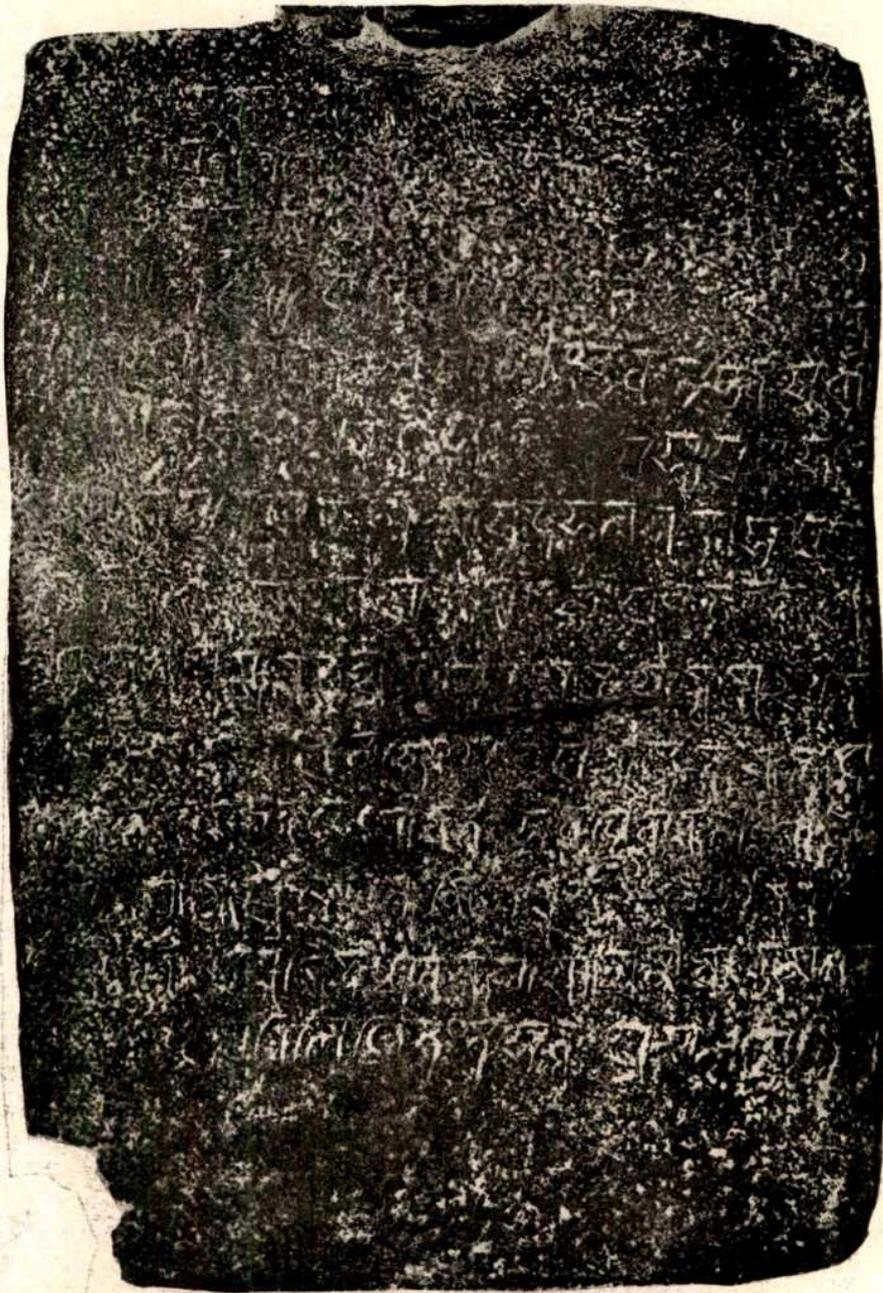
28

30

30

32

32



(From Photographs)

- 7 vaṁśe ripu-vana-dāvānala-khyā..
- 8 [nitō jātah] śrī-Kōttabhañja-nām-ākhyah || śreshtah śrī-
- 9 paksha-sāmanta-nripatih sad-ārchchita-charānah¹ [4*] Śrī-
- 10 .. [bhañja]jā(pā)ksha-sthitah² tasya bhātrījah sura-samō va(ba)-
- 11 ... [ri]shtah śurah samunnata-yasā(sāh) - pravijitya(ta-)satru[h] [5*]
- 12 .. [dhi]shthirād-iv(ra-iv)ā[va]ni-pālanī(nē) cha nityam ratah [ku]sha(s)lā karmma. -
- 13 .. Ktāh [6*] Khijī[oga]kōtta-vāsi Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-
- 14 . [7*] Śrī-Durjayabhañjadēvah s-ā[nu]nayaṁ prāha bhūpālāstasya³ sutah
[7*] [Khijī]-
- 15 ... [vā]si Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pāpō- [8*] Bhañja-mahārājah śrī-[Rā]-
- 16 . [bhañja]dē[va]h⁴ [ku]śa[li] [8*] sa(s-ā)nūna[ya*]mī prāha bhūpālāh(lān)- [9*] [Nāmharitra]-
vi.
- 17 .. [jāni]-grāmāh Pā[gu]rasīlāpā[ta]kshah prāg-vi[dita].
- 18 .. [Vikha]ti-vinirgata-Kōshika⁵-gōtra Vi-
- 19 .. [la-pravara-bhatta-Ha]rimitrasya
- 20 ..
- Reverse
- 21 ..
- 22 ..
- 23 .. [chandr-ārka-ksh]iti-
- 24 .. bahubhir-vvasudhā-
- 25 .. rājābhi[h] sāgarā[dibh]ih⁶ [10*] [yasya]yasya yadā bhū[mih]-
- 26 [tasya] tasya [ladā phā]lān(lān) [9*] Mā [bhūh]-abhala-sa[nkā]-sū⁶ para-

¹ See p. 237, note 5 above.

² The scribe probably intended to write *paksha-schita* as in Plate A but probably being in the knowledge of the versions where in the identical place we get *jagat-pratīkīlāh*, he seems to have got confused.

³ Read *bhūpālān* [7*] *Tasya*...

⁴ Read *Kuśikā*.

⁵ Read *Sagar-ādibhīh*.

⁶ Read *Mā bhūd-a-phala-sankā vah*.

- 27 [t=pha] pa[ra]-da[tt-ānupā]-
 28[||10*] [m=pa]ra-dattām vā [yō harēd=va]¹sundha[rām |] sa vi-
 29 pi[rta](tṛi)bhiḥ [saha] pa[chyatō] [||11*] Hara[tē] hā-
 30 [mō-vṛi]ta[h] [| *] sa ba[ddhō] vārunaiḥ [pāsaiḥ]
 31 [ni](nī)shu [jāyatē] [||12*]Kshi[ti]r-i[yaṁ] [hi](hu)=
 32 [ri](rī)ra[m=i]da[m cha] [vi]na[smara] || [13*] .[Nyū]n-āksharam=adhi[kā]=
 33 [pa]ri likhitaṁ ta[t]=sarvvaṁ pramāṇa[m]=iti ||

¹ Read *harēta va.*

GEL. I. XXXVII. 6.

750

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

APRIL 1968

PART VI

EDITED BY

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph. D.

Government Epigraphist for India



©

1970

PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA

Price: Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8 d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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H 90 90

No. 43—TWO EARLY BRAHMI RECORDS FROM AJANTA

(1 Plate)

A. GHOSH, NEW DELHI

(Received on 30.3.1967)

In August 1966, Professor Walter M. Spink of the University of Michigan, who has been intensively studying the renowned rock-cut caves at Ajañtā, District Aurangabad, Maharashtra State, told me in conversation that he had noticed two partially exposed but unpublished records, one engraved and the other painted, in Cave 10 of Ajañtā. Coming to know this, Shri M. C. Joshi, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, located and preliminarily studied whatever could be seen of the records at the time of his visit to Ajañtā in December 1966. On return he informed me that one of the records (called here Record A) occurred on the wall of the cave and the other (Record B) on one of the (rock-cut) rafters of the cave-roof, both on the dexter side.

When Shri B. B. Lal, Joint Director General of Archaeology, and I visited Ajañtā in January 1967, we found that only two letters at the beginning and four letters towards the end of Record A were partly visible, the rest being entirely hidden under a layer of plaster, which had been laid to serve as the ground for the paintings that the cave bears. Similarly hidden under a plaster-film was the middle part of the first line of Record B, though its second line was more distinct. We also noticed that, luckily from the point of view of the study of the records, the paintings over the plaster had in both the cases disappeared, so that nothing would be lost if the remnants of the plaster which obscured the records were removed. Accordingly, the plaster-layers were very carefully scraped off in our presence and the records were brought to the condition in which we see them now.

Cave 10, a *chaitya-griha*, was excavated in the earlier (Sātavāhana¹) phase of Ajañtā, in the second century B.C., and bears paintings regarded as almost contemporary with its excavation, in addition to those of the later (Vākāṭaka) phase of the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. Prior to the discovery of the present two records, it was known to have an inscription and twentyone painted records, the former and one of the latter belonging to the earlier phase. The inscription, engraved above the sinister side of the entrance to the cave, commemorates the gift of the facade or entrance (*ghara-mukha*) by one Vāsiṭhīputa Kāṭahādi.² The second record, itself painted, is a part of the painted scene of the worship of a *stūpa* by the lord of the *nāgas*³ which is painted on the dexter wall of the cave, farther in the interior than Record A; it is noteworthy that the plaster which hid parts of Record A was an extension of the same plaster as the one on which the scene appears. The

¹ This usual dynastic appellation of the earlier phase of Ajañtā is being retained here without such larger questions as the date of the beginning of Sātavāhana rule in the Deccan being raised:

² G. Bühler in *Jas. Burgess, Report on the Buddhist Cave Temples and their Inscriptions*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, Vol. IV (1883), p. 116 and pl. LVI; correction by R. Otto Franke in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, band L (1896), p. 597. The word *ghara-mukha* has been appropriately translated as 'facade'. But *mukha* also means 'exit', cf. *mukham nihsaraṇam*, *Amaraśloka*, II, ii, 19, and therefore implicitly 'entrance' as well.

³ G. Yazdani, *Ajanta*, pt. III (Oxford, 1916), plates, pl. XXVIII, where, however, the painted record is not included.

record is of uncertain import; from the word *bhagaṇatasa* occurring in it, 'one thing, however, is clear and this is that this was not a votive record but served as an explanatory note of the scene represented in the painting which may have been from the life of the Buddha'.¹ It has been regarded as 'almost contemporary' or 'slightly later than'² Kaṭahādi's inscription. As we shall see below, its posteriority to the latter is well-established even on grounds other than palaeographical.

To come to our Records A and B, Record A, as stated above, is engraved and is, therefore, an inscription in the real sense of the word. It appears on the vertical part of the wall of the cave, between the second and fourth ribs of the roof, immediately below the spring-point of the vault, at a height of 2.57 m above the floor-level. It is a single-line inscription, 76 cm long, the height of the letters, which are large and bold like those in the inscription of Kaṭahādi, ranging from 5 to 8 cm. It records the gift of the wall (*bhiti*=Sanskrit *bhitti*) by one **Kanhaka**, who is qualified by the adjective *Bāhaḍa*, evidently meaning '(a resident) of Bāhaḍa'. As Kanhaka must have been a very common personal name, it would be too imaginative to identify this Kanhaka with the early Sātavāhana ruler Kanha³ or with Kanha, son of Sama or Samasa⁴ and a resident of Dhēṇukākāṭa, or with Kanhadāsa who fashioned sculptures at Pitalkhora.⁵

Bāhaḍa also appears as a place-name in a Bharhut inscription.⁶ My colleague Shri M. N. Deshpande suggests to me that it may be identified with Bahal in District Jalgaon in Maharashtra State, which had a flourishing settlement from the chalcolithic to the early historical times.⁷

Record B is painted in white on the first (rock-cut) rafter between the first and second ribs of the roof-vault of the cave, at a height of 4.11 m above the floor. It is in two lines, respectively 33 and 43 cm long, the range of the heights of the letters being the same as in Record A. At least two letters in the middle of the first line are indistinct. It says that the *pasādas* were the gift of one **Dhāmadēva** who was a *pavajita* or mendicant. The second word in the first line was perhaps another adjective of the donor and might have given the name of the place from which he came.

The word *pasādā* requires some consideration. In its singular form it occurs in an inscription (*Dhamabhāgasa pasādō*) on a wooden rib of the vaulted roof of the Bhājā cave⁸ and, including the variant *pasāta*, in three Udayagiri inscriptions.⁹ In both the groups the meaning 'gift' or 'dedication' has been thought to be appropriate¹⁰ (equating it to Sanskrit *prasāda* in its usual meaning). But such a meaning is ruled out in the present case, where it is followed by the word *d[ā]na*; surely, a second word to denote 'gift' or 'dedication' would be redundant. Nor would it be justified, at least in the present and Bhājā records, to correct the word to *pāsāda* (=Sanskrit *prāsāda*) and to take it to refer to the caves themselves in their entirety, for the following reasons. Either of the Ajaṅṭā and Bhājā donors could not have been responsible for the excavation of the whole of the respective

¹ N. P. Chakravarti in *ibid.*, text, p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 86 and 90.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 93, No. 22.

⁴ M. N. Deshpande in *Ancient India*, No. 15 (1959), p. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

⁶ H. Lüders, E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, pt. II (Ootacamund, 1963), p. 33.

⁷ *Indian Archaeology 1956-57 — A Review*, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi, 1957), pp. 17-18: [The ancient name of Bāhal was Bahalāpurī from where the Mehunabare plates of Sāndraka Vairadēva dated in 702 A. D. were issued, cf. above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 193-97.—Ed.]

⁸ M. N. Deshpande in *Lalit Kalā*, No. 6 (October, 1959), p. 31.

⁹ R. D. Banerji in above, Vol. XIII, pp. 159 and 162.

¹⁰ See particularly Sten Konow in above, *op. cit.*, p. 162, note 2.

cave. At Ajañtā we know that two other persons, Kaṭahādi and Kanha, were the donors of the entrance-facade and the wall, so that no third person could have taken the credit for the entire cave. At Bhājā, in addition to Dhamabhāga's inscription, there is another dedicatory inscription on a second wooden rib, showing that the extent of the contribution of the donors was limited. Further, both Dhamadēva of Ajañtā and Dhamabhāga of Bhājā would surely have chosen more conspicuous spots for commemorating their donations had they financed the excavation of the whole of the caves.

Basically significant are the places in the caves where donative records occur; compare, for example, the locations of the inscriptions of Kaṭahādi and Kanhaka, on the entrance-facade and the wall, for which they were respectively responsible. Both the Ajañtā and Bhājā records with the word *pasāda* occur on ribs (actual wood at Bhājā and rock—fashioned in imitation of wood at Ajañtā) of the vaulted roofs of the respective caves. It would, therefore, appear that *pasāda* has the restricted meaning of a roof-component of a structure,¹ though it is fully admitted that the word is not known to have this meaning clearly anywhere else.² And as in the present record the word is in the plural, the donor was responsible for more than one such component.

Both the present records are in Prakrit. Palaeographically, they belong to the second century B.C., which is the accepted date of the excavation of Cave 10. The relative chronology of the early records in the cave works out as follows. The inscription of Kaṭahādi on the entrance-facade and Records A and B form one group and must be of an identical date and coeval with the excavation of the cave, as they refer to the donation of different parts of the cave, the excavation of which was a homogeneous conception. As the first of these has been ascribed to the beginning of the second century B.C.³—a date from which I have no reason to differ,—the other two must be of the same date. And as Record A was largely covered by the stretch of the plaster on which the label-record with the words *bhagavatasa*, etc. occurs, the latter must be later than the first group. It is difficult to say what was the time-lag between the two, but it must have been sufficiently long, for to the artist who painted the scene of the worship of the *stūpa* with its label-record, Record A must have lost all importance as he had no compunction in sealing it up with his plaster. Nevertheless, the painted scene and its record are, on all considerations, of a date well within the same century.

It is also clear that painting the cave was not part of the original conception of the cave but was an afterthought. Had it been otherwise, Kanhaka would have engraved his inscription on a safer place which would be left unaffected by the painting.

¹ If some speculation can be allowed, the word *pasāda* may be regarded as the corrupt form of *prachchāda* (from root *chhad*, 'to cover'), meaning 'roof', 'roof-component' or 'roofing-material'. In the edicts of Aśoka there are instances of *chchha* becoming *sa*, intended for *ssa*; cf. *usatēna* (=Sanskrit *uchckhriēna*, 'by the exalted') in all the versions of Rock-edict X (except that at Kalsi, where it is *ushaṭēna*), and *usapāpitē* (=Sanskrit *uchchrāpitah*, 'was raised') in the Rummindei and Niglivā Pillar-edicts. In present-day Marāṭhī and Assamese and the eastern dialect of Bengali, the pronunciations of *cha* and *chha* have a distinct dental-sibilant element in them. Cf. John Beams, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages*, Vol. I (London, 1872), p. 72; Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1926), p. 143. A possible original genetic relationship between *prachchāda* and *prāsāda*, which latter has the well-established meaning of 'palace' (restrictedly a 'temple' or 'royal residence', cf. *prāsādō dēva-bhūbhujām*, *Amarakōsha*, II, ii 19), 'terrace', 'top-story of a lofty building', etc. and is authenticated as meaning 'a good place to sit on', cf. Pāṇini, VI, iii, 122, is anybody's guess.

² Benimadhab Barua's suggestion that *pasāda* should refer to the facade only, on the ground that they sound alike, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves* (Calcutta, 1929), p. 82, is entirely ineffective and has to be rejected.

³ N. P. Chakravarti, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

TEXTS¹

A

Kanhakasa Bāhadasa dāna[m*] bhiti² [||*]

B

Line 1 Dhamadēyasa [ma]..nasa³

Line 2 pasādā d[ā]nam pavajitasa [||*]

P.S. : From a short note on the recent excavation of a *stūpa* at Pauni, District Bhandāra, Mahārāshtra State, received by me from Professor S.B. Deo of the University of Nagpur, it appears that the word *pasāda* has been used in the sense of 'gift' in some inscriptions on cross-bars of the *stūpa*-railing. The same sense cannot be ruled out in our present record, though it is tautological to use it along with *dānam*, as has been done here.

¹ From the originals. The impression of Record A and photograph of Record B reproduced on the accompanying plate were prepared by the Photographer of the South-western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India.

² The vertical top part of the letter *t* rises as high as the top of *i-mātrā*, an unusual feature.

³ There is a dot over the right side of *s*, but it may be just a remnant of the lime-plaster which covered the record and its adjoining surface.

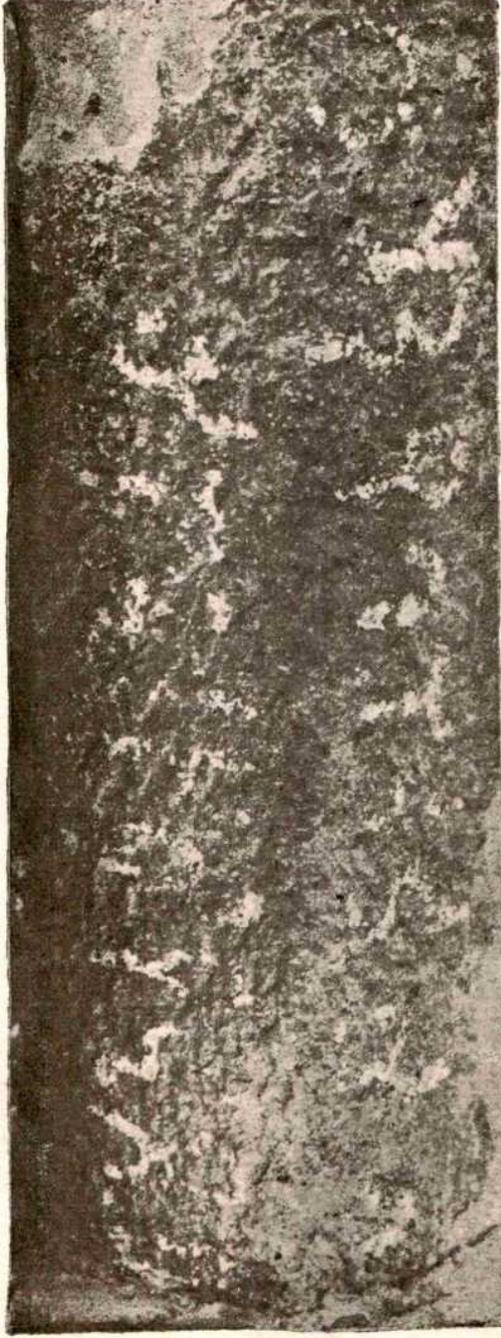
TWO EARLY BRAHMI RECORDS FROM AJANTA

A



Scale : One-fourth

B



2

2

(From Photograph)

G. S. Gai

Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXVII

No. 44—NOTE ON RAJGHAT INSCRIPTION OF BHIMADĒVA

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 17.5.1967)

The Rājghāt (Vārāṇasī, U. P.) inscription of Bhīmadēva, described as the *Mahāsāndhivīgrahika* of the lord of the Gauḍa country, was published by me, above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 277-82 and plate. The purpose of the inscription, assignable on palaeographical grounds to the twelfth century A. D., is to record the construction of a Śiva temple at Vārāṇasī by Bhīmadēva, while verse 5 states that the said Bhīmadēva saved the kingdom of Gauḍa-Varēndra after it had been immersed, like an old sinking vessel, in the waters of the ocean that was the forces of the king of the Rāyāri lineage and the lord of Kaliṅga.

My observations on the construction of a temple at Vārāṇasī by a minister of the Gauḍa king, as recorded in the epigraph, may be summarised as follows. Shortly after the middle of the twelfth century, Vijayasēna occupied the whole of Bengal, and Pāla rule henceforth was confined to the southern areas of Bihar. King Madanapāla (1143-61 A. D.) was ousted from Gauḍa-Varēndra (the western and northern regions of Bengal) soon after the issue of his Manahali plate from the city of Rāmavātī (between the Gaṅgā and the Karatōyā) in his eighth regnal year (c. 1151 A. D.), though the Pāla king was still called *Gauḍēśvara*. The Patna-Monghyr region was occupied by the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra (1115-55 A. D.) of Vārāṇasī and had remained in his possession in 1124-46 A. D., but was reoccupied by Madanapāla about the year 1146 A. D. "It is not impossible that the Pāla king Madanapāla, who had some success against the Gāhaḍavālas of Banaras, was Bhīmadēva's master. Bhīmadēva's presence at Banaras may thus relate to a temporary occupation of Banaras by the Pāla king."¹

Indeed this is the most satisfactory among the various conjectural suggestions offered in the paper, and it is a matter of regret that, in the above context, I failed to suggest the identification (which now appears to be so apparent) of the said Bhīmadēva, the *Mahāsāndhivīgrahika* of the Gauḍa king, with Madanapāla's minister of the same name who was the *Dūtaka* of the Manahali charter and is mentioned in that record as *Sāndhivīgrahika* Bhīmadēva.² Whether *Sāndhivīgrahika* and *Mahāsāndhivīgrahika* were meant to be the same official designation, or Bhīmadēva was at first the *Sāndhivīgrahika* of Madanapāla, but was later promoted to the post of *Mahāsāndhivīgrahika* sometime after the eighth regnal year of the Pāla king is difficult to say, though the second alternative is preferable. But there can be little doubt about the identity of Bhīmadēva of the Manahali plate and the Rājghāt inscription. This identification seems to throw welcome light on certain aspects of the history of the Later Pālas.

It appears that Madanapāla succeeded in recovering the western districts of Bihar from the Gāhaḍavālas about 1146 A. D. while he occupied Vārāṇasī sometime after 1151 A. D., so that his successful struggle with the Gāhaḍavāla king Gōvindachandra lasted for several years. Whereas he must have received considerable help from his vassals (including Vijayasēna) in the Gāhaḍavāla struggle (which necessarily increased the Sēna ruler's power and prestige), the Pāla king's attention on the eastern regions of his empire was necessarily lesser than his concentration on his western

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 279.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1639.

enemy, and this was one of the important factors that must have led to the occupation of Bengal by Vijayasēna (who died in c. 1159 A.D.) sometime after 1151 A.D.

Madanapāla was succeeded by Gōvindapāla who ruled in the Patna-Gaya region (probably including the Monghyr area also) for about four years (c. 1161-65 A.D.) and was then ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. The people of Western Bihar disliked the Gāhaḍavāla conquerors of their homeland (probably owing to their atrocities) and continued to date their records in the 'lost, past or destroyed sovereignty' of Gōvindapāla instead of using the reckoning of the Gāhaḍavāla kings.¹ The successor of Gōvindapāla was Palapāla who ruled for about 35 years (c. 1165-1199 A. D.) probably over the Monghyr District. An image (now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London) is known to have been installed in the 35th regnal year of Palapāla at the city of Champā (near modern Bhagalpur), though it is said (probably wrongly) to have been discovered at a place near Lakhisarai in the western part of the Monghyr District. During Palapāla's reign the rule of Ballālasēna (1159-79 A. D.), son of Vijayasēna, was acknowledged in the Bhagalpur District in the Sēna king's ninth regnal year (c. 1168 A.D.), while Ballāla's son Lakshmaṇasēna (c. 1179-1206 A.D.) is stated to have defeated the king of Kāśī (Vārāṇasī)² and Lakshmaṇa's son claims to have raised pillars of victory at Vārāṇasī and Prayāga (Allahabad)³ in clear allusion to his military success against the Gāhaḍavāla king (probably Jayachandra, 1171-93 A. D.) apparently during his father's reign, long before Lakshmaṇa's defeat at the hands of the Turkish Muhammadans. Another interesting fact to be remembered in this connection is that, as in the case of Gōvindapāla, the people of the Gaya region started the use of Lakshmaṇasēna's 'past sovereignty' reckoning.⁴ This shows that the said territory once formed a part of Lakshmaṇasēna's dominions, the Pāla king ruling over parts of Bihar then being apparently no better than a subordinate ally of the Sēna monarch. It is not impossible that the weak Pāla king sought the help of the Sēnas in the task of defending Western Bihar from Gāhaḍavāla attacks and that the Sēnas conquered Western Bihar from the Gāhaḍavālas and apparently also temporarily occupied parts of Eastern Uttar Pradesh; Western Bihar was made a part of the Sēna empire for a few years, but was soon reconquered by the Gāhaḍavālas. This is the period when the Jaynagar image was installed in the 35th year of Palapāla's reign.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 234-36. The Gāhaḍavālas used the Vikrama-samvat.

² Ibid. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text, lines 19-20; N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 111, line 20.

³ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 316. Viśvarūpasēna was apparently the commander of the Sēna army invading the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom during Lakshmaṇasēna's reign.

⁴ Ibid. Vol. XXXV, p. 236.

No. 45—THANA PLATES OF SILAHARA NAGARJUNA, SAKA 961

(1 Plate)

M. G. DIKSHIT, BOMBAY¹

(Received on 15.9.1966)

The set of a copper plate grant, comprising **three plates**, complete with its ring and seal, was discovered in a locality known as Panch-Pākhāḍi on the outskirts of the town of Ṭhānā in April, 1965. It was found in a small tank in the plot belonging to Messers Shakti Printing and Dyeing Works Private Ltd. The set was brought to my notice by Dr. V. G. Dighe, M.A., Ph.D. At his suggestion the proprietors of the concern forwarded it to me for study and decipherment. It is edited here for the first time with the permission of the Manager of the concern. The plates are now preserved in the office of the Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay.

Each plate of the set measures about 22·5 × 17·5 cm strung together by means of a copper ring, 1 cm thick and about 6 cm in diameter. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a circular seal about 5·5 cm in diameter. This seal has an ornamental border of beads and inset on its upper surface in high relief is a figure of Garuḍa seated in *padmāsana* pose with his hands in the *añjali-mudrā*. This figure is very beautifully modelled and shows high artistic merits.

The inscription consists of eighty-eight lines of writing, distributed over the inner side of the first plate, both the sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate. Each side contains twenty-two lines. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the inscription they bear and the writing is, therefore, in an excellent state of preservation. The plates weigh 3250 g together with the seal and the ring.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, representative for the period to which the inscription is assigned and call for no special remarks. The grant is written in Sanskrit **language** both in prose and verse. The writing is comparatively free from mistakes. As regards the **orthography** it may be stated that *s* and *ś* are generally well-distinguished but are confused with each other in some places. *B* is invariably written as *v*. There are a few examples of wrong *sandhi*. The *upadhmanāya* sign is substituted by *śh* in lines 60 and 63. There is a tendency for the doubling of consonants after *r*.

The plates belong to the **Śilāhāra** ruler **Nāgārjuna** who is already known to us through other copper plate grants and literary sources. It is well known that the northern branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty ruled from Ṭhānā and held its sway over the whole of Koṅkaṅ of which Purī was the capital. The dynasty had three successive rulers, *viz.* Chohhittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni who were uterine brothers. Of Chohhittarāja and Mummuni several records have been discovered.² It would

¹ [We regret to record the sad demise of the author while this article was going through the press.—Ed.]

² These are as follows :

For Chohhittarāja:

- (1) Bhoighar Plates (transcript only), Śaka 946 (*Mahārāshṭrāntil Tāmrapaḍ Va Śilālekḥ*, pp. 32-45).
- (2) Bhandup Plates, Śaka 948 (above, Vol. XII, pp. 250-68).
- (3) Dive-Āgar (unpublished) Plates, Śaka 949 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, App. A, No. 47).
- (4) Chinchani Plates of Mōḍha Chāmūṇḍarāja, a vassal of Chohhittarāja, Śaka 956 (above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 63-68).
- (5) Berlin Museum Plates, Śaka 956 (*Z. D. M. G.*, (90), pp. 265-97).

For Mummuni :

- (6) Ṭhānā Plates, Śaka 970, Mirashi (*Samsōdhana Mukṭāvali*, 3, pp. 115-141).
- (7) Prince of Wales Museum Plates, Śaka 971 (above Vol. XXV, pp. 53-63).
- (8) Dive-Āgar (unpublished) Plates, Śaka 975 (*A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, App. A, No. 48).
- (9) Ambarnath temple inscription, Śaka 982 (*JBRAS.*, Vol. IX, p. 219; XI, p. 320).

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appear that both of them had no male issue and the Śilāhāra throne after the death of Mummuni came to Anantapāla,¹ son of Nāgārjuna. The last known date of Chchhittarāja is Śaka 956 and the earliest date for Mummuni from inscriptional evidence is Śaka 970. So far, no inscription of Nāgārjuna has been found though the name usually occurs in the Śilāhāra records.² Soḍhala, named in his well-known *Champūkāvya Udayasundarikathā*, mentions that Chchhittarāja, Nāgārjuna and Mummuni ruled in succession.³ The discovery of the present plates of Nāgārjuna with the new date furnished by them, viz. Śaka 961, therefore, gives us an important link between the two rulers. This is the only known inscription directly attesting to the rule of Nāgārjuna.

King Nāgārjuna is endowed with the usual titles, found in the Śilāhāra charters. The new titles which he is known to have assumed from this charter are *Koḍaṇḍa-Sahasrārjuna* and *Narēndra-Nāgārjuna*, which are not met with elsewhere. His Chief Minister was one Daddhappaiya and his Minister for War and Peace was one Sōḍhala.⁴

The charter was written by one Jōgapaiya, who is described as the brother's son of the great poet Nāgalaiya. He is also the writer of the Bhandup plates⁵ (Śaka 948) of Chchhittarāja and seems to have continued in office later in the reign of Mummuni also till Śaka 970 as mentioned in the latter's Thāṇā Plates.⁶ His name is not heard of after this as the Prince of Wales Museum Plates⁷ dated Śaka 971, are written by Nāgalaiya, probably the poet himself.

The object of the inscription is to record a grant by the king Nāgārjuna to a Brāhmaṇa named Mādharma Paṇḍita, son of Gōkarṇa Paṇḍita belonging to the Pārāsara *gōtra*, and the Yajurvēda *śākhā*. He is stated to have migrated from Hastigrāma in the Madhya-dēśa. The donation was made for the performance of religious duties, for the daily sacrifices and for the maintenance of his family as well as for the merit of the king.

The record is dated Śaka 961 (expressed in words and figures) **Pramāthi Samvatsara**, on the 15th day in the dark half of the month of Śrāvaṇa, Wednesday, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. These details regularly correspond⁸ to the 27th August, A.D. 1039, when there was a solar eclipse as stated.

The plates use a standard Śilāhāra draft and none of the verses appears to be new. Thus verses 1-17 (lines 1-29) and 18-20 (lines 29-35) in the *praśasti* portion are exactly identical with verses 1-17 (lines 1-27) and 19-21 (lines 29-32) of the Prince of Wales Museum Plates of Mummuni, Śaka 971, referred to above.

The donated property consisted of a plot of land in a village called **Mumjavalī** situated in the subdivision of **Kōriyala 12**. The details regarding the boundaries are given as follows: the plot was bounded on the east by a *Madhuka* (*Latifolia Madhuka*) tree, the *rāja-mārgga* (highway),

¹ Kharepatan Plates of Anantapāla, Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33).

² It is found practically in all the post-Nāgārjuna copper plate grants of the dynasty.

³ चिह्नतराजेन संभूषितो नागार्जुनेन संमानितो मुम्मणिनरेश्वरेणेति सोदरेण क्रमोपभुक्तराज्यसंपदा.

Soḍhala, *Udayasundarikathā* (*G. O. S.*, XI), p. 12 (Baroda 1920).

⁴ It would be interesting to examine if this Sōḍhala could be identified with the author of *Udayasundarikathā*; but it does not seem likely. The latter's family held the office of *Dhruva* (*i.e.* *Dhruvādhikarāṇa*) and not that of a *Sāndhivigrahika*.

⁵ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 250-68. He is also mentioned in the Bhoighar Plates of Śaka 946; but of these plates the original is not forthcoming and only a kind of transcript is available.

⁶ *Saṁśōdhana Muktaḥvalī*, Vol. IV, pp. 115-41.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 53-63.

⁸ S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 81.

a *vōḍana* as well as an *Udumbara* (*Ficus Religiosa*) tree and a *jhōti*, situated on the border of the village *Dōṇā*. On the south it was bounded by a *pīpparī* (*Ficus Tsiela*) tree and a *badarī* (Jujube) tree and an embankment bordering on the outskirts of the village *Vāirṅaṇī*. On the west it was bounded by a *madhuka* and *udumbara* trees outlying the village *Dhavalā*. On the north it was bounded by the river near the village *Kuḍisavarā*, a rock and a *virāikā*.

The plates contain several expressions which are of **lexical interest**. While stating the boundaries the text uses some words which are akin to the modern Koṅkaṇi or Marāṭhī dialect. The word *vōḍana* (line 64) corresponds to modern *ondana* which means deep rice-field as would accommodate a large quantity of water. Another word in the same context is *jhōti*. This word is used in modern Marāṭhī in the sense of a large stream or a water-shed.¹ Another word is *varalī* which is used for a small embankment across a rice field for retention of water. This word also occurs in the *Thāṇā* charter of *Śilāhāra Mummuni*, dated Śaka 970. Another *dēśi* word is *khaḍaka* meaning rock (line 66) and we again come across the word *virāikā*, a diminutive of *viraka* meaning a banana¹ grove. I have already drawn attention to this meaning of the word while explaining a number of geographical and topographical terms occurring in the above mentioned *Thāṇā* charter and published in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 272-73.

Of special interest is the expression *pūrvaprasidhyā bhaṭṭhōkāsādi sahitaḥ* in connection with the right governing the property mentioned in line 68. The word *bhaṭṭha* corresponds to the modern *bhāṭ* in Marāṭhī and signifies a low land in which inferior crops are grown and is subjected to the waves of the sea in high tide and therefore unsuitable for good cultivation. *Ukkāsa* is a fallow uncultivable land, barren on account of rocky soil. The injunction, therefore, is against the watering of land both due to bad soil and its inundation in salty water. It is of interest to know that the word *bhaṭṭha* also occurs in the *Bhandup* plates of *Śilāhāra Chchhittarāja*,² Śaka 948 (line 42). Fleet read the word correctly in his text while editing this inscription but considered *bhaṭṭha* as a mistake for *bhaṭṭa*.³ This, as explained above, is not the case. The *Bhandup* plates referred to a *bhaṭṭha-kshetra*, apparently a field standing on high eminence. The word *bhāṭ* also occurs in the *Valipattana* plates⁴ of *Śilāhāra Raṭṭarāja*, Śaka 932, and the context makes it clear that the *bhāṭ* was situated near the sea. The expression used here is *boribhāṭā samīpa samudraḥ dēśaḥ*.

As regards the **geographical names** mentioned in the grant Koṅkaṇa and its capital *Puri* and *Tagara* from which the *Śilāhāras* claim their descent (line 35) are only too well-known. *Madhyadēśa* is apparently a portion of Central India, but *Hastigrāma* from where the donee is said to have migrated cannot be identified with certainty. The clue to the donated village and its boundaries is furnished by the name *Vāirṅaṇī* which is to be identified with *Vāngni*, a small railway station on the *Bombay-Poona* line of the *Central Railway*. The donated village *Mumjavalī* is now a deserted site situated in between the *Vāngni* railway station and the *Vāngni* village which lies 2 miles south of it. *Dōṇā*, said to be situated on the east of the donated village, is represented by a village of the same name being about 1·5 miles away in the indicated direction. *Vāirṅaṇī* is of course *Vāngni*, about 5 miles to the south. Village *Dhavalā*, said to be on the east, still retains its old name and lies about 1 mile to the east. Lastly *Kuḍisavarā*, a village to the north of the donated village, lies about 2 miles in the same direction. The river mentioned in the inscription is no other than *Ulhāsa*, though not mentioned by name. The name of this river is given as *Ulāsa* in the *Thāṇā* charter of *Mummuni*. Thus most of the villages mentioned in the grant can be satisfactorily

¹ *Mahārāshṭra Śabdakōsha*, Vol. III, p. 1369.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 250 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 264, foot-note 3.

⁴ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 203 ff.

identified in the directions mentioned. Kōriyala, which was the head-quarters of a group of 12 villages, cannot satisfactorily be identified, but in all probability it is represented by modern Gorela or Goriyali which lies about 2 miles to the west of Vāngni railway station.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 11, 12, 18, 22, 24-28, 30-33 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 3-5, 15 *Vasāntatilakā*; verse 6 *Prīṭhī*; verses 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 19 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 8 *Sragdharā*; verse 13 *Āryā*; verses 17, 23, *Indravajrā*; verse 20 *Mālinī*; verse 21 *Vamśasthā*; verse 29 *Sālinī*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² जयश्चाभ्युदयश्च ॥ लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणनायकः । विघ्न
निघ्नन्स वः
- 2 पायादपायाद्गणनायकः ॥[१॥*] स वः पातु शिवो नित्य यन्मौलौ भाति
जाह्नवी । सुमेरुसि(शि)-
- 3 खरोदगच्छदच्छचन्द्रकलोपमा ॥[२॥*] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतं दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन
इति त्रिजग-
- 4 त्रसिद्धः । देहं निजं तृणमिवाकलयन्परात्थं यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात्खलु
सं(शं)खचूडं(डम्) ॥[३॥*] तस्यान्वये नि-
- 5 खिलभूपतिमौलिनूत्नरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितेनिर्मलंपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसाङ्क इव साहसिकः
कपर्दी सी-
- 6 लाखस(श)-तिलको नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव ॥[४॥*] तस्मादभूच्च तनयः
पुलशक्तिनामा सीमासमः सुखगुरुदितरा-
- 7 जनीतेः । निज्जित्य सगरमुखेखिलवेरिवर्गं निष्कण्ठकं जगति राज्यमकारि
येन ॥[५॥*] ततो-
- 8 पि समभूत्सुतो नृपसि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः सितः सृणिरिवापरोरिकरिणां कपर्दी
लघुः । य-
- 9 दीययशसा जगत्यतिशयेन शुक्लीकृते न भाति सुरवारणो न च शसी(शी)
म(न) दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)धिः ॥[६॥*] तस्मा-

¹ From the original plates and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

10. दृष्यभवद्विभूतिपदवीपात्रं पवित्रीकृताशेषक्षमावल्यो महीपतिलकः श्रीवप्पुवन्नः
11. सुतः । संग्रामांगणरगिणासिलतया लूनैकदन्ता हठात्सर्व्वे येन विनायका विरचिता
12. विद्वेषिणां दन्तिनः ॥[७॥*] तस्माज्जातस्तनूजो रजनिकर इवानदिताशेष-
लोक[*] श्लाघ्यः श्रीज्ञ-
13. झराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःशेषदोषः । सं(शं)भोर्यो द्वादशापि व्यरचय-
दचिरात्कीर्त्तनानि
14. स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्ये प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्गमागर्गोद्यतानां(नाम्) ॥[८॥*]
भ्राता तत्र ततस्ततोज्व(ज्ज्व)लय-
15. शोराशिप्रकाशीकृताशेषक्षमावल्यो व(ब)ली व(ब)लवतां श्रीगोगिराजोऽभवत् ।
चापाकर्षणक-
16. र्म्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भीष्मद्रोणपृथासुतप्रभृतयश्चित्त-
चमत्कारिताः ॥[९॥*] तस्माद्वि-
17. समयकारिहारिचरितप्रख्यातकीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभूपतिरभूद्भू चक्रचूडामणिः ।
दो-
18. दृण्डैकव(ब)लस्य¹ यस्य सहसा संग्रामरगांगणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेत्य वक्षसि
रतिं चक्रे मुरारेखि ॥[१०॥*]
19. जयन्त इव वृत्रारेः पुरारेखि षण्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभूत्पुत्रः सञ्चरित्रो-
पराजितः ॥[११॥*]
20. कर्णस्त्यागेन यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाद्दीप्तिमात्तण्डः
कालदण्डस्त्र(श्च) यो द्वि-
21. षां(षाम्) ॥[१२॥*] स(श)रणागतसामन्ता अपरा अपि जगति रक्षिता
येन । स जयति यथार्थ(र्थ)नामा
22. स(श)रणागतवज्रपंजरो देवः ॥[१३॥*] येन स्वागतमागताय विहित
गोम्माय नानाविधं येने-

¹Read ब्रह्मेन [This correction is not necessary.—Ed.]

Second Plate, First Side

- 23 वंयपदेवनाम्नि चलितं राज्यं स्थिरं कारितं(तम्) । भिल्लम्माम्ममणम्बु(म्बु)-
वक्षितिभुजां दत्तं च येना-
- 24 भयं तस्य श्रीवि(वि)रुदंकरामनृपतेरन्यत्किमावर्ण्यते ॥[१४॥*] तस्माद्द्व(द्व)भूव
भुवि वज्जड-
- 25 देवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयज्ञः । अद्यापि यस्य चरितानि जनाः
सस-
- 26 स्ता रोमांचकंचुकितगात्रलता स्तुवन्ति ॥[१५॥*] तद्भ्राताथ ततोरिकेसरि-
नृपो जातः स-
- 27 तां सम्मतो दृप्तारातिकुलाचलैकदलने दंभोलिलीलां दधत् । गत्वा सैस(शैश)व
एव सैन्यसहि-
- 28 तो दृष्ट्वा च सोमेस्व(श्व)रं तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कीलयित्वा
गतः ॥[१६॥*] तद्भ्रातृजो वज्जडदेव-
- 29 सूनुः श्रीच्छित्तराजो नृपतिर्व्व(र्व्व)भूव । सीलारवंसः(शः) सिमु(शिशु)नापि
येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥[१७॥*]
- 30 हतारिनारीनेत्रांभस्सेकसम्ब(संब)र्द्धनादिव । ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमण्डपं यस्य कीर्त्तिवल्लघधि-
रोहति ॥[१८॥*] दृप्ताराति-
- 31 षु कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यनारायणो वारस्त्रीषु ततोनुजः समभवन्नागार्जुनः क्षमा-
- 32 पतिः । यस्यामानुषमूर्ज्जितं भुजव(व)लं दूरान्निस(श)म्य द्विषां निद्रातीव
रणांगणव्यसनिनी
- 33 दोर्हण्डकण्डूलता ॥[१९॥*] यदसमसिवि(शिबि)रान्तर्मत्तगन्धेभदानप्रसरदनिल-
शुष्यत्स्रो(त्स्रो)तसो
- 34 दिग्गजेन्द्राः । अरिनगरविदाहोद्दामदिग्ग्यापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमीललोचनान्युन्मिष-
- 35 न्ति ॥[२०॥*] अथ स्वकीयपुण्योदयात्समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपति-
तगरपुरपरमेस्व(श्व)-

- 36 रश्रीसीलारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहानान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णगुरुडध्वजसहजविद्याधरकोदण्डसह-
- 37 श्रा(सा)र्जुननरेन्द्रनागार्जुनत्यागजगक्षम्पशरणागतवज्रपंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलीवि-
- 38 राजितमहामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदेवे निजभुजोपाज्जितानेकमण्डलसमे-
- 39 तं पुरीप्रमुखच[तु*]र्दशग्रामस(श)तीसमन्वितसमस्तकोकणभुवं समनुशासति तथै-
तद्राज्यचिन्ता-
- 40 भारमुद्रहति महामात्यश्रीदद्वपैये तथा महाशा(सा)न्धिविग्रहिकश्रीसोढलैये
सत्येतस्मिन्का-
- 41 ले प्रवर्त्तमाने स च महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदेवः सव्वनिव
स्वसम्ब(म्ब)ध्यमानकानन्या-
- 42 नपि समागामिराजपुत्रमंत्रिपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाननियोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविषयप-
- 43 तिनगरपतिग्रामपतिनियुक्तानियुक्तराजपुरुषजनपदांस्तथा ह्यमननगरपौरत्रिवर्गप्र-
- 44 भृती(तीं)श्च प्रणतिपूजासत्कारसमादेशैः(शैः) संदिस(श)त्यस्तु वः संविदितं
यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः क्षण-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 45 भंगि यौवनं कृतान्तदन्तान्तरवर्त्ति जीवितं । तथाप्यवज्ञा परलोकसाधने
नृणामहो विस्म-
- 46 यकारि चेष्टितं(तम्) ॥[२१॥*] तथा चान्तर्लीनजराराक्षसीप्रारब्ध(ब्ध)श्रासं
यौवनं स्वर्गवासान्नरकपातस-
- 47 ममिष्टसमागमवियोगदुःखकदलीगर्भवदसारः संसारः । सहजजरामरणसाधार-
- 48 णकं शरीरं पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरे धनायुषी इति मत्वा दृढत-
- 49 रविरक्तिवु(बु)द्ध्या संगृह्योच्छञ्च¹ दानफलं(लम्) ॥ कृतत्रेताद्वापरेषु तपोत्यर्थं
प्रस(श)स्यते । मुनयोत्र तु

¹ Read संगृह्योक्तं च.

- 50 संशंति¹ दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥[२२॥*] तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्याशे(से)न ॥[११*]
अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेष्ण-
- 51 वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः । लोकत्रयन्तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च
महीञ्च दद्यात् ॥[२३॥*] आस्फो-
- 52 ट्यन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोस्मत्कुले जातः स नः
सन्तारयिष्यति ॥[२४॥*] भूमि-
- 53 दानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपर्व्वसु । अगाधापारसंसारसागरोत्तारणं भवेत् ॥[२५॥*]
धवलान्या-
- 54 तपत्राणि दन्तिनश्च मदोद्धताः । भूमिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गं
पुरंदरः ॥[२६॥*] इति धर्म्मार्धर्म्मवि-
- 55 चारचतुरचिरन्तनमुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्त्थिना मया
शकनृपकालातीत
- 56 सम्बत्सरस(श)तेषु नवसु एकषष्ट्यधिकेषु प्रमाथी(थि)सम्ब(संव)त्सरान्तर्गत-
श्राम्ब(व)ण-वदि पंचदस्या(श्यां) यत्रांकतोपि सम्ब(संव)-
- 57 त् ९६१ श्राम्ब(व)ण वदि १५ वु(बु)धे संजातसूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि सुतीर्थे
स्नात्वा गगनैकचक्रचूडामणये कम-
- 58 लिनीकामुकाय भगवते सवित्रे नानाविधकुसुमश्लाघ्यमर्धं दत्त्वा सकलसुरासुरगुहं
त्रैलोक्यस्वामि-
- 59 नं भगवन्तमुमापतिमभ्यर्च्य यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्मनिरताय क्रतुक्रिया-
काण्डसौ(शौ)ण्डा-
- 60 य परमन्न(न्न)ह्मणे महात्रा(त्रा)ह्मणाय हस्तिग्रामविनिर्गताय मध्यदेशा(शा)न्त-
पाति² पारास(श)रगोत्राय यजुर्व्वेदशा-
- 61 खिने माधवपण्डिताय गोकर्णपण्डितसुताय यजनयाजनाध्ययनाध्यापनादिषट्कर्म-
करणाय व(ब)लि-

¹ Read संशंति.

² [Read मध्यदेशान्त-पातिहस्तिग्रामविनिर्गताय.—Ed.]

- 62 चस्कवैस्व(श्व)देवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युपसर्पणार्थं स्वपरिग्रहपोषणार्थं च कोरियल-
द्वादशकान्त-
- 63 ≍ पाति मुंजवलीग्रामः [1*] यस्य चाघाटनानि [1*] पूर्वतः दोणाग्रामसीमासंधौ
मधुकवृक्षः तथा राज-
- 64 मार्गः तथा वोडणं तथा उदुम्ब(म्ब)रवृक्षः तथा झोतिश्च ॥ दक्षिणतः
वाइंगणीग्रामसीमाशं(सं)-
- 65 धौ वंवे पिप्परी तथा व(ब)दरी वरली च ॥ पश्चिमतो धवलाग्राम-
सीमासंधौ उदुम्ब(म्ब)रवृक्षः. तथा
- 66 मधुकवृक्षश्च ॥ उत्तरतः कुडिसवराग्रामसीमासंधौ नदी तथा खडकविरइका
च ॥ एवं चतुरा-

Third Plate

- 67 घाटनोपलक्षितः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सतृणकाष्ठोदकोपेतः पर्वतक्षिति-
- 68 समकालीनः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायत्र(ब्र)ह्मदायवर्जः पूर्वप्रसिद्ध्या भट्ठौकासादिसहि-
- 69 तः अचाटभट्टप्रवेशः र(अ)नादेस्य(श्यः)र(अ)नासेध्यः समुत्पद्यमानद्रम्मशतत्रयसंख्यः
- 70 उदकातिसर्गेण नमस्यवृत्त्या परमया भक्त्या प्रतिपादितः । तदस्य
सान्वय . .
- 71 रपि भुंजतो भोजयतो वा कृषतः कर्षयतो वा न केनापि परिपंथना
करणीया ॥ य-
- 72 त उक्तमेव पुरातनमहामुनिभिर्व्व(भिः ॥ ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य
- 73 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२७॥*] सद्यादानं निरायासं
सायासं दीर्घपालनं । अत एव-
- 74 षयः प्राहुर्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ॥[२८॥*] दत्त्वा भूमिं भाविनः
पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते
- 75 रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो
भवद्भिः ॥[२९॥*] इति मुनिव-

- 76 चनान्यवधार्य समागामिभूपालैरस्मद्वंस(श)जैरन्यैर्वा पालनं धर्मफललोभ
एव कर-
- 77 णीयः । न पुनस्तल्लोपनपापकलंकाग्रेसरेण केनापि भवितव्यं(व्यम्) ।
यस्त्वेवमभ्यर्त्थितो-
- 78 पि लोभादज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिद्यदाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पंचभि-
- 79 र्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च लिप्तो रौरवमहारौरवान्धतामिश्रा(स्त्रा)दिनरकांश्चिरमनुभ-
- 80 विष्यति ॥ तथा चोक्तं भगवता व्याशे(से)न ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा)
यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) ।
- 81 स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥[३०॥*] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु
सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासि-
- 82 नः । महाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[३१॥*] गामेकां
स्वर्णमेकम्वा(कं वा) भूमेरप्येकमं-
- 83 गुलं(लम्) । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाभूतस(सं)प्लवं(वम्) ॥[३२॥*] षष्ठि(ष्टि)
र्वं(व)र्ष- सहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमि-
- 84 दः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३३॥*] यथा
चैतदेव तथा शासनदाता ले-
- 85 खकहस्तेन स्वमतमारोपयति । यथा मतं मम महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)र-
श्रीमन्नागार्जुनराजदे-
- 86 वस्य महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमद्वज्जडदेवराजसूनोर्यक्षत्र शासने लिखितं(तम्) ।
लिखितं चैतन्म-
- 87 या श्रीमद्राजानुज्ञया भाण्डागारसेनश्रीजोगपैयेह भाण्डागारसेनमहाकविश्रीनागलै-
- 88 यभ्रातृसूनुना । यदत्रोनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरम्वा(रं वा) तत्सर्वं प्रमाणमिति ॥
मंगलमिति ॥ श्रीः ॥

No. 46—TWO BHANJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM

(3 Plates)

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(Received on 8.12.1965)

The two copper-plate inscriptions edited below are now deposited in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Their impressions were secured by me when I visited Bhubaneswar in December 1964 in the course of my collection tour. They are referred to here as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. They have been published in *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI, respectively on pp. 155 ff. and pp. 9 ff. with facsimiles. But as these articles contain some inaccuracies both in the reading of the texts and in the interpretation of the contents of the records, they are edited in the following pages.

A.—Aidā Plates of Rānaka Raṇabhañja, Year [50]

This charter¹ is stated to have been discovered at the village **Aidā**, six miles from **Aṭhamallik**, Athamallik Sub-Division, Dhenkanal District, Orissa. It consists of **three plates**, each measuring about 8.7 cm high and 10.5 cm broad. The plates are strung together to a circular ring with a diameter of 6.2 cm and a thickness of .8 cm. The ends of the ring are soldered to a lump of metal which is fashioned at its top into an oval seal. The latter has a knob-like projection at its top representing the sun, a crescent-like symbol below it representing the moon, the legend reading *Śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya* below the latter and the figure of a couchant bull facing proper right at the bottom. All these various designs are worked in relief. The plates are fairly intact, except for some slight cracks seen at the top and bottom edges of the first plate, and a defect noticed at about the middle on the proper left end of the second side of the second plate. The rims of the plates are raised only slightly but the writing is on the whole satisfactorily preserved. The first and the third plates have writing on one side while the second plate has writing on both sides. There are altogether 45 lines of writing distributed as follows: 11 lines on the first side, 12 lines on each of the second and third sides and 10 lines on the fourth side. The plates weigh 1578 g, and the ring with seal weighs 308 g.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 10th-11th century used in Kalinga, and closely resemble those of the Pāṭṇā Museum plates of the 22nd year² and the Baud plates of the 26th year³ of *Rānaka Raṇabhañja*, who is the issuer of the record under study and also those of the Sonpur plates,⁴ the genuineness of which is doubted by the editor of the plates.⁵ The characters of our record can be compared with those of the Binkā plates⁶ of the same king. It may be noted that

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 43.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff., and plate.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 325 ff., and plate between pp. 326-27.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, In fact the charter could as well have been issued by Raṇabhañja and the omission of the verse containing his name may be attributed to the carelessness of the engraver which is also evidenced by a number of mistakes in the text. This assumption is supported by the palaeography of the charter and also by the mention of Śivanāga, son of Pāṇḍi, as the engraver of the record. He figures in the same capacity in most of the other charters of Raṇabhañja.

⁶ *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff. and plates, where the letters have been doctored.

the characters of our record are considerably different from those of the Jagati (Baudh) plates¹ of the 54th year of a Raṇabhañja identified with the king of the present plates, the difference being especially noticeable in the opened-up top of such letters as *p*, *m*, *s* and *sh* and the forms of letters like *k*, *ch*, *j*, *t*, etc. of the latter. Of initial vowels, our record employs *a* (lines 9, 12-13, 17, 21, 38, 41), *ā* (lines 7, 29-31), *i* (lines 8, 15, 18, 23, 41), *ī* (line 40), *u* (lines 14, 21, 36, 39, 43), *ri* (line 28) and *ē* (lines 29, 38). The final consonants used here are *ch* (line 26), *th* (line 3), *t* (lines 5, 9, 11, 18, 27, 38), *n* (lines 16-18, 27) and *m* (line 18).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition which is partly in verse and partly in prose is defective in spelling, grammar, etc. in several places. As regards the orthography, the following points are noteworthy. The letter *b* is invariably indicated by the sign for *v*; *anusvāra* is used in the place of nasal *n*, e.g. *balavām nripō* for *balavān=nripō* (line 5), *Bhagavām abhinandanti* for *Bhagavān=abhinandanti* (line 31) and *haram narakam* for *haran=narakam* (line 35), but the nasal *ñ* is used for *anusvāra* in *vañśa* for *vamśa* (lines 13, 26); *s* is used for *ś* in some places (lines 18, 30); *s* is used for *sh* in line 16; and *sandhi* has not been observed in lines 21, 32, etc. The influence of the local pronunciation is seen in the spelling of *māhārājakiya* (line 44) for *mahārājakiya* and this peculiarity is generally noticed in the records of this period from this area.

The date of the record is given as *vijaya-rājyē sāmvara-namamē* (line 43). Obviously, there is some mistake in this passage. The Sonpur plates² of king Raṇabhañja who issued the present charter, have a similar passage reading *vijaya-rājya-sāmvaśchhārā-namamē*. There the last word of the expression, viz. *namamē*, has been corrected into *navamē* and accordingly the year has been taken to be nine. On this analogy, the expression referred to above relating to the date of the record under study will also mean nine. But there is also the possibility of taking the date to have been expressed according to the *katapayādi* system in which case the expression *nama-mē* would represent 50-mē (i.e. *pañchāśaitamē*). The latter seems to be more probable as the records of this king upto his 26th year describe him as a *paramavaishṇava* while the Jagati plates dated in his 54th year describe him as a *paramamāhēśvara* as the present plates do. Thus according to this method, the date of our record and the Sonpur plates would then be 50, not nine, which will go to strengthen the view regarding the faith of the king.³ It may be noted that the dates in the records of this king are given in a variety of ways, e.g. the Binkā plates⁴ give the date as *sō(shō)śaś-āśē(bdē) śaś-śivaśē(sē)*, and the Patnā Museum plates⁵ give as *indu-vvāg-vviśanti varisē*.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja*, son of *Śatrubhañja* and grandson of *Silābhañja*. This king is identical with the homonymous king of the several other records of the early Bhañja dynasty. The expression *asya pitā nripāsya* in verse 3 tempts one to assume that Silābhañja himself was the father of the *nripa*, the issuer of the charter, i.e. Raṇabhañja. Then the expression *tasya-ātmapajh* in verse 4 would make Śatrubhañja, a son of Raṇabhañja. But the latter case is improbable since, if this was intended, the composer would

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 322 ff., and plate between pp. 322-23.

² JBORS, Vol. VI, pp. 481 ff., without facsimile; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1492. The king is described in the record as a *paramamāhēśvara* whereas Bhandarkar in his list has wrongly quoted the record as referring to the king as *paramavaishṇava*.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 274. The view expressed here seems to have been based on the wrong information on the faith of the king given in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1492. The record, the text of which is given in JBORS, Vol. VI, pp. 483 ff., describes the king as *paramamāhēśvara* (see *ibid.*, p. 484, text line 3 of the second plate, front side).

⁴ JBORS, Vol. II, p. 177; Bhandarkar's List No. 1493.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 100 and note 4; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 2055.

have used the same word *asya* here also rather than *tasya*. So, we have to assume that *asya* in the earlier case refers to only Śatrubhañja.¹

The record begins with the symbols for *Siddham* and *Om* followed by the word *Svasti*, usually met with in the records of this king except in the case of the Jagati plates where the record commences with the symbol for *Siddham* only followed by the word *Siddhi*. Lines 1-9 contain four verses two of which refer to Śilābhañja and his son Śatrubhañja. Then follows a prose passage in lines 9-11 praising a Bhañja king. Then follows in line 12 the mention of the city of *Dhṛitipura* from where apparently the charter was issued. In lines 12-15 is the usual description of *Rāṇaka* Raṇabhañja which states that he was born in Auḍaja-vamśa, was a *param-māhēśvara*, was devoted to the feet of his parents, was a *Bhañjāmālakulatilaka*, was the lord of *Ubhaya-Khiñjali*, had obtained the title *pañchamahāśabda*, was praised by the *mahāsāmantas*, and was blessed by the boon from *Stambhēśvari*. The passage that follows (lines 15-18) contains a list of officials of the *Khiñjali-maṇḍala* to whom the king addressed an order. The contents of the order (lines 18-24) relate to the grant made by the king on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents and of himself of the village *Vārigāmā* to *Bhataputra Paṇḍita* Varada, who belonged to *Vatsa-gōtra* with five *pravaras*, to *Chhandōga-charaṇa*, and to *Kauthuma-sākhā*, who had hailed from *Tālahṛitaki-grāma* of *Varēndra-maṇḍala* and was residing at the village *Tari*, and who was the son of *Bhaṭa Śavara* and grandson of *Bhaṭa Iyāka*. The gift village is stated to be attached to *Rōirā-vishaya* and was on the banks of the river *Mōra*. The gift was accompanied by the right to *nidhi* and *upanidhi* and was to be enjoyed by the donee hereditarily. As in the other records of this dynasty, there is no mention made of the other privileges generally associated with such gifts, nor of the village having been made rent-free (*akarī-kṛitya*). Then follows the king's injunction (lines 24-26) to the effect that no one should cause even a slight hindrance in respect of the gift, evidently in its enjoyment by the donee. Lines 27-43 contain fifteen of the usual imprecatory verses. The date of the record discussed above is contained in line 43. Lines 43-44 state that the record was engraved by *Vāṇika Śivarṇakāra* Paṇḍika, son of *Gōnā* and that it was marked with the royal seal.

As regards the identification of the engraver Paṇḍika, it is not known whether he is identical with Paṇḍi who figures as the father of *Sivanāga*, the engraver of the *Binkā* plates,² *Soṅpur* plate,³ *Chakradharpur* plates,⁴ *Landore* plates⁵ and of the *Pātnā* Museum plates⁶ and as the father of *Padmanābha*, the engraver of the *Soṅpur* plates⁷ all belonging to the reign of king Raṇabhañja. It seems, however, likely that Paṇḍika of our record is different from Paṇḍi referred to above, from the point of view of the mere difference in the spellings of these two names. The name Paṇḍika, with the diminutive suffix *ka*, indicates that the person was considered Paṇḍi, the younger,

¹ There is the mention of *śrī-Gandhaṭa* in the place of *śrī-Śilābhañja* in the *Jagati* plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 323). The verse describing both being identical, we can assume that *Gandhaṭi* was rather the original name of *Śilābhañja*. Since the expression *śrī-Gandhaṭa* suits the metre of the verse rather than *śrī-Śilābhañja*, it is apparent that this *prasasti* was composed before the assumption of the name *śrī-Śilābhañja* by *śrī-Gandhaṭa* (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 274-75). In this case, the passage referring to *Śatrubhañja* should be presumed to have been omitted by the scribe through carelessness. In the *Kumurukela* plates of *Śatrubhañja* (*JBOIS*, Vol. II, pp. 332 ff.), the occurrence of the name *śrī-Āṅgaḍi* (the reading *Āṅgaddi* may be wrong when we consider the doctoring of the letters in the facsimile) in the identical place further suggests that it was another name of *śrī-Gandhaṭa*.

² Bhandarkar's List, No. 1493.

³ Ibid., No. 1491.

⁴ Ibid., No. 1494.

⁵ Ibid., No. 1495.

⁶ Ibid., No. 2055.

⁷ Ibid., No. 1492.

meaning in all probability that he was the grandson of Pāṇḍi, the father of Śivanāga, through another son named Gōṇā, of the former. At this juncture, it may be considered whether *Ārkaśālī* Gōṇāka of the Jagati plates of the 54th year¹ was connected with the *Vanika Suvarṇakāra* family to which Śivanāga, Padmanābha and Pāṇḍika referred to above belonged. Supposing that when Gōṇāka became the *Ārkaśālī* he discarded the epithets *Vanika* and *Suvarṇakāra* of his family, it is not unlikely that he was a member of this family. If this is accepted, then on the analogy of Pāṇḍika being Pāṇḍi, the younger, Gōṇāka may be considered to be Gōṇā, the younger, i.e. the grandson of Gōṇā, evidently the one who is mentioned in our record as the father of Pāṇḍika. In this case Gōṇāka would become either the son of the latter or of one of his brothers. From the foregoing, we come to know of four generations of the *Vanika Suvarṇakāra* family.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Dhritipura, Ubhaya-Khūjali and Khūjali-maṇḍalā are known from several records of this Bhañja family. The Rōirā-vishayā is apparently the same as the Rōyarā-vishaya of the Sonpur plates², probably of the time of *Rāṇaka Rānabhañja*, stated to be situated on the borders of Sonpur State. The place Rōyarā itself is said to be not far off from Athamallik, the findspot of the present record.³ The Varēdra-maṇḍalā is already known from several records and is identical with Northern Bengal. The gift-village Vārigāmā, and the villages Tālahritaki-grāma and Tari-grāma are difficult to identify. The Mōra-nadi (Mayūra-nadi) is probably the Murura-jhōr (Murura-nadi = Mayūra-nadi),⁴ a small rivulet joining the Teṅgra river which itself is a tributary of the Brahmani river.

TEXT⁵

[Mētrēs : Verses 1-3 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 4 *Sārāḍālavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-18 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 19 *Pūshpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁶ Ōm⁶ Svasti | Saṁhāra-kāla-hutabhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sambhrānta-kiṅkara-kṛitānta-nitānta-bhi(bhi)nam(nnam) [| *]
- 2 bhinā(nā-ā)ndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātapatra(tram) . |⁷ tād-bhairavam-Hara-vapuḥ⁸ bhavatah-prapātu || [1*] Durvāra-vāraṇa-ra-
- 3 na-pratipakṣhā(kṣha)-Lla(La)kshmi-hath(thā)-grahana-suprasrita-pratāpā[h*] . || (.) Bhañjan-arādhipatayō va(ba)havō va(ba)bhūya(vu)-
- 4 r=udbhūta-yō=tra bhūvi bhūri sahasra-saṁkhyā[h*] || [2*]⁹ Teshām kulē sakala-bhūtalā-pāla-mauli-māl-ārchchitā(t-ām)-
- 5 ghra(ghri)-yugalō va(ba)lavām¹⁰ nripō=bhūt || (.) śrī-Si(Si)labhañja-dēva-prakata-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-nirdd[ā]-
- 6 rit-āri-hridayō=sya pitā nripasya || [3*] Gāmbhīryeṇa payō-nidhi[h*] |[?] thi(sthi)ratayā-bhūmi[h*] |[?] va(ba)-

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 325.

² Above, Vol. XI, pp. 98 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 101.

⁴ See map of Orissa and the Tributary States, near about the intersection of 85° E. and 21° N.

⁵ From impressions.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁸ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁹ This and the following two verses are metrically defective.

¹⁰ Read *balavān=nripō*.

TWO BHANJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM — PLATE I

A—Aidā Plates of Rānaka Ranabhañja, year [50]

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ii a

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20
22

- 7 lēn=Āṇila[h*] tējōbhīḥ (bhīḥ) j[v]alanō=ryamām(m=ā)samatayā |¹ su(su)bhrair=yasō(sō)bhī(bhī)-
[h*]²sasi(sī) | . ātmā
- 8 sarvva-jagan-māṇa-sṭhitatayā dat[t*]-āvakāśō(sō).viya[j*]=jāta[h*] |¹ śrī-Satrubhaṅja ity=
atula-dhīḥ tasy=ātmaja[s*]=
- 9 svayambhūvat | [[4*] Anyōnya-māḍa-māna-milita-sāmudha(ddha)ta-nripa-chakra-chatur-
āṅga-va(ba)lā-kshōbha-chalita-dharā-ma-
- 10 ndala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirddāraṇa-prasarād-atula-dhū(dhū)li-vitāna-samchhana(nna)-jany-
āṅga-gaja-[ska]udha-vedikā[m*]
- 11 svayamvarāyāt ||² parinata-Jayalakshmi-samānandita-paura-jana-mānaśah. śrīmad-Bhaṅja-
[bhūpatih]

Second plate, First Side

- 12 purād=Dhritipura-nāmuah || [Śa]rad-amala-dhavalā-kara-yasā(sa)h-pātala-dhavalita-dig-
vadanō ||³ anāvara-
- 13 ta-pravṛita(tta)-sanmāna-dān-ānandita-sakala-janō . Andaja-vaṅsa(mśa)-prabhavah . para-
māmāhēśvara(rō) mātā-pitri-pā-
- 14 d-ānudhyāta(tō) Bhaṅjāmalakulatilaka[h*] | Ubhaya-[Khim]jaly-āddhi(adhi)patih[h*] |
samadhigata-pañchamahāśavda(bda)[h*] | mahā-
- 15 sāmanta-vandita[h*] | Stambhēśvarīlavdha³-vara-prasāda[h*] || Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇabha-
ṅjadēva[h*] kuśali(h) | ih=aiva
- 16 Khinjali-maṅḍalē bhavisya(shya)d-rāja-rāja(jā)nak-āntaraṅga-kumāra(r-ā)mātya-mahā-
sāmanta-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-prādhānān ||¹
- 17 anyā[m*]s=cha dandapāsi(sī)ka-chātā-bhata-vallabha-jāti(tī)yān || yathārhim(rham) mānayati
vō(bō)dhayati
- 18 samādisaya(sya)ti ch=ānyān || sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam || viditam=astu bhavatām | Rōira-
- 19 vishaya-prativa(ba)lhu(ddhō) | | Mōra-nadi-vimala-jāla-viji(vicī)-prakshālita-tata(tō)|¹
Vārigāmā-grāma[h*] chātu[s*]-sīmā-
- 20 paryanta[h*] nidhy-upanidhi-sahitam(tah) sōma-gra[ha*]ṇa(nē) mātā-pitrō=ātmanas=cha
pūnyā(ny-ā)bhividdhiyē salila-dhārā-
- 21 [purassa]rēṇa vidhinā | Vachha(tsa)-gōtrāya | Bhārggava-Āu(Au)rvya-Chyavana⁴-A(Ā)tmā-
(pna)-vāna-Jānadagni-pravarā-
- 22 ya | Chhandōga-charaṇāya | Kauthuma-sā(sā)khāya | Varēnd[r]a-maṅḍala-Tālahri-
tākī-grāma-vinirggata(tā)[yā*] | Tari-

¹ This punctuation is superfluous.

² The *dandās* are superfluous. Read *svayamvar-āyātaparīnata*.

³ Read *Stambhēśvarī-labdha*.

Sandhi has not been observed here.

23 grāma-vāstavya(vyā) [ya*] | Bhataputra Pā[ṅci]tya¹ Varada(dā)[ya*] | ² Bhaṭa-Śavara-
sutāya | ² Bhaṭa-Iyāka-naptrō vidhi-vidhānōna

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 sa-vi[dhō]yam tām vra(mbra)-sā(sā)sana[h*] pratipāditō=yan(yam) | pārāṃparya-[ku]lāva-
[tārēna] [yā]vad=vē[d-ārtha-vachanēna] |
- 25 yathā kāṅḍāt-kāṅḍā[t*]-prarōhanti | yā śatēna pratanōsi(śhi) sahasrēṇā virōhasi(sī)³=ty=
ēva[m*] vu(bu)dhvā parārdha-
- 26 ũ=cha paratōvañsā(mś-ā)vatārēṇ=āpy=asmad-anurōdhād=dharma-gauravāch=[cha*] na
kēnachit=[sva]lp=āpi vā(bā)dhā karaṇiyā |
- 27 Tathā ch=ōktam dharmma-śāstrēshu | pha(ha)lakṛiṣṭā[m*] mahīm dadyāt=savi(bi)jām
sasyamōdinū(nīm) | yāvat=sūrya-kṛitālō-
- 28 kā(kā)[h*] tāvat=svarggē mahiyatē | [[5*] Vēdavatkaśmayō⁴ jihvā vadanti rishi-dēvatā[h*] |
bhūmi-harttās(ttā) tath=ānya[t=cha(ch=chha)] ||⁵
- 29 āhō mā hara mā hara | [[6*] Yath=āpsu patitaṃ Śakra taila-vi(bi)ndu visarpati | ēvaṃ
bhūmi-kṛi-
- 30 taṃ dānaṃ sasyē sasyē prarōhati | [[7*] Ādityō Varuṇō Vishṇu[h*] Vra(Bra)hmā. Sōma(mō)
Hutāsa/śa)naḥ [[*] [Sū]-
- 31 lapāṅis=tu Bhagavām* abhinandanti bhūmidam(dam) | [[8*] A(Ā)sphōṭayanti pitarah
pravalgayanti pitāmaha(hā)h |
- 32 bhūmi-dātē kulē jātā(ta)[h*] sa mē trātā bhavishyati | [[9*] Va(Ba)hubhiḥ⁷ vasudhā
datā(tta) rājānaiḥ⁸ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | mā bhū-
- 33 d=aphala-sā(śa)ñkā ya(vaḥ) para-datē(ttē)shu pālitaṃ(tē) | ⁹ yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ⁷
tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ(lam) | [[10*] Sva-da-
- 34 tā[h*](ttām) para-datā(ttā)m=vā | ¹⁰ yō ha¹⁰rēta vasundharā[m*] | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimi[*]=
bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatō | [[11*] Hiranya(nya)m=ē-
- 35 kaṃ gām-ōkaṃ(kāṃ) bhūmim(mēr)=epy=ardham=āṅga(ṅgi)lām [[*] haraṃ narakam¹¹=
āyāti yāvad=āhūtaṃ(ta)-samplavā(vam) || [12*] Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ prati-

¹ The intended word seems to be *Paṅḍita*.

² This *daṅḍa* is superfluous.

³ The passage from *kāṅḍāt*³ upto *virōhasi* is from the *Taittirīyāranyaka* of the Krishna-yajurveda (see *Anandāśrama Samskrīta Granthāvalīk*, No. 36, pp. 799-800) with the omission of the passage *ēśā nō dārvē pratanu sahasrēṇā śatēna cha*.

⁴ Read *Vēdāvāk-smṛitīyō*.

⁵ These *daṅḍas* are superfluous.

⁶ Read *Bhāgavām=abhi*.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁸ Read *rājābhīh*.

⁹ This half of the verse inserted here by mistake belongs to an independent verse of which the other half, viz. *svatattāt=phalam=ānantyam paradatt=ānupālānē* | has been omitted. In its place should come the following half of a verse beginning with *yasya*.

¹⁰ This *ha* is written below the line.

¹¹ Read *hara=narakam*.

Third Plate

- 36 gṛihnā(hṇā)ti ya[ś*]=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya(ṇya)-karmamāṇau niyatau svargga-gāminau || [13*] Haratē hāra-
- 37 yatē bhūmi[m*] manda-vu(bu)dhi(ddhi)s=tama(mō)-vṛitah | sa va(ba)dhō(ddhō) Vāruṇaiḥ pāsaiḥ tī(ti)ryag-yōnīshu jāyatō | || [14*] Mā pā-
- 38 [r]thiṣa kadāchitam(t=tvaṁ) vra(bra)hmasvaṁ manasā da(ha)pi(ra) | anaushadham=abhaisa-(sha)jyam ētat ha(hā)lāhalaṁ visha[m*] | || [15*] Avishaṁ¹
- 39 visham=ity=āhuḥ vra(bra)hmasvaṁ visha²uchyatē | visham=ēkākīnaṁ hanti vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautṛi(tri)ka[m*] | || [16*] Lōha-chūrṇā-
- 40 sma(sma)-chūrṇaṁ=cha vishaṁ=cha jarayē[n]=narah ||³ vra(bra)hmasvaṁ tṛi(tri)shu-lōkēshu kaḥ pumā[n*] jaraishyati⁴ || [17*] Vājapēya-sa-
- 41 hasrāṇi aśvamōdha-sa(śa)tāni cha | gavā[m*] kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || [18*] Iti
- 42 kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-llōlā⁵ Śrī(Śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitāṁ=cha | sākalam=idam=u-
- 43 dāhū[ta*]ṁ=cha budhaiḥ na hi puruṣaiḥ paraki(ki)rtā*(rtta)yō vilōpyā[h*] || [19*] Vijaya-rājyō sā(sa)mva[tsa*]ra-namamē || utki(tki)-
- 44 rna(rṇa)ṁ=cha vaṇika-suvarṇakāra Pāṇḍikēna | Gōnā-sutēna || Llā(Lā)ñchhitam mā(ma)hā-rājakiya-mudrēṇam⁷=i-
- 45 ti || ||⁸

B.—Grant of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva II—Prithvikalāśa

This copper-plate inscription⁸ is stated to have been discovered in the Nayagarh Sub-Division, Puri District, Orissa, and its exact findspot is not known. The charter consists of three plates, each measuring about 9.2 cm high and 16.3 cm broad. The plates are strung together to a circular ring with a diameter of 7.2 cm and a thickness of .7 cm. The ends of this ring are soldered on to an oval seal which bears the figure of a couchant lion which is, however, not clear on account of encrustation. It may be pointed out here that the Bhañja family, when it had its headquarters at Dhritipura, had the couchant bull as the emblem on its seals while, when it moved to Vañjulvaka, the lion became its emblem. The right end of the first plate where there is writing is damaged and the middle plate is also damaged at its left end near the ring-hole. The first plate has

¹ Read *Na visham*.² Read *visham=uchyatē*.³ One *daṇḍa* is superfluous.⁴ Read *jarayishyati*.⁵ Read *bindu-lōlāṁ*.⁶ The letter *rtā* is engraved below the line.⁷ Read *mudrēṇ=ēti*.⁸ A floral design is engraved between the pair of double *daṇḍas*.⁹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 44.

writing on one side only, while the other two plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 42 lines of writing distributed as follows: I-9 lines, II-a-10 lines, II-b-9 lines, III-a-9 lines and III-b 5 lines. The rims of the plates have been raised slightly and the writing has been preserved satisfactorily except for small patches of corrosion noticed here and there on the inscribed sides of the plates. The three plates together weigh 1188 g and the ring with seal weighs 318 g.

The characters belong to the east Indian variety of Northern Alphabet and are similar to those of several records of the Bhañja family of Vañjulvaka as for instance the three Gañjām plates¹ and the two other grants² in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. They are assignable to the 10th-11th century.³ A point of interest in the charter under study is that the *avagraha*⁴ is employed once in line 42. The language of the record is Sanskrit and, as in the case of the other records of this family, it has the usual errors of spelling and influence of local pronunciation.

There is no date in the record but the *tha*-like letter and the symbol resembling the one for *Siddham* following it, after the word *iti* in line 37, have been taken together to stand for the date 917 by the author of the article on this record mentioned above,⁵ which is clearly wrong. The *tha*-like letter⁶ seems to stand for a full-stop, indicating the conclusion of the first section of the charter and the *Siddham* symbol is intended apparently to indicate the commencement of the second section of the charter.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Nēṭṭabhañjadēva*, son of *Vidyādharaḥ bhañjadēva*, grandson of *Śilābhañjadēva* and great-grandson of *Digbhañjadēva*. While the father and other ancestors of the issuer of the charter are not given any titles, he himself is endowed with the title *Prīthvīkalāśa* (line 10). We know of a *Nēṭṭabhañja* with the same genealogical account as in this record from the Chakradharpur plates,⁷ who has been taken to be the second of that name.⁸ But in the Chakradharpur charter, he is endowed with the title *Kalyāṇakalāśa*. The title *Prīthvīkalāśa* occurring here, indicates, therefore, that he had more titles than one.⁹

The charter is stated to have been issued from *Vañjulvaka*. It has two sections. The first section ending with line 37 is concerned with the main purport of the record, i.e. the royal grant of land in *Gundapāṭaka* in *Nānākhañja-vishaya* to *Vaṇija Aichadataka*. The second section (lines 37-42) engraved in a slightly different hand, records another grant, made by the king, of land in the same village, for a different purpose.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. Then lines 1-8 contain the two usual verses praising the *Vibhru-nētra* (browless eye, i.e. the third eye)¹⁰ of god Hara and invoking the

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff., and plates.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 272 ff., and plates.

³ See *ibid.*, pp. 274-76 for a discussion on the chronology of the kings of this family.

⁴ See *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 329 ff., for Fleet's remarks on this feature and on the palaeography of the records of this period and region.

⁵ *OHRJ*, Vol. XI, pp. 12, 16.

⁶ Although this letter resembles the symbol for 20 (see G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, Plate LXXIII), as it was not preceded by the word *Samvat* or its contraction, we have to take it only as a punctuation mark.

⁷ *JBORS*, Vol. VI, pp. 274 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274-75.

⁹ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1500-01. *Vidyādhara*bhañja, the father of king *Nēṭṭabhañja* would appear to have had two titles [*Dharmma* ?]*kalāśa* (above, Vol. IX, p. 275, text line 10 and foot-note 13) and *Ā(A)nō(mō)-ghakalāśa* (*ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 279, text lines 7-8). But a comparison of the words in the facsimiles published will show that the word intended was the same, though in the former case the word has been overwritten and in the latter some error seems to have been committed while engraving. The intended word appears to be *Anō(mu)-pamakalāśa*.

¹⁰ See above, Vol. IX, p. 275, text line 3, and note 7.

protection of the *Surasarit*. The short prose passage in line 8 refers to the issue of the charter from the victorious *Vaṅjulvaka*. This is followed by a prose passage in lines 8-14, containing the genealogical account of the king *Mahārāja-Nēṭṭabhañjadēva*, who is described as *Prīṭhvikā-lāśa*, *Paramavaishṇava* and *Bhañjāmalakulatilaka*. In lines 14-17, the king is stated to address an order to the various officials in the *Nānnākhañja-vishaya*. The contents of the order, viz. the grant made by the king of a part of the village *Gundapāṭaka-grāma* in the above-mentioned *vishaya* with its boundaries specified, for the religious merit of his parents and of himself, are contained in lines 17-22. One of the boundaries is stated to be *Raṇabhañja-bandha* probably referring to some construction (embankment?) in the name of *Raṇabhañja* probably *Rāṇaka* *Raṇabhañja*, the great great-grandfather of *Nēṭṭabhañja II*.¹ Lines 22-24 contain the particulars relating to the donee. He was *Vaṇija* *Aichadataka*, who was the son of *Vāpadata* and grandson of *Apadata* and great-grandson of *Vaṇija* *Gargadata*. It is interesting to note that the genealogy of the donee also contains four generations as that of the royal genealogy mentioned above. It is stated that the donee belonged to *Kāśyapa-gōtra* and his ancestor *Gargadata* hailed from *Tribhuvanapura* in *Varēndri*. The purpose for which a land-grant was made to a *Vaṇija* is not stated. As a grant to a *Vaṇija* is quite unusual, this grant may have some relationship with the grant of the postscript. Lines 25-27 contain the king's request to future rulers to protect the gift. This is followed by four imprecatory verses in lines 26-33. Lines 33-37 contain the names of the officials connected with the charter. It is stated that the record was marked apparently with the royal seal by *Jayamahādēvi*, approved by *Mantrin Bhaṭa* *Vāpudēva*, entered (in the register) by *Mahāpratihāra* *Kumaḍaka*, written by *Santhivigraha* *Jayastambha* and engraved by *Akshasāli* *Dugadēva*. The *Vārgu[li*]ka* *Punalika* is also mentioned with the apparent omission of a word like *anujñātam* defining his function. All these officials are already known from the *Chakradharpur* plates, though in them the names of *Vāpudēva*, *Dugadēva* and *Kumaḍaka* are differently spelt as *Bāpuka*, *Dagadēva* and *Kumāra* respectively. It is not also impossible that these variations in the spellings of these names are due to faulty reading which we cannot verify in the absence of a facsimile of the record.

The second section in lines 37-42, engraved in a somewhat different hand, is in the nature of a post-script, and registers the grant made probably by the king himself, of ten *paṭakas* of land along with the land previously granted in the same village, to (the residents) of the self-same *Brahmapura* (*ēshām=ēva* *Brahmapurāṇām*) on the occasion of the *Purushōttama-chakra-pratishṭhā*, i.e. at the time of the installation of *chakra* on the temple of god *Purushōttama* or the consecration of the temple. The *Brahmapura* mentioned here is obviously the *Brāhmaṇa* quarter of *Gundapāṭaka* mentioned above and the land granted now probably constituted the fees to the consecration. The connection between the main grant and the post-script is supported by the mention of the *Raṇabhañja-bandha* as one of the boundaries of the land granted. Though the god at *Puri* is well known as *Purushōttama*, the deity with the same name of our record may as well have been the deity of a local *Vishṇu* temple.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Vaṅjulvaka* is known from several records of this family although it has not been satisfactorily identified. The name *Varēndri* evidently refers to North Bengal. The district called *Nānnākhañja* is probably identical with *Nānnākhaṇḍa* of the plates of *Nēṭṭabhañja-Tribhuvanakalāśa*.² The villages *Gundapāṭaka*, *Uttara-pallikā* and *Tribhuvanapura* cannot be identified with certainty.

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 for the genealogical table.

² Ibid., pp. 278 ff. and plates (see text line 11).

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verse 1 *Mālinī*; verse 2 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 3 *Āryā*; verses 4-5 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² [| *] Jayati kusuma-vā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-v[i]kshōbha-daksha[m*] |³ sva-kira-
- 2 na-parivēsau(sh-au)rjjitya-ji(ji)ṛnn(ṛnn)-ēndu-lēkhastrī(kham | tri)bhuvana-bhāvana(n-ā)-
nta-
- 3 r-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikaśa(sha)-[gau]raṁ vibhru-tē(nō)traṁ Ha-
- 4 rasya [|| 1*] Śēṣh-āhēr=iva yē phanā[h*] pravilasant[y=u]dbhāsvar-ēndu-
- 5 tvisha[h*] prālēy-āchala-śrīṅga-kō[ta]ya iva tvaṅganti yē=
- 6 ty-[u]na(nna)tā[h* |] nṛity-ātōpa-vighaṭitā iva bhujā rājati(nti) yē
- 7 Śāmbhavās-tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinā(na)h sura[sarit-tōy-ō]rmma-
- 8 yah-pāntu vah [|| 2*] Svasti śrī-vijaya-**Vañjulvakāt** | [Asti śrī]-ja-
- 9 ya-nilaya-prākāta-guṇa-gaṇa-grasta-sama[sta-ri]u- varga] [h* |]

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 Prithi(thvī)kalaśa-nāma-rājā nirddhūta-kali-kaluśa(sha)-kalmasha[h || 3*] Śrī-
- 11 Digbhañjadēvasya praputra[h*] śrī-Ś[i]lābhañjadēvasya naptā śrī-
- 12 Vidy[ādharabha]ñjadēvasya suta[h*] paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-p[ā]-
- 13 d-ānudhyātō [Bhañ]jāmalakulatilakō mahārāja-śrī-Nē-
- 14 ta(tta)[Bhañja]dēva[h*] kuśālī Nānākhañja-vishayē yathā-nivāsi-
- 15 sāmanta-bhāga-bhōg-ādi-janapada(dā)[n*] samādīśati mānayatī(ti)
- 16 [pūjayati] vō(bō)dhayaty=ādīśati ch=ānyat sarvvata[h*] śivam=asmāka-
- 17 m=anyat viditama⁴m=astu bhavatām(tā)mē=tad-vishaya-sammva(mbā)ndha(ddha)-
Gundapā-
- 18 [taka-grām-ai]kadēsō=yam śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndhasya pūrvvapyu(sy=ō)tta-
- 19 [ra-pallikasy=aika]dēśa[h*] dakshīṇena mārگا-śi(sī)mā-paryanta[m*] |

Second Plate, Second Side

- 20 prāg-dakshīnata[h*] sva-si(sī)mā-paryanta-parī(ri)chchhina(nna)[h*] mātā-pitṛō-
- 21 r-ātmanaś=cha punyā(ny-ā)bhividdhayē a(ā)-chandrārka[m*] yavat salila-dha(dhā)rā.

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

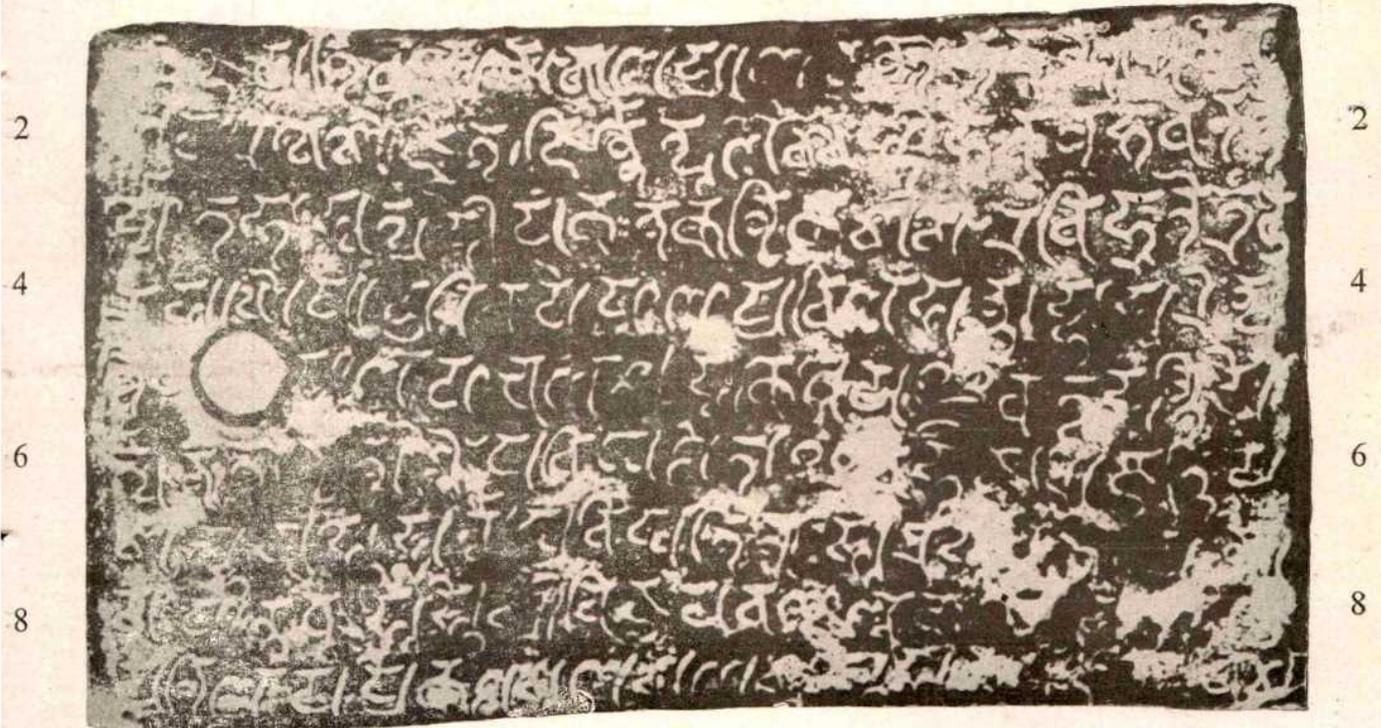
³ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁴ This *mā* is superfluous.

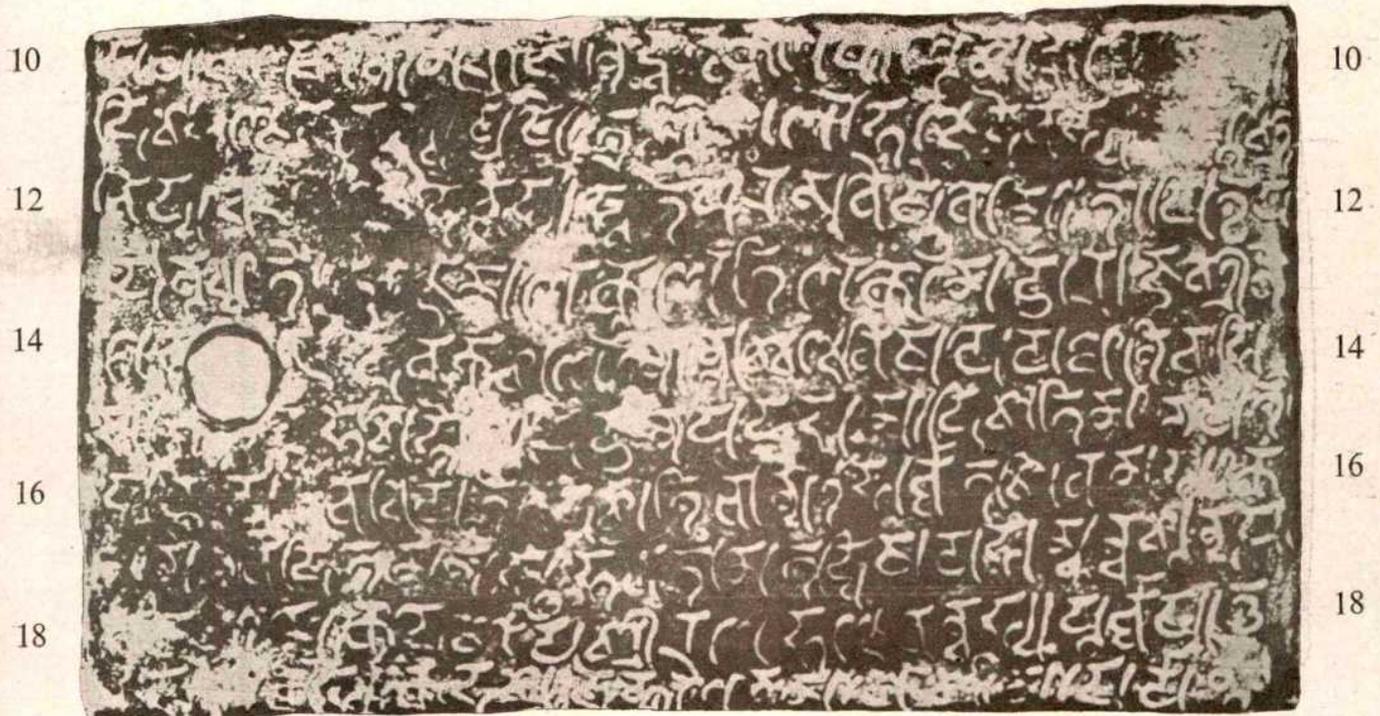
TWO BHANJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM — PLATE II

B—Grant of Nēṭṭabhañjadēva II—Pṛithvikalaśa

i



ii a



ii b

20
 22
 24
 26
 28

20
 22
 24
 26
 28

iii a

30
 32
 34
 36

30
 32
 34
 36

Scale : Actual Size

- 22 pura[s*]sarēṇa vidhinā Kāśa(śya)pā-gōtrāya **Varēndri-Tṛi(Tri)bhuvanapu-**
 23 **ra**-vinirgata-vanika(g)-Gargadatasya prapautra Apada[ta]sya
 24 naptṛi Vāpadatasya suta vaṇi[g*]-Aichadatakēna(kāya) pra[tipādi*]tō=
 25 smā[bhi]r-asva(sma)d-ēshā datv(tti)r-ddharmma-gauravēd=asmākam=anudatañ¹=cha bha-
 26 vi[shya]d=rājakai[h*] pratipēlanamē(nīy=ē)ty=uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [[*] Va(Ba)-
 hubhi-
 27 r=vvasudhā datā(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhirya(bhiḥ | ya)sya [yasya*] yadā bhūmis-
 (mis)=tasya
 28 tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|| 4*] Svadattā[m*] para-datāmvā (ttām vā) yō harēta vasu-

Third Plate, First Side

- 29 ndharā[m*] [[*] sa vī(vi)shṭhāyā[m*] [kṛi]mir=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[h*] saha pachyatē [|| 5*]
 Mā [bhū]-
 30 d=aphala-[śaṅkā va][h*] para-datē(tt=ē)ti pārthivāḥ [| *] sva-dānāt=phalam=ā-
 31 nantyaṁ para[datt=ānu]pālanaḥ(nē) [|| 6*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)[ndu-lō]-
 32 lām Śrīma[nushya]m=anuchintya²-jī(ji)vitañ=cha [[*] sakalammi(m=i)dam=udā[hṛitā(ta)]-
 33 ñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purush[ai][h*] para-kīrttayē(yō) vilōpyā[h || 7*] Lāñchi(chhi)-
 [tañ] śrī-Ja-
 34 yamā(ma)[hādē]vyā anumataṁ manṭri(tri)ṇā śrī-Bhaṭa-Vāpudē-
 35 vasya(vēna) | prāvai(vē)śita[m] mā(ma)hāpratihāra-Kumaḍakēna ³vārgu[li*]ka-
 36 Punalika⁴ [li]khitaṁ sānddhigri⁵-Jayastambhēna utki(tkī)rnna(ṇṇa)[m*] ch=ā-
 37 kshā(ksha)śālī(li) Dugadēvēnaḥ(na) | iti tha⁶ Siddham⁷ [| *]⁸ Atr=aiva grāmē rā-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 38 ṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhañja-va(ba)ndha-uttara-alinā paśchim-ābhimukhēna

¹ Read *anurōdhāch*.

² Read *Śrīyam=anuchintya manushya*°

³ A word like *anujñātam* (vide above, Vol XXVIII, p 283, text line 41) seems to have been omitted here.

⁴ The instrumental case-ending is absent here.

⁵ Read *sāndhivigrahi*.

⁶ This letter indicates the end of the first section of the record.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol

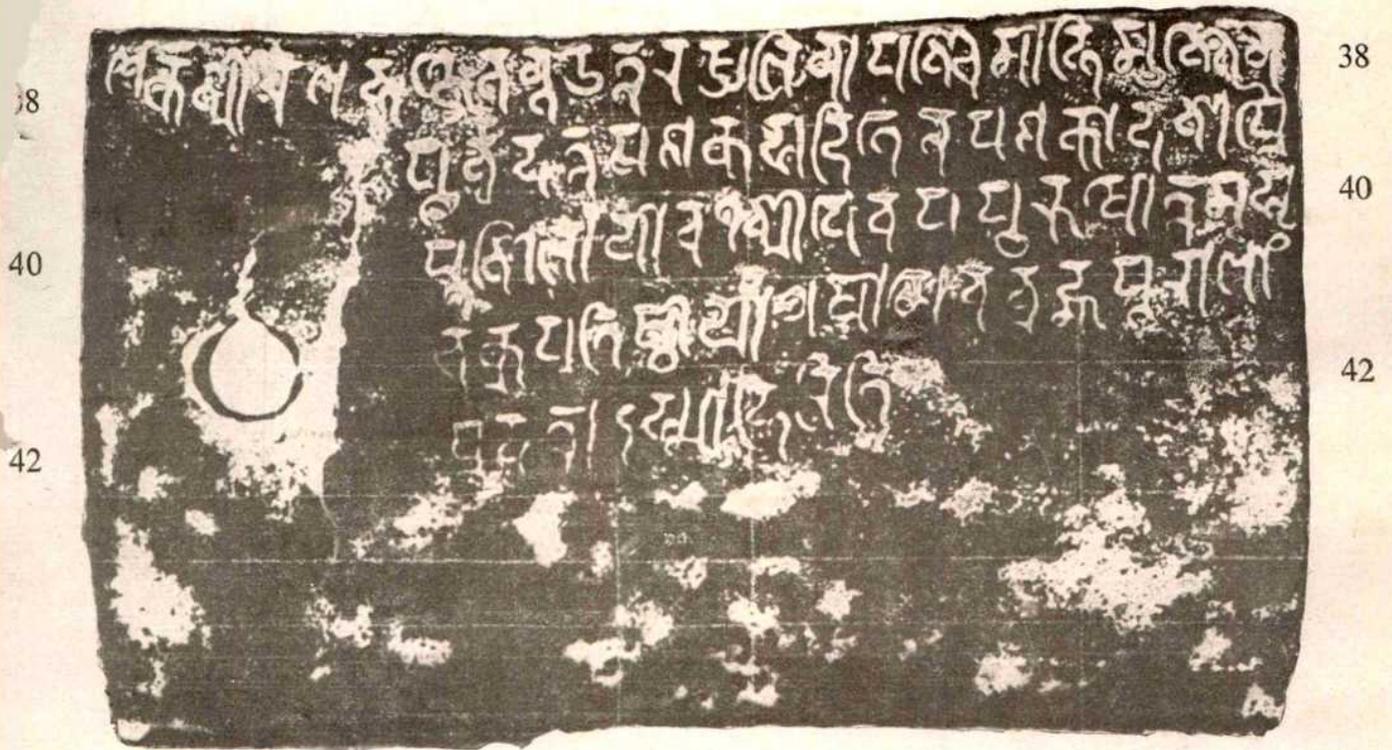
⁸ The writing from here is in a different hand.

- 39 pūrvadatta-pāṭaka-sahitēna pāṭakā daśa prai-
40 pta-silā yāvat Śrīdēvapa-Purushōttamasya¹
41 chakra-pratishṭhāyām ēshām-ēva vra(bra)hmapurāṇām
42 pradatt=āsmābhīr- itī [||*]

¹ Read *Śrī. Iṣvī. Purushōttamasya.*

TWO BHANJA GRANTS IN THE ORISSA STATE MUSEUM — PLATE III

iii b



Seal of A.—Aidā Plates of Rāṇaka Raṇabhañja



Scale : Actual Size

No. 47—VARANGA INSCRIPTION OF KUNDANA

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(Received on 7.12.1965)

The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, was found engraved on a slab set up in front of the inner shrine of the Nēmiśvara *basti* in the village of Varāṅga, Karkala Taluk, South Kanara District, Mysore State. While reporting this inscription in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1928-29 (No. 526 of Appendix B), it was observed that the epigraph gives the ancestry of the Ālupa king Kulaśekhara and mentions his queen Jākalamādēvi and (the priests?) Maladhāridēva, Mādhavachandra and Prabhāchandra'. This had led to a mistaken statement elsewhere¹ that the Varāṅga inscription belongs to the reign of Kulaśekhara. It will be shown below that this important inscription belongs, on the other hand, to the reign of Ālupa Kulaśekhara's successor Śāntara Kuṇḍana and that five, and not three, Jaina pontiffs are mentioned therein.

The inscription under study is engraved in Kannaḍa characters of the 13th century. The sixty lines of writing are in a good state of preservation but for the first and last few lines. While the writing is neatly executed, the sizes of the letters are not uniform throughout. For instance letters in lines 5-14 are bigger in size than those in the preceding and subsequent lines.

The epigraph exhibits some interesting palaeographical features. The letters *m*, *y* and *v* occur in the inscription in two forms, the cursive and the ordinary types. It may also be pointed out that the reading of the inscription is rendered a little difficult in some places owing to the fact that the engraver has resorted to a free hand in carving out the letters, thus necessitating a few words here and there to be inferred from the context of their occurrence.

Excepting the conventional invocatory and imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, the language employed in our record is Kannaḍa, prose and verse. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that the class nasal and the doubling of a consonant immediately preceded by *r* are found employed in many cases. Errors in orthography met with in the present record are a common feature in the records of the period and do not call for any remarks.

The inscription is not dated but is to be assigned, on palaeographical as well as historical grounds, to the first half of the 13th century. It records (lines 42-47) that Kuṇḍana, the ruler of Ālupa-dēśa, restored the grant of land made in earlier days by a great man (*mahā-puruṣa*) named Varāṅga. Though the beneficiary of the grant is not mentioned, the reference earlier in the epigraph to the Jaina *basti* and its tank at Varāṅga, the fact that the present inscription is a Jaina one by its contents, as also the provenance of the inscribed slab indicate that the beneficiary was the Jaina *basti*, i.e. the Nēmiśvara *basti* where the inscription under study was found set up.

This inscription is important for the dynastic history of the Ālupas who held sway over the present-day district of South Kanara from at least the middle of the 7th to the end of the 14th

¹ B. A. Saletore, *History of Tuluva*, p. 413.

century. Of all the Ālupa inscriptions so far discovered in South Kanara District, this is the only inscription containing a genealogical account, partial though it may be, of the family.

Verse 1 (lines 1-2) is in praise of Āditīrtha. Verse 2 (lines 2-3) is in praise of the Jaina pontiff Śrīchandra who is described again in lines 21-25. Verse 3 (line 4) is in the form of an imprecatory stanza while the next verse (verse 4 in lines 5-6) is in praise of the *Jina-śāsana*. Verses 5-14 and the two prose passages immediately following (lines 6-25) are in praise of five Jaina pontiffs, Maladhāridēva, Mādhavachandra, Prabhāchandra, Nēmichandra and Śrīchandra the last of whom is praised earlier also, in verse 2. These pontiffs belonged to the Mūla-saṅgha, Koṇḍakund-ānvaya, Krānūr-gaṇa and Mēshapāshāṇa-gachchha. The inscription states that Śrīchandra renovated the Jaina *basti*, its tank and its entrance hall (*bāgīl-goṭṭage*) at world-famous Varāṅga. He also built Jaina *bastis* at Kurūlikunda and Alevūru besides Varāṅga (lines 21-25).

The next section, in prose (lines 26-30), provides us with a long list of titles and epithets with which the Ālupas adorned themselves. According to the epigraph, the Ālupas were famous all over the world (*samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta*) and their titles included the sovereign ones of *Pāṇḍya-rājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhātāraka*. The earliest known rulers of this family, Ālugarasa and Chitravāhana, who ruled as the subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi during the 7th century, had the title of *Mahārāja*.¹ It was in the 9th century that, for the first time, an Ālupa ruler, Vijayāditya-Māramma, took upon himself imperial titles such as *Paramēśvara* and *Adhirājārāja*.² Undoubtedly, the geographical isolation of the territory over which they ruled and the lack of interest in their affairs on the part of the greater powers of the Deccan, and not any genuine imperial status earned by them, enabled the Ālupas to appropriate for themselves such lofty and high-sounding titles.

Two other interesting epithets included in the list are *Pāṇḍita-Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya*. The Ālupas closely associated themselves with the dynastic name Pāṇḍya and the Bārākūru inscription³ of Kavi Ālupa, dated in A.D. 1139, refers to a gold coin issued by the Ālupas as *Pāṇḍya-gadyāna*. Two Ālupa rulers of the 9th century, Prithvisāgara and Vijayāditya-Māramma, had the epithet of *Uttama-Pāṇḍya*.⁴ The earliest dated reference for the association of the dynastic names of Ālupa and Pāṇḍya is to be found in the Shiggaon plates⁵ of Chālukya Vijayāditya, dated in A.D. 707. This inscription eulogises Chitravāhana-narēndra, the then Ālupa ruler, as adorning the pure lineage of the Pāṇḍyas (*Pāṇḍy-āmala-kulam-alankurvataḥ*). It will not be out of place to refer here to an undated inscription⁶ from Poḷali-Ammuñje, Mangalore Taluk, South Kanara District which, on grounds of palaeography, is to be assigned to the same period to which the Shiggaon plates belong. This inscription, containing only one verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, reads :

Śrīmatāṃ vipula-vamśa-vaśīkrīta-mahābhujām |

Pāṇḍyānām-Ālupēndrānām avyāsus-Saptamātaraḥ ||

'May the Seven Mothers protect the illustrious Ālupēndras (*who are known as*) the Pāṇḍyas who attract the emperors by the greatness of their family.'

¹ *Andhra Pradesh Govt. Archaeological Series*, No. 6, pp. 11 ff., and plates; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.

² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff., Nos. VII and VIII and plates.

³ *S I I*, Vol. VII, No. 381.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI-VIII and plates.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 317 ff., and plates.

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. B 375. The first quarter of the stanza is metrically defective though all the 8 syllables necessary for the *anuṣṭubh* metre are present.

We learn from line 30 that the Ālupas belonged to the lunar race (*Sōma-vamśa*), a fact which finds its earliest mention in some Ālupa records of the 9th century.¹ Our record states (lines 31-32) that Paṭṭi-oḍeya was ever seized of the noble task of putting down the bad and upholding the good elements in his kingdom reflecting thereby the maxim '*rāja-rakṣitam dharmam*'.² No records of his reign have come down to us. Paṭṭi-oḍeya means the 'Lord of Paṭṭi', Paṭṭi being another name for the city of Pombuchcha³ (i.e. modern Humcha in Nagar Taluk, Shimoga District, Mysore State) which was under the sway of the Ālupas until it was made their capital city by the Sāntaras towards the end of the 9th century. Paṭṭi-oḍeya could not have been, therefore, the proper name of the ruler as is further shown by the present epigraph itself which gives Kulaśekhara the epithet of Paṭṭi-oḍeya.

The inscription under study merely states (line 32) that Paṭṭi-oḍeya was succeeded by Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya and does not furnish any information on his reign. Two undated inscriptions, one⁴ from Pojali, Mangalore Taluk and belonging to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Bhaṭṭāraka* Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva and the other⁵ from Kariyaṅgaḷa in the same taluk and belonging to the reign of *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhāṭṭāraka* Kumāra-Pāṇḍya-Jayasiṅgarasa are to be assigned to the reign of this Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya on grounds of palaeography. It is thus obvious that Jayasiṅha was this ruler's proper name. This is further confirmed by an inscription⁶ from Karaḍi, Tiptur Taluk, Tumkur District, Mysore State. Dated in A.D. 1115 this inscription refers to an invasion of Āluvakhēḍa—6000 by one Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and his encounter with Jayasiṅga-Ālupa as a past event. As will be seen below the Ālupa ruler in 1114-15 A.D. was Kavi-Ālupa, and therefore the encounter between Seṭṭi-gāmuṇḍa and Jayasiṅga-Ālupa may be roughly dated to about 1110 A.D. In view of the proximity of the dates of Jayasiṅga and Kavi-Ālupa and the statement in the record under study that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya was Kavi-Ālupa's immediate predecessor it is obvious that Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya and Jayasiṅga-Ālupa were identical.

The next Ālupa ruler was Kavi-Ālupa (line 33). Unlike in the case of the previous two rulers, we have for the reign of Kavi-Ālupa, four dated records. The earliest of them, from Udiyāvāra, Udipi Taluk, belongs to A.D. 1114-15⁷ and the latest, from Bārakūru in the same Taluk, belongs to June 27, A.D. 1155.⁸ Kavi-Ālupa, therefore, appears to have had a long reign, from about 1110 to about 1160 A.D. Though the Varāṅga inscription provides us with no information about his reign, his available inscriptions credit him with sovereign titles such as *Pāṇḍya-Chakravartī, Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*.

Kavi-Ālupa was succeeded by Kulaśekhara who is referred to in the present epigraph as Kulaśekh[ar*]-Ālupa and Kulaśekh[aradēva] (lines 33-36). His known dates range from 1175-76⁹ to 1215¹⁰ attesting to the fact that he too enjoyed a long reign. His records also endow him with

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 ff., Nos. VI-VIII and plates.

² The term *kannaḍisu* means 'to mirror' or 'to reflect'.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 126.

⁴ *A.R. Ep.*, 1927-28, No. 374.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 380.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 81. The reading and translation given here are: *Jayasiṅgāduvarana munde surigegāḷagavam kādi* and 'having fought in front of Jayasiṅgāḍu'. These make no sense and the correct reading is *Jayasiṅg-Ālugarana munde*, etc., i.e. having fought in front of Jayasiṅga-Ālupa.

⁷ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 290.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 376.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 394

¹⁰ *SII.*, Vol. VII, No. 222.

sovereign titles, suggesting that he continued to enjoy the same power and influence as his predecessors.

This inscription states (lines 34-35) that Kulaśekhara's queen Jākala-mādēvi had a tank excavated at Varāṅga and also performed acts of piety. The Varāṅga inscription is a Jaina record. In A.D. 1246 and 1247, we hear of a Jākala-mahādēvi ruling over the Kaḷaśa principality from her capital at Kaḷaśa, very near the borders of the Āḷupa kingdom and situated in the Chikmagalūr District.¹ The Kaḷaśa rulers were Jains by religion. It is not, however, possible to say, in the present state of our knowledge, if Kulaśekhara's queen was a princess of this minor ruling family.

The inscription under study provides us with the interesting information (lines 36-45) that Kulaśekhara was succeeded by Kuṇḍaṇa, the younger brother of Virabhūpāla who was himself the younger brother of Tribhuvana-Śāntara. The last mentioned is the same as Vira-Śāntara, whose known dates range from 1157² to 1191³ A.D. and who ruled over Śāntalige-1000 from his capital city of Pombuchchapura. The inscriptions of the Śāntaras do not make any mention of his brothers, Virabhūpāla and Kuṇḍaṇa, though Vira-Śāntara is known to have had two other brothers named Govinda *alias* Rāya-Śāntara and Bhoppuga.⁴

Lines 36-42 introduce Tribhuvana-Śāntara who receives a string of epithets including *nīrmaḍi-chakravartī*.⁵ Vira-bhūpāla is mentioned in line 42 and lines 43-50 introduce the ruler Kuṇḍaṇa and also record the restoration of the grant made in earlier days. He is given the Āḷupa epithets of *Pāṇḍita-Pāṇḍya* and *Pāṇḍya-Dhanañjaya* but does not receive any of the sovereign titles.

While the details of the grant discussed above are recorded in lines 42-47, lines 47-49 give the boundaries of the gift-land. Lines 49-50 stipulate that the gift should be protected by the rulers (*dēśādhiśvarar*) and the *āḷu-bāli*. Lines 50-51 contain an imprecatory passage in Kannāḍa and the remaining lines (lines 57-60) give the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

It is likely that Kulaśekhara died after a long reign without any eligible issues or leaving behind a minor son. He may have been related to the Śāntaras in some way, and by virtue of this relationship, Kuṇḍaṇa may have assumed the reins at the death of Kulaśekhara⁶ probably in the capacity of a regent. In the long history of the Āḷupas, Kuṇḍaṇa was the only non-Āḷupa ruler to have reigned over Āḷuva-khēḍa. Unlike his predecessors, he did not rule for long. We have seen above that his predecessor Kulaśekhara may have ended his reign in about 1220 A.D. The next-dated inscription⁷ of an Āḷupa ruler is from Vaḍḍarse, Udipi Taluk and belongs to the reign of one Vallabhadēva-Āḷupendra. It is dated in the cyclic year Manmatha which, on palaeographical grounds, is to be referred to A.D. 1235. Kuṇḍaṇa, therefore, reigned for less than fifteen years. As was pointed out above it may be that he was only a regent, holding the reins on behalf of a minor

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Mg. 65, 66 and 70.

² *Ibid.*, Kp. 41.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Part I, Sh. 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Introduction, p. 7.

⁵ Sāletore mistook this epithet for the name of Kulaśekhara's successor and was not aware of the fact that the Varāṅga inscription mentions Kuṇḍaṇa (cf. *History of Tuluva*, p. 123).

⁶ The Āḷupas and the Śāntaras often entered into marriage alliances with each other, *vide Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 7.

⁷ *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 295.

son of Kulaśekhara. The nature of the relationship between Kulaśekhara and Kuṇḍaṇa is not known.

We give below the genealogical succession of rulers, as gleaned from the inscription under study, in the light of the above discussions.¹

Paṭṭi-oḍeya (proper name not known)
(c. 1050-80 A.D.)

*Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya*²
s.a. Jayasanga-Āluva
(c. 1080-1110 A.D.)

Kavi-Āluva
(c. 1110-60 A.D.)

Paṭṭi-oḍeya
Kulaśekharaḍēva
(married Jākala-māḍēvi)
(c. 1160-1220 A.D.)

Kuṇḍaṇa of the Śāntara family
(c. 1220-35 A.D.)

We learn from the present inscription that when the grant of land was made in earlier days it was entrusted to the *nāḍu* and the *ālu-bāli* (i.e. the representatives of seven prominent families) (line 46). The subsequent restoration of the grant by Kuṇḍaṇa suggests that the grant thus made had fallen into evil days.

Besides *Varāṅga*, other geographical names mentioned in the inscription are *Ālva-dēśa*, *Kuruliḅkunda*, *Alevūru* and *Niḍuḅguṇḍi*. *Varāṅga*, where the present epigraph is found, was evidently named after the donor of that name. *Ālvadēśa* stands for the Āluva kingdom and was known outside its bounds as *Ālvakhēḍa-6000* from the 9th century onwards. It roughly comprised the present district of South Kanara in Mysore State and small bits of tracts from the neighbouring districts.

Kuruliḅkunda and *Alevūru*, where the pontiff Śrīchandra is stated to have built Jaina *bastis*, are to be identified respectively with Kulgunda along the eastern borders of the South Kanara District in the Puttur Taluk and Alevūr in the Udipi Taluk. I am unable to identify *Niḍuḅguṇḍi* but it must be located near *Varāṅga*, the findspot of the inscription.

¹ If we roughly assign a reign period of 30 years each to the two predecessors of Kavi-Āluva, their approximate reign periods fall into 1050-1080 and 1080-1110 A.D. respectively.

² Saletore did not know that the *Varāṅga* inscription refers to the reign of *Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭi-oḍeya*, in between those of *Paṭṭi-oḍeya* and Kavi-Āluva. Accordingly, he also wrongly identified *Paṭṭi-oḍeya* of the present epigraph with *Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭigadēva* of the Poḷali inscription, discussed above (*History of Tuluva*, pp. 98 ff.).

TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 2, 8, 9, 12-14 *Kanda*; verses 3, 4, 15, 17-18 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 5, 7 *Champakamāle*; verse 10 *Utpalamāle*, verse 16 *Salinī*.]

- 1² Śrīmat-pavitram=akalāmkam=anaṁtakalpaṁ svāyāmbhūvam sakala-maṅgalam=Adi-
rttham [[*] nityōtsavam maṇimayaṁ ni[cha]-
- 2 yaṁ Jinānāṁ trailōkyā-bhūṣaṇam=ahaṁ śaraṇaṁ prapadye ||[1*]||³ Śrīchāndraṁ
sakaḷa-vachasrī-chaṁ-
- 3 draṁ dāna-dharmmam=utphaḷa-chaṁdraṁ[mā](draṁ=ā-chaṁdra-tāra-va[rddha]na-bhū-
chakra-Varāṅga-tīrtha-jaḷadhiya Chāndraṁ. [][][2*]
- 4⁴ Til-ārdh-ārdha-pramāṇaṁ hi yō dēvasvam=apēkshate [[*] [pū]nar-āvrittātē. svārggaṁ
yāvach-chaṁdra-divākarau ||[3*]
- 5 Śrī⁵mat-parama-gambhīra-syād-vād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ [[*]] jiyāt-trailōkyanātha-
- 6 sya sāsa(śāsa)naṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ(nam) ||[4*] Maṛādum=ād=omme-laukikāda vā-
- 7 rṭteyan-āḍaḍa(da) kēta-bāgilaṁ teṇyada bhānuv-astamitāṁ=ādāde pōgada meyya-
- 8 n=ommeyuṁ tuṇisada kukkuṭ-āsanake sōlada gaṇḍa-vimukuta-vṛtti(vṛtti)yaṁ mareyada
- 9 ghōra-du⁶rddhara-tapaś-charaṇaṁ Maladhāridēvara ||[5*] Muniye Jaṅgama[dē]va-
bimban=anavadya-
- 10 chārane Jaina-śāsana-rakshāmaṇi śāntane sakaḷa-rāga-dvēsha-dōsha-prabhamjanan=
urvvī-nu-
- 11 tane guṇa-praṇayi tān=embināṁ viśva-mēdiniy-ola(o) Mādhavachāndradēvan=
esedaṁ chehātra-chakrēśvaram ||[6*]||⁷
- 12 Jina-mata-lakshmiḡ-abhyudayam-ādadu bhavya-jan-ānurāga-varttanege viśuddha-
mārggam=aḷava-
- 13 ṭṭudu satṭya-tapō-nidhāna-naṁ(na)ndana-vana-rāji pallavisut=iddudu Mādhava-
chāndradēvan=em-
- 14 b=anupama yōgi puṭṭuvudum=ī vasudhā-vaḷay-āntarāḷadoḷu||[7*] Nava-vibhak-
eḷakāntāṁ Mā-
- 15⁸ dhava-samayam=adoṁde kālam=esevudu lōka-pravibhāsiy=enisid=ī Mādhava-samayam
sata[ta*]m=esevud=idu chitratamaṁ ||[8*]
- 16 Para-samay-ādrige vajraṁ birudiṁ mārmmaleva vādi-kōḷahaḷan=urvvareg-adhikaṁ
traividya-ābharaṇam vibudh-ārchchitaṁ Prabhāchāndra-bu-

¹ From inked impressions.

² At the left corner is engraved an ornamental design as a result of which the first 3 lines are shorter than the fourth.

³ In the place between the *daṇḍas*, where the number of the verse is given, an ornamental design is engraved in the inscription itself.

⁴ A small ornamental design with a letter like design below is engraved at the beginning and end of this line.

⁵ The letter *srī* is of a bigger size.

⁶ The letter *du* is engraved above the line.

⁷ This verse is metrically defective.

⁸ From this line onwards, the letters are smaller in size.

- 17 dham ||[9*] Beṭṭada Dāmaṇāṇḍi-munirāja-gajēṇdra-vapū(pv-a)ḅja-paḍa(da)maṇi meṭṭi
kashīya-pīna-jajamaṇi toṇḍ-ūrjita-śīla-[dā]namaṇi kaṭṭi Manōjan-emba parikā-
- 18 ṇaṇan-udṛitanam kaḷalchi beṇṇaṭṭi vimōham-emba toḍaram paṇi[d-ogi]dud-atyapūrv-
vadiṇ || [10*] [Ta]nag-āvar-eṇig-emdu nīḍe karamaṇi sārddattu nishēdhav=emb=inite
- 19 neyoḷ-irddudakke toṇya-baṇḍ-eriyuṇi su(śu)ddhan=ādane dōshākaran=embud-omdu
pesaram cheṇṇiṇḍ-avaṇi biṭṭude muni-chūḍāmaṇi **Nēmi[chaṇi]**-
- 20 dra ninagam Chāṇdraṅgav-anaṇtaram ||[11*]¹ Śatamakha-pati-vinamita-Jinapati
nura-dhura-vitatan=akhiḷa-bhuvan-āvāsa-sthita-viśada-kirtti-kāntā-pati yatipati Nē-
- 21 miḅamḍra-siddhāntēsam ||[12*] Śrī-Mūla-saṅgha-jāta Kranur(Krānūr)-ggaṇa-vidita
Mēshapāshāṇ-āṇk-ānūnatara-gachohha-vitatas-chāru-Śrīchāṇdra-yatipa-
- 22 tir-bhbhū(bbhū)vaḷayē ||[13*] Layamūrtti Koṇḍakuṇḍ-ānvaya[bhṛi]t-Krānūr-ggaṇ-
āraganyaṇi Śrīchāṇdra-yamūṇdra-[cha]ṇdra[maṇi*] sāṇdra-yaśō-valli-vijri[m]-
- 23 bhīṭ-āsavaḷayaṇi ||[14*] matta[m] || Jagat-prasiddha-Mūla-saṅgha Koṇḍakuṇḍ-
ānvaya Krānu(nū)r-ggaṇa Mēshapāshāṇa-gachchh=ātuchchha-kōṭi-kūṭa-
- 24 pratiba[ddh-ā]nādi-saṇ[si]ṇḍa(siddha)m=appa || Jaga-vitata **Varāṅgada** Jaina-
grihamam tat-taṭākamaṇi bāgil-gottageya[m] punarbḅṛitam māḍi
- 25 guṇi Śrīchāṇdra-yōgi jaśamaṇi paḍedar **Kuruḷikuṇḍa-Varāṅgad-Alevūra**-basadigaḷ
kōṭi-kūṭada sāmba[m]dha ||[*]
- 26² Svasti ||[*] Samasta-bhuvana-vikhyāta Pāṇḍya-rājādhiraḅa Paramēśvara Parama-
bhattāraka śaraṇāgatavaḅrapaṇjara | ri-
- 27 purāya-kaṇja-kumjara | sāhitya-vāraṇārī-manōrāma | saṇ[grā]ma-Bhīma | chatur-
vīdha-budha-jana-vanāḅ-pāḷi-ni-
- 28 ja-rājamaṇsa | Bhāratī-kaṇṇ-āvataṇsa | Paṇḍita-Pāṇḍya | Pāṇḍya-Dhanaṇjaya |
Jay-āṅgan-ōttuṅga-stan-āḷiṅgana-pra-
- 29 saṇga | saṅgara-raṅga-kēḷi-viḷōla(lōḷa) | lōḷa-lōchan-ābaḷā-jana-maṇaḅ-Kusumasa(sa)ra |
Sarasvatī-kaṇṇa-kumḍaḷ-ābha-
- 30 raṇa | raṇa-raṅga-Sū(Śū)draka ity=ādi nām-ōpēta Sōma-vaṇśadoḷ=anēka siṇhāsan-
ānaṇtaram dig=amtarā-
- 31 ḷam-iḷida-kirtti kirtti³ **Paṭṭiy-Oḍeyam** duṣṭa-nigraha-si(śi)shṭa-pratipāḷanāparan-āgi rāja-
rakshitam dharmmam-emba nuḍi-
- 32 yaṇi Kaṇṇaḍisi dharmmamam saddharmadiṇi rakshisidan=āḷiṇbaḷiya **Pāṇḍya-Paṭṭiy-
Oḍeyam** rājyaṅgeyd-alliṇ-
- 33 baḷike **Kaviya(y-A)ḷuvara** rājy-ānantaram nija-kula-chikuri-śēkharan=enisida **Kula-
sēkhāḷuvaram**⁴ sukha-
- 34 saṇkathā-vinōdadiṇi rājyaṅgeiyuttire || **Ā Kulasēkhāḷuvara**⁴ sati **Jākala-māḍēvi**
rāṇi-mukha-da-
- 35 rppaṇam-āsvikrite Varāṅgadalli taṭākamumaṇi dharmmamam karam prakatisidaḷ ||
Alliṇbaḷiyaṇi **Paṭṭiy-O-**
- 36 **ḍeya-Kulasēkharadēva**[ra*] rājy-ānantaram ||[*] Rāya-gaj-āṇkusaṇṇi(san-i)ṛmmaḍida-
rājamaṇi nūṛmaḍi-chakra-vartti⁵

¹ This verse is metrically defective,

² An ornamental design is engraved here making lines 26-32 shorter than the succeeding lines.

³ The word *kirtti* is redundant.

⁴ Read *Kulasēkhar-Āḷu*.

⁵ This has been mistaken by Saletore to be the proper name of an Āḷupa king (*History of Truḷuḅā*, p. 123)

- 37 dāna-chiñtāmaṇi chatuṣ-samudra-mudrita-kīrtti-kāntā-manōvallabhan=eṇisi || Abhe(bha)-
yaman-amjibamdu maṇe-
- 38 vokkarig-amjad-arāti-bhūbhujargg-abhibhavamaṇ budh-ālig-abhivāṃchechhisid-artthamān=
ittu bhūtalakk-abhinava-vāri-rā-
- 39 śi-ha[ri]j-kalpa-kujāta-phalaṇ bāl-ārghgha(rggha)vam **Tribhuvana-Sāntara-kshiti**bhujaṇ
ripu-rāya-gaj-āṃkuś-āhvayaṇ ||
- 40 Amtu tribhuvana-bhava[n-ō]dara-varttit-ārthi-sārttha-hṛidaya-saṃtarppaṇa-karaṇa-
karaṇan-appudaṇiṇ Tribhuvana-Sām-
- 41 taran=emb=anvarttha-saṃjñeya[m] tāḍi ripu-rāyara-tūḍi dharmmamaṇ pālisi Rājya-
lakshmiyaṇ miḷisi rā-
- 42 jyaṃgeiyyuttiral=ā mahibhuja-nij-ānujan=apār-ōdāra-śauryy-āchāra-**Vira**-bhūpā-
- 43 laṇiṇ kiṇiyan=appa **Kuṃḍana**-kshōṇipālan=akhiḷa-dik-pāla-ṇiḷayamaṇ nija-kīrttiyaṇ
dhavalisi
- 44 jagat-prasiddha-vidyā-vilāsini-svarṇṇa-karṇṇa-kuṃḍaḷ-abharaṇan=appu[da*]ṇiṇ Pāṃḍita-
Pāṃḍyan=enisi Pāṃḍya-Dha-
- 45 naṃjayan=appu[da*]ṇiṇ dha[rmma]-raksha[ka]n=āge ḷu-vapu-kāraṇadiṇ tanni-**Ālva**-
dēśadōḷ munnaṇ **Varāṅgan**=em-
- 46 ba mahāpur[usha]ṇ dharmmamaṇ māḍi nād-ḷi-baliyaṇ karedu kaiveḍe goṭṭadan=
aṃt=appa dharmmamaṇ sudharmadiṇ
- 47 Kuṃḍaṇ-ōrvviṣvaram rakshisi prakāṭibhūtaṇ māḍidan=ā dharr mada simā-samma(mba)-
mādhav-āvud=emda-
- 48 ḍe mūḍalu [Ba]ḍanikō...teṃkalu Niḍugumḍigagi baṃḍa paḷlav-ā paḷlave mēre paḍu-
valuṇ baḍa-
- 49 galuṇ [ā] paḷladiṇ poṇage dēvasvamuṇ haṭiḷaḷanuṇ(nu)m=iṃt=i dharmmamaṇ dēśā
dhīśvaranuṇ ḷu-baliyuṇ
- 50 rakshisuvar=i dharmmag-apāyavaṇ chiñtisidaṃge paṃchamahāpātakaṇ Gaṃgā-
tīradalu sahasra-
- 51 kapileyaṇ sahasra-bra(bṛā)hmanaraṇ koṃd-anitu pāpaṇ porḍḍugur || Svadattāṇ
paradattāṇ vā yō ha-
- 52 rētu(ta) vasuṃdharāṇ [*] shasṭīr-vvarsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi viśṭhāyaṇ jāyatē krimiṇ-
(miḷ) ||[15*] Sāmānyō=
- 53 yaṇ dharmma-sētur=nnriḷpāṇāṇ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḷ [*] sarvvān-ētān-
bhāgināṇ(naḷ) pārtthivēṃdrān=bhūyō bhū-
- 54 yō yāchatē Rāmachandraḷ ||[16*] Bahubhīr=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis=Sagar-ādihbiḷ [*]
- 55 yāsya yasya yadā bhūmi[ḷ] tasya tasya tadā phalaṇ(lam) || [17*]
- 56¹
- 57
- 58
- 59 Viśhaṇ na viśhaṇ=ity=āhuḷ dēvasvaṇ viśhaṇ=uchyatē[*] vi-
- 60 [sham=ḷ]kākināṇ haṃti dēvasvaṇ putra-pautrikam || [18*]

¹ Lines 56-58 are badly worn out.

No. 48—NOTE ON CHINCHANI PLATE OF KRISHNA III

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 3. 8. 1966)

The Chinchani plate of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III (939-68 A.D.) was published by me in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. The inscription refers to an interesting type of the coin called *dramma*, the importance of which has not been noticed in the said article of mine.

One of the important sections of Dr. Lallanji Gopal's work entitled *The Economic Life of Northern India*, published in 1965, is Chapter IX—Coinage System (pp. 179-224). In the said section, there is an interesting note on a variety of the *dramma* coin styled *pāruttha*, *pōruttha*, *pāraupatha*, etc. Dr. Gopal says. "C.D. Dalal takes *pāraupatha* to represent a proper name. The *Lēkhapaddhati* uses the adjectives *śrēshṭha* and *śrīmat* before *pāraupatha*. But these do not necessarily imply that *pāraupatha* was a personal name. The adjective *śrēshṭha* is for the coin and refers to its good conditions while *śrīmat*, if not used for the coin, does not by itself make *pāraupatha* the name of a king because the *Lēkhapaddhati* is literally full of cases of the use of *śrīmat* before the name of a city" (p. 198). We are inclined to disagree with the views of Dr. Gopal, which appear to be similar to those endorsed by some other scholars also.

The Sanskrit word *śrēshṭhin* meaning 'a banker' has generally become *sēṭh* or *śēṭh* in the North Indian dialects, just as it is found in the form *chettī* or *setti* in the South. It appears that the word *sēṭh* or *śēṭh* was often re-Sanskritised as *śrēshṭha* by the medieval writers.¹ In my recently published work entitled *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, there are the following two entries of coin-names, the authority for them being the *Lēkhapaddhati* which is a medieval product of Gujārat:

1. *jīrṇa-viśvamalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of old Viśvamalla';
2. *jīrṇa-śrēshṭhi-śrīmalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of the old Śrēshṭhin Śrīmalla'.²

Another entry based on the same authority is *śrēshṭha-jīrṇa-viśvamalla-priya* which I have regarded as a mistake for *jīrṇa-śrēshṭhi-viśvamalla-priya*, 'the favourite [coin] of the old Śrēshṭhin Viśvamalla'.³ There is also mention of *viśalapriya-dramma* or *viśala-pri-dramma*, 'the favourite *dramma* [coin] of Viśala' in certain epigraphic records from Rājasthan,⁴ which was apparently the same coin. The word *jīrṇa* may have been used to distinguish an old banker from other bearing the same name, since the *Prabandhakōśa* uses the expressions *jīrṇa-vyāpārin*, *jīrṇa-adhikārin* and *jīrṇa-bhṛītya* in the sense of old, retired or experienced merchants, officers and servants respectively.⁵

¹ For similar re-Sanskritisation, cf. Sanskrit *Krishna* ∟ Kannada *Kannara* ∟ *Karna*; Sanskrit *Krishna* ∟ Bengali *Kēshṭa* ∟ *Krishṭa*; Sanskrit *Jayavana* ∟ Kashmiri *Zēvan* ∟ *jivana*; etc. cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* p. 425.

² *Op. cit.*, 1966, p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

⁴ *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Nos. E 490-92.

⁵ See *op. cit.*, ed. Jinavijaya, pp. 103, 127, to which my attention was drawn by S. Bandyopadhyay.

It appears that, in the above references, just as I have taken *śrēshṭha* to be a mistake for *śrēshṭhin* others are inclined to take *śrēshṭhi*^o to be a mistake for *śrēshṭha*. They seem also to take *īrṇa* or 'old' as an epithet of the coins and not as that of the lessee of the mint as I have taken it to be, while *śrēshṭha* is interpreted by them as an epithet of the coin in an excellent state of preservation. This interpretation of *śrēshṭha*, however, does not appear to me to be happy because the opposite of the word *jīrṇa* can hardly be *śrēshṭha*. The difference in the interpretations is based also on a difference in approach. Thus, whereas I have taken Viśvamalla and Śrīmalla to be bankers who obtained royal permission to issue coins, others appear to take them to be kings themselves.

The Chinchani plate of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III refers to *vyavahārūka-śrēshṭa-Gambhuvaka-dramma* and, while editing the inscription, I had no hesitation in suggesting the emendation of *vyavahārūka-śrēshṭa* to *vyavahārika-śrēshṭhi*^o.¹ The medieval epigraphical records and works like the *Lēkhapaddhati* often use the words *vyavahārin* and *vyavahārika* as well as the contraction *vyava* in the sense of 'a dealer, money-lender or merchant'; cf. also the expression *vyavahārapaṭe* in the *Lēkhapaddhati* to mean 'as a tax from the merchants'.² That *vyavahārin* or *vyavahārika* were used in the sense of 'a merchant' also in the early period is indicated by certain Brāhmī inscriptions, one of them noticed in Lüders' List³ and another dated in the 23rd year of Kanishka's reign.⁴ Thus Gambhuvaka mentioned in the coin-name *vyavahārūka-śrēshṭa* (i.e. *vyavahārika-śrēshṭhi*)-*Gambhuvaka-dramma* occurring in the Chinchani copper-plate inscription was certainly a merchant and not a king.

It has also to be noticed that the word *śrēshṭha* occurs before the name of the person in all the cases and this seems to suggest that it is an epithet of the person and not of the coin. In the coin-name occurring in the Chinchani copper-plate inscription, *śrēshṭha* occurs along with *vyavahārika*, 'a merchant'. It is very probable, therefore, that the word is here the same as *śrēshṭhin* (as in the *Lēkhapaddhati* passage quoted above), so that Gambhuvaka was a merchant and a banker.

It may be pointed out in this connection that we are also inclined to disagree with V. S. Agrawala in regard to the interpretation of a passage referring to the *pāraupatha-dramma* occurring in the *Lēkhapaddhati*.⁵ The expression *hattavyāvahārikyā-prachalitā* in the passage *śrī-Śrīmāliya-kharaṭaṅkaśālāhata-śrēshṭha-śrīmat-pāraupatha-raukyagrīhita-dramma* has been taken by him to mean *hātka vyavhārmēm ānevālē*, i.e. 'current in the market'. We would take it in the sense of 'current among the body of merchants in the market', *vyāvahārikyā* being a collective noun derived from *vyavahārin* or *vyavahārika* which are, as we have seen, well-known words meaning 'a merchant'; cf. *vyavahārikānām* (or *vyavahārinām*) *samūhō vyāvahārikyam* just as *Brāhmaṇānām samūhō Brāhmaṇyam*. Likewise, *śrēshṭha-śrīmat-pāraupatha-raukya-grīhita-dramma* means, in our opinion, 'the *dramma* [coin] accepted in cash payment by the illustrious *Śrēshṭhin* (banker) *Pāraupatha*'. For 'cash' or 'cash payment' as the meaning of *raukya*, references may be made to its modern form *rok*.⁶

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 60 (text line 38) and note 4. It is interesting to note that, in this case, Gopal has accepted our interpretation (ibid., p. 224).

² See Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Glos.*, p. 383.

³ See p. 222.

⁴ Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965 ed., p. 146.

⁵ *DNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 201.

⁶ See Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, s.v. *rok*.

No. 49—ANVALDA PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SOMESVĀRA AND PRITHVIRĀJA III

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(Received on 2. 8. 1965)

The two inscriptions edited below and called **A** and **B** are engraved on one and the same pillar found at Anvaldā near Jahāzpur in the Bhilwara District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan, and now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They have been published by Dr. R. C. Agrawala in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 69-72. The first inscription, i.e. Inscription **A**, is engraved at the top and belongs to the reign of the Chāhamāna king Prithvirāja III while the second record, i.e. Inscription **B**, is engraved in continuation of the first one and refers itself to the reign of Sōmēsvara, father and predecessor of Prithvirāja III. Both the records are written in Nāgarī characters and Sanskrit language.

The date of Inscription **A** has been read differently by the scholars who have dealt with these records. Thus D. R. Bhandarkar noticed it as early as 1906 in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India* for that year, p. 62 (No. 2224), and read the date as V.S. 1244, Phālguna śudi 13, Friday. He has also subsequently noticed it in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 412 where he has given the same date for this inscription.¹ G. H. Ojha mentions the date as V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 11 (without week-day) in his book *History of Rājputāra* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 362.² In the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1954-55, Appendix B, No. 497, the date of this epigraph has been given as V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 12, Thursday, with its English equivalent 11th February, 1188 A.D. The same reading of the date is also given by Dr. R.C. Agrawala.³

As regards the date of the second record, i.e. Inscription **B**, both D.R. Bhandarkar and G.H. Ojha read it as V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 4, Friday which has been followed by R.C. Agrawala⁴ and D. C. Sircar.⁵

We do not agree with the reading of the dates of both the inscriptions (**A** and **B**) as given by the scholars mentioned above. In our opinion the date of the first record (i.e. **A**) should be read as **V.S. 1245, Phālguna śudi 13, Śukravāra (Friday)**. The last figure in the given year is clearly 5 and not 4 as taken by Bhandarkar, while the second figure in the *tīthi* is likewise clearly 3 and not 1 or 2 as read by others. Similarly there is no doubt that the name of the week-day reads *Śukra* instead of *Guru*.

In the date of the second epigraph (i.e. **B**), the given *tīthi* is clearly 5 and not 4. For instance, we may contrast this figure 5 with that for 4 in the same line in V.S. 1234 and compare it with

¹ This reading of the date has been followed by H.C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. of N. India*, Vol. II, p. 1084 and Dr. D.C. Sircar, above Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 7.

² This record is not noticed by him in the *Annual Report of the Rājputana Museum*, Ajmer, 1922-23, where he has noticed Inscription B.

³ *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5.

5 in V.S. 1245 in Inscription A. Thus the correct reading of the date of Inscription B would be V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada śudi 5, Friday.

Having dealt with the dates of the two epigraphs, we may now discuss a few other points. As already pointed out, both these records are engraved on the same pillar and Inscription B, is written below that of A. D.R. Bhandarkar does not seem to be aware of this fact since he mentions Inscription B in his List No. 380 as Ānvaldā Inscription and Inscription A under List No. 412 as Udaipur Victoria Hall Museum Inscription.¹ While editing the Bārlā inscription² of Prithvirāja III, Dr. Sircar has referred to the fact that the Ānvaldā pillar contained two inscriptions (as pointed out by Dr. Agrawala)³ but apparently it has escaped his notice that Inscription A is the same as No. 412 of Bhandarkar's List which is mentioned by him, possibly due to the fact that the date was read as V.S. 1244 instead of V.S. 1245.

Now the date V.S. 1234, Bhādrapada of Inscription B has been taken to be the last known date of the Chāhamāna king Sōmēśvara while the earliest known date for his son and successor Prithvirāja is provided by the Bārlā inscription dated V.S. 1234, Chaitra śudi 4.⁴ In order to get over the difficulty of obtaining an earlier date (i.e. *Chaitra*) for the son, U.C. Bhattacharya and R. C. Agrawala suggested that the Vikrama year was *Śrāvaṇādi*, so that the month of Bhādrapada of the Ānvaldā record would fall earlier than the month of *Chaitra* of the same year, i.e. V.S. 1234 mentioned in the Bārlā epigraph.⁵

Dr. Sircar states that the date of the Ānvaldā record, wherein the *tithi* has been taken as *śudi 4*, regularly corresponds to August 18, 1178 A.D. which would show that the Vikrama year began after the month of Bhādrapada.⁶ He further suggests that in view of this, the date of the Bārlā inscription of Prithvirāja III, viz. V.S. 1234, *Chaitra*, should be regarded as a mistake for V.S. 1235, *Chaitra*. But as pointed out by us before, the *tithi* in the Ānvaldā record of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 has to be read as *śudi 5* and not *śudi 4* which would make it an irregular date unless we regard that *śudi 5* is a mistake for *śudi 4*. But the most important consideration in regard to this inscription, which has been overlooked by the scholars who have dealt with the problem, is the fact, as already indicated, that this epigraph of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 is written below and as a sort of a continuation of a record of a later date, viz. V.S. 1245, falling in the reign of his son Prithvirāja III. A close examination of the script of the two records would show that they have been engraved by the same hand. This would suggest that the record of Sōmēśvara of V.S. 1234 is not a contemporary one but was put on stone along with the other record in V.S. 1245, i.e. 11 years later. Thus the inscription seems to record an earlier event which took place in the reign of Sōmēśvara and the genuineness of the date may not be beyond doubt as the engraver might have committed some mistake in recording the event 11 or 12 years later. If this view is accepted, then there is no need to regard the date V.S. 1234 *Chaitra* of the Bārlā inscription of Prithvirāja III as a mistake for V.S. 1235 *Chaitra* as has been suggested by Dr. Sircar.

We do not agree with Dr. Agrawala in regard to the purport of Inscription A also. He suggests, following G. H. Ojha, that it records the death of Jēhaḍa, a Dōḍyā chief. He reads, after the word Jēhaḍa in line 2, the word *dēvalōka* . . . which has led him to the above conclusion.

¹ Ojha, however, refers to this fact in his *History of Rājputānā* (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 362.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, note 3.

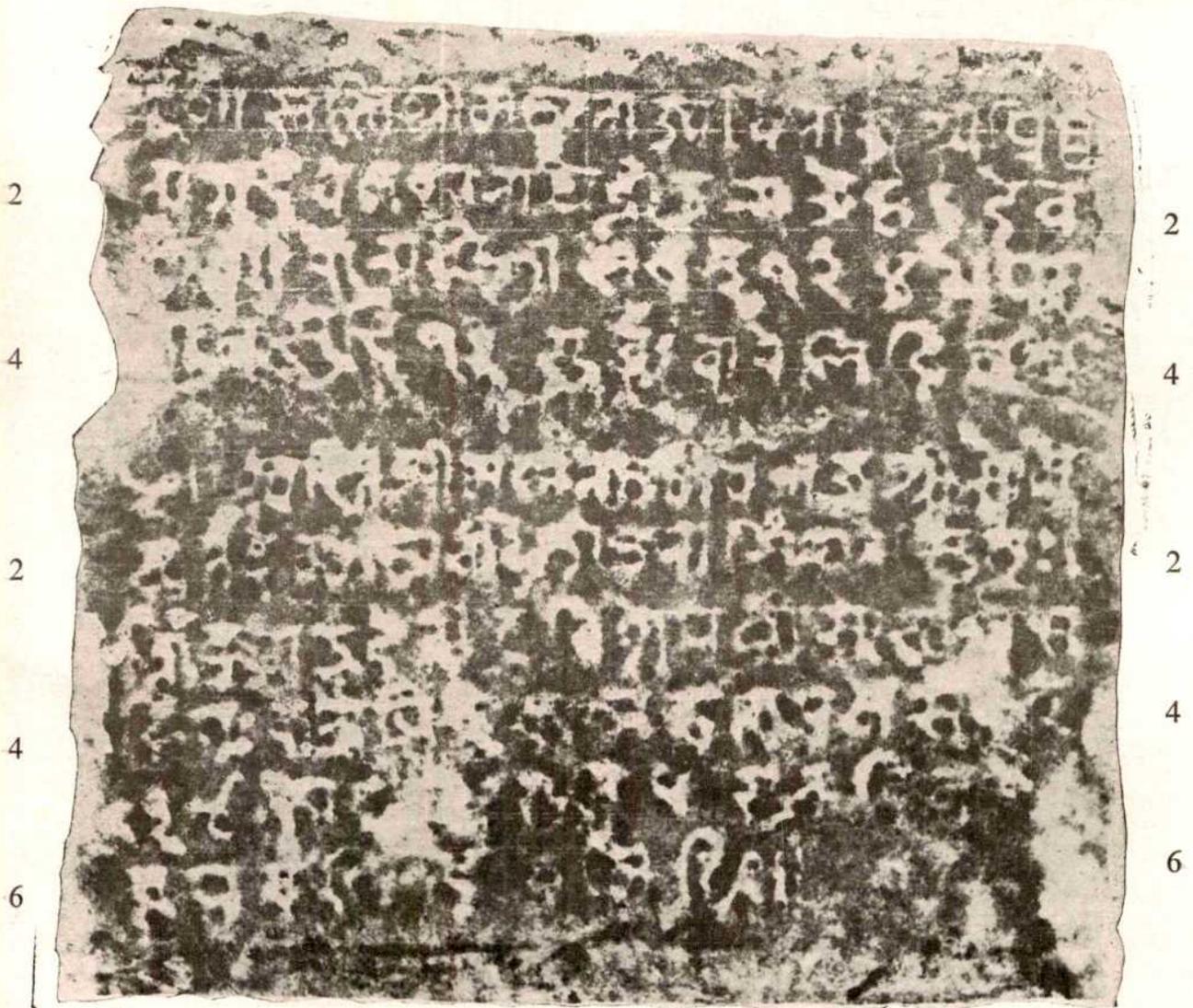
³ This fact is also noticed in the *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, No. B 497, in the remarks column.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 299 ff.

⁵ *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Jaipur, 1951, p. 328; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, p. 71.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 302, No. 5.

ANVALDA PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF SOMESVARA AND PRITHVIRAJA III



Scale : Three-fourth

But the reading is clearly *Jēhaḍa dēvalikā karāpitā* which evidently stands for *Jēhaḍa lēvakulikā karāpitā* and which means that Jēhaḍa caused to be constructed a small temple (*lēvakulikā*).

It is difficult to make out the purport of Inscription B since the record is badly damaged. It seems to record the construction of something by Dōḍarā-Siṅgharā in association with his son Jindarā, daughter (*duhitā*) Udēvi and wife (*patnī*) Sākha[rā].

We give below the texts of the two inscriptions as read by us :

TEXT¹

Inscription A

- 1 . Ōm || Svasti śrī [*] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Pri(Pri)thvi-
- 2 rājadēva-mahārājyē Dōḍarā-Jēhaḍa dēva[ku*]-
- 3 .likā ka(kā)rāpitā Samvat 1245 Phā-
- 4 [Igu]na sudi 13 Śukravārē lihi(khi)ta[m=iti] [*]

Inscription B²

- 1 Ōm || Svasti śrī- [*] Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Sōmē-
- 2 śvaradēva-mahārājyē Dōḍarā-Siṅgharā sutah
- 3 Jindarā Udēvi duhitā patnī Sākha[rā] sa-
- 4 hitah ka(kā)rāpit(tā)... Samvat
- 5 [1]234 Bhādra[pada] sudi 5 Śukra-dinē-
- 6 ...li[khi]tam=iti ||

¹ From the impressions.

² This is engraved in continuation of Inscription A.

No. 50—FOUR STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA

(2 Plates)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(Received on 21.7.1966)

A combined archaeological and epigraphical survey of the territory of Goa was undertaken during the months of April and May, 1965 by the Archaeological Survey of India. I was deputed by the Government Epigraphist for India to take part in this survey work on behalf of his office. In the course of the survey, over 20 inscriptions on stone, in Sanskrit, Kaṇṇaḍa and Marāṭhī languages, were copied. Three of the important inscriptions¹ in that collection (Nos. I, II and IV below) as also another inscription² copied by me in 1963-64 (No. III below) are being edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

I. Arvaḷem Cave Inscription

This inscription was found engraved on a pillar set up in shrine No. 3 of cave No. 3 at the mining village of **Arvaḷem** (locally pronounced as Haravaḷe) in the Bicholim Taluk. The pillar has a circular top. The inscription is engraved on a narrow rectangular surface in between the base of the circular top and the octagonal stem of the pillar.

The inscription consists of a single line written in Southern **characters** of the 5th century A.D. The letters bear on top small box-heads and are comparable to those found in the Kadamba inscriptions of the same period as, for instance, the Tālagunda inscriptions of Kākusthavarman³ and Mṛigōśavarman.⁴ Besides, the letters may be generally compared with those in the copper-plate charters of the Kadambas of the period in question.

Medial *ī* is distinguished from medial *i* by a hook inside. In the conjunct letter *mb*, the subscript *b*, is connected to the superscript *m* by a vertical line nearly 1.5 cm long and drawn on the right side. *Visarga* is represented by the usual two dots, one below the other, at the very end of the inscription. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit.

The inscription under study reads⁵: *Sāmbalūra-vāsī Raviḷ*

The text may be translated as follows: Ravi, the resident of Sāmbalūrav.

It is likely that the inscribed pillar was originally set up in the same shrine of the cave, where it is now found and hence Sāmbalūra may be taken to have been the ancient name by which modern Arvaḷem was known in the fifth century.

¹ They are noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66 as Nos. B 39, 52 and 54 respectively.

² This is B 93 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff., and plate.

⁴ *MAR*, 1911, plate IV, No. II.

⁵ From impressions.

The shape of the pillar on which the inscription is engraved provides a clue for the identification of Ravi. As has been already pointed out above, the top front of the pillar is circular representing the sun-god and *Ravi* of the inscription possibly stands for this Sun god. In that case the prevalence of sun-worship in the Goa region during the early period in question is incidentally evidenced by the Arvaḷem inscription.

II. Nundem Inscription of Siharāja.

Nundem (locally pronounced Nūne) is a small village in the Sanguem Taluk and the inscription edited here was found engraved on a loose slab lying outside the Mahāmāyā temple. In the main shrine of the temple is found installed an image of Pārvatī, an exact though poor copy of an earlier image which lies in a broken state in the right side corner inside the same shrine.

The inscription, consisting of eleven lines, is engraved in Southern characters of about the 5th century A. D. and its language is Sanskrit. The letters in lines 2-5 are written with horizontal lines at the top as is the modern practice in writing *Dēvanāgarī*. Faint traces of this horizontal line are noticeable in lines 1, 6 and 7 also.

The inscription is undated but, as stated above, it may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the 5th century A.D. The letters in the present script are comparable to those in the two Kadamba records referred to while discussing the palaeography of inscription No. I above and also to those in the Halmiḍi inscription¹ of Kākusthavarman and the Shimoga plates² of Māndhātā.³ Among interesting palaeographical features may be mentioned the occurrence of two types of tripartite *y*, the one with the left limb vertical (as in line 4) and the other with the left limb tending to curve inwards (as in line 7). While in the letter *k*, the left vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter is not joined to the middle horizontal stroke (lines 4, 6 and 10), the letter *k* occurs in two types in its superscript form: with the left vertical line joined to the middle horizontal stroke (as in line 4) and without the left vertical line at all (as in line 10). The symbol for *upadhmanīya* in *yaḥpañcha* (lines 2-3) is interesting, with two dots engraved side by side at a height of 1 cm from the left top of the letter *p*. Among initial vowels, *i* and *ē* occur once each in lines 7 and 9 respectively. Final *m* is changed into *anusvāra* in all instances; and the class nasal *ñ* occurs as the subscript twice in lines 7 and 11 and as the superscript once in line 3. Among orthographical features may be noticed the doubling of *v* when preceded by *r* (line 8).

The inscription commences with the auspicious words *svasti śrī* which are immediately followed by a imprecatory passage in lines 1-5 declaring that the five great sins will attach to anyone who seeks to misappropriate a *dēvasva*.

The next sentence in lines 5-7 reads *viśvardhamānivāpa panasaka iti vijñēyah*, the exact meaning of which is not clear. It will be seen that the inscription subsequently records the grant of a *panasakā-kshētra*. The above sentence in all probability means that the *panasakā-kshētra* referred to subsequently was of high yield and of one *vāpa* in extent. Lines 7-11 contain the grant portion, the details of which are as follows:

Siḥarāja made a grant of one gateway (*dvāra*) to the deity Pārvatī-svāminī and of one *panasakā-kshētra* (a grove of jack-fruit trees) and one gateway to the god Ēlasvāmin.

¹ *MAR*, 1936, plate XXII.

² *Ibid.*, 1911, plate II.

³ While the letters in the Arvaḷem inscription bear small box-heads, those in the Nundem inscription are written without them.

Pārvati-svāmin means the temple built in honour of Pārvatī.¹ As has been pointed out above the Mahāmāyā temple houses, in its main shrine, an old and damaged image of goddess Pārvatī. It is likely that *Pārvatisvāminah* (lines 7-8) is a mistake for *Pārvatisvāminyai* and that the recipient of the first grant was the goddess Pārvatī herself. *Ēlasvāmi*² denotes the temple of Ēla which appears to have been the local name of Pārvatī's consort (i. e. Śiva).

The reference to Siharāja as the donor is interesting. Siharāja is the Prākṛit form of Simharāja. Since he does not receive any titles whatever, it is likely that he was only a local chieftain. The early history of Goa is still shrouded in mystery. The territory of Goa and the adjacent district of North Kanara as well as portions of the Belgaum district were under the sway of two ancient dynasties, the Bhōjas and the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, during fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. The earliest copper-plate grant³ of the Bhōjas belongs to the reign of Dēvarāja and has been assigned to the 4th century A.D., while the earliest known copper-plate grant of the Mauryas belongs to the 5th-6th centuries A.D. and to the reign of Chandravarman.⁴ Simharāja may have been the subordinate of a ruler belonging to either of these dynasties.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Dēva-
- 2 svam̄ harati ya-
- 3 ḥ=pañcha-mahā-pā-
- 4 taka saṁyuktō bha-
- 5 vati [||*] Vivardhamā-
- 6 ni vāpa panasaka
- 7 iti vijñēyaḥ [||*] Pā-
- 8 rvatisvāminah(nē) dvā-
- 9 raṁ da[ktam̄(ttam̄)] Ēlasvāminah(nē)
- 10 panasakā-kshētram̄ dvāram̄ cha
- 11 dattā(ttē) Siharājā [||*

III. Inscription of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, Śaka 97[6]

The inscription edited below was found engraved on a slab lying in the square of the convent of Francis of Assisi in Old Goa, Tisvadi Taluk. The slab consists of three sculptured panels below each of which the present inscription is engraved in three sections. The left bottom of the last panel is broken off resulting in the loss of a few letters in the last five lines of the inscription and in the total loss of further lines. The break starts at the left margin and runs at a tangent towards the middle of the bottom as a result of which the number of letters lost in each line increases progressively.

¹ *Svāmin* at the end of a compound has frequently the meaning of 'a temple or shrine built by,' or 'a temple in honour of'.—Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (1872), s. v.

² This name reminds us of Eliśri, the Chief of the *Talavaras*, figuring in an Ikshvāku inscription of the 3-4th century A.D. from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (see *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, No. B 5). Some 13th century inscriptions from Ēlēsvaram, Devarakonda Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh, record certain endowments made for the worship of god Ēlēsvara (see *ibid.*, 1954-55, Nos. B. 134-35 and 146).

³ Above., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143-45 and *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40.

⁴ *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 181-84, and above Vol. XXXIII, p. 294.

⁵ From impressions.

The record is engraved in **Kannada characters and language** of the 11th century. The top panel consists of 9 lines of writing, the central panel of 6 lines and the available portion of the third panel has 10 lines of writing. The letters are indifferently engraved and the inscription is illegible in parts.

From the **palaeographical** point of view, the letters are regular for the period to which the inscription belongs, i.e. the middle of the 11th century A.D. The formation of initial *u* in the word *ukata* (line 8) is noteworthy. While the main letter has the shape of Telugu *u*, there is a leftward curve starting from the top of the letter and running downwards outside the left of the letter. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, it may be pointed out that class nasals occur in some cases while in others they are replaced by the sign for *anusvāra*. *N, t* and *m* are doubled when preceded by *r*.

The **date** of the inscription is given in lines 20-22. The available details read **Śaka 97., Jaya, . . .kha bahula 1, Monday**. On the strength of the cyclic year the Śaka year can be restored as 976. The last letter in the name of the month, viz. *kha* suggests that the intended month was *Vaiśākha*. For Śaka 976, Jaya, Vaiśākha ba. 1, Monday, the equivalent correctly works out to **1054 A. D., April 25**.

The inscription is of importance for the history of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa. It is one of the very few inscriptions known for the reign of Jayakēśin I and is the first stone inscription of the said ruler to be edited in the pages of this journal.

The inscription commences with the auspicious word *Śvasti* and goes on to give a long list of laudatory epithets of Anṇayya, the *dharma-mantri* of **Pamjāṇakhaṇi**. The purpose for which the inscription was engraved must have followed the details of date but is now irretrievably lost in the missing portion of the third and last panel.

Anṇayya is mentioned (lines 1-3) as dwelling at the feet of *samadhigata-ṣaṁcha-mahāśatda-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-Bi(Vi)ravarmmadēva*. The epithets borne by Viravarmma, the absence of any other Kadamba ruler of Goa bearing that name and the date of the inscription all suggest the likelihood of Viravarmma being none other than Jayakēśin I himself.

Anṇayya is further described in lines 3-6 as the servant of the good, as the sun for the lotus which is the royalty of entire Karnāṭaka, as the *vajra-danda* of the mountain which is the unfriendly enemy to the Kādamba dynasty, as the very Bhīma on battle-fields, as ferocious in wars, as the hero of battles fought on lawful grounds and as the great arm of the god of Love. Lines 6-8 describe him as Bīravarmmadēva's coat of mail, as the exemplary servant of Jayakēśidēva and as furious in wars. Towards the end of line 8 the city of **Chandrāpura** is mentioned but the context is not known because the succeeding line is illegible. But from what follows in line 10, it may be inferred that Anṇayya is being lauded for stoutly defending the city of Chandrāpura, which was one of the capital cities of the Goa Kadamba rulers.

Lines 10-15 further eulogise Anṇayya as the tiara on the forehead of the lord of the west, as having caused the forces of **Anṇalladēva** to be scattered in all directions, as the chief servant of **Arakayya**, as having been born of a pure *gōtra*, as a connoisseur of music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing, as great in war, as the very Vainatēya to the serpents in the form of the western rulers and as a fortunate being.

Lines 15-19 introduce Anṇayya, adorned with all the epithets explained above, as the *dharma-mantri* of Pamjāṇakhaṇi and state that his victorious career was in progress (at the time of the writing of the record). Lines 20-25 contain the details of the date discussed above.

It is interesting to note that the inscription does not expressly refer itself to the reign of Jayakēsin I. But the date of the record and the reference to Annayya as the exemplary servant of Jayakēsin clearly show that the epigraph does belong to Jayakēsin I's reign. If the possibility suggested above is accepted, this record would reveal for the first time that Jayakēsin I had the second name of Viravarmma. The epithet *paḍaval-ēndra* (lord of the west) applied to the Kadamba ruler in the present record provides us with the Kannada equivalent of the well-known Sanskrit epithet *paścīma-samudr-ādhiśvara* borne by the rulers of that dynasty.

Many of the epithets borne by Annayya are of historical interest. He is described as the very thunderbolt to the enemies of the Kadamba ruler and as the tiara on his master's forehead. He is stated to have defeated one Annalladēva. In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to identify this name with that of any known ruler nor do we know the territory which was under his sway.

The record under study states that Annayya was the chief servant of Arakayya. The latter is not known from any other source. He may have been a subordinate or a senior official to whom Annayya owed his appointment.

Annayya is further described as having vanquished the western rulers. His master Jayakēsin I is known to have conquered the Alupas, the Śilāhāra ruler of Northern Konkan and the Lāṭa ruler.¹ The territories under the sway of these rulers lay along the west coast. It is likely that Annayya played a clinching role in the triumphs of his master over those chieftains and hence, the epithet.

The designation of Annayya as *dharmā-mantri* and Paṁjanākhaṇi as the name of the place which fell under his jurisdiction are both interesting. The designation reminds us of the *dharmā-mahāmātras* who were appointed to promote his preachings by the Mauryan emperor Aśōka (273-32 B.C.). The nature of the duties which were attached to Annayya as *dharmā-mantri* is not, however, known. Paṁjanākhaṇi appears to be the same as Panjim (locally pronounced Paṁaji), the modern capital city of the territory of Goa. The other place mentioned in the record, Chandrāpura is the same as modern Chandore, Madgaon Taluk, Goa.

TEXT²

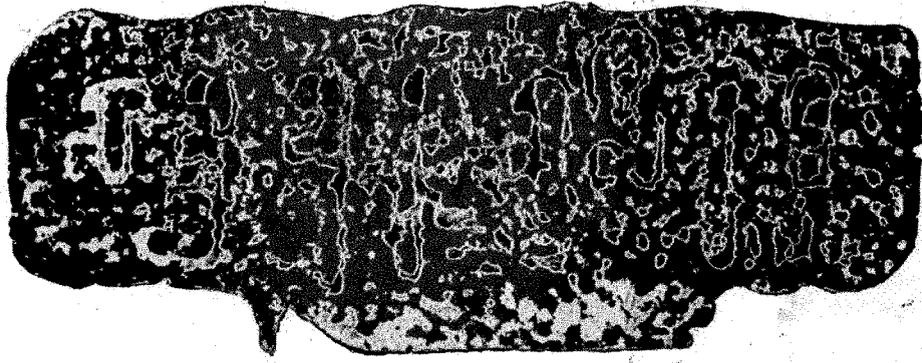
- 1 Svasti [||*] Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-śabda Mahāmaṇḍalē-
- 2 śvaram śrīmatu Bīravarmmadēvara divya-śrī-pā-
- 3 da-padm-ōpajīviga|appa [sā]dhu-bhri(bhri)tyam samasta-[Ka]-
- 4 [rṇṇā]ṭa-kula-kama|a-mārttaṇḍa[m] Kadamba-rāja[r-a]hita-ri[pu]-
- 5 giri-vajra-ḍaṇḍa[m] raṇa-ram[ga]-[Bhīmaṁ*] [kada]na-prachandam [dha]-
- 6 mmm-āji-gaṇḍam paṁchāyūḍha-mahā-bāham Bīravarmma-
- 7 dēva-sannāham Jaykē(yakē)sidēvar-ādarśa-baṁṭam sam-
- 8 grāma-ūtkaṭṭha(ta)m Chandrāpura
- 9

¹ *The Kadamba Kula*, pp. 179 ff.

² From impressions.

FOUR STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA — PLATE I

I—Arvaļem Cave Inscription



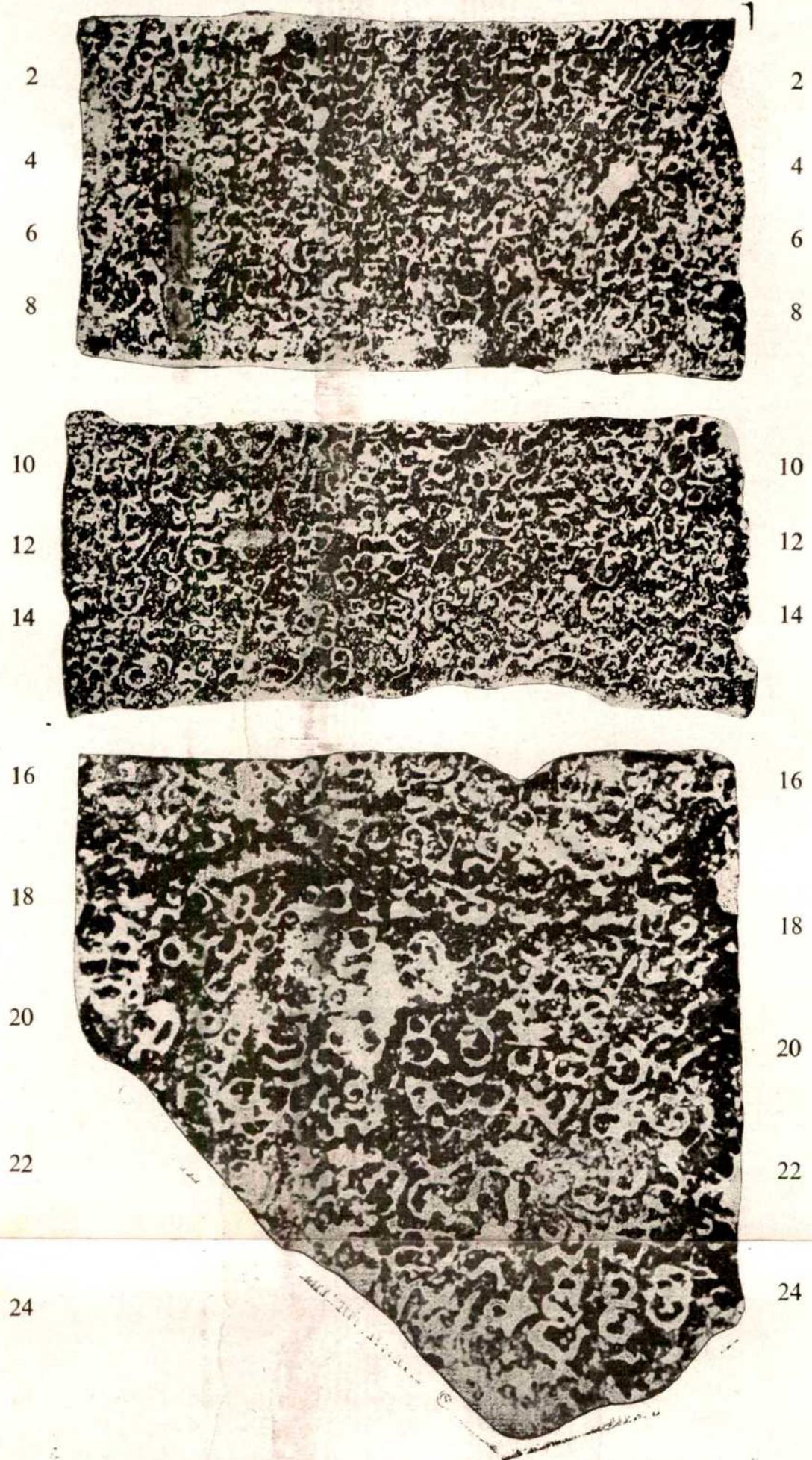
Scale : One-fourth

II—Nundem' Inscription of Siharāja



Scale : One-third

III—Inscription of Kadamba Jayakēśin I, Śaka 976



Scale : One-half

- 10 ba|avattāna-khaṇḍana-kamṭa-ku[dr̥a]lām Paḍava|ēndra-[la]-
 11 |āta-pattāṃ **Annalladēva**-disā(sā)-pattāṃ **Ara[ka]-**
 12 **yyan**-aṅka[kā]rām nija-gōtr-ō[dbha]vām gīta-vā-
 13 dya-nri(nri)tya-kamṇ-āva|ōkena-silām | saṅgrāma-ni-
 14 ḍam paḍava|a-rāja-bhujāṅga-Vainatēyanī de-
 15 sekāra-dēvam(va)mi=ty-ādi samasta-biru-
 16 dāva|ī-sama|aṅkṛitar=appa śrī-
 17 mat-**Pamjanakhaniya** Pam-
 18 janakhaniya¹ dharmma-maṅtry-**A**-
 19 **ṇṇayyāṅga**-vijay-ākshayam
 20 saluttāṃ=ire **Saka-varṣa**(rsha) 97-
 21 [**6**]neya **Jaya** sāmṇvatsa-²
 22 [**ra Vaiśā**]kha bahula 1 **Sōmavāra**³
 23 do| sama[sta]
 24 prasiddhi-kirt[ti]
 25

IV. Betgi Inscription

The stone slab bearing the inscription edited below was found lying under a mango tree on the banks of a narrow stream called Vha| about two furlongs from the village of **Betgi** proper in the Phonda Taluk of Goa.

The inscription consists of four lines in all, the last line being engraved on a narrow strip about an inch above the first three lines. The record is engraved in **Kannada characters** of about the 12th century A.D. Letters in line 3 are smaller in size than those in the other three lines. The only **palaeographical** peculiarity worth noticing is the placing of the semi-circular stroke representing subscript *k* in *kka* at the very bottom of superscript *ka* unlike at the middle of the superscript as is the usual practice. There are no **orthographical** features worth mentioning.

The inscription is not dated but the record, as has been stated above, is assignable to the 12th century on palaeographical grounds. It does not refer itself to the reign of any king but the provenance of the inscription shows that it must have been engraved during the reign of a 12th century Kadamba ruler of Goa.

The inscription records the death of **Jaya**, the *prabhu* of Bettugi and servant (*vēle*) of **Poshthadēva**, the gate-keeper (*mahāpaḍiyara*) of the army camp of the crowned king. The record states that **Poshthadēva** was endowed with all the (usual) epithets and that he hailed from **Vagini**. The record was written by *sūtradhāri* **Tikkama**.

¹ This word is superfluous.

² Lost letters have been restored in this line.

The expression *paṭṭa-tamtrapāḷeyada mahāpaḍiyara* is interesting. In the context in which it occurs, I choose to interpret the expression as follows: *tamtra* means, among other things, an army; *pāḷeya* means an encampment or camp; *paṭṭa* means head of the State, royalty etc. In the designation *mahāpaḍiyara*, *paḍiyara* is the *taḍbhava* of Sanskrit *pratihāra* meaning a male door-keeper. Thus, Poshṭhadēva was holding the post of chief gate-keeper in the army camp of the ruling king and the deceased Jaya appears to have served under him in the army camp. The reference to Jaya as the *vēḷe* of Poshṭhadēva is also interesting. The equivalent of the Kannaḍa expression *vēḷekāra* meaning 'a watchman' occurs in Tamil as *vēḷaikkāra*¹ meaning trusted warriors ever prepared and ready to lay down their lives in the service of their overlord. It is very likely that *vēḷekāra* came to be used in its contracted form as *vēḷe* in course of time.

Among the place names occurring in the record, **Bettugi** is the same as Betgi, the findspot of the inscribed slab. **Vagiṇi** may be the same as modern Vaiṅgaṇi, a village in the Bicholim Taluk.

TEXT²

- 1 Svasti [||*] Samasta-prasasti-sa³hitam śrīmatu paṭṭa-tamtrapāḷeya-
- 2 da mahāpaḍiyara⁴ **Vagiṇiya** Poshṭhadēvana vēḷe **Bettu-**
- 3 **giya** praḥhu **Jaya** sattanu⁵
- 4 Sūtradhāri Tikkamana bara[ha] [||*]

¹ See *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, *Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 20.

² From impressions.

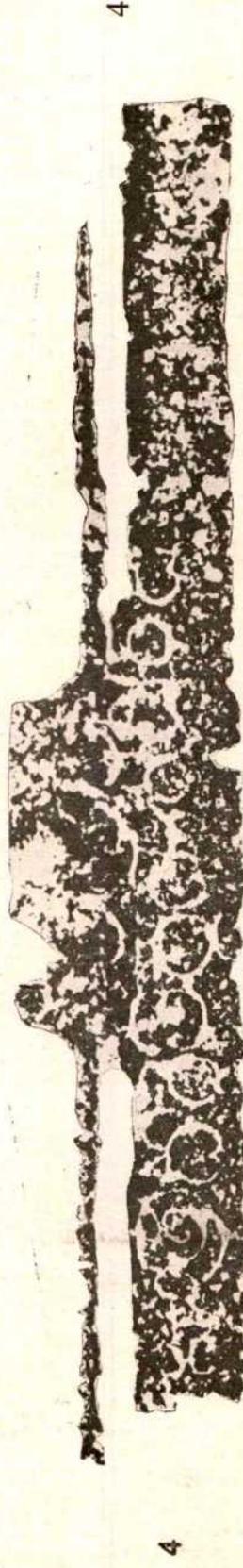
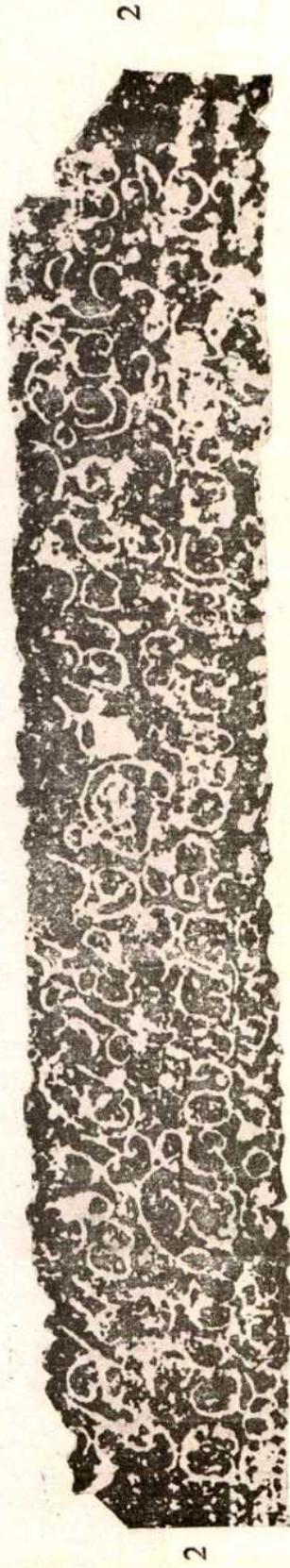
³ The two letters *sti* and *sa* are engraved above the line.

⁴ The letter *ra* is engraved above the line.

⁵ There is a punctuation mark at the end.

FOUR STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM GOA — PLATE II

IV—Betgi Inscription



Scale : Two-thirds

GEL. I. XXXVII. 7
750

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

JULY 1968

PART VII

EDITED BY

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©

1970

**PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, DELHI
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, CALCUTTA, INDIA**

Price: Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8 d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

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H 9091

No. 51--PASCHIMBHAG PLATE OF SRICHANDRA, YEAR 5

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 20.10.67)

Of the five copper-plate grants of king Śrichandra of the Chandra dynasty of South-East Bengal, discovered before the middle of the present century, four have been already published, viz. the Rāmpāl, Kēdārpur, Madanpur and Dhullā plates, the Idilpur plate, which is untraceable now, still remaining unedited.¹ Recently another copper-plate inscription of Śrichandra was discovered at the village of Paśchimbhāg in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. In the year 1958 Shri Binod Bihari Chakravarti accidentally noticed a corner of the plate sticking out of the ground in a vacant plot of land in the said village. The inscribed plate was dug up and, soon afterwards, it passed into the custody of Pandit Shyamapada Kavyatirtha Bhattacharya of the village of Bhūmiurā near Paśchimbhāg. In 1961, Janab Aminur Rashid Chaudhuri of Sylhet acquired it from the Pandit for the Historical and Archaeological Society, Sylhet. The copper-plate inscription, now preserved in the Museum of the said Society, was published with Plates by Shri Kamala Kanto Gupta Chaudhury of the Sylhet Bar in the *Nalinī Kānta Bhaṭṭasāli Commemoration Volume* (pp. 166 ff. and Plates XXXVI-XXXVII), edited by Prof. A. B. M. Habibullah and published by the Dacca Museum in 1966.² Although the preservation of the writing seems to be fairly satisfactory, certain parts of the illustration of the writing on both sides of the plate are indistinct. For the reading of a few indistinct sections, one has, therefore, to depend more or less on Gupta Chaudhury. Unfortunately his transcript and translation of the new verses found only in this record are not free from errors. The great importance of the epigraph for the political and cultural history of Bengal induces us to re-edit it in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*, so that it may be easily available to the students of Indian history.

The inscription is written on both sides of a **single plate** having raised rims and measuring 17.5" × 12" × .25", the seal affixed to its upper fringe leading to the break in the continuity of the writing in the first two lines on both the obverse and the reverse. The emblem on the seal is the *Dharmachakra* found on the seals not only of the other records of Śrichandra and of those of the other rulers of the Chandra family, but also on those of other Buddhist rulers of Bengal including the Pālas. The legend in the lower part of the surface of the seal reads *Śrī-Śrichandra-dēva*. The weight of the plate together with the seal is said to be about 11.5 seers (about 23 pounds). The charter (cf. line 58) was issued on the **5th day of the month of Vaiśākha in the 5th regnal year of Śrichandra** (c. 925-75 A.D.), i.e. about 930 A.D., although the grant had been made on the occasion of the sun's **Śrāvāṇa-saṅkrānti** (cf. line 55). Since *Śrāvāṇa* is the name of the fourth solar month of the Bangali year, the reference is probably to the sun's entry into the *Karkata-rāsi*. Unfortunately, in Bengal at present, the expression **Śrāvāṇa-saṅkrānti** means the end of the month of *Śrāvāṇa*. In any case, this seems to be one of the earliest records of the Chandra king whose latest known date, supplied by the Madanpur plate referred to above, is the regnal year 46.

¹ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 134.

² A few years earlier, the same author published his transcript of the inscription in Bengali characters and was good enough to send a copy of it to me. Cf. also *Journ. As. Soc. Pak.*, Vol. VI, pp. 271 ff. A set of good impressions of the inscription was received by me from Shri Gupta Chaudhury when the present article was going through the press. It has been utilised in revising the transcript printed here.

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There are 28 lines of writing on the obverse and 37 on the reverse of the Paśchimbhāg plate, so that the record is written in 65 lines. The *aksharas* on the obverse are bigger in size ($\frac{7}{16}'' \times \frac{1}{4}''$) than those on the reverse ($\frac{5}{16}'' \times \frac{3}{16}''$). The **characters**, like those in the other grants of Śrīchandra, belong to the East Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. when the Gaudī was emerging out of the Siddhamātrikā. Of the initial vowels, *ri* in line 43 is interesting. The sign for *avagraha* is once used in line 5. The engraving is neatly done and credit for it has been rightly claimed on behalf of the engraver Haradāsa in the concluding stanza (verse 23) as we shall see below. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition consists of both prose and verse. Some personal names indicate Prakrit and Dēśī influence; *e.g.*, Vihnadatta (Vishnudatta) in line 49, Siṅhadatta in line 48, etc. We know that the introductory stanzas in Śrīchandra's charters are not exactly the same in number and composition in the different records, though several verses are common to all of them. Thus, among the 15 stanzas in lines 1-25 of the present record, some well-known stanzas found in most of the other epigraphs are absent, while seven stanzas (verses 5, 7-9, 12-14) of this epigraph are not noticed in any of the hitherto published charters of the king. The **orthographical** peculiarities of the inscription are also noticeable in Śrīchandra's other grants, *e.g.* the reduplication of a consonant in conjunction with *r* in many cases, the change of *anusvāra* to the guttural nasal before *ś* and to the dental nasal before *s*, the change of final *m* before the consonants of a *varga* to the nasal of the same class, the avoidance of the *visarga* in cases of *sandhi* like *Jīnas=sa*, etc. Final *m* has often been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* even before a stop and a vowel.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the benedictory expression *svasti*. Then follow the fifteen introductory stanzas in lines 1-25. It is interesting to note that the other grants of the king have usually about 7 to 9 verses in the introductory part and that all the stanzas do not occur in all the grants as we have already indicated above.

Verse 1, also found at the beginning of the other charters of Śrīchandra, is in adoration of the **Buddhist trinity**—the Jina (*i.e.* Lord Buddha), Dharma and Saṅgha. This is no doubt because the Chandras were followers of the Buddhist faith. This verse is followed in some of Śrīchandra's records by another saying that **Pūrṇachandra**, the progenitor of the dynasty, was born in the family of the Chandras of **Rōhitāgiri** and that his name occurred in documents engraved on the pedestals of images as well as on pillars of victory and plates of copper. This shows that the Chandra family hailed from Rōhitāgiri (modern Rōhtāsgaḍh in the Shahabad District, Bihar) and that Pūrṇachandra was a ruling chief of some importance. Instead of this verse, the said Pūrṇachandra is introduced in the present epigraph in another stanza (verse 2) which is found in the Kēdārpur plate wherein, however, it is not fully legible. It says that there was a fortunate person named **Pūrṇachandra** whose shameless enemies took shelter under the unique umbrella created by the dust raised by his army.

Verse 3, which is found in the Kēdārpur and Idilpur plates, introduces **Suvarṇachandra**, the son of Pūrṇachandra, and compares him with pure gold even though, unlike gold, he was never tested in fire and weighed on balance. We know that some other grants of Śrīchandra introduce Suvarṇachandra in a different stanza stating that the said prince became a follower of the Buddha because he had been born in the family of the Moon-god who bears on his lap the Buddha born as a hare in a previous birth (*Śaśaka-jātaka*). Verse 4 is also found in several of Śrīchandra's charters and states that Suvarṇachandra was so named by the people because, when he was in his mother's womb, the queen satisfied her longing by seeing the rising moon and, as a result, obtained the son comparable to the moon in beauty.

Verse 5, which is not found in the published records of Śrīchandra, introduces king **Trailōkyachandra** (c. 905-25 A.D.), whose great fame spread over the three worlds, as the son of Suvarṇa-

chandra. Its transcript and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are not free from errors. Trailōkyachandra is here compared once to the moon whose rise caused the oozing away of the moonstone (*indudrīshada*) that were the eyes of [the heroes] captured by him [in battles] or of the [overjoyed] minstrels. He is also said to have been afraid of scandal and to have resembled the evening twilight spreading to the lotus-ponds that were the congregations [of his rivals].¹ Trailōkyā was like the rising clouds to the group of noisy *Chātaka* birds (*i.e.* was liberal to the supplicants). He was also the watcher of the activities of his subjects, and this reminds us of Dilīpa's description in the *Raghvaṃśā* (I. 17) as the restrainer of his subjects from moving away from the right track.

The next stanza (verse 6) is found in some of Śrīchandra's published charters and states that the said king (Trailōkyachandra), being desirous of conquering the earth bounded by the four oceans but having no greed for wealth, destroyed his enemies by his sword (*i.e.* did not release them on receipt of money).

Verse 7 is a new stanza found for the first time in the present record and Gupta Chaudhury has failed to read and interpret it correctly. It may be interpreted as follows: After having conquered **Samataṭa**, Trailōkyachandra's soldiers exclaimed, "That prosperous **Dēvapārvata** lying on the **Kshīrōdā** is this city where the visitor has the feeling of astonishment at the wonderful reports about the **Kambōjas**," and the **Lālambī** forest in the area being searched by hundreds of boatmen, they heard, in conformity with tradition (*itīha*), the tales about superbly efficacious medicinal herbs. The stanza offers much valuable information. In the first place, it speaks of the conquest of the **Samataṭa country**, *i.e.* the present Tippera-Noakhali region in South-East Bengal within East Pakistan, by Trailōkyachandra. A verse in the Rāmpāl plate states how Trailōkyā was the mainstay (*ādihāra*) of the royal fortunes of the king of **Harikēla** (which originally indicated the Sylhet region) and how he became the king of Chandradvīpa (in the present Buckergunge District). Trailōkyachandra's conquest of Samatata seems now to have paved the way for Śrīchandra's rule in Vaṅga and the Sylhet region (Harikēla), though, as we shall see below, Trailōkyachandra had some success against Vaṅga as well. Secondly, the city of Dēvapārvata on the bank of the Kshīrōdā river is indirectly mentioned as the chief city of Samataṭa. We know from the Kailan plate² of Śrīdhāraṇarāta (later part of the seventh century A.D.) and the Tippera plate³ of Bhavadēva (probably the latter half of the ninth century A.D.) that the city of Dēvapārvata on the Kshīrōdā was the capital of the Rāta and Dēva families of Samataṭa. The reference to hundreds of boatmen in the verse under discussion reminds us of the Kailan inscription describing the Kshīrōdā river as *naubhir=aparimitābhīr=uparachīta-kūlā*. As has been said elsewhere, "The Kshīrōdā river is the modern Khīrā or Khīrnai, a dried up river course still traceable as branching off from the Gōmatī just west of the town of Comilla. It flows by the eastern side of the Maināmatī hills and skirts the southern end of the hills near the Chaṇḍimuḍā peak where another branch of the river meets it flowing by the western side of the hills. The river thus surrounds the southern end of the Maināmatī hills, where the ancient hill fort of Dēvapārvata seems to have been situated, and then runs south-west to fall into the Dākātīā river."⁴ Thirdly, the city of Dēvapārvata seems to have suffered from an invasion of the Kambōjas shortly before the advent of the Chandra army. The name Kambōja appears to be the Sanskritised form of the name of the Kōch people of North Bengal and a few kings of this clan are known from their inscriptions to have been ruling in the northern

¹ [The expression may be read as *kamalīnī-suprāta* and understood as (*he was like*) the morning twilight to the lotus-plants that were the assemblies (*of the learned*)—Ed.]

² *JHQ*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff.

³ *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1951, pp. 83 ff.

⁴ *JHQ*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 226-26.

and south-western regions of Bengal in the tenth century A.D.¹ They must have carved out these principalities at the expense of the Pāla emperors. The name of modern Cochbihar (*Kōchanihāra*) associates it with the same Kōch tribe of Tibeto-Burman origin.² Fourthly, Lālambivana, which is no doubt the modern Lālmāi hills near Comilla, seems to have been famous for its medicinal herbs. Its name and mention in the present context show that the suggestion regarding Rōhitāgiri, the original home of the Chandras, being the Sanskritised form of the name Lāl-māi (Lāl-māṭi) is wrong, so that the identification of Rōhitāgiri with modern Rōhtāsagaḍh in the Shahabad District of Bihar is more satisfactory.³

The next stanza (verse 8) is also interesting and is not found in any of Śrīchandra's other grants. There are likewise errors in Gupta Chaudhury's reading and translation of the verse. It says that the forces of the victorious **Trailōkyachandra** enjoyed, out of curiosity, the famous curds of the **Vaṅga** country at the village of **Kṛishṇasīkharin** and its hamlets, next drank the waters of the river **Suruṅgā** and the allied streams in the forests girdling **Mt. Vindhya** and finally reached **Mt. Malaya** where their own tumult became mixed up with the dull sound of the streams of the waters of the **Kāvērī** tumbling over the rocks on the peaks. This is the conventional account of Trailōkyachandra's *digvijaya* in the secondary *chakravarti-kshēra* of South India which seems to be described here as bounded by the Vaṅga country, the Vindhya and Malaya mountain ranges and the river Kāvērī.⁴ Normally such a claim would have little historical basis and would merely indicate the fact that Trailōkyachandra claimed to be an independent monarch. But the reference to a particular locality in Vaṅga and a particular river in the Vindhya seems to lend a historical colouring to the claim. The poet associates the Kāvērī with the Malaya (the Travancore hills and the southern fringe of the Western Ghāts) as Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti do.⁵ The village of Kṛishṇasīkharin in the Vaṅga country and the Suruṅgā-nadī flowing through the Vindhyan region do not appear to be known from any other source. It seems that the curds of Vaṅga, in which the division (*bhāga*) of Vikramapura (in the Dacca District) was situated according to medieval records,⁶ had a name in Chandradvīpa (in the Buckergunge District) which was Trailōkyachandra's original dominion.

Verse 9 introduces Trailōkyā's beloved queen named **Kāñchikā**. The stanza, with some variations, occurs in several other records of Śrīchandra, though the queen's name in all those cases is Kāñchanā and not Kāñchikā. The queen was probably known by both the names, Kāñchanā being apparently more popular than Kāñchikā. Verse 10, found also in several other records, introduces Śrīchandra as the son of Trailōkyachandra, comparable to Indra, from the said queen, and states that the prince was born on the auspicious configuration of planets called *Rāja-yōga*. Verse 11 is likewise found in some other grants of Śrīchandra and says that **Śrīchandra** brought the earth under his sole umbrella and put all his enemies in the prison-houses.

¹ See the Bānggaḍh pillar inscription of Kuñjaragaḥāvarsha, the lord of Gauḍa, belonging to the Kambōja race (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1726) and the Irda (Balasore District, Orissa) plate of the Buddhist *P. M. P.* Nayapāla who belonged to the Kambōja family, was the younger brother of the chief Nārāyanapāla and the successor of *M. P. P.* Rājyapāla, was born of the queen Bhāgyadēvī and granted land in the Daṇḍabhukti-raṇḍala in the Vardhamāna-bhukti (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.).

² The Koch people now call themselves Rājavanśī. See G. C. Whitworth, *Anglo-Indian Dict.*, 1885, p. 167. Another Mongoloid people called Mēch ruled Assam from the middle of the 7th to the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Their tribal name was Sanskritised as Mēchcha. The contributions of these Mongoloids to East Indian culture was augmented by the Ahom conquest of Assam in the thirteenth century.

³ Cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 194.

⁴ Cf. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 13-15.

⁵ See *Raghuvamśa*, IV. 45-46; *Mahāvīracharita*, V. 3. The Kāvērī flows through Coorg, South Mysore and the Coimbatore, Salent, Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts.

⁶ Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 125, 137, 146.

The following three stanzas (verses 12-14) are not found in any of the other charters of Śrīchandra and their text and translation published by Gupta Chaudhury are erroneous as usual. Verse 12 says that Śrīchandra's forces, in the course of their conquest of the **Kāmarūpa** country (the eastern parts of Assam) entered the woodlands near the **Lōhitya** (*i.e.* the Brahmaputra) which were covered by the clouds that were the flying she-pigeons, had banana groves that were tawny owing to the ripening of the fruits or leaves and in which monkeys were roaming, had many plains on which drowsy yaks were ruminating leisurely, and were dark owing to the black aloe trees. The importance of the verse lies in the fact that it refers to an invasion of Kāmarūpa by Śrīchandra, which is not mentioned in any of his published records, even though the Paśchimbhāg plate seems to be one of his earliest grants. But, as we shall see below, the copper-plate grants of his successors refer to his success against the king of Prāgyōtisha, *i.e.* a ruler of the Mlēcchha (Mēch) or Sālastambha dynasty of Assam.

Verse 13 states that Śrīchandra's soldiers, in their eagerness to conquer **Uttarāpatha**, recited the following: "This is that **Chitraśilā** river covered with beautiful storax plants and this is the river **Pushpabhadra** marked by valleys full of the rustling sound of the palmyra leaves", as if they were learned Brāhmanas reciting, for a long time, hymns at the proper hours at the sight of the local deities of the **Himagiri** (Himalayas). Of the two rivers, the Chitraśilā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the Pushpabhadra in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*,¹ the latter now being a small stream to the north of the Brahmaputra near Gauhati.² It is well known that Uttarāpatha was the name of the northern division of India, which included the Himalayan region. The author of the inscription apparently locates the Kāmarūpa country (also called Prāgyōtisha) in Uttarāpatha. This is supported by the *Mahābhārata* and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, while the Purānas and later works like Rājasēkhara's *Kāvijamīmāṃsā* locate Kāmarūpa or Prāgyōtisha in the eastern division.³ Like verse 12, this stanza also refers to Śrīchandra's invasion of Assam.

Verse 14 states how king Śrīchandra propitiated the god of war by his own deeds of valour and brushed off the *patrāṅguti* (lines of painting drawn with a finger dipped in coloured sandal paste, etc.) decoration on the breasts of the **Yavana** women, made the cheeks and abdomen of the **Hūna** women covered by the wounds of scarification carried out in grief, and put an end to the fickleness in the glances of **Utkala** women intoxicated by toddy. Here we have an indirect reference to Śrīchandra's victory over the Yavanas (some foreign people, probably meaning here the Arab Muhammadans occupying the lower Indus valley), Hūnas (settled in the western and north-western regions of India) and Utkalas (people of Orissa), though the language appears to indicate the poet's skill in versification rather than his love for historical truth. The womenfolk of the Yavana and Utkala countries are described as fond respectively of painting their breasts and of drinking toddy. It may be mentioned here that painting the breasts, etc., was quite popular with Indian women,⁴ though we are not sure whether the custom was also prevalent among foreigners. More interesting is the custom of the Hūna widows scarifying their cheeks and the lower front of their body especially because Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 68) speaks of the same custom of *kapōla-pāṭana* (scarification of the cheeks) as popular with the Hūna widows.⁵ The purpose of the Hūna custom, known to have been popular with the Turkish peoples, was probably to render the widows ugly so that nobody may be eager to woo them.

¹ See Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *chitra* (*Mahābhārata*, VI. 9.30) and *pushpa*.

² Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśūśanāvalī*, p. 168.

³ See Sircar, *Cosmography and Geography in Early Indian Literature*, pp. 65, 69, 103.

⁴ Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, XIII. 55. It was also called *patra*, *patravālī*, *patrabhaṅga*, *patrabhaṅgi*, *patralēkhā*, *patravallārī*, etc.

⁵ See *Satābdakavimudī* (Nagpur Museum Centenary Volume), 1964, p. 131.

Verse 15, with which the introductory part of the inscription ends, is found in a few of Śrīchandra's other grants. It says that the multitude of dust arising as a result of the Chandra king's battles reached the heavens and there it was received by the Elephants of the Quarters who have a longing for it, but that it was avoided by the gods who remained at a distance because of their inability to shut their eyes, and also that it lent a false whiteness to the black hair of the heavenly damsels.

The above introductory section is followed by the text of the grant proper in prose in lines 25-56. It is a remarkable document of great importance for the reconstruction of the cultural history of Eastern India.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at **Vikramapura** (line 25) which lay in Vaṅga and to which the Chandra capital must have been transferred from Chandradvīpa before the 5th regnal year of Śrīchandra. The donor of the grant is then introduced as *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Śrīchandrādēva* who meditated on (or, was favoured by) the feet of *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Trailōkyachandrādēva* (lines 25-27). It may be noticed that, in the other grants of Śrīchandra, his father is mentioned only with the title *Mahārājādhirāja*, though he is endowed with the full imperial style in the present epigraph. The donor's address in respect of the grant is then issued to the people associated with (*samupāgata*)¹ the three *vishayas* or districts of **Garalā**, **Pōgāra** and **Chandrapura** together with the tract called **Avēḍikā** attached to **Sātalavargga**, all within the *maṇḍala* (division) of **Śrīhaṭṭa** (Sylhet) belonging to the *bhukti* or province of **Paṇḍravardhana** (lines 27-28). It is well known that the territory of Paṇḍravardhana originally comprised the districts of North Bengal and had its headquarters at modern Mahasthan in the Bogra District of East Pakistan, though its jurisdiction later extended, probably due to the expansion of the Pāla empire, over Vaṅga comprising the *bhāga* of Vikramapura in the Dacca region and also over the Khāḍī-vishaya in the present 24-Parganas District.² Recently the Mehar plate³ showed that Samataṭa formed a part of the same Paṇḍravardhana-bhukti, and we now learn from the Paśchimbhāg plate that the said *bhukti* also included the Śrīhaṭṭa-maṇḍala.

As in the other records of Śrīchandra, the people addressed by the king are enumerated in lines 28-33 as follows: *Rājñī*, *Rānaka*, *Rājaputra*, *Mahāsāndhivigrahika*, *Mahāsainyapati*, *Mahāmudrālikhikṛita*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Pādamūlika*, *Mahāpratīhāra*, *Mahātantvālikhikṛita*, *Mahāsarvālikhikṛita*, *Mahābalālikhikarāyika*, *Mahāvīyūhapati*, *Maṇḍalapati*, *Kōṭṭapāla*, *Dauḥsālhasādhanika*, *Chaurōdiharaṇika*, *Naubala-hasty-aśva-gō-mahish-āj-āvīk-ādi-vyāpṛita*, *Gaulmika*, *Saulkika*, *Dāṇḍika*, *Dāṇḍapāśika*, *Dāṇḍanāyaka*, *Vishayapati*, etc., and others mentioned in the *adhyakshaprachāra*, but not indicated in the grant, such as officials of the categories of *Chāṭa* and *Bhāṭa*, the rural folk and agriculturists headed by the Brāhmaṇas.⁴ These were duly honoured, exhorted and ordered in respect of the grant made.

It is then stated that the said three *vishayas* were bounded in the east by the embankment at **Bṛihatkōṭṭa** (literally, 'the big fort'), in the south by the **Maṇi-nadī**, in the west by the canals called **Jujjū** and **Kāshṭhapanṇī** and the river called **Vētraghāṭī** and in the north by the **Kōsiyāra-nadī** (lines 34-35). Of these, the Kōsiyāra is the well-known Kusi-yāra river

¹ Cf. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 161 ff.; above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287 ff.

² See above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 182-91.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 182 ff.

⁴ For the official designations, see Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v.; also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351 ff.

running through the Sylhet District and the big area, comprising more than three *vishayas* and forming the gift land, was situated to the south of the said river. According to Gupta Chaudhury, this river is mentioned as Kauśikā in the Nidhanpur plates¹ and the Chandrapurī-vishaya known from that record is the same as the Chandrapura-vishaya of the present epigraph. It should be noted, however, that the Nidhanpur plates mention the *agrahāra-kshētra* of Mayūrasālmala in the Chandrapurī-vishaya as bounded by the dried up Kauśikā in the east, south-east and north-west. Of the other names, Gupta Chaudhury identifies the Maṇi-nadī with the present Manu river, the Jujjū (read by him as *Jujnu*) canal with the modern Jujnā-chharā and the Vētraghāṭī with the present Ghuṅghī river, all in the Sylhet District. The Manu river rises in the Tippera hills and runs through the Maulavi Bazar Subdivision. The Jujnā-chharā is a small stream rising from the hills on the western border of Maulavi Bazar and flowing through the Habiganj Subdivision. Gupta Chaudhury says that, in the same region, there are two rivers called Bātari and Ghuṅgī² and that the name of the former may be reflected in the first part of the old name Vētraghāṅghī. The correct reading of the name is, however, Vētraghāṭī.

Next it is stated that the area within the said boundaries was transformed into a *brahmapura* (Brāhmaṇa settlement) which was given the name Śrīchandrapura no doubt after the king's name (lines 35-36). In the said Śrīchandrapura, the following grants of land were then announced :—

The first block of land measuring 120 *pāṭakas* was granted to the god Brahman for his *maṭha* or temple, the existence of which in Sylhet during the 10th century is of considerable importance because the independent worship of the said god was not popular in ancient and medieval India.³ Moreover, the details of the grant of the 120 *pāṭakas* of land, as given in the charter, show that the *maṭha* was a big religious establishment. Out of the said land, 10 *pāṭakas* (each measuring 10 *drōṇas*) were allotted to a teacher for exposition of the *Chāndra* (i. e. the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa* or the grammar of Chandragōmin); 10 *pāṭakas* for the *pālī* (maintenance) and *ghuṭīkā* (chalk, probably including other necessities of the type) of 10 students; 5 *pāṭakas* for the daily offering of food to 5 guest (*apūrva-atīthi*) Brāhmaṇas; 1 *pāṭaka* to the Brāhmaṇa who built (or supervised the building of) the temple; 1 *pāṭaka* to the accountant or astrologer (*gaṇaka*); 2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe (*kāyastha*); ½ *pāṭaka* to each one of the 4 florists (*mālākāra*), 2 oilmen (*tailīka*), 2 potters (*kumbhakāra*), 5 players on the drum called *kāhalā* (*kāhalīka*), 2 conch-shell blowers (*śaṅkha-vādaka*), 2 players on the big drum called *dhakkā*, 8 players on the *drāgaḍa* (kettle-drum), 22 servants (*karmakāra*) and cobblers (*chamakāra*) (i.e. in all 23½ *pāṭakas*); 2 *pāṭakas* to the dancer (*naṭa*); 2 *pāṭakas* to each of the 2 carpenters (*sūtradhāra*), 2 masons (*sthapati*) and 2 blacksmiths (*karmakāra*) (i.e. in all 12 *pāṭakas*); ¾ *pāṭaka* to each of the 8 maid-servants (*chhēṭikā*, probably *dēvadāsī*) (i.e. 6 *pāṭakas* in all); and 47 *pāṭakas* for repairs (*navakarman*) to be carried in the temple establishment. This accounts for 120 *pāṭakas* (lines 36-42).

It is interesting to note that a Brāhmaṇa, whose name is not mentioned, may have been the founder of the *maṭha* and may have arranged for the creation of the free holding in favour of the temple by depositing the usual fees to the king's treasury.⁴ The allotment of a plot of land to him reminds us of a similar provision made in the Kailan plate.⁵ The mention of a *pāṭaka* as made of 10 *drōṇas* is interesting since the Gunaighar (Tippera District) plate of 507 A. D. mentions a

¹ P. N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, 26.

² See his paper in the *Yugabhāṣī* (Sylhet) dated 14.8.1964.

³ *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 365-66.

⁴ Cf. *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 114 ff. As suggested above, this Brāhmaṇa may have also been the supervisor of the building of the *maṭha*.

⁵ *JHQ*, Vol. XXIII, p. 236.

pāṭaka equal to 40 *drōṇa-vāpas* (*drōṇas*).¹ The *pāṭaka* of the present inscription was therefore $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *pāṭaka* of the Gunaighar plate if of course the *drōṇa* or *drōṇa-vāpa* indicated the same area in both the cases. The *drōṇa-vāpa* seems to have been originally equal to about 5 *bighās* or a little more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ acres.² If such was the case, the *pāṭaka* of the present epigraph was not less than 15 acres and 120 *pāṭakas* at least about 1800 acres. Another interesting fact to note in this section is the reference to the popularity of the *Chāndra-vyākaraṇa*. This reminds us of the tradition according to which its author, the celebrated Buddhist savant Chandragōmin (5th-6th century A. D.), lived in Chandradvīpa, the original Chandra territory, for some years.³

The second block of land measuring 280 *pāṭakas* was granted in favour of the gods **Vaiśvānara** (Agni), **Yōgēśvara** (aspect of Śiva),⁴ **Jaimani** (often called Jaimini in other works) and **Mahākāla** (aspect of Śiva) worshipped in the four *dēśāntarīya* (foreign) *maṭhas* and the four *Vaṅgāla maṭhas*. The installation of the same group of four deities in two adjacent establishments is curious. It seems that all the temples were raised at the time of the creation of the *sāsana*. The reference to the temple of the fire-god Agni-Vaiśvānara is interesting, since there is little evidence of the independent worship of this deity. The reference to Jaimani's temple is, however, still more interesting, because it was hardly known so far that the celebrated founder of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school of philosophy was deified and worshipped. Of course, the deification is not unnatural since we hear of the existence of a temple at Gaṅgāsāgara at the mouth of the Bhāgīrathī, in which Kapila, the founder of the Sāṅkhya system of philosophy, was under worship.⁵ But Kapila's worship at the junction of the Gaṅgā and the sea may be explained by the fact that, according to tradition, he was indirectly responsible for the expansion of the sea.⁶ Whether there was any local tradition associating Jaimani with Sylhet cannot, however, be determined. Another interesting point in this section is the reference to a group of four *Vaṅgāla-maṭhas* which was distinguished from another category of *maṭhas* called *dēśāntarīya* or foreign. We know that Chandradvīpa, of which Śrīchandra's father became king, was also known as *Vaṅgāladēśa* and that the name *Vaṅgāla* gradually extended over wide areas of Eastern Bengal with the expansion of the Chandra dominions.⁷ It is thus possible that the *Vaṅgāla-maṭhas* of Sylhet were run by certain priests of Śrīchandra's home territory of *Vaṅgāla* or Chandradvīpa. It is interesting to remember in this connection that Śrīchandra issued his Madanpur charter in favour of a Brāhmaṇa who was an inhabitant of the king's own country (*ēka-dēśa-bhava*),⁸ probably meaning Chandradvīpa. The *dēśāntarīya* temples were probably run by priests who came from outside the Chandra kingdom.

The details of the distribution of the 280 *pāṭakas* given in lines 42-47 speak of the following persons attached to the two groups of four *maṭhas* each referred to above: 10 *pāṭakas* to each of the 8 teachers of the 4 Vēdas, viz. *Rik*, *Yajus*, *Sāman* and *Atharvan* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all); 5 *pāṭakas* for each group of 5 students in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 40 *pāṭakas*); $\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭaka* to each of the following in each of the eight *maṭhas* — the florist, the barber (*nāpīta*), the oilman and the washerman (*rajaka*) and the 8 servants and cobblers (i.e. $16 + 32 = 48$ *pāṭakas*); $\frac{3}{4}$ *pāṭaka* to each of the 2 maidservants or *dēva dāsīs* in each of the 8 *maṭhas* (i.e. 12 *pāṭakas* in all); 10 *pāṭakas*

¹ See *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 416.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 414.

³ See *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar, pp. 296 ff.; *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, ed. Sircar, p. 130.

⁴ Since the absence of Vishṇu among the deities worshipped in the area is not easy to explain, Yōgēśvara here may also have been an aspect of Vishṇu instead of Śiva.

⁵ Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 181-82.

⁶ Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, XIII. 3.

⁷ *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 132. *Vaṅgāla* seems to have been the original territory also of the Pālas.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 58, text line 35.

for repairs to each one of the 8 *mathas* (i.e. 80 *pāṭakas* in all); 2 *pāṭakas* to the Mahattara-Brāhmaṇa (probably, chief priest) in each of the 2 groups of *mathas* (i.e. 4 *pāṭakas* in all); 1½ *pāṭakas* to the superintendent (*vārika*) of each of the 2 groups of *mathas* (i.e. 3 *pāṭakas* in all); 2½ *pāṭakas* to the scribe of each of the 2 groups of *mathas* (i.e. 5 *pāṭakas*); 1 *pāṭaka* to the astrologer or accountant of each of the 2 groups of *mathas* (i.e. 2 *pāṭakas*); and 3 *pāṭakas* to the physician (*vaidya*) attached to each of the 2 groups of *mathas* (i.e. 6 *pāṭakas*). This accounts for 280 *pāṭakas*.

The two groups of 4 *mathas* each were big religious and educational establishments, each group receiving 140 *pāṭakas* of land whereas the similar *matha* of the god Brahman alone received 120 *pāṭakas*. The existence of such institutions is sometimes referred to in South Indian epigraphs, e.g. the Gōlakī-*matha* in the Malkapuram inscription,¹ and we have there even now similar establishments like that of the god Vēnkaṭeśvara at Tirupati in the Chittur District, Andhra Pradesh. Although there must have been similar institutions in Northern India, they are rarely mentioned in literary and epigraphic records so that the present record is of great importance to the student of East Indian history.

The **third block of land** that was left over after the distribution of the first and second blocks (measuring $120 + 280 = 400$ *pāṭakas*) was granted in favour of 6000 Brāhmaṇas headed by the following 37 names — Vāvusadatta, Harsha, Śekhara, Viśvarūpa, Bhānudatta, Īśāna, Dhanyanāga, Nandayāśas, Chaṅga, Gōvardhana, Siṃhadatta, Kamalanandin, Savitāra, Māṇikyā, Kāmukā, Bhīmapāla, Annata, Vatsadhara, Nandaghōsha, Śrīdhara, Rāma, Śivabandhu, Maṅgala, Vēdō, Dhavala, Viśṇudatta, Śāntidāman, Gargaśarman, Mahīndrasōma, Ravikara, Bhānu, Nārāyaṇa, [Jyēshṭha ?]gupta, Śaśidatta, Hari, Jayadatta and Garga. The Brāhmaṇa donees belonged to various *gōtras* and *pravaras* and were the students of different *śākhās* of the four *śharāṇas*. The 6000 Brāhmaṇas received 6000 equal shares (lines 47-51). An interesting feature of the names of the 38 Brāhmaṇas quoted above shows that the family names of many of them were stereotyped name-endings and were such as are prevalent now among the non-Brāhmaṇa communities of Bengal, e.g. Datta, Nāga, Nandin, Pāla, Dhara, Ghōsha, Dāman, Sōma, Kara and Gupta, the only typical Brāhmaṇa surname being Śarman. It has been suggested that most of these Brāhmaṇas having the present non-Brāhmaṇa cognomens were later merged in the non-Brāhmaṇa communities like the Vaidya and Kāyastha.²

In lines 51-56, it is stated that the grant of the three *viśhayas* together with Avēdikā and with the boundaries demarcated as above was made by the king by means of the copper-plate charter in accordance with the principle of *bhūmi-chechhidra-nyāya* with libations of water as a permanent gift lasting as long as the moon, sun and earth would endure in favour of the gods **Brahman, Agni (Vaiśvānara), Yōgēśvara, Jaimani and Mahākāla as well as of 6000 Brāhmaṇas** with the following privileges and conditions—*sa-tala, s-ōddēśa, s-āmrapanasa, sa-guvāka-nālikēra, sa-jala-sthala, sa-gart-ōshara, sa-daś-āparādha, sa-chōr-ōddharaṇa, parihrita-sarva-pīṭa, a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśa, a-kīñchid-grāhya, samasta-rājabhōga-kara-hiṇaṇya-vratyāya-sahita* (together with all the income enjoyed by the king in the shape of taxes in kind and in cash), *ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjita* (excluding the land in the possession of Buddhist establishments) and also excluding the land measuring 52 *pāṭakas* of 10 *drōṇas* each, which was attached to Indrēśvara's boat-station. It is further said that the grant was made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donor and his parents in the name of **Lord Buddha** on the occasion of the **Śrāvāṇa-ravi-saṅkrānti** and that the declaration in this respect was made by the king through the *Dūtaka* (executor) who was the *Mahāmudrādhikṛita-Śubhāṅga*.³

¹ *JAHRS*, Vol. IV, pp. 158-62.

² Cf. *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 424.

³ For the official designations and other technical expressions, see *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, s.v., also *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 351 ff., 388 ff.

The cultivators and Brāhmaṇas of the countryside (meaning the people living in the *śāsana*) are then advised to be submissive to the donees and to pay them the proper dues. The *bhōgapatis* (landlords such as governors, *jāgīrdārs*, etc.) of the future are also requested to approve of the grant and protect it considering the greatness of the merit accruing to gifts and the fear of going to hell as a result of their abrogation. The date is then quoted as **year 5, Vaiśākha-dina 5** (lines 56-58).

Lines 59-63 contain five of the usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 16-20). Verse 21 says that the **Chandrapura** (correctly, Śrīchandrapura) *śāsana* of king Śrīchandradēva was created through the *Dūtaka* Śubhāṅga whose family hailed from a locality called Sālavarendri. It is difficult to say whether this name has anything to do with Varēndra or Varēndrī, the medieval name of North Bengal. Verse 22 is important because it says that a Vaishṇava Brāhmaṇa named Vināyaka was responsible for settling the 6000 Brāhmaṇas in the Śrīchandrapura-śāsana. This means that Vināyaka paid the requisite fees to the State for making the land allotted to the Brāhmaṇas a rent-free holding. The last stanza (verse 23), which Gupta Chaudhury has misunderstood, states that the artisan Haradāsa was the engraver of the charter and that even the God of Creation (Brahman) has made such beautiful things only on rare occasions. The record ends with the letters *sāndhi-ni* which remind us of similar abbreviated endorsements at the end of other East Indian records, e.g. *ni* (i.e. *śrī-ni*) *anu mahāksha-ni* (i.e. examined and approved by the king and thereafter examined and approved by the *Mahākshapaṭalika*) in the Belabo plate.¹ *Sāndhi-ni* means *Sāndhivigrahika-nirīkshita*, 'examined and approved by the Minister of War and Peace': Gupta Chaudhury reads *anu* after the above endorsement apparently due to confusion. Actually there are no such *aksharas* at the end of the document, though faint traces show that some *aksharas* may have been engraved in this part and then erased.

The historical value of the inscription has already been discussed. Of the many **geographical names** mentioned in it, only some can be identified and their identification has also been indicated above. But the attention of scholars may be drawn to some additional information about Śrīchandra and his father and successors in four hitherto unpublished charters discovered recently in East Pakistan.² The said four copper-plate grants are— (1) Dacca plate of Kalyānachandra, son of Śrīchandra, issued in year 24; (2-3) 2 Maināmatī plates of Laḍahachandra, son of Kalyānachandra; and (4) Maināmatī plate of Gōvindachandra, son of Laḍahachandra. The three kings who issued the charters are introduced in the records as (1) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirājā-śrī-Śrīchandradēva-pād-ānudhyātāḥ Paramēśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājāḥ śrīmān Kalyānachandradēvaḥ*; (2) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirājā-śrī-Kalyānachandradēva-pād-ānudhyātāḥ Paramēśvaraḥ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirājāḥ śrīmān Laḍahachandradēvaḥ*; (3) *Paramasaugatō Mahārājādhirājā-śrī-Laḍahachandradēva-pād-ānudhyātāḥ Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭārakō Mahārājādhirājāḥ śrīmān Gōvindachandradēvaḥ*.

The following two stanzas are found in the description of **Trailōkyachandra**, the first in the grant of Kalyānachandra and the second in that of Laḍahachandra.

1. *Gauḍānām=apachūḍam=añjulimayō hastēshu drishṭō na chēd=bandhas=tarhi kathōra-śrīnkhalamayāḥ pādēshu saṁrōpitāḥ |
aṅgais=sārdham=agūt prañāma-rabhasān=mūrdhnā dharitrīn=na chēd=yēn=ābhyunnata-karkasēna sahasā khaḍgēna nītas=tadā ||*
2. *tasy=ābhyunnati-śālināḥ prachayinō Vaṅgasya muktā-manvīḥ
khyātāḥ kshamā-valay-aika-nāṅyakatayā Trailōkyachandrō nripāḥ |*

See *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 328.

¹ *Proc. IHC*, 1960, Aligarh, Part I, pp. 36-44; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. 67, pp. 1-7. *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 661 ff. Three of the inscriptions are said to have been recently published in Pakistan.

*akshudrah parīśuddhimān=ṅīpa-śata-trāsaḥ svṛitō guṇa-
grāhyaḥ puriyatamō babbhūva jagataḥ prītyai cha bhūtyai cha yaḥ ||*

The first of these two stanzas speaks of Trailōkyachandra's success against the **Gauḍas** (no doubt meaning the Pāla emperor) while the second describes him as the jewel of the **Vaṅga** country. About Trailōkyachandra's time (c. 905-25 A. D.), the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A. D.) conquered wide areas at least of South Bihar and North Bengal from the Pāla king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 855-910 A. D.) and rendered the latter's position precarious. It is possible that Trailōkyachandra sided with Mahēndrapāla against Nārāyaṇapāla and succeeded in annexing parts of Vaṅga to his original territory of Chandradvīpa or Vaṅgāla in the Buckergunge region. As we have seen above, the Paśchimbhāg plate speaks of his conquest of Samatāṭa.

Likewise king **Śrichandra** is described in the following two stanzas, the first occurring in the record of Kalyāṇachandra and the second in the inscriptions of Laḍahachandra.

1. *Prīthvīpāla-bhaya-pramārjana-vidhāv=ārdrāḥ kāḥōra-kraṇaḥ |
Gōvarṇa-ḍnmathanē mahōtsava-gurur=Gōpāla-samrōpanē |
līlā-nirjīta-ruddha-Pāla-mahīshī-pratyarpanē sa-trapō
yasy=ānēka-ras-āspadam sukṛitīnō viśv-āvalambō bhujāḥ ||*
2. *Prāgjyōtīsh-ēśvara-vadhū-jana-lōchanānām
bāshpa-vyaya-vratam=akhaṇḍitam=ātatāna |
Gauḍ-āvarōdha-vanī-ādharā-pallavānī
chakrē cha yō vigalīta-smīta-kuḍmalānī ||*

The second of these two verses speaks vaguely of Śrichandra's success against **Prāgjyōtīsha** (*i.e.* Kāmarūpa) and Gauḍa, the first of the two achievements being known also from the Paśchimbhāg plate. His relations with the **Gauḍas** (*i.e.* the Pālas) are also referred to in the first of the two stanzas quoted above. It is stated that Śrichandra (c. 925-75 A.D.) was soft in removing the fears of other kings (or of a ruler named Prīthvīpāla) and harsh in destroying **Gōvarṇa**, initiated rejoicing by installing **Gōpāla** on the throne and exhibited bashfulness in the matter of returning the **queen of the Pāla king** to her husband whom he had easily defeated and captured. Whether Gōvarṇa is the name of a person or a locality or fort cannot be determined. But Gōpāla, whom the Chandra king claims to have installed on the throne is no doubt Gōpāla II (c. 940-60 A.D.) who was the grandson of Nārāyaṇapāla. It may be that there was a struggle for the Pāla throne between Gōpāla II and another claimant and the Chandra king supported the former. In such a case, it may be the rival of Gōpāla II who is stated to have been captured by Śrichandra in the third foot of the verse, even though his name does not appear in the Pāla records so far discovered. If, however, Gōpāla was a friend of Śrichandra about the time of his accession, the relationship between the two soon became hostile as is indicated by the discovery of an image inscription of the first regnal year of Gōpāla II from Mandhuk in the Tippera District (ancient Samatāṭa) considered along with the issue of Śrichandra's charters from Vikramapura in the Dacca District and his father's claim to have occupied Vaṅga and conquered Samatāṭa. Or does it mean that the Chandras occasionally acknowledged nominal suzerainty of the Pālas ?¹

A stanza describing **Kalyāṇachandra** in the grants of Laḍahachandra, and another describing the same king in the grant of Gōvindachandra run as follows :

1. *Mlēchchhīnām nayanēshu yēna janītaḥ sthūl-āsru-kōśa-vyayō
Gauḍīnām smīta-chandrikā-virahinaḥ śrīshītās=cha vaktr-ēndavaḥ |*

¹ See *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 55 ff. The dates of the Bāghaurā and Nārāyaṇpur (Tippera District) image inscriptions, viz. years 3 and 4 of Mahīpāla (*i.e.* the Pāla king Mahīpāla I, c. 990-1040 A.D.) have also to be studied in the context of the Chandra occupation of Samatāṭa.

*ātastāra nijair=yaśōbhīr=amalaīr=ashtāv=anashṭ-ōdayair=
yaś=ch=aitāḥ śaśabhṛit-karaīr=iva ghana-tyāga-prakāśai=diśaḥ ||*

2. *yēn=āsāu dviguṇīkṛitaḥ pati-vadhād=udvējitānām ghanai=
Mlēcchhīnām nayan-āmbubhīr=vigalitair=Lauhitya-nāmā nadaḥ |
yēn=ājau gaja-vāji-patti-bahulām sēnām grihāvā balād=
Gaudānām=adhīpaḥ kṛitaś=cha suchiraṁ lajj-āvanam-ānanah ||*

In both the stanzas, king Kalyānachandra is stated to have had some success against the **Gauḍas** or Pālas and the **Mlēcchhas** or kings of the Mlēcchha (*i.e.* Mēch) ruling family of Assam founded by Śālastambha about the middle of the 7th century.¹ It is however difficult to say whether these achievements belonged to Kalyānachandra's own reign or to his father's.

The following two stanzas describe king **Laḍahachandra** (c. 1000-20 A.D.) who was born of a merchant's daughter, was devoted to both the Buddha and the god Viṣṇu and installed a deity called Laḍahamādhava-bhaṭṭāraka. The religious policy of Laḍahachandra shows how the Buddhists of Eastern India were gradually merging themselves in the Hindu community during the early medieval period.² The conception of the Buddha as an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu seems to have been accepted by the Buddhist laymen in this age.

1. *yō=ntar-magnaś=cha pāraṁ param=upagamitaś=ch=āśu vidyā-nadīnām
dōshnā yaḥ khyāta-vīryō jagad-avana-mahānātikā-nāyakēna |
kshauṇḍbhīrīn-maulī-mālā-parimala-surabhībhūta-pād-ābja-rēnur=
yaś=ch=ānany-ātapatrām=akṛita vasumatīm=aprayāsād=ahōbhīḥ ||*
2. *Vārāṇasyām=ayāsīt saha Girīsutayā Sambhun=ādhyāsītāyām=
asnāsīt=tatra Gāṅgē payasi suvimalē svān=atārpit=pitṛiṁś=cha |
pāṇau pāṇau dvijānām=atha kanakam=adāt=tasya kō vētti saṁkhyām
saṁkhyāvān=ēka ēva tribhuvana-tilakaḥ kshamā-patir=dhik tad-anyaṁ. ||*

The first of these two verses speaks of Laḍahachandra as a learned man. There may be some truth in this statement, since a few of his poems have found a place in the Sanskrit anthologies.³ The second verse states that Laḍahachandra visited the Śaiva *tīrtha* of **Vārāṇasī** (in U. P.) on pilgrimage and took a bath there in the holy waters of the **Gāṅgā** and also offered *tarpana* (oblations of water) to his dead ancestors and much gold to the Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to remember that the Chandra king, who was a Buddhist-Vaiṣṇava theoretically, refers to the Vārāṇasī *tīrtha* visited by him as the abode of **Śiva and Pārvatī** although the place was also sacred to the Buddhists because the Buddha turned there the Wheel of Law (*Dharmachakra-pravartana*). Laḍahachandra being a contemporary of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I (c. 990-1040 A.D.), it is difficult to understand how he could have travelled, apparently through the Pāla kingdom, without the permission of Mahīpāla I. It therefore seems that, in spite of their claim to independent and imperial status, the Chandras were often no better than subordinate allies of the Pālas. Laḍahachandra visited Vārāṇasī probably while fighting on Mahīpāla's side against Kalachuri Gāṅgēya for the occupation of Eastern U. P. between 1019 A.D. (the date of the manuscript of the *Rāmāyana* copied in Tirabhukti or North Bihar during the occupation of Gāṅgēya) and 1026 A.D. (the date of the Sarnath inscription of the time of Mahīpāla I).⁴

¹ Mēch is another name of the Bodo tribe living on the Bhūtan frontier. See Whitworth, *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, pp. 48, 202.

² See *Bhar. Vid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 55 ff.

³ Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 339, note 7.

⁴ Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, 1951, p. 27.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 2, 9, 16-17, 19, 23 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 3-4, 6, 10-11 *Upajāti* ; verses 5, 7-8, 12-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 18 *Śālinī* ; verse 20 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 21-22 *Arjā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² svasti | Vandyō **Jinas**=sa bhagavān karuṇa-ika-pātran=**Dharmmō**=py-asau vi-
 2 jayatē jagad-ēka-dīpaḥ | yat-sēvayā sakala ēva mahānubhāvas=sansāra-³
 3 pāram=upagachchhati Bhikshu-**saṅghaḥ** || [1*] **Pūrṇachandra** iti śrīmān=āsīn=nāsirajam
 rajah | yasy=āpur=arayō=pūrvvam=ā-
 4 tapatram=apatrapāḥ || [2*] N=āgnau viśuddhō na tul-ādhirūḍhaḥ kintu prakṛity=aiiva
 yutō garimnā | tath=āpi kalyāṇa-su-
 5 varṇa-kalpas=**Suvarṇachandras**=sukṛitī tatō=bhūt || [3*] Darśē=sya mātā kila
 dōhadēna didṛkshamāṇ=ōditam=indu-
 6 [v]imvaiṇ⁴ | suvarṇa-chandrēna hi tōṣhit=ēti Suvarṇachandraṁ yam=udāharanti || [4*]
 Tasmād=vandi-vilōchan-ēndudṛshadān=ui-
 7 syandi-chandr-ōdayaḥ |⁵ kaulīnāt-sa-bhaya=sabhākamalinīsu prāta⁶-sandhy-ātapaḥ |
 trishṇak-chātaka-maṇḍalī-nava[gha]nas-sa-
 8 [m]ya[k]-prajā⁷-yāmikaḥ |⁸ trailōkya-prathit-ōru-kīrttir=ajani **Trailōkyachandrō** nṛipaḥ ||
 [5*] Chatuḥ-payōrāśī-samāpta-pri-
 9 thvī-jay-ābhilāshō viśayēshv=aluvdhaḥ(bdhaḥ) | yuddhōshu nistrīṇsā⁹-latā-jalēna yō vairi-
 vahniṁ śamayāñchakāra || [6*] **Kshīrōdām**=a-
 10 nu¹⁰ **Dēvaparvata** iti śrīmat=tad=ētat=puraṁ yat=āgantu-janasya viśmāya-rasaḥ
Kamvō(mbō)ja-vārtt-ādbhutaḥ | **Lālamvī(mbī)**-vanam=atra nāvi-
 11 ka¹⁰-satair=anviṣṭa-siddh-āushadhi-vyāhārā iti ha śrutās=**Samatātan**=nirjītya yat-sainikaḥ
 || [7*] Bhuktvā [**Va]ṅga**¹¹-dadhīni **Kṛiṣṇaśikha**-
 12 ri-grāmēshu kautūhalāt(lād) **Vindhyasy**=āpy=adhi-mēkhalā-vana-talaṁ pītva
S[u]ruṅgā-nadiḥ | jētur=yasya va(ba)lair=vyagā-

¹ Prepared with the help of estampages supplied by Gupta Chaudhury. All the errors in the published transcripts are not noticed here.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Read *saṁsāra*.

⁴ Read *bimbam*.

⁵ The *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Gupta Chaudhury reads *prāta*[b*]-*sandhy-ātapaḥ* which is metrically defective. [See p. 191, note 1 above.

—Ed.]

⁷ Gupta Chaudhury reads °*ghanas*=*sa chamū* which is metrically wrong. Read *yāmikas=trai*°.

⁸ Read *nistrīṇsā*.

⁹ Gupta Chaudhury reads first *Kshīrōdāmavudēvaparvata* (which is meaningless) and then makes it *Kshīrōdāmru* (which violates the metrical requirement) and speaks of "the venerable mountain (i.e. the Mandara mountain) in the waters of the Kshīrōda (sea)". Probably he has no knowledge of the Kailan plate of Śrīdhāraṇarāta and the Tippera plate of Bhavadēva, in both of which the city of Dēvaparvata on the river Kshīrōdā is mentioned as the chief city of the Samatāta king.

¹⁰ Gupta Chaudhury reads *vātika* and speaks of 'persons suffering from the morbid affection of the nervous system'. For *n* and *v* in *nāvika*, see *dōhadēna* in line 5 and *nivēśit*° in line 16.

¹¹ Gupta Chaudhury reads *chaṅga* and also fails to notice the reference to the *Kṛiṣṇaśikhari-grāma* and *Surunga-nadi*. The engraver may have originally incised *cha* for *va* and later slightly retouched the *akshara*.

- 13 hi. Malayah śringāpala-prasahala-Kāva(vā)ri-jalavēni-jarjara-rava-vyāmīra-kōlāhalaiḥ
 || [8*] | Indran-iva Mahā-
- 14 ndrasya Bhavasya Bhuvasya yā | tasya śri-Kāñchikā¹ nīma² ca (bā)bhūva-māhīḥī-privā
 || [9*] | Sarajā-yogēna śubhē-muhūrte
- 15 māhūrttikas-sūchīta-riṭa-chihnam(hnam) | avāpa tasyām-tanāyan-pāvāṇā Śichandram-
 mnd-ūpamān-Indra-tejāḥ || [10*] | Ek-ātapa-
- 16 tr-abharānam-bhuvam yō vidhaya vaidhaya-jar-avidhoyah | chakāra kārāsu-nivēsīt-ār-
 yasas-sugandhīm-dīśam-mu-
- 17 khāni || [11*] | Yat-sainyāḥ Eka Kāmarūpa-ujayē rōhatkapōti-ghaṇā nirvishṭāḥ
 bhālapakā³ pinga-kādālī-kunja-
- 18 bhramad-vanārah | Rōmanth-ālāsa-yā (bā)ddhamitra-ehamari-samsevita-prāntarā Lōhityasya
 vanasthālī-pārisarāḥ kalāgu-
- 19 ru-syāmalāḥ || [12*] | S-aishā Chitrasilā manōrama-silā-pushpa-pratān-āchīta tāli-sachchha-
 m(chchha)da-marmmarāḥ pārisarāḥ
- 20 sā Pushpabhadra⁴ nadi | ity-utkanthulam-Uttarāpatha-jayē yat-sainika-srōtriyāḥ
 ādhya-yē pathitāḥ-chiram Himagirau
- 21 drishṭā (shṭvā) sthālī-dēvatāḥ || [13*] | Santōsham ranādēvatān-gamayatā vīry-avadānān-
 mīrāḥ-umrīḥṭam Yama(va)ni-payōdhara-tatē patr-ā-
- 22 ngulī-māndanam(nam) | śoka-prāchēhṭānā⁵ jarjaram vīrachitān Hūnī-kapōl-ōdarān⁶ yēn-
 onmīlītān-Utkālī-nayanayōḥ-tālī-sūrā-
- 23 ghūrtmītān(vam) || [14*] | Sprīḥṭāḥ pārtivā-pāitsu⁷ dōhadarasa-slaghā-ghānam dīg-gajair-
 mēbranam-ammēḥṭāḥ pāḥīrītō dūrenā vī-
- 24 dhārakāḥ | Kēsēḥy-āpsarāsūn-āpūrvvā-pālītā bhīrāntīn⁸ samārōpāyan⁹ saubhānō rajasāḥ
 māgēshu-jayīnō yasya dūyatgga-
- 25 h-āntāḥ || [15*] | sākṭāḥ śrī-Vīramapura-samāvastā-sūmā¹⁰ jaya-śkāndhavarat-paramasat-
 gātā paramesvātū-paramabhāttarako-
- 26 maharājadhīrāja-sū-Trailōkyachandrādēva-pād-anūdhātāḥ paramasaugataḥ paramē-
 svārāḥ-paramabhāttarako-maha-
- 27 rajadhīrājā sūman Śichandrādēvaḥ kusāl | śrī-Paundravandhāna bhukty-antāḥ-pātī-
 Śrīhātā-māndalā-Sāṭalavargga-
- 28 samvādha¹¹ Avedhika-samīta-Garajā-vishaya-Pogara-vishaya-Chāndrapura-
 vishayeshu¹² samupagat-āśēḥa-rajnī¹³ ra-

1 The name is given as Śrī-Kāñchana in the other records.

2 Read *phala-pāka* (or *dhāpāka*). Gupta Chaudhury finds here reference to "monkeys roaming in *bhālāpāka* (i.e. marking nut trees), *Kāpīngā* and plantain groves".

3 Better read *utkanthām*. Gupta Chaudhury fails to notice the reference to the Chitrasilā river in the stanza and interprets Uttarāpatha as the 'northern region'.

4 Gupta Chaudhury reads *prāchēhṭānā* which does not suit the metre. He also misses what the poet says about the Hūnā custom.

5 Read *pāitsu*. Elsewhere we have *slaghā-ghānam-dīg-gajair*.

6 Read *bhīrāntīn*.

7 Read *sambuddh*. Gupta Chaudhury reads *Adhāvēnī kō* here and *Vedhika* in line 52. He also reads *Sāṭalavargga* for *Sāṭalavargga*.

8 Here and in the following lines, the *daṇḍa* has been used in most cases like a hyphen and sometimes like a *sonne*.

Reverse

- 29 naka | rājaputra | mahāsāndhivigrahika | mahāsainyapati | mahāmudrādhikṛita |
- 30 mahākshapatalika | pādāmūlika | mahāpratihāra | mahātantrādhikṛita | mahāsarvādhikṛita | mahāva(ba)lā-
- 31 dhikaraṇika | mahāvvyūhapati | maṇḍalapati | kōṭṭapāla | daussādha-sādhanika | chauro-ddharaṇika | nauva(ba)la-hasty-aśva-gō-mahi-
- 32 sh-ā] āvik-ādi-vyāpṛitaka | gaulmika | śaulkika | dāṇḍika | daṇḍapāsi(śi)ka | dāṇḍanāyaka | vishayapaty-ādīn-anyāms=cha rāja-pād-ō-
- 33 pajivinō=dhyakshaprachār-ōktān=ih=akṛttitān | chāta-bhāta-jātriyān | janapādān kshētra-karāms=cha Vra(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarāv | yathārhan mānaya-
- 34 ti | vō(bō)dhayati | samājñāpayati cha | matam=astu bhavatām(tām) | vishayān=ētān | pūrvvēna Vri(Bri)hatakōṭṭālīh* | simā | dakshinēna Maṇi-nadī simā | pāśchimē-
- 35 na Jujū-khātaka[m*] Kāshthaparṇi-khātaka[m*] Vētraghāṭi-nadī [cha*] | simā | uttarēna Kōsiyāra-nadī simā | ity=ēvān chatuṣ-simā-paryantān sri-Śri-
- 36 **chandrapur-ābhīdhānamvra(m-bra)hmapuram-parikalpya** | ētasmin Śrichandrapurē | **Vra(Bra)hmaṇē** | ētan-matha-pratīva(bā)ddha-Cha(Chā)ndra-vyakhyān-ōpādhyāyasya dā-
- 37 sa-drōnika-daśa-pātakāh | daśa-chehhātrānām pālī-ghuttak-ārthāt² daśa-pātakāh | apūrvva-pāñcha-Vra(Brā)hmaṇānām pratyaham=bhaktan=dātum=pañcha-pā-
- 38 takāh | ētad-adhishṭhāya(na)-kārayituryrā(r-Brā)hmaṇasya pātakāh | ganakasya pātakāh | kāyasthasya s-arddha-pātaka-dvayam(yam) | mālākāra-chatuṣṭa-
- 39 yasya | tailika-dvayasya | kumbhakāra-dvayasya | pañcha-kāhalikānām(nām) | śaṅkha-vādaka-dvayasya | dhakkā-vādaka-dvayasya | ashta-dragadikā-
- 40 nām(nām) | dvāvimsatī³ karmmakāra-charmmakārānān=cha | pratyēkaṁ(kam) arddha-pātakāh | natasya pātaka-dvayam(yam) | sūtradhāra-dvayasya | sthāpati-dvayasya | karmmakā-
- 41 ra-dvayasya cha | pratyēkaṁ pātaka-dvayam(yam) | ashta-vēṭṭikānām⁴ pratyēkaṁ pād-ōna-pātakāh | navakarmma-nimittān=cha sapta-chatvāriṁśat⁵ pātakāh | ē-
- 42 vam=anēna niyamēna viṁśa⁶ty-adhika[m] pātaka-satām(tam) | tathā **dēs-āntariya-mātha-chatuṣṭayē** | **Vaṅgāla-mātha-chatuṣṭayē cha** | **Vaiśvānara-Yōgēśvara-**
- 43 **Jaimani-Mahākālābhyas**-cha || ēshām=ubhayēshām | mātha-pratīva(bā)ddhā⁷-rig-yajus-sām-ātharvv-ōpādhyāyānām=ashtānām pratyēkaṁ daśa-pātakāh | pra-
- 44 ti-mātha-pāñcha-chehhātrānām pañcha-pātakāh | mālākāra-nāpita-tailika-rajakānām(nām) | ashta-karmmakāra-charmmakārānān=cha | pratyēkaṁ(kam) | ardha-
- 45 pātakāh | vē(chē)tti(ti)kā-dvayasya pratyēkaṁ pād-ōna-pātakāh | pratimātha-nna(na)va-karmma-nimittān=cha daśa-pātakāh | pratimātha-chatuṣṭayē cha | ma-

¹ Dā had been originally engraved and then the ā - sign was erased.

² Read *ghuṭik-ārtham*. Gupta Chaudhury reads *pālighattakārtham* and interprets it as 'for the stipends' without reference to any authority.

³ Read *dvāvimsati*.

⁴ Read *chēṭṭikānām*. Gupta Chaudhury reads the word as *vēṭṭikā* both here and in line 45 below and explains it tentatively as 'sweeper of the ma ha'.

⁵ Read *chatvāriṁśat*.

⁶ Read *viṁśa*.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 46 hattara-Vrā(Brā)hmanasya | pātaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | vārikasya s-ārdha-pātakaḥ | kāyasthasya s-ārdha-pātaka-dvayaṁ(yam) | gaṇakasya pātakaḥ | vyai(vai)dyasya pāta-
- 47 ka-trayaṁ(yam) | ēvam=anēna niyamēna | aśity-uttara-pātaka-śata-dvayaṁ(yam) | Vāvusa-datta | Harsha | Śekhara | Viśvarūpa | Bhānudatta¹ | Iśāna |
- 48 Dhanyanāga | Nandayaśaḥ | Chaṅga | Gōvardhana | Śiṅha(Simha)datta | Kamalanandi | Savitāra | Māṅikya | Kāmuka | Bhīmapāla¹ | Annata | Vatsadhara | Nandaghō-
- 49 sha | Śrīdhara | Rāma | Śivava(ba)ndhu | Maṅgala | Vēdō | Dhavala | Vihna(shnu)datta | Śāntidāma | Garggaśarma | Mahīndrasōma | Ravikara | Bhānu | Nārāyaṇa |
- 50 [Jyēshṭha ?] gupta | Śasi(śi)datta | Hari | Jayadatta-Gargg-ādi-shaḍ-Vrā(Brā)hmana-sahasrē-bhyaś=cha | nānā-gōtra-pravarēbhyaḥ | chatuś-charaṇa-nānā-śākh-ādhyāyibhyaḥ |
- 51 sama-vibhāgēna śōsha-bhūmiḥ | ity=ēvaṁ(vam) | **Vra(Bra)hma¹ | Agni | Yōgēśvara | Jai-**
mani-Mahākālēbhyaḥ|shaḍ-Vrā(Brā)hmana-sahasrēbhyaś=cha || upari-likhita-
- 52 śim-āvachehhin-Āvēdikā-samēta-vishayā ētē | sa-talāḥ | s-ōddēśāḥ | s-āmra-panasāḥ | sa-guvā[ka*]-nālikērāḥ | sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-gartt-ōsharāḥ | sa-
- 53 daś-āparādhāḥ | sa-chōr-ōddharanāḥ | parihrita-sarvva-pīḍāḥ | a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśāḥ | a-kiñchid-grāhyāḥ | samasta-rāja-bhōgā-kara-hiranya-pa[tyā]-
- 54 ya-sahitāḥ | ratna-traya-bhūmi-varjjitāḥ | Indrēśvara-nauva(ba)ndha-prativa(ba)ddha-daśadrōṇika-dvāpāñchāśat-pātaka-vā(ba)hīḥ | mahāmudrādhikṛita-śrī-Subhā-
- 55 űga-d[ū*]taka-mukhēna | bhagavantaṁvu(m=Buddha-bhāttarakam=uddiśya | mātā-pitōr-ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhūririddhaye | **Śrāvana-ravi-saṅkrāntau** vidhivad=udaka-
- 56 pūrvvakāṁ kṛitvā | ā-chandr-ārka-ksīti-samakālaṁ yāvāt | bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna | tāmraśāsanikṛitya pradattā śmābhīḥ | yatō bhavadbhīr-jānapadaiḥ
- 57 kshētrakarairvrā(r=Brā)hmanaiś=cha vidhēyibhūya yathā divyāna-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ | kāryaḥ | yathā-kāla-bhāvi-bhōgapatibhīr-apa-bhūmer-ddāna-phala-gau-
- 58 ravāt | apaharaṇē mahānarka-pāta-bhāyāch=cha | dānam=idam samyag-anumōdy=ānupālaniyam=iti | **samya(samva)t 5 Vaiśākha-dinē 5** | tathā cha dharm-ā-
- 59 nusaṁsinah ślōkāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhīr=vvasudhā-dattā rājābhīr-Śagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmiś=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [16*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha
- 60 bhūmim=prayachchhati | ubho(bhau)tau puṇya-karmṇāu niyataṁ śva(sva)rgga-gāminau || [17*] Sarvān=ētān bhāvīnāḥ pārvhēndrān bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ |
- 61 sāmānyō=yam dharmma-śetur=antipānām kālē kālē pālaniyaḥ kramēna || [18*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāmvā(ttām vā) yō harētā vāsūndharām(rām) | sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtā
- 62 pitribhīr=saha pachyatē || [19*] Iti kamala-dal-āmyu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi pu-
- 63 rushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ | (||) [20*] **Sālavārēndri**-viniṅgata-Śubbhānga-dūtaka-mukhēna **Chandrapuram(ram)**² | śāsanam=idam=pravṛittam rājāḥ **Śrīchandrādēm(dē)-**
- 64 **vasya** || [21*] **Kāligrāma**-bhavō Vaishnavāḥ samārōpayāṁva(ba)bhūva kṛitī | śrīmān Vinā-yak-ākhyō viprānāḥ shaḍ(śhat)-sahasraṇi || [22*] **Ētach=chhāsanam=u-**
- 65 tkīrṇam Haradāsēna śi(śi)lpinā | Dhāttr=ā³[pi*] nirmitam yasya |⁴ sādṛiśyam karmṇaḥ kvachit || [23*] sādhi-ni⁵

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² The name Śrīchandrapura has been quoted here as Chandrapura for the sake of the metre.

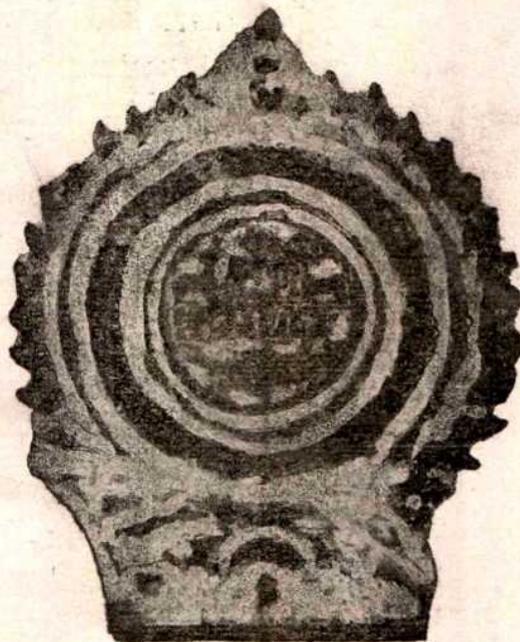
³ Gupta Chaudhury reads *vārtā* and translates the latter half of the stanza as follows: "Similar acts, the accounts of which are made (recorded), are scarcely found".

⁴ The *danā* is redundant.

⁵ A few *aksharas* may have been engraved here and then erased. Gupta Chaudhury reads *am* at the end of the document, which would give an idea of incompleteness.

PASCHIMBHAG PLATE OF SRICHANDRA, YEAR 5—Plate II

Seal



Scale : One-half

No. 52—NUN INSCRIPTION OF SADHADEVA, VIKRAMA 1335

(1 Plate)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

(Received on 12.7.1966)

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India was copied by me in February 1963 at Nūn, a village in Sirohi Tahsil of the District of the same name in Rajasthan. It is engraved on a stone beam resting on two pillars in the Saṅgamēśvara temple which stands at a distance of about a mile to the north of the said village. The temple contains in all three inscriptions including the one under study.

The inscription consists of three lines of writing which is in a fairly good state of preservation. It covers a space about 43 cm broad by 7 cm high. The individual *aksharas* are 1½ to 2 cm high. The last line is comparatively very short. The characters are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A. D. The symbol for *siddham* and the form of final *t* (cf. *saṁvat* in line 1) are interesting. The initial vowels *ā* and *u* have been used in *Bhā[vi]āra* and *Chāhuāṇa* in line 3 and *rāuta* in line 2. The use of *prishṭhamātrās* may be observed in some words (cf. *dinē* in line 1 and *°mēśvara* in line 2) side by side with the alternative top-strokes (cf. *varshē* in line 1 and *°dēva* in line 2). The use of dental *s* for the palatal *ś* may be noted as an orthographical peculiarity of the record (cf. *°mēśvara* in line 2). The language is corrupt Sanskrit and shows influence of the local dialect (cf. *Bhādravā* in line 1, *cha[m]kī* in line 2 and *varasam* in line 3).

The date is quoted as Vikrama 1335, Bhādravā (Bhādrapada) śu. 2, Thursday. This regularly corresponds to 1279 A.D., August 10, Thursday, f.d.t.-18.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *siddham* followed by the date referred to above. The next passage (lines 1-2) mentions *Mahārājakula-śrī-Rāuta Sādhadēva* who is stated to have donated a sum of 120 *drammas* for the construction of a bay (*chamki=charki*)² in the temple of the god Saṅgamēśvara. In the last line (line 3) are mentioned two persons named *Bhāviāra* [or *Bhādhiāra*] and *Chāhuāṇa* *Ḍūmgarā*. It is stated that they donated annually a sum of 129 and 2 *drammas* respectively.

Mahārājakula-śrī-Rāuta *Sādhadēva* is not known to us from any other source. The inscription also provides perhaps the first instance where the title *Mahārājakula*, which is known to have been assumed by a number of rulers in the period under question,³ has been attached to a humbler title *Rāuta* which is indicative of the status of a small feudatory chief.⁴ This fact appears to suggest that *Sādhadēva* was only a feudatory chief prior to the date of our inscription and that he had become powerful enough to assume the title *Mahārājakula* along with his earlier title *Rāuta* in V. S. 1335 (1279 A.D.). Unfortunately the inscription neither gives the name of his father nor supplies any information about the family to which he belonged.

¹ This is *A.R.Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 931.

² The word is correctly spelt as *chāukī* in another inscription in the same temple. (For meaning of the word *chāukī*, cf. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture—Buddhist and Hindu Periods*—p. 196).

³ (1) Sōngirā Chāhamāṇa *Mahārājakula* Chāchigadēva (see Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 590 and 592); (2) *Mahārājakula* Sāmantasīmha, the former's son and successor, (ibid., Nos. 602, 605, 609, 618 and 619); (3) Guhila *Mahārājakula* Jayasīmhadēva (ibid., No. 546); (4) Guhila *Mahārājakula* Samarasīmha (ibid., Nos. 593 and 617), etc.

⁴ Cf. the assumption of both feudatory and imperial titles by Kakka of Khētaka (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 219.)

The Sōngirā Chāhamāna rulers Chāchigadēva and Sāmantasīmha¹ are known to have held sway over some parts of the erstwhile Sirohi State.² The discovery of the present inscription at Nūn near Sanpur where an inscription of Chāchigadēva was found,³ suggests that Sādhadēva belonged to the Jālōr or Sōngirā branch of the Chāhamānas. Though it is difficult to ascertain his relationship with Chāchigadēva or Sāmantasīmha, he may possibly be regarded as a son of the former.⁴ A prince named Chāhadadēva is mentioned by Mūtā Nainsai as the eldest of the three sons of Chāchigadēva, the other two being Sāvatasīmha (i.e. Sāmantasīmha) and Chandra.⁵ From the similarity of the names Sādha and Chāhadā and the fact that variant names of many rulers are noticed not only in the *Khyāts* but also in their inscriptions,⁶ it is tempting to suggest that Sādhadēva may be identical with Chāhadadēva.⁷

If the above identification is accepted, it will follow that Sādhadēva, being the eldest son of Chāchigadēva, was the natural heir to the Jālōr throne. But Chāchigadēva is known to have been succeeded by Sāmantasīmha sometime before V. S. 1339 (1282-83 A. D.) which is the date of his first known inscription.⁸

Our inscription which is dated V. S. 1335 (1279 A. D.) and mentions *Mahārājakula Rāuta Sādhadēva* throws valuable light on the state of affairs prevailing at that time. It appears that Chāchigadēva was living at the time of our inscription. But he seems to have vested all authority in Sādhadēva presumably because of his old age. The latter, however, had not ascended the throne and was managing the affairs of the kingdom in the name of his father. This seems to be the only satisfactory explanation why he continued the use of the title *Rāuta* along with the title *Mahārājakula*. The fact that his name is not mentioned in most of the chronicles indicates that he never actually ascended the throne and perhaps died shortly after V. S. 1335 (1279 A. D.). Though the possibility of a struggle between Sādhadēva and Sāmantasīmha for the Jālōr throne resulting in the success of the latter is also not ruled out, we shall have to await further light on this question.

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham¹⁰ [||*] Samvat 1335 varshē Bhādrava¹¹-sudi 2 Guru-dinē Mahārājaku-
3 la-śrī-Rāuta-Sādhadēva śrī-Saṃgamēsva(śva)ra-cha[m]kī¹² ghaṭiti drā 120 dattah
3 Bhā[vi]āra¹³ drā 129 Chāhuāṇa-Ḍūṃgara drā 2 dattah varasam¹⁴ prati ||

¹ The inscriptions of Chāchigadēva range from V. S. 1319 to 1334 (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 46 and footnote 5) and those of Sāmantasīmha from V. S. 1339 to 1362 (Dasharatha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 159).

² The Sanpur inscription of Chāchigadēva (Bhandarkar's List, No. 586) and the Lās, Vāgī and Uthman inscriptions of Sāmantasīmha (ibid., Nos. 618, 651 and 657) come from the Sirohi State.

³ Ibid., No. 586.

⁴ The title *Rāuta* which is derived from Sanskrit *Rājaputra* (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142) may also indicate that he was a royal prince.

⁵ *Chauhāna-Kula-Kalpa-Druma* (Hindi), pt. I, p. 164. Dasharatha Sharma mentions the name of Chāhadadēva after that of Sāmantasīmha without indicating as to who was the elder of the two (*Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 158).

⁶ The name of Chāchigadēva is variously spelt as Chācha, Chāchaga°, Chāchiga, Chāchakaka°, and Chāchika (cf. *Chauhāna-Kula-Kalpa-Druma*, pp. 164 f.; Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 605, 586-87, etc.). For the variant spellings of the name of Sāmantasīmha, see, op. cit.; ibid., Nos. 622, 629, 645, 651, 657, etc.

⁷ It may be noted that Chāhadā seems to have been a popular name of the Rajputs in medieval India, for a number of persons bearing this name are known from inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 350, 560, 642 and 1508).

⁸ Bhandarkar's List, p. 383.

⁹ From impressions.

¹⁰ Expressed by symbol.

¹¹ Read *Bhādrapada*.

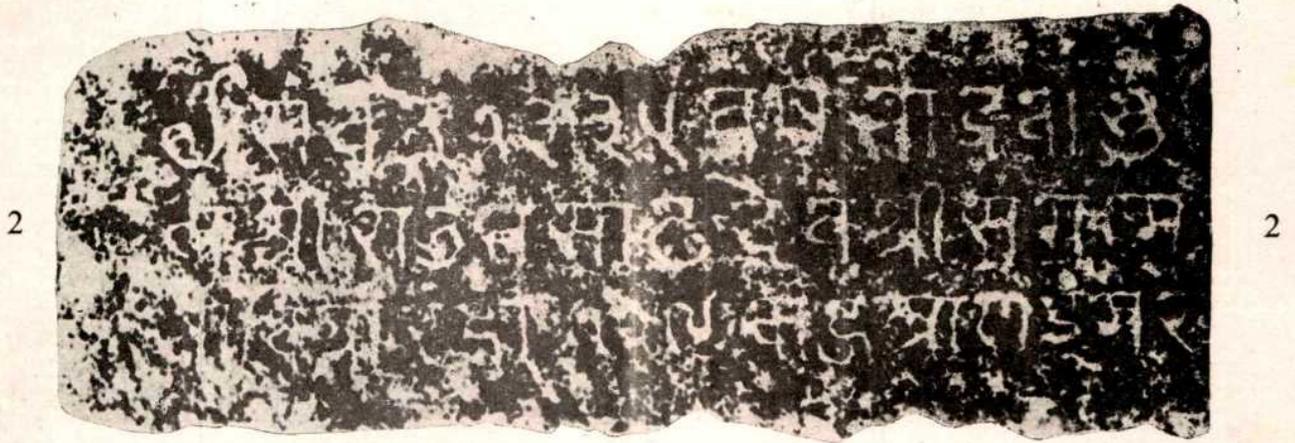
¹² Read *chaṭkī*. See above, p. 305, note 2.

¹³ The reading may also be *Bhāṣṭhāra*.

¹⁴ Read *varsham*.

NUN INSCRIPTION OF SADHADEVA, VIKRAMA 1335

Left-half



Right-half



Scale : Five-eighths

No. 53—MALKANKOPPA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA VI AND
KADAMBA GUHALLADEVA, SAKA 1026

(I Plate)

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

(Received on 2.8.1966)

The inscription¹ being edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, Mysore, was copied by Shri Madhav N. Katti in October, 1965 while conducting the epigraphical survey of the Kalghatgi Taluk of Dharwar District, Mysore State. The inscribed stone slab was found set up at the entrance of a step-well near the plinth of a structure in the village of **Malkankoppa** in the aforementioned Taluk and District.

The record is written in **Kannāḍa characters** of the 11th-12th century A.D. and the **language** is a mixture of Sanskrit and Kannāḍa. The text is an admixture of prose and verse, the verses preceding, intervening and succeeding the prose passages. On the top of the inscribed slab is sculptured in relief a *maṅṭapa* with a Jaina image seated at the centre. On the left side of the *maṅṭapa* are carved the crescent moon above and below it a seated devotee with his hands folded while on the right side the sun above and cow and calf below are found in relief.

There are in all 34 lines of writing. The inscribed face of the slab has suffered some damage in its upper half as a result of which the writing in lines 1-24 is not as well preserved as in the succeeding lines.

The characters are regular for the period to which the record belongs i.e. the beginning of the 12th century and there are no specially noteworthy **palaeographical** peculiarities. The following **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed : consonants immediately preceded by *r* are doubled in all cases except in °*chāryyar-lōkā* in line 14. In almost all cases, the *anusvāra* either replaces the class nasal or is found employed in addition to the class nasal. The auxiliary letter *u* is found added to the end of the final word in Kannāḍa verses even when the metre is thereby rendered defective. Regional influence is met with in such spellings as *prasasti* (for Sanskrit *praśasti*) in lines 8 and 10, *sishṭa* (for Sanskrit *śishṭa*) in line 11, *vineya* for *vinaya* in line 21, *Saka* for *Śaka* in line 24, etc., and in the writing of *vyākṛiti* and *kāvya* as *byākṛiti* and *kābya* in line 15, and so on. Medial *ri* is generally wrongly written with both the symbols for *ri* and *i*.

The purpose of the record is to register the grant of land (boundaries specified), house, a garden, an oil-mill and also oil from the remaining oil-mills (of the village) to the *basadi* constructed by **Bommi-** or **Baṁmi-setṭi**, also referred to in the inscription by the name of **Bammaṇa** of **Puligōḍu**, belonging to the **Sāgala** family after laving the feet of **Śāntivīradēva** of **Yāpanīya-saṁgha**, **Maiḍāp-ānvaya** and **Kāreya-gaṇa**, while **Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara Gūvalladēva** of the Kadamba dynasty was administering the territory as a feudatory of **Tribhuvanamalla** i.e. **Vikramāditya VI**, the Western **Chālukya** emperor of **Kalyāṇa**. The inscription stipulates that the grants thus made were to be protected by the *aruvatt-okkalu*, the *gaṇḍas* and the rulers of the earth. The gift of a *jōgavatāḡe* by **Ekkoṭi-chakravartigaḡa** is also recorded.

¹ The inscription is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B. 404.

The inscription is dated **Śaka 1026, Subhānu, uttarāyana-saṁkrānti**. The details are insufficient for verification. However, in the given year, the uttarāyana-saṁkrānti occurred on Pausha ba. 9, Friday which corresponded to **1103 A. D., December 25**.

The inscription commences with the well-known invocatory stanza *Śrīmat-parama-gaṁbhīra*, etc. (verse 1 : line 1). Lines 2-6, comprising prose passages and verse 2, give the spiritual descent of Śāntivīra-mōninātha. Vijayakīrttidēva, Nāgachandradēva, Kāmahara-saiddhānta-śīrōmaṇi, Kanakaśāntimuni, Abhayēndu-mōnidēva and Mahēndrakīrtti are mentioned as the spiritual predecessors of Śāntivīra.

Lines 7-9 introduce the reigning king Tribhuvanamalla and lines 9-11 introduce his feudatory *Mahīmaṇḍalēśvara* Gūvalladēva who is given, besides others, the epithets *Banavāsīpura-varādhīśvara* and *Kādambachūḍāmaṇi* and merely refer to his reign without naming the territories which were under his sway.

Verse 3 (lines 12-13) is in praise of the Yāpanīya-saṅgha, Mailāp-ānvaya¹ and Kāreya-gaṇa while verse 4 (lines 13-14) states that in that Kāreya-gaṇa *santati* there were, in the past, a number of *āchāryyas*. Verse 5 (lines 14-16) in Sanskrit and the next one (verse 6, lines 16-18) in Kannaḍa are devoted to the praise of the ascetic Ēkavīra (s.a. Śāntivīra) who had vanquished heretics in debates, who was unparalleled in his mastery over *tarkka*, *vyākaraṇa*, *kāvya* and *nāṭaka*, who was the very ocean of compassion and who was causing the unimpeded growth of Kāreya-gaṇa.

Verse 7 (lines 18-20) is not happily composed but its contents are discernible as follows : There was Baṁmi-setti considered as the most fortunate among human beings. His religious preceptor (*guru*) was Śāntivīra. Maruḷa and Nanniyakka were his parents while Sāriyakka is mentioned as his wife. His teacher was Sim[ha*]nārya, who always followed the teachings of Manu, and his son was Chikkaṇa.

From verse 8 (lines 20-22) we learn that Baṁmi-setti constructed a *basadi*. The next verse (verse 9 : lines 22-24) tells us that Baṁmaṇa established a *samudāya*, bestowed hospitality (on others), gave away whatever was needed to the needy and derived satisfaction by giving *anna-dāna*. This verse claims that poets were infatuated by the (look of the) *basadi* built by Baṁmaṇa.

Line 24 contains the details of the date, discussed above. The details of the grant, summarised above, are given in lines 24-31. Lines 31-34 contain two of the usual imprecatory stanzas (verses 11 and 12).

Mahīmaṇḍalēśvara Gūvalladēva of our inscription is to be identified with Gūhalladēva II, the son and successor of Jayakēśin I of the Goa Kadamba family. While most of the records² of this family, purporting to give a genealogical account, omit the name of Gūhalladēva and mention only Vijayāditya as the son of Jayakēśin I, the Narēndra inscription³ of 1125 A.D. mentions him as the elder son of Jayakēśin I, Vijayāditya, the father of Jayakēśin II, being the younger. Again, the Alnāvar inscription⁴ of Śaka 1003 or 1081-82 A. D., which provides us with the earliest known date for Gūhalladēva's reign, refers to him as the son of

¹ See *Jainism in South India*, pp. 112-13 where it is pointed out that Mailāpa-anvaya derived its name from the holy place Mailāpa-tīrtha.

² See *JBRAS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 262 ff., Nos. 1-3.

³ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 298 ff.

⁴ *SIL.*, Vol. XV, No. 225.

Jayakēsin I (*śrīmaj-Jayakēsidēvar-ttat-putra*). The latest known date for the reign of Gūhalladēva II is furnished by his Mugad inscription of 1125 A. D.

Our inscription does not name the territories which were under the sway of Gūhalladēva II. But according to the Alnāvar inscription discussed above, he was ruling over Koṃkaṇa-900, Palasige-12000, Kundūru-500, Uṅkal-30, Sabbi-30, Haive-500, Utsugrāme-30, Kādaravaḷli-30, Kontakūḷi-30 and Kavaḍivīpa-savālakka in 1081-82 A. D. Of these Kavaḍivīpa is the same as Kāpardikadvīpa which Gūhalladēva II's father, Jayakēsin I is known to have annexed after slaying its ruler in battle.¹

Baṃmiṣeṭṭi, who built the *basadi* and made to it grants recorded in the inscription under study, is stated to belong to the Sāgala family and to Puligōḍu or Huligōḍu. In a recently discovered inscription² from Hunasikaṭṭi, Kalghatgi Taluk, belonging to the reign of Jagadēkamalla II and dated in 1142 A. D., one Mudda-gaṇḍa of Huligōḍu, stated to be the son of Chāyi-gaṇḍa of the Sāgala family and the subordinate of Kadamba Permāḍidēva, figures as one of the donors. It may, therefore, be concluded that the Sāgala family had established itself in Huligōḍu. The place where Baṃmiṣeṭṭi built the *basadi* is not mentioned in our record. But the provenance of the inscription would suggest that the *basadi* as also the gift-land are to be located at the village of Malkankoppa itself.³

As stated above, the inscription also records the gift of a *jōgavaṭṭige* by Ekkōti-chakravartti-gaḷ. Kittel explains this word as the *taḍ-bhava* of *yōga-paṭṭike* (Sanskrit *yōga-paṭṭaka*) meaning 'the cloth thrown over the back and knees of an ascetic during meditation'. The beneficiary of the gift, therefore, appears to be the ascetic Śāntivīra.

Puligōḍu or Huligōḍu, the only place mentioned in the inscription, is to be identified with the locality now called Huliguḍḍa near Malkankoppa, the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT⁴

[Metres:—Verses 1, 12 and 13 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2-4, 6, 8 and 10 *Kanda*; verse 5 *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*; verse 7 *Mahāśragdharā*; verse 9 *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; verse 11 *Śālīnī*.]

1⁵ Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-[lāṃchhana]m [I*] jīyāt-traiḷōkya-nāthasya śāsa-
naṃ Jina-śāsanaṃ(nam) [II]* [Śrī]-

2 mad-Vijayakīrttidēva-muninātha[m jai]na-siddhānta-śāsana-sāmrājya-[ra]t[nā]kara.....
.....[nātha]...na

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 567 ff.

² This is noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, as No. B 398.

³ Adjacent to the inscribed slab, there is the plinth of a structure, about 5 feet in height, built in rubble stone masonry (one of the common techniques employed by the architects in medieval India). The plinth has also the traces of a burnt-brick superstructure on its upper surface. The possibility of the ruined complex being the residue of the *basadi* constructed by Baṃmiṣeṭṭi, mentioned in the record under study, cannot be ruled out.

⁴ From inked impressions.

⁵ There is a floral design at the beginning of this line.

- 3 vidyā-nidhi Nāgachandra-yatimukhyaru || Tat-sadharm-[ākhya]...nayā... Ravichandra-dēva.....siddhānta-ratnāka-
- 4 raru || Ā maṁtravādi-nikara-lalāma śrī-Nāgachandradēvara śishyar-Kkāmahara-saidhānta-śirōmaṇigaḷ-Ka-
- 5 nakasānti-munipar-negaḷdaru¹ ||[2||*] Abhayēndu-mōnidēvō tach-chhisi²sya(shya) śrī-Mahēmdrakīrtti-mahāvīr-āchā-
- 6 rryō bhavy-āmbuja-mārttaṁḍa Śāntivīra-mōnināthō=bhūtu(bhūt) | Ā munīndra-brīma pravarttisuttam=ire || Svasti ||[*]
- 7 Samastabhuvanāśrayam śrī-prii(pri)thvīvallabham mahārājādhirāja-Chāḷukyābharāṇ-ādi paryyāntam sama-
- 8 sta-prasasti-sahitam śrīma[t*]-Trii(Tri)bhuvanamalladēva-rājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhi-[vṛiddhi*]-pravarddhamānam=ā-chāndr-ā-
- 9 rkka-tāram³baram saluttam=ire || Svasti ||[*] Samadhigata-paṁchamahāsabda mahāmāṁḍalēśvaram Banavāsi-pu-
- 10 ravārādhīśvaram Kādamba-chūḍamaṇi-paryyānta samasta-prasasti-sahitam san.ā[amkṛitamā-(r-a)ppa śrī-
- 11 ma-mahāmāṁḍalēśvaram Gāvalladēvaram duṣṭa-nigraha-siṣṭa-pratipālanadīm rājyam-geyyuttam=ire ||
- 12 śrī-Vīr-ānvayadīm baṁd-i viśruta Yāpanīya-saṁgha[do]-arivam bhāvi[se] Maḷāp-ānvayam-ā
- 13 vaṇṇipud-aṇṇa negaḷda Kāreya-gaṇamam(mam)⁴ ||[3||*] Int-oppuva Kāreya-gaṇa-saṁtati-yoḷu muṁn-anēkar-ā-
- 14 chāryyar-lōkāntambara samānt-amt-ire palarum-ādar-allim baḷiya ||[4||*] Mādyad-vād-mad-āṁḍha-simdhura-
- 15 ghaṭā-kamthīrava-śrī(Śrī)dharah tarkka-byākṛiti-kābya-nāṭaka-lasam(san)-ni[s*]sīma-vidyā-dharah || vīdyudubrii(dvad-bri)ṁda-saras-sarō-
- 16 ja-patala-prōṁdughadanā⁵-bhāskarah jējiyād=ayam=Ēkavīra-munipa[s*]=saujanya-ratnākarah ||[5*||] Śrīramaṇi-
- 17 ge neley-enisida Kāreya-gaṇa-vārdhī-varddhan-ōdyama-[ji]v-ādhāran-enut-arttiyūdam dhāriṇi baṇṇisuvud-e-

¹ Final *u* is redundant for the metre.

² This *si* is redundant.

³ The *anusvāra* is engraved on top in between the letters *tā* and *ra*.

⁴ The *Kanda* metre employed here is defective.

⁵ Read *prōdghattānā*.

MALKANKOPPA INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA VI AND KADAMBA
 GUHALLADEVA, SAKA 1026

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Scale : Two-ninths

- 18 seva muni-chaṁdramananu¹ || [6] * Jinaṅ-āptaṁ Śāṁ[tj]vīra-brati guru Maruḷaṁ taṁde tāy
Nanniyakkam tanag-int-j Sā-
- 19 riyakka priya-vadhu viney-ālamkri(kri)taṁ mōnināthaṁ manmārggati² Sūṁṅṅ³-āryaṁ
oḥu(bu)dha-nidhi-saṅgaṁ⁴ bāy-ese
- 20 Chikkaṅ-ākhyam taṁeyam tān-ēmdod-i lōkadā [ma]nujaro-ēṁ dhany⁵anō Boṁmiṣetti || [7] *
Ituṁ(Iṁtu) negartteyam tāḷd-a-
- 21 naghāṁ Puligōḍa Bāṁmi-ṣetti samast-āvani pogaje basadiyam sad-vineyade māḍisi kritā⁶-
ttā(rttha)n=ādam jagado-
- 22 [u⁶ || [8] *] Mudadiṁdam samudāyamam nilisi satkāraṁgaḷam mādi bēdida śiṣṭ-ēṣṭa-ḷanikke
takkud=arid=itt=utsāhadim-
- 23 d=amīna(anna)-dānada peṁpaṁ paḍed-iṁtu māḍisidan=amnt(ant)-ant-ōdgham-amnt(ant)-
amntte(ante) rāgadin-i Sāgala Bāṁmaṅam basadiyam ka[gga]-
- 24 r-mmaṅam-golvinam || [9] * Saka-varsha 1026 neya Subhānu sarivatsarad-
uttarāyana-saṁkrāntiy-amdu Huli-
- 25 gōḍa Bāṁmi-ṣetti tanna-māḍisida basadige Śāṁṁti(Sānti)vīradēvara pāda-prakshālana
māḍi biṭṭa gadde ūriṁ baḍaḷalu Ma-
- 26 saṅeyageṛeya modalēriya gadde baḍaḷalu saiverēy-āgi mūḍaṅa kōḍiya haḷḷam mēre [] *
tōṁkalu hīlvāṭh-ā-
- 27 gi baṁḍa keṛey-ēriṁ paḍuvalu keṛeya kōḍiya haḷḷam mēre || Ā haḷḷadiṁ paḍuvalu bayala
keyi mattar=eraḍu
- 28 basa⁷diya parisūtrad-ōḷagaṅa manegaḷu hosa-gaddeya keḷage hūvina tōṁṭakke kaṁ(ka)mma
200 gāṅav=ōṁn(on)du || uḷida gāṅaṁgaḷi-
- 29 ge eṁṅṅe(eṅṅe) solage voṁdu || Ekkōṭi-Chakravarttiga-ikkidar-atisayade jōgavatigeyam |
Amṁta(Aṁtekkū(kū)rmne(rmme)yiṁde basadige mik[k*]-ese-
- 30 v=āchāryya[rān kaluttamma]dēvaru⁸ || [10] * Basadiya keyyūṁ maneyūṁ tōṁṭaman=anu-
nayadiṁd=aruvattu(vatt=ō)kkalu gaṁḍu-
- 31 gaḷūṁ vasudh⁹śvararūṁ sarvvā(rvva)-bādha(dhe) parihāram=āge sudharmmadim rakshi-
suvaru || Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētum(tur)=

¹ Final *u* is redundant for the metre.

² Read *Manu-mārggaṁ Śiṅghaṅ*.

³ The word intended may have been *suganam*.

⁴ The letter *ṅya* is engraved below *nō* in small size.

⁵ The letter *tā* is engraved above the line.

⁶ Final *u* is redundant for the metre which is even otherwise defective.

⁷ The letter *sa* is engraved above the line.

⁸ The purport of the second half of this verse is not clear.

⁹ The engraver appears to have engraved *rē* and corrected it into *dhē*.

- 32 nrii(nri)pāṇā[m*] kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhaḥ(dbhiḥ)[[*] sarvvān=ētānu(tān) bhāvinaḥ-
pārtti(rtthi)vēndrānu(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-
- 33 macha[m*]draḥ [[[11|*] Vāpi-kūpa-tāṭākānām bhinnām(nnā)nām dēva-vēśmanā[m] punas-
kāra-kkattu¹ cha labhatē mūlikam phalam(lam) [[[12|*] Svadattam(ttām) paradattam-
(ttām)
- 34 vā yō harēti(ta) vasum̐dharā[m*] [[*] shasṭir-vvarsha-sahasrāṇi viṣṭā²vām jāyatē
krimi[h*] [[[13|*]

¹ Read *punahkarana-sartā* for the sake of metre.

² The letter *shā* is engraved above the line.

No. 54—VADDARSE INSCRIPTION OF ALUVARASA

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

(Received on 8.12.1964)

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone slab set up in the *prākāra* of the Mahalingēśvara temple at **Vaḍḍarse** in the Udipi Taluk of South Kanara District, Mysore State. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32, as No. 296. While discussing the contents of this inscription on page 60 of part II of this *Report*, wherein photographs of the record are also published, it has been stated that this inscription, belonging to Āluvarasa, "mentions his subordinate Kandavarmmarasa who is not known from other sources. Since the writing is much damaged and worn out no further details can be made out of it". In view of the importance of this epigraph for the early history of South Kanara I visited Vaḍḍarse in 1961 in order to study the record *in situ* and to take fresh impressions.

The stone on which the epigraph is engraved is an irregular cone in shape, tapering towards the top. There is writing all over the sloping surface but the text itself is found in three sections. The first one, containing 11 lines, the longest of which is made up of 10 letters, is engraved on a slightly flatter surface. The second one occupies almost twice as much area but a number of letters in the 13 lines available are badly worn out. The last section, in three lines engraved vertically across the sloping surface and beginning at the bottom and running upwards, is presented in a narrow strip of space between the ends of the lines in the first and the beginnings of the lines in the second section. For the sake of convenience the three sections will be referred in the following pages as A, B and C respectively.

The record is in early Kannada **characters** and **language**. The inscription is not dated but could be assigned to the middle of the seventh century on grounds of palaeography which agrees with that of similar records of the same period. Archaic forms of *r*, *y*, *l* and *k* are particularly helpful in assigning this record to the middle of the seventh century. Of initial vowels, *a*, *ā*, *u*, and *o* occur in the record. The text contains a few words of lexical interest as will be seen below. There are no **orthographical** peculiarities worth noticing except that the full forms of *n* and *m* appear as subscript which is a characteristic of such early inscriptions.

The primary importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the earliest as yet discovered inscription from South Kanara, the coastal district of Mysore State. **Āluvarasa**, to whose reign the record refers itself, undoubtedly belonged to the Ālupa family whose members held sway in that area till the middle of the 14th century. Āluvarasa thus becomes the earliest known Ālupa ruler barring one Paśupati who figures in the Halmiḍi inscription¹ of Kadamba Kākutstharman (c. 430-450 A. B.) and who, by virtue of his mention therein as the leader of *Ālupa*(= *Ālupa*)-*gana*, is sought to be assigned to the Ālupa dynasty.

Section A is the best preserved part of the record. It begins with the statement *Kanakaśivan-varedon* i.e. 'Kanakaśiva wrote (this record)'. Next is mentioned the kingdom of Āluvarasa

¹ *M.A.R.*, 1936, p. 79.

whose only honorific in the record is *śrīmatu*. It further states that in Ājuvarasa's kingdom (*rājyad-ulle* also means 'during the reign of Ājuvarasa'), while Kandavarmmarasa's trusted servant Guṇḍa[ṇṇa] was holding *nāṭṭu-mudime* (i.e. administration of the *nāḍu*, *nāḍu* here probably denoting the region around Vaḍḍarse), Sattigāri was holding the *mudime* of . . . banna (probably the name of a subdivision in the *nāḍu*). We also learn from this section that Āḍakappa was (at that time) holding the *vāra* of Voḍḍarse. *Vāra*, according to Kittel, means 'a share; a landlord's half-share of the produce of a field in lieu of rent'. Again, according to Kittel, *vārakke koḍu* means 'to give land to somebody for the sake of cultivation (retaining the ownership and) receiving half its produce instead of rent'.¹ *Vāra-keye* may, therefore, be interpreted to mean that Āḍakappa was enjoying the rights of cultivation over the cultivable lands in Voḍḍarse which is the same as Vaḍḍarse, the findspot of the inscription. The remaining portion of section A, in lines 9-11, is unintelligible though the reference is clearly to *kañchu* and *kiḷ-gañchu* which may stand for two denominations of coins struck in *kañchu* 'white copper or brass or bell-metal'. The mention of this currency immediately after the recording of the *vāra* rights may be interpreted to mean that the rent amount accruing from the cultivable lands formed the subject of the grant recorded in section B.

Section B is badly damaged in parts. At the beginning of this section, reference is made to two persons, one of them named Satyādityarasa and the other's name also ending in °dityarasa. The reasons why they find mention therein are not possible to make out in view of the damaged nature of the record. In view of the fact that Ālupa rulers of the 9th century had such secondary names as Udayāditya and Vijayāditya,² it may be suggested here that these two persons may have belonged to the Ālupa ruling family.

From the text in lines 5-7 it may be inferred that 17 *kañchu* and 1 *kiḷ-gañchu* were granted, on the orders of Chiriyanna and Guṇḍanna, for (expenses towards) feeding 17 *brāhmaṇas* (*ṡārvvār*). Towards the end of this section reference is made to some land grant followed by a curse on those who destroy the grant.

Section C is fragmentary, none of the three lines having come down to us in full. It seems to register the grant of some wet land (*gaḷde*) in Naggepāḍi. The term *pattondi*, which also occurs in the Halmiḍi inscription, is taken to mean 'one tenth of the revenue'.³ Since the passages in the Halmiḍi and the Vaḍḍarse records, containing this word, are similar, section C may have registered the fact that the donee to whom the wet land in Naggepāḍi was granted was exempted from paying one tenth of the gross produce of this land as tax.

From the point of view of history, the Vaḍḍarse inscription is of much interest. Ājuvarasa to whose reign this record belongs, is also known from another undated inscription⁴ from Kigga in the Kadur district of Mysore State. This inscription which has been assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to about 675 A.D., records that while Kundavarmmarasa⁵ was the headman of the district (*nāḍu*), Ājuvarasa, with the second name of Guṇasāgara (*Guṇasāgara-dvītiya-nāmadhēyan*), who was ruling over Kadamba-maṇḍala, his queen Mahādēvī and their son Chitravāhana confirmed all the tax-free grants made earlier to the god Kiḷgāṇadēva.

¹ *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v. *vāra*.

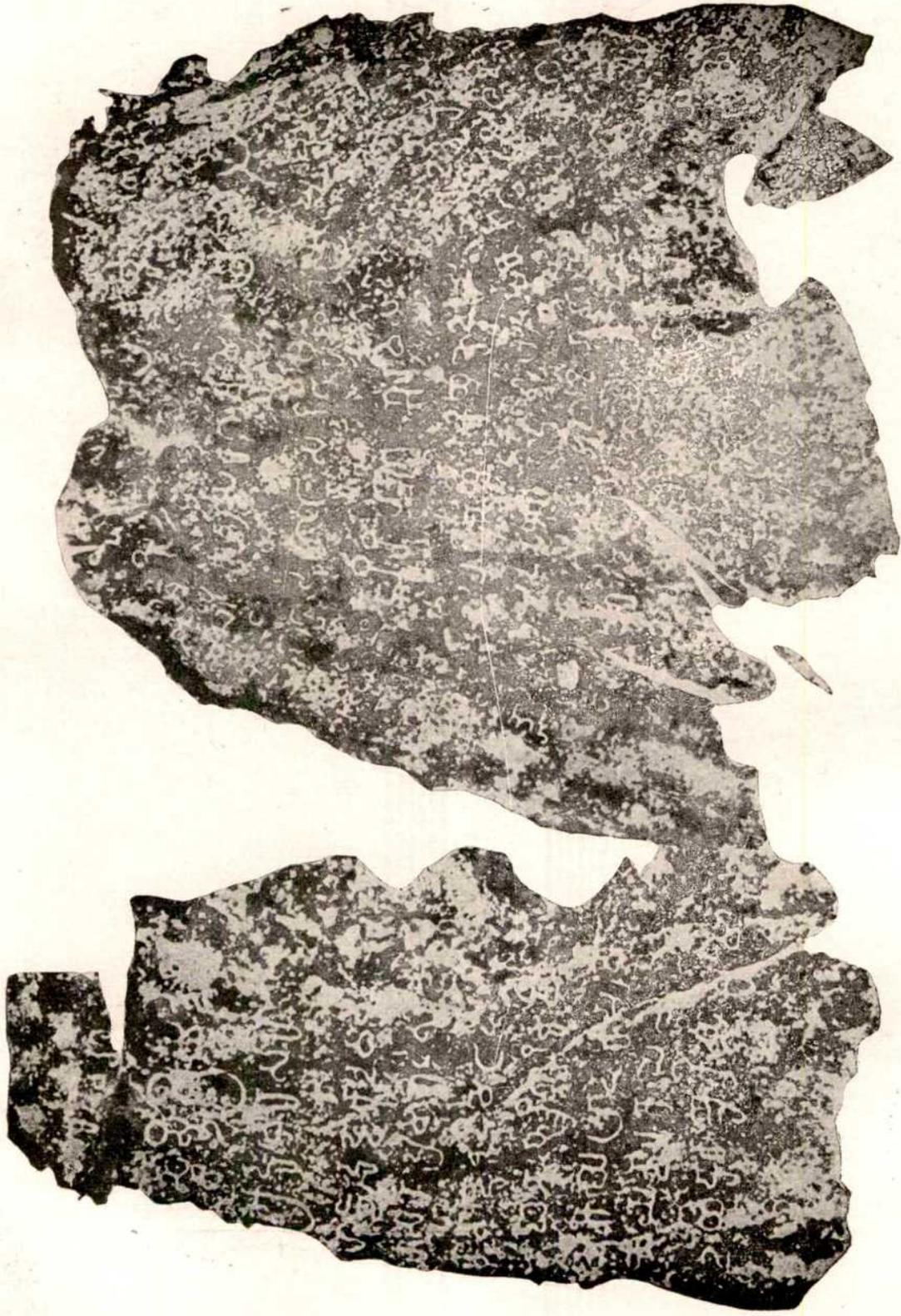
² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21-23.

³ *M.A.B.*, 1936, p. 74.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 38.

⁵ Rice read the concerned part of the text as *Kundavarmmarasam mudimegeye* and translated it as 'on Kundavarmmarasa coming to his end'. Following him, scholars made Kundavarmmarasa the father and predecessor of Ājuvarasa (*vide*, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 77; *Ancient Karnataka*, Vol. I, *History of Taluva*, pp. 74-75). The correct reading of the text, however, is *Kundavarmmarasam mudime geye* i.e. 'when Kundavarmmarasa was the headman (of the district)' (*vide*, above, Vol. IX, p. 2, note 3). It is thus obvious that Kundavarmmarasa was only an official under Ājuvarasa.

VADDARSE INSCRIPTION OF ALUVARASA



Scale : One-fourth

The Sorab copper-plate grant¹ of Chālukya Vinayāditya, issued in 692 A.D., records the gift of the village Sālivoge to the *brāhmaṇa* Divākaraśarman by the emperor at the request of Chitravāha-mahārāja, the son of Guṇasāgara Ālupendra. There is no doubt that this Guṇasāgara is none other than Āluvarasa *alias* Guṇasāgara of the Kigga and Āluvarasa of the Vaddarse inscriptions. His son Chitravāha-mahārāja too is the same as the Chitravāhana of the Kigga epigraph. This being the case, Chitravāhana may be considered to have succeeded his father as the ruler of Kadamba-maṇḍala sometime before 692 A.D., the date of the Sorab grant which refers to him as *mahārāja*. The fact that he joined his father in issuing the order recorded in the Kigga inscription implies that Chitravāhana had come of age by then. Āluvarasa of our record may thus be considered to have ended his reign not long after 680 A.D.

Though the Sorab plates, referred to above, clearly show that the Ālupas were the feudatories of the Bīdāmi Chālukyas, the Vaddarse and Kigga records are silent on this point. This, coupled with the fact that Āluvarasa held sway over Kadamba-maṇḍala, lends support to the few observations made below.

At the violent end of Pulakēśin II in 642, A.D. thirteen years of darkness crept into Chālukya history. From its midst, after years of struggle, the late emperor's son Vikramāditya rose in about 654-55 A.D. and attained to great power. To rebuild upon ruins is more difficult than to build anew. Vikramāditya must have been helped in achieving this near miracle, besides the Gaṅgas, by other ruling houses too. It is not impossible that one such helping hand was that of the Ālupa ruler Āluvarasa. As if in reward for this, we find the Ālupas in possession of the Kadamba-maṇḍala. The absence of any other records of Āluvarasa in South Kanāra as also the absence of the mention of any suzerain in the Vaddarse inscription may suggest that it was engraved on a date prior to the accession of Vikramāditya. It may thus be concluded that Āluvarasa's reign ranged from about 650 A.D., the probable date of the Vaddarse record, to about 680 A.D., the probable date of his Kigga inscription.

Among the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Voddarse or Voddarase is the same as Vaddarse. I am unable to identify the other place-names mentioned in the record. The *mudime* (headmanship) of Pāduvaliyā-nāḍu, which was, no doubt, a division situated in the region we are concerned with, is mentioned in section B with reference to two persons (*irvvar*) whose names are lost but the latter of which ended in *ṇṇa*.

TEXT²

A.

- 1 Kanakaśivan-varedon [[*]³
- 2 Svasti [[*] śrīmatu
- 3 Āluvarasarā
- 4 rājyad-ulle Kandavarmma-
- 5 rasarā prāmaṇ[y-ā]-ā Gu[ṇḍanna]-
- 6 rā nāṭtu mudime u[[]

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146 ff.

² From inked impressions.

³ Though the writer's name generally occurs at the end of records, in this particular case it has been engraved right on top, at the very beginning.

- 7 ..[ba]ūna Sattigāri mūdi-
 8 me keye ĀdakappaVodda-
 9 rseyan-vāra-keye vilō.
 10 olīdu kañchu kiḷ-gañchu mo..
 11 ..vu

B

- 1 ndi¹
 2 [di]tya[rsa]ru . ā[mbal-keḷaiyā] Satyā-
 3 [di]tyarsaru ga . mege appa [a]-
 4 dūgeū Sattigāri Banne ā[ypavura]
 5 Chiriyāṇa Guṇḍaṇṇarā vēsadin..
 6 pādīnēḷ-kañchu kiḷ-gañchu ondu saṭṭuga ottanoḷu ta..
 7 pādīnēḷbar-uṅbār-ppārvvār āḷappakkennālva ondu
 8 [Vo]ḍḍara[se] . duma pādīyān Gōpa[rasa] . yara[ydā]ya
 9 Ā : ra : [Vo]ḍḍara[se] . . Gōpa . . Paḍuvali[yā] nādola..
 10 ..[u]nar-irvva[r]-Paduvali[yā] nāttu mudī[me] barasi . . yvalirppa
 11 ..[ko]ṭṭādu pannaṇaḍu ki
 12 ka . . bhūmi koṭṭā naḷid
 13 pātakam-akk[um]

- 1 ..tya[rsar]gge pa[ṭu]ḷāyā melke ā
 2 pattonḍiyu Naggepāḍiyā galdeū [Naggepāḍiyān
 3 ta pattonḍi avarggilla

¹ Rest of the letters in this line are badly damaged and lost.

No. 55—ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III

(5 Plates)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

(Received on 14.3.1967)

In December 1964, during my annual collection tour, I visited Bhubaneswar where in the Orissa State Museum, I secured the impressions of the copper-plate charter¹ edited below. According to the Museum authorities, the record was discovered in a place in the **Sakhī-Gōpāl** area, Puri District, and its exact findspot was not known. It consists of a **set of five copper plates** each measuring about 35.5 cm long and 21.4 cm broad. They are held together by a circular ring with a diameter of 13.5 cm and thickness of 1.5 cm. The ends of this ring are soldered to a circular seal which is worked like a blossomed flower with a diameter of 9.5 cm. The ends of the petals are marked off by a circle across which and at right angles to the ring is a figure cast in the round of a couchant bull with a prominent hump. The bull measures 5.5 cm high (from the base to the tip of the horn), 7.5 cm long (from the tip of the mouth to the rear end) and 3.8 cm wide (from the tip of one ear to that of the other). The ears of the bull are projecting out and the bull is decorated with trappings seen on its back. To the left of the bull are shown in relief a conch in a topsy-turvy position, an *aṅkuṣa* and a *chāmara*; and to the right are shown a *chhatra*, a *dhvaja*, a bowl-like object and a *damaru*. These seven objects together with the prominently depicted bull, obviously form a variety of *ashṭa-māṅgala*. Some of the plates are damaged and parts of inscribed surfaces of some others have been corroded. The first plate has writing on one side while the rest have writing on both sides. There are altogether 156 lines of writing. The second side of the first plate, the second side of the second plate and the first side of the third plate have 20 lines each; the first side of the second plate, the second side of the third plate, both sides of the fourth plate have 19 lines each; and the first side of the fifth plate has 18 lines while its second side has 2 lines. The plates have raised rims to protect the writing. In spite of this they have suffered from corrosion and slight damages. Consequently, the writing is not preserved well, although the letters are boldly and clearly engraved. The weight of the five plates together is 6369 g.

The **characters** belong to the Gaudī alphabet and are similar to those of the Nagari plates² of Śaka 1151 and 1152 of the Eastern Gaṅga Anāṅgabhīma III who is also the issuer of the charter under study.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and its composition is partly in verse and partly in prose. Except for the omission of a single verse in the concluding portion of this record, all the other verses numbering 86 of this record are found also in the above-mentioned Nagari plates. In respect of orthography also the present record exhibits the same features as found in the latter charter.

The draft of this charter, like that of the one from Nagari, should have contained the particulars of the date, after verse 80, but while engraving, this passage seems to have been

¹ Registered as No. A 50 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff., and plates.

inadvertently glossed over. However, the occasion on which the charter was issued is stated to be a lunar eclipse (line 128). The mention of the fact that the grant was made at **Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra** (i.e., Puri) seems to show that the king camped there evidently in connection with the eclipse.

The record refers itself to the reign of **Anaṅgabhīma III** (circa 1211-38 A.D.) of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga. In the eighty verses of the introductory part (lines 1-122) with a prose passage between verses 6 and 7 (lines 12-15), the genealogy of the dynasty upto the reigning monarch is given as in the Nāgarī plates.¹ This record is important in that this is the second charter of this king discovered so far and in that the particulars contained in the grant portion reveal some new place-names and other interesting details discussed below.

The object of the record is given in the passage beginning from line 121. It is stated that for the increase of his own spiritual merit, king Anaṅgabhīma made a grant of three villages (lines 121-22). The first of the villages granted is called **Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka**, together with an area called **Phaphaḍā-kshētra** with an all-inclusive extent of 62 *vāṭīs*, and it is stated to be situated in a bigger area called **Tippariāamvilō** of the **Sagaḍāvadhi-khaṇḍa** in **Kōṭarāvāṅga-vishaya** (lines 122-23). The second village of which the name is not given, though its boundaries are specified, lay in the **Rālaguñcha-vishaya**, and is stated to have been gifted along with the **Prāchīna-Kapilēśvara**,² perhaps an ancient temple or shrine of god Kapilēśvara situated therein (lines 123-25). The third village was **Khambhāra** in **Madhya-khaṇḍa** of the **Rāvāṅga-vishaya** (line 125). Lines 126-28 state that the gift was made to a certain Jagannātha-śarmman, who was the son of Dharādhara-śarmman, grandson of Śrīdhara-śarmman and great-grandson of Ananta-śarmman and who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and the Mādhyandina-sākhā of the Yajur-vēda. The gift which was made tax-free (*akarī-kṛitya*) is said to have been made by the king at Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra (i.e., Puri) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse, to be enjoyed by the donee or donees till the moon, sun and stars last (lines 128-29). In view of the fact that not less than four lists, referred to as A, B, C and D below, of the residents of the Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka-grāma as well as some institutions of the place follow the passage relating to the gift, it appears that the gift was to be shared by all these persons including Jagannātha-śarmman and institutions. Jagannātha-śarmman, to whom the gift was made, received it probably as a representative of the other parties. For the sake of easy reference, the lists of donees are given below in tabular forms. The first list (lines 129-33) consists of the names of Brāhmaṇas of various gōtras, who are referred to as the residents of the village Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka and they are as follows:

List—A

Serial No.	Title	Name	Gōtra
1	<i>Vājapēyayājīn</i>	Sūryyaka(kṛi)shṇa-śarmman	Bhāradvāja
2	<i>Sarvajīa</i>	Anantakaṇṭha-śarmman	Do.
3	<i>Jauliśha</i>	Kapilakaṇṭha-śarmman	Do.
4	<i>Paṇḍita</i>	Śrīdhara-śarmman	Do.
5	<i>Pāṭhī</i>	Āgamadhara-śarmman	Do.
6	[<i>Pāṭhī</i>]	Siddhēśvara-śarmman	Do

¹ For a detailed discussion on this aspect see *ibid.*

² This term may be taken as the name of a village also.

Serial No.	Title	Name	Gōtra
7	<i>Pandita</i>	Gōvinda-śarmman	Do.
8	<i>Pāthi</i>	Arjuna-śarmman	Do.
9	<i>Jauīsha</i>	Rudrakara(kumāra?)-śarmman	Vatsa
10	Do.	Vāsudēva-śarmman	Do.
11	<i>Pāthi</i>	Sabhāpati-śarmman	Do.
12	Do.	Bṛihaspati-śarmman	Do.
13	Do.	Ananta-śarmman	Do.
14	Do.	Uddāi-śarmman	Do.
15	Do.	[.]la	Do.
16	Do.	Jagannātha-śarmman	Do.
17	<i>Parvata(Pandita?)</i>	Mṛityuñjaya	Do.
18	<i>Pāthin</i>	Viśvēśvara	Māṇḍavya

The persons in the second list (lines 133-36) are stated to be share-holders of house-sites (*grihāṅga-bhāginak*). They are as follows :

List—B

Serial No.	Title	Name
1	<i>Pandita</i>	Mṛityuñjaya
2	Nil	Madhu
3	Do.	Lōkadhara
4	Do.	Vidyādhāra
5	Do.	Hadaprakara
6	Do.	Ga[d]ādhara
7	Do.	M....ra[ka]
8	Do.	...dhava
9	Do.	Chakradhara
10	Do.	Jāvanara
11	Do.	Lōkāyī
12	Do.	Sūrjāyī
13	Do.	Gōvinda-haru
14	<i>Pāvirāhi</i>	Chañḍa, choḥha
15	Nil	...ra,ri
16	Do.	....pāla
17	Do.	Madhusōdhana(sūdana)
18	Do.	Ga[d]ādhara

Serial No.	Title	Name
19	<i>Pañḍita</i>	Viśvēśvara
20	<i>Sēnāpati Rājapradhāni</i>	Vidyākara
21	Nil	Mādhava
22	Do.	.dhakar.
23	Do.	....
24	<i>Pāḥin</i>	Sannu
25	Do.	Puri

The third list (lines 137-46) contains the names of *Pañḍitas* and *Vēdavidāh* with their share of land in *vāṭis*.¹

List—C

Serial No.	Name	Gōtra	Vāṭi
1	<i>Jyōtiśha Rudrakara-śarmman</i>	Vatsa	1-1/2
2	Gaṅgāla-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
3	Bṛihaspati-śarmman	Do.	1
4	...vara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
5	Yajña-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
6	Janārdhana-śarmman	Do.	1
7	Ananta-śarmman	Bhāradvāja	..
8	Vidyākara-śarmman	Do.	5
9	Śridhara-śarmman	Do.	2
10	Dharaṇidhara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
11	Gaḍādhara-śarmman	Do.	2
12	Sarvadhara-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
13	Ābharāṇa-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
14	Vishṇu-śarmman	Do.	1
15	Kāmadēva-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
16	Madhusōdhana(sūdāna)-śarmman	Do.	1
17	Mādhava-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2
18	Mēdi-śarmman	Do.	1
19	Uddāi-śarmman	Do.	2
20	Mayadhara-śarmman	Do.	2
21	Dhṛitikara-śarmman	Do.	1
22	Sujāi-śarmman	Do.	1

¹ For a discussion on the extent of a *vāṭi*, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 245 and notes.

Serial No.	Name	Gōtra	Vāṭi
23	Bhāṇakara-śarmman	Bhāradvāja	1/2
24	Mādhava-śarmman	Do.	1/2
25	Ugra-śarmman	Do.	1
26	Viśvēsvara-śarmman	Māṇḍavya	1
27	Rāntadēva-śarmman	Do.	3-1/2
28	Mṛityuñjaya-śarmman	Do.	2
29	Vāsudēva-śarmman	Kāśyapa	1
30	Sūryyakara-śarmman	Do.	1
31	Nārāyaṇa-śarmman	Do.	1-1/2

The fourth and the last list consists of the names of some temples, institutions and officials, with their share in *vāṭis*.

List—D

Serial No.	Name	Vāṭi
1	(God) Parantēśvara of the Vēda-Vyākaraṇa-maṭha	1
2	(God) Balabhadra	1/2
3	<i>Danḍapāsika</i>	2
4	Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-Tridēva	8
5	<i>Śāśanādhikārin</i> Tallar-āryyaḥ (of Pūtimāsha-gōtra)	2
6	Vēda-maṭha	} 9
7	Purāṇa-maṭha	
8	Vyākaraṇa-maṭha	
9	Bṛihadvṛiddha-maṭha	1
10	<i>Tāmbraṇāra</i> Lōkāyī	1
11	<i>Danḍapāsika</i>	4

The lists tabulated above show that among the recipients of the gift, there were three deities. One of them is stated to be **Tridēva** of the village Paṭuvāḍa-pāṭaka. This deity probably represented the Hindu trinity, viz. **Brahmā**, **Vishṇu** and **Mahēśvara**. It may be mentioned in this connection that we know of inscriptions, mostly from places in the Deccan, belonging to the period to which our record belongs and to earlier periods, referring to gifts made to the deity named **Traipurushadēva**.¹ Apparently, Tridēva of our record is a variant of the latter name. It is also interesting that there was a temple to **Balabhadra** in the village, as temples to this deity are rare.

Apart from the gifts to the deities, gifts of land are stated to have been made to a *maṭha* each for Vēda, Purāṇa and Vyākaraṇa. The existence of these educational institutions and the fact that gifts were made to them by the king obviously reveal the care with which these studies were fostered then under royal patronage.

¹A.R.Ep., 1964-65, Introduction, p. 11.

Among the individuals who figure as donees, a majority were *Pāthis*, i.e., those who had mastered the Vēdas by rote. This is as it should be because the study of the Vēdas appears to have been very much encouraged then, as is known from the existence of institutions for the purpose as mentioned above. Other donees included a *Vājapēyin*, a *Sarvajñā*, three *Jaitishakas* and a few *Pānditas*. Some officials too were given each some plots of land. They were the *Sēnāpati Rājapradhāni*, *Vidyākara*, two *dandapāsikas* whose names are not mentioned and the *Sāsanādhikārin*, Tallar-āryya of the Pūtimāsha-gōtra. The artisan *tāmra-kāra* Lōkāika or Lōkāyi was also a donee. Of these, that the post of *Sāsanādhikārin* was held by members belonging to the Pūtimāsha-gōtra is known not only from the Nagari plates¹ but also from the later records of this dynasty. The *Sāsanādhikārin* Tallara or Tallapa is represented as the composer of the *prasasti*. In another record of this period also a *Sāsanādhikārin* figures as its composer.² In the Nagari plates, however, the writer of the record is stated to be one Appana (not Vappana),³ who was different from the *Sāsanādhikārin* figuring in that record. It is interesting to note that both Appana and Tallara or Tallapa are credited with the composition of the same verses in the respective charters. Dr. D. U. Sircār, while editing the Nagari plates, has stated "Appana copied the verses relating to the predecessors of Anāgabhīma III from an earlier record and composed only the verses describing the reign of Anāgabhīma III himself."⁴ But it is clear from our record that the entire *prasasti* including the description of Anāgabhīma III was copied by both Appana and Tallara or Tallapa from a draft already available to them and their laying claim to the composition of the *prasasti* by themselves is, therefore, not true. The contribution of these two persons to the respective records seems to consist only of the texts of the grant portions of these records.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, *Sri-Purushōttama-kshētra* is the well-known Puri and *Rāvānga-vishaya* is apparently identical with the territorial division of the same name occurring in the Puri plates of Bhānu II⁵ as well as in the Alagum inscription⁶ of Anantavarmān Chōdagāṅgā and the Siddheswar inscription⁷ of Narasimha IV. The identification of the other places mentioned viz., *Kōtarāvānga-vishaya*, *Sagadāvadhī-khanda*, *Tippariāmvilō*, *Paṭuvāda-pāṭaka*, *Rālaguñcha-vishaya* and the village *Khambhāra*, however, is not certain.

TEXT⁸

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40, 41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78 *Sardulavikrīḍita*; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 66 *Sragdhārā*; verses 7, 23, 49, 65 *Mālīnī*; verses 8, 13, 34, 38-39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 79-80 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 12, 16, 18, 19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62-63, 69-71, 77, 81-88 *Anushtubh*; verses 14, 17, 35, 42 *Upajāti*; verse 47 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham⁹ [Lakshmi-pāda-sarorūha-dyayam-adah¹⁰ śrēyānsi¹⁰ dāsishtha(śita) yah pras-phūrjjan-nakha-raśmi-kesara-satam bhāsvan-nakh-ālī-dalam(lam)] vi

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 246.

² *JASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1896, Part I, p. 256.

³ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 247, 258; and text-line 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁵ *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 24.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 47.

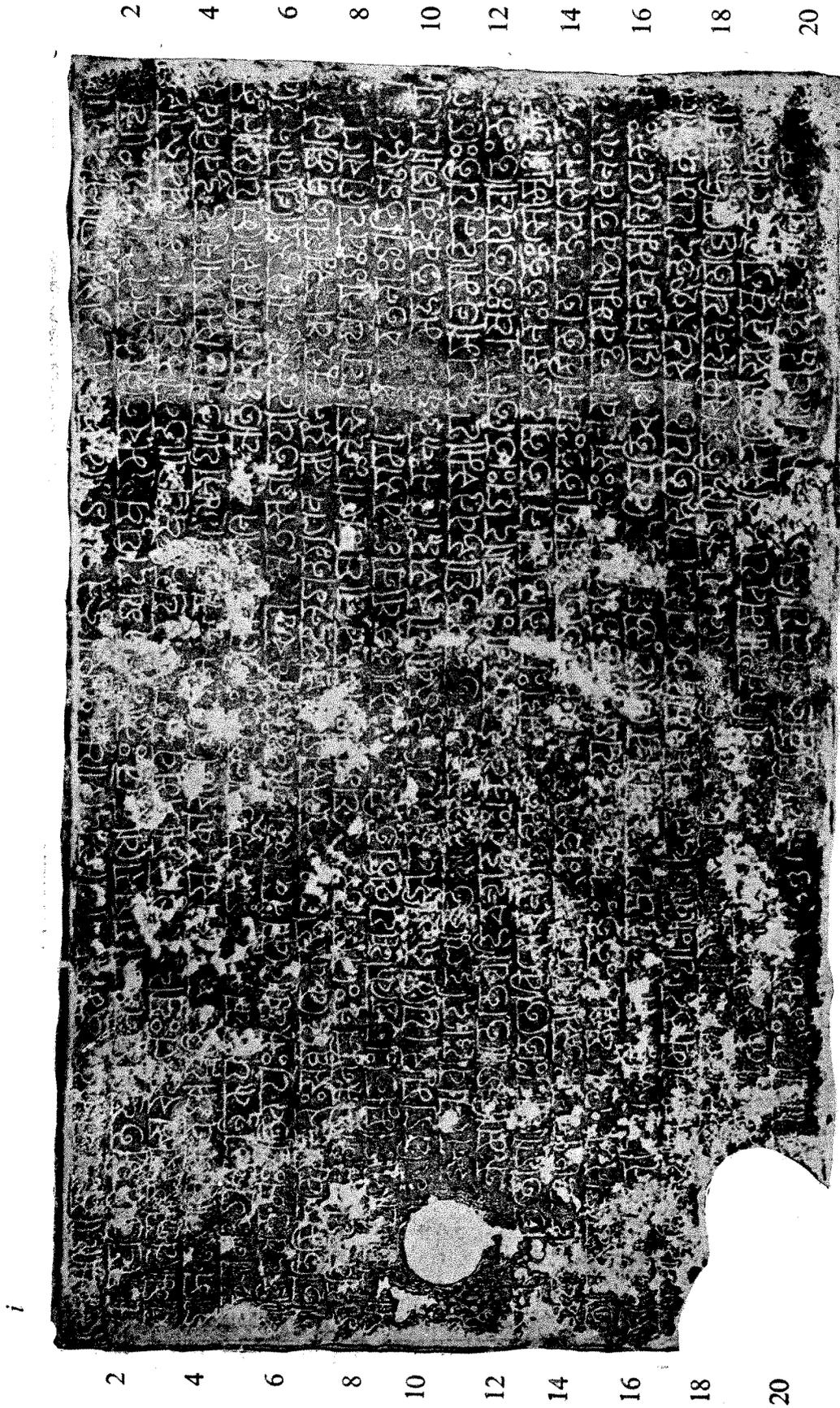
⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

From impressions.

⁸ Expressed by symbol.

⁹ Read *śrēyānsi*.

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III — Plate I



ii, a

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Scale : Three-fifths

- 2 spāṣṭa[m*]=pratīvi(bi)mvi(mbi)ta[h*] praṇamanaiḥ kṛīd-aparādh-ōdbhavaiḥ Kṛiṣṇō
yan-nakha-dīptiṣhu bhramaratān=dhattē sa Lakṣmī-priyah || [1*] Kṣhir-ā-
- 3 vdhē(bdhē)r=mnathitāt=sur-āsura-gaṇaiḥ prādurbhavanti Ramā Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma-
Purandara-prabhṛi[ti]shu prakhyāta-kīrttiṣhv=api | paśyatsv=Amva(mbu)janābham=I-
- 4 śam=avṛiṇōl=lōka-tray-āhlādina[m*] bhṛi[ṅg-ā]ḥi sahakāram=ēti [hi] vanē phu[l*]i-ānya¹-
śākhiny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhi-sarasiruh-ōdbhava-Vidhēr=A[trē]-²
- 5 rvvi(r=bbā)bhūv=āmutās=Chandraś=chandrikayā prakāśita-jagat=sambhūtavan=nētrataḥ |
[tra]i-lō[kya-grasa]n-ai[ka-da]ksha-timira-grāsitva-sāmye=pi yō lakṣma-
- 6 vyāji dadhat=tamaḥ pratīvapuh sū[r*]jy-ādhikō nirmmalah || [3*] Śrīdēvi-sōdaratvād=
amṛita-sakhatayā kalpa-vṛikṣh-ānujatvāl=lōk-ānandaḥ vi-
- 7 dhātā timira-visha-harah sarvva-dēv-alkabhōgyah | tat-tat-samsargga-[lā]bhā[t*] tad-
anugata-gunakam³ svāṅga-niṣṭhan=dadhāna[h*] svasy=aitan=nirmmalatva[m*] ja-
- 8 gati vijaya[tē] darśayan=nūnam-induh | [t*] Vaṅsē(Vaṅsē) tasya nrip-ōśva[rā]ḥ sama-
bhavan=tōshā[h=gu]nāchcha(nās=chha)ndasah prōtphullā iva yat-purāṇa-patha-
- 9 gās=tatr=āpi nō sammatāḥ | tat-tat-kārya-pathē śrītās=tri-bhūvanē mūrttin=dadhānā iva
bhṛāmyant=iva sa-chētānāḥ śruti-grihē viśra-
- 10 mya viśramya cha || [5*] Pratyēkaḥ śasi(śi)-vaṅsa(vaṅsa)-bhūpati-bhūja-vyāpāra-ai kir-
ttanaḥ karttūn=kah kshamahatē⁴ va(ba)humukhō yat=Ā-
- 11 rjunasy=aiva hi | dōrddand-ārjita-kīrtti-varṇana-pāraḥ tad-bhāratam prābhavat=tasmād=
āhvaya-mātram=ādi-nripatih-śrēṇi[h]⁵
- 12 kramāli(l=li)khyatō || [6*] Tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(Bu)dhah | Vu(Bu)dhāt=Puṛuvah |
tasmād=Āyuh [t*] tatō Naghu(hu)shah [t*] tatō Yayātih [t*] tata-
- 13 s=Turvasu[h] [t*] tatō Gāṅgēyah | tatō Virōchanah | tat-sutah Samvēdyah | [ta]tō
Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasēnah | tataḥ Saumyah | tatō=
- 14 śvadattah | tataḥ Saurāṅgah [t*] tasmārvvi(d=Vi)chitrāṅgadah | tat-sūnuḥ Sāradhvajah⁶ |
tatō Dharm[ai*]shī | tataḥ Parikṣhit | tatō Jayasēnah | tat-su-
- 15 tō=p[i] Jayasēnah | tatō Vṛishadhvajah [t*] tataḥ Śaktih [t*] tataḥ Pragat[ta]h⁷ | tataḥ
Kōlāhalah [t*] sa ēv=Ānantavarm=ābhavat | Dhana-kanaka-
- 16 samṛiddhō Gaṅgavā[di*]-prasiddhah sakāla-vishaya-bhūpa(ta)[h*] svargga⁸-varggōpa-
bhōgah [t*] tad-adhipatir=ath=ādyō=nantavarmā nripēndrah sa-
- 17 mabhavad=iti rūdhā Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāḥ || [7*] Kōlāhalah samara-mūrdhni tatō
nripānām bhūtō yata[h*] Sarapuraḥ=cha tadīyam=atra[t*] Kōlā-
- 18 [hal-āhvayam=abhūt=su]⁹ra-sadma-tulyam tasmin kramēna patibhirvya(r=bbā)hubhirvva
(r=bbā)bhūvē || [8*] Rājya-śrībhrīti Mārasim¹⁰ha-nripatau jyēsthē kim-atr=āstma-

¹ The Nagari plates read *phullē=nyā* here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 4).

² The same plates read *Atriv=* here (ibid., text line 5).

³ Read *gunam* for the sake of the metre.

⁴ Read *kshamatē kshītau*, as in the same Nagari plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 11).

⁵ Read *nripati śrēṇi*.

⁶ In the epic and *purāṇas*, *Sradhvaja* is a famous name.

⁷ Read *Pragabha*.

⁸ In the above referred to Nagari plates *svargga*⁸ is found (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 17).

This passage within brackets must have been engraved on the chip here, which has been broken and is lost.

- 19 [hē dōr-ddand-ārjjita]-bhūtal-ōtthita-Ramā-kantha-[grah-ā]nandinah | kinv-asyā-mavaya²
bhuj-āsi-latikā samvēshtitā[m*] vairinām kanth-āra-
- 20 [nyam-iyāñ-cha kirtti-la]³[ti]kū dyāñ-nah samārōhatu [[9*] Bhrāmyadbhir-vvijigishayā
kshiti[talē] k[v]=āpi dvishad-vanditaiḥ kv=āpi dvēshi-kula-pra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 21 māthibhir=a[pi prā]⁴ptāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ kila | taiḥ Kāmārṇava-pañchamair-nripa-varair-
yuddha[m] Kaliṅgaiḥ samam prāp[taṁ dra]shtum=iv-ārṇvā-
- 22 d=udagamat=kūrmm-āvatārō Hariḥ || [10*] Kūrmma-svāmini sākshini Triṇayanē tasmin
Mahēndrañ-gatē Gōkarṇṇē=pi Mahōdadhau
- 23 viyati vā sūryyē tath=ēndāv=api [*] Kāliṅgīm=bhuvam=āharad=bhuja-va(ba)lād=any-
ōpabhuktāñ=chiram Lakshmi[n]=ch=ēty=atha kā stutir=vvada tahē(tō)
- 24 Gaṅg-ānvayasy-āhavē || [11*] Tat=āsīd=vañśa-kartt=āsau Kāmārṇava-mahīpa[ti]h[1*]
yasy=aitē putra-pautr-ādyā rājānah khyāta-vikramā-
- 25 h [[12*] Śīstr-ārtha-nishthita-matir=dvishad-anta-kāri sarvv-ārthi-vargga-paritōshana-hētu-
varggah | āchāratō=p[1*] muni-puṅgava-mārgga-
- 26 chāri tasmād=abhū[n*]-nripa-varō bhūvi **Vajrahastah** [[13*] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam=
arthatō=pi sa Vajrahastas=**Trikaliṅga-nāthāḥ** [[]] kō Va-
- 27 jrahastād=aparah prithivyā[m*] vajraṁ patad=vārayitu[m*] samarthah [[14*] Vyāpte
Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yasasā dik-chakravālē śasi(śi)-pra(prā)-⁵
- 28 yēnat(yēñ)=⁶pāmalinēna yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādina⁶ | sindūrar=ati-sāndra-paika-
patalaiḥ kumbha-sthali-pattakēshv=ālim-
- 29 panti punah punas=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān [[15*] Mahishī Naṅgamā tasya
Pārsvat=īva Pinākinah | tasmāt=tasyā-
- 30 m=abhūd=virō **Rājarājō** mūhīpatih [[16*] Sa Rājarājō dvijarāja-kāntir=bhujaṅga-rāj-
ānana-varṇa⁷-kirttiḥ | śri-
- 31 mattay=ādhaḥkṛita-dēvarājah⁸ śva(śva)-vikrama-nyak-kṛita-dēvarājah | [[17*] Tasy=āgra-
mahishī rājñō nāmā yā Rā-
- 32 jasundari | Lakshmir=Nnārāyaṇasy=ēva Chandrasy=ēva cha Rōhiṇi [[18*] Tatas=tasyām=
abhūd⁹=dēvas=**Chōḍagaṅgō** narēsvarah | kshōṇi-
- 33 bhrīd-garvva-vicēhhtiyau(ttāu) div=īndrāt=kulīsam yathā [[19*] Dhātrī tasya Sarasvatī-
samabhavan=nūnan=na chēt=pitavāns=tat-sāraśva(śva)tam=āryya-va(bā)laka-ta-
- 34 mah śri-Chōḍagaṅgah payah | tādrig=vēdamatiḥ kathān=nipunatā śāstrēshu tādrīk=katl am
tādrīk=kāvya-kṛitiḥ katham parinatih [śi]-

¹ This passage within brackets must have been engraved on the chip here, which has been broken and is lost.

² Read *kin=ch=asmākam-iyāñ* as in the Nagari plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 20).

³ The bit where these two letters in brackets must have been engraved has been broken and is missing.

⁴ There is an unnecessary curve to the left and the top *mātrā* is absent.

⁵ In the case of *yēna* the two syllables appear to be dovetailed and are followed by an unnecessary *ā*. The intended reading is obviously *prāyēn=ā* as in the Nagari plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 250, text line 28).

⁶ First the letter *hi* was engraved and it was subsequently converted into *di*.

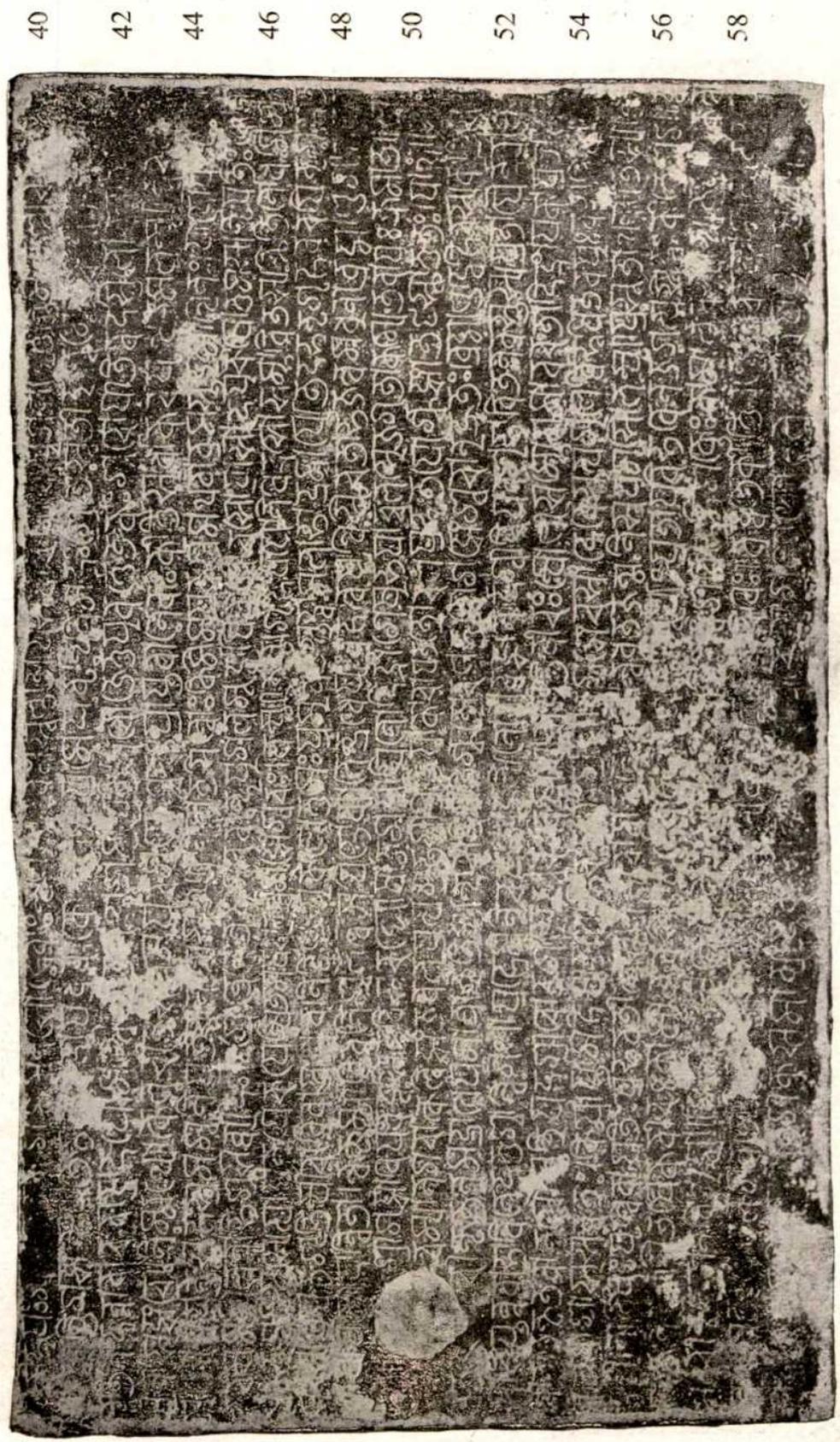
⁷ The scribe has attempted to write *varanya* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 251, text line 31).

⁸ The Nagari plates read *rajarajah* here, which is better suited to the context (see *ibid.*, text line 31).

⁹ An unnecessary *repha* stroke is seen on top of this *akshara*.

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III — Plate II

ii, b



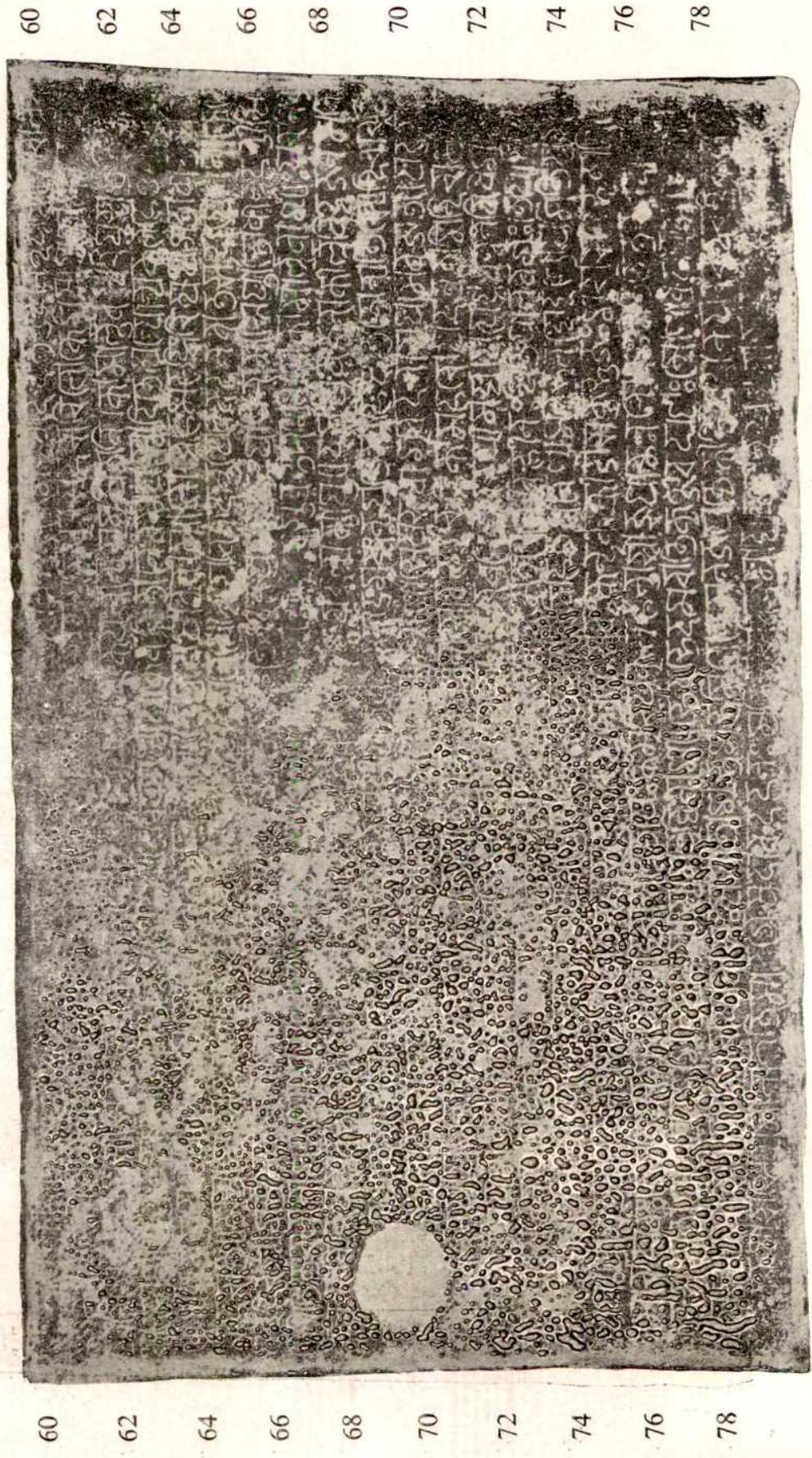
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G. S. Gai

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iii. a



Scale : Three-fifths

- 35 Ipēshu tāḍṭik=katha[m*]|| [20*] Kshōṇīm dikpāla-sē(śē)shām=ayam=akrita pada-dvandvam=ētasya vairi-kshmā-bhrih-chūḍā-śriy=āptam stutir=iti kiya-
- 36 ti Chōdagaṅgēsvarasya | nūna[m*] pūrṇṇaḥ sudhāmśu[h*] para-nripa-dhavalā-chchhatra-vu(bu)ddhy=āpahartā māṃ=ity=aṅgasya vṛiddhim tyajati yata
- 37 ivva(va) trasta-chittah pravīrāta(t) || [21*] Gṛihṇāti sma kara[m] bhūmē[r*]-ṅga(Ga)ṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōh | madhyē paśyatsu vi[rē]shu prau[dhah] prau-
- 38 dha-striyā iva|| [22*] Prati-bhata-kara-śāstra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryad-rudhiram=avani-nishthan=nō bhavēd=yān=tad-ēva (yat=tad=aiva) [] *] nijakara-dhṛita-
- 39 śāstra-chchhinna-bhinn-āṅgam=ētān=akrita dharāṇi-śaryyā(yyā)[n*]=dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgaḥ [|| 23*] Yat-tējah-paribhūta-śatru-nagara-[prōdbhūta-dhūm-ō]-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 40 dgamair=bhūyah Khāṇḍava-dāha-śaṅki-manasō dēvāḥ kṣaṇam bhīraḥ | svar-ṇi(r=nī)-tād=asidhāryā ripu-gaṇād=vṛittāntam=ākarmya cha [praudhin]=ta-
- 41 sya nuvanti Gaṅga-nripatēr=[bhītim vi]hāya dhruvam(vam) [|| 24*] Krōdh-ōdyad-dvipa-mēgha-vṛindini madaḥ(da)-śrō(srō)tasvatī-durgamē chañchat-khadga-[tadit]-prabhā-
- 42 [va]ti nadan-nārācha-vajr-ōdayē | ma(ya)t-sa[in]yē jalad-āgama-pratinidhau jētum pravarttēta kaḥ śūrō-pā(p=ī)ti vadamś=Ti(Tri)lōchana-vibhurva(r=bba)ddhō=
- 43 munā saṅgarē || [25*] Nirmathy=**Ōtkala**-rāja-[sindhūm]=aparam Gaṅgēsvaraḥ prāptavān=ēkaḥ kīrtti-sudhākaram prithutama[m*] Lakshmiṃ(mīm)=dhara[nyā sa]-
- 44 māṃ(mam) | mādyā[d*]-danti-saham(ha)aram=asva-niyuta[m] ratnāny=asa[m]khyāni mā(vā) tta(tat)-sindhōḥ kim=imam prakarsham=amtha(atha) vā vrū(brū)mas=tad-unmāthinaḥ [] 26*] Pādaḥ yasya [dha]r-ā-
- 45 ntari(ri)ksham=akhilan=nābhiś=cha sarvvā diśaḥ śrōtrē nētra-yuga[m] rav-īndu-yugala[m] mūrddh=āpi [vā dyau]r=asau [] *] prāsādam Purushōttamasya nripatih kō nā-
- 46 ma karttu[m] kshamas=tasy=ēty=ādyā-nripair=upēkshitam=ayam chakrē=tha Gaṅgēsvaraḥ [|| 27*] Lakshmi-janma-griha[m*] payō-nidhir=asau sambhāvitasya sthitir=nō dhāmī¹ śva-
- 47 su(śu)rasya pūdyā(jya)ta iti kshīr-āvdhī(bdhi)-vāsā[d*] dhruva[m] | nirvi[ṇṇah] Puru-shōttamaḥ pramudi[taś]=tad-dhāma-lābhād=Ram=āpy=ētad=bha[r*]tri-griham varam pitris grihāt
- 48 prāpya pramōd-ānvitā [|| 28*] Tvaṅ=kūrm-ādhipa(pa) nischalatvam-api bhō vyālendra-dhē(dhai)rīyam vaha tvam prithi (thvi)-sthīratā[m] bhaja tvam=adhunā vra(bra)l māṇḍa-gāḍham bhava [] *
- 49 śri-Gaṅg-ādhipa-va(ba)ddha-si[m]ha-visarad-ghōshā-jagad-vyāpīrō diṃ-rāgēshu blayāc l=chalatsu jagatā(ti) kampēta vā yah ka(kra)māta(māt)|| [29*] **Ā-**
- 50 ramyā-nagarāt-Kalīngaja-va(ba)la-pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛiti-prākār-āyata-tōraṇi (ṇa)-prabhṛitayōr² Gaṅgā-tatasthāt=tataḥ | Pārthams(rth-ās)trair=[yyu]-

¹ Read dhāmni.

² Read prabhṛitib.

- 51 dhi jajja(rjja)rikrita-namad-Rādhēya-gātrākritir=Mma(Ma)ndār-ādri-patir-ggatō raṇa-
bhuyō Gaṅg-ēsvar-ānūdrutah | [| 30*] Vra(Bra)hmāṇḍād=va(ba)hir=asya kitti(rtti)-
ya[śa]-
- 52 sã [li]ptan=na vā bhāvinē dattas=ch=ārthi-gaṇāya hēma-nichaya[h] saṅkalpinō [vā]
va(ba)hu nirddagdh-āri-pavaśu¹ bhāvita-navas=tasya pratāpair=nna vā ki-
- 53 n=nō vāti² kṛitavān=asau stuti-padam śrī-Chōdagaṅg-ēsvaraḥ |[31*] Varshāṇām
saptati[m] virah kshōṇi-sambhōgam=ācharata(t) | diṅ-nāyakā[n] pratihārā-
- 54 n-vidhā[y]=āsāsu sarvvataḥ |[32*] Ki[m] prāptā mahishī tapōbhir-atulāḥ śrī-Chōdagaṅg-
gēra(na) sã dēvai= stutya-guṇēr(ṇair)=vvibhūshita-vapuḥ kastūrikāmē-
- 55 dinī | n=ā-Vishṇuḥ prithviva(thivī)patih prabhavat=ity=asmīna(smin) E arau vā bhuvō raksh-
ārtha[n*]=dhṛita-janmani svayam=asau Lakshmi[h*] prasūt=ātha vā |[33*] Tasyān=ta-
- 56 tō=jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīrah Kāmārṇnavas=[tri-jaga]d-ēka-[vadānya ē]shah | sūryyah
pratāpa-vibhavēna jagat-prasiddhah kīrttiś=śasānka-
- 57 m=adharikṛitavāna(n) visuddhyā |[34*] Gaṅgēśa-sūnōr=[vvivu(bu)dh-āsrayasya dṛi]ya-
[d*]-dvishad-vamśa-vibhēdi-śaktēḥ |[*] Kāmārṇnavasy=āsya Kumārakatvam
- 58 na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=[p]i |[35*] [Prāpy=ōdayam śa]sā(śā)nkasya varddhat[am]
nāma vāridhiḥ | varddhatē kīrtti-chandrō=[yam] chitram=Kāmārṇnav-ōdayē |[36*]
- 59 Nand-arttu-vyōma-[viśva]³-pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē [dinē]śē chāpa-
[sthē]=nya-grah-aughē va(ba)lavati ripushu prakshayam prāpta-

Third Plate, First Side

- 60 vatsu | asmīn=mūr]ddh-ābhi[shiktē nripavara-tana]yē sarvva-lōk-aika-nāthē śrīmat-Kāmār-
ṇnavēśē | jagad=abhavad=idaṁ tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇam(rṇṇam) |[37*] Kshir-ārṇnavā-
- 61 d=ajani [chan]dra-kal-ēti vārttā Kāmārṇnavāt=tu [sakal-ēndu-]di[vākar]-ābhami |[*]
kīrtti-pratāpa-mithunam saḥachāri lōkē śishyaty=ahō para-nripān=a-
- 62 nurāga-sū[nyān] |[38*] Yasy=āsi-nirddalita-vai[ri-kaṇḍra-kumbha-nirmukta]-matkika-
phalāny=asrig-ukshitāni | Kāmārṇnavasya ripu-samhati-[hētv]=a-
- 63 kāla(lē) sandhyā-prabhāta-bha-gaṇā iva bhānti [yu]ddhē |[39*] Dṛipyad-vairi-cham-ūr-
mmayā kavalitān=aivam=mma(ma)y=āsvādīt=ēty=anyōnyān=kalahē tu [nirṇaya-vi]-
- 64 dhau khaḍga-pratāp-ē[chchha]yā | mādhyaasthan=gamit=ēva ni[rmmalatarā] kīrttir=yyadi-
shā(yā) vra(bra)vīm̄y=ālōchchē(chy)= ēha mahadbhir=ity=[u*]pagatā Dhātu[h*] [śruti]
- 65 chā(v=ā)darāta(t) |[40*] Asrākshīt=sa hiranya-garbhām=apa[rē lōkē mahē]śah pur=ēty=
arthō=ya[m] vivadanti yē cha vadana-vrātas=tadīyō=dhunā | ruddhō
- 66 sha(ya)t=tu hiranya-garbhām=akarōt=Kāmārṇnavēśas=tataḥ sa[m]pa[nnam] janitam
[jaga]d=yata iha pratyakshataḥ prāṇinām |[41*] Sapt-ā[m*]bhōdhin=vahantī kshi-
- 67 tir=atitaralā nāga-kūrm-ēsvarāṇā[m] sã[hāyyam] vāchha[t=I]yan=tad=api punar=a]yañ=
kalpitas=tatra bhārah | dhātā Kāmārṇnav-ākhyah sa cha nija-
- 68 tulanā[m*] nirjjayat=svarṇṇa-bhārair=bhūyō bhūyas=tulāyah(yām) sthita iti dha[raṇēr=
bhāra]-vā(bā)hulyam=āptam(ṇam)|[42*] Hriṣṭa-pushta-jan-ākirṇṇa[m*] | vidva[j*]-
jana-mānō-

¹ Read *puraś=cha*.

² The letter *ti* is redundant.

³ The bit on which this word *vijva* was engraved has been broken and lost.

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III — Plate III

iii, b

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- 69 rama[m] | daś-āvdi(bdi)m=akarōd=rājyam Kāmārṇava-mahīpatih[[43*] śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-
nripatēr=mmahish[ā](shī) tatō=nyā tasy=Ēndirā Ravi-
- 70 kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putri | y-ādy=āpi Dhātur=upam=ājani su[nda]rinām s=ēyam sudhā[m*]śu-
vadanā s[va]yam=ēva jāta | [[44*] Yadru(d-rū)pa-śi-
- 71 la-gati-varṇanayā prasiddhā drishtānta-bhū[r]=ggiri-sut=ēty=ativada-dōshah | n=āsty=ēva
cha[nda]-ruchi-kāma-harō yad=anra(trā) tām=Indirām=udava-
- 72 had=bhuvi Chōḍagaṅga[[45*] Tasyān=tatah samajani kshitinātha-nātha[h*] śrī-
Rāghava[h] para-dhanē[śvara]-darppa-marddī | yat-pattava(ba)ndhana-vidhī-śravaṇa-
- 73 prabhītah sarvvē nripā[h*] śva(sva)-hridi kama(kam)pam=avāptavantah | [[46*] Śrī-
Rāghavē rājani chitram=ētat=tējō-vihīnah kshitipāla-varggah | tat-pāda-sēvā-
- 74 kṛita-dēha-siddhir=mitribhavaty=ēva samasta ēshah [[[47*] Praudh-āri-prahati-prakāra-
vihita-prāchandyam=antarbhavad=dōr-ddand-ōpamiti-pragalbha-
- 75 vishayah (ya)prā gbhūtavān=Arjjunah | sa[m*]praty=ātā(ha)ta-raṅga-saṅgata-ripu-śrēṇī-
si(śi)va(ra)h-kanduka-kṛid-āsakta-bhujah śarāsanabhṛitā[m*] chitr-ō-
- 76 pamā Rāghava[[48*] Jagati Paraśurāmah prādhūrāsī[d*] =dvitīyah kimu ripu-kula-hantā
sv-ājñay=āchchanna-lōkah [[*] kshiti-vitarāṇa-diksh-āsa-
- 77 kta-hastah pratāpād=api daśa-śata-vā(bā)hur=yyasya śatrur=vvināśī [[[49*] Bhēda[m]
bhēdam=arāti-kuñjara-ghatāh kshōṇidhra-parañti² ranē pāya[m] pā-
- 78 yam=asrik-payānsi (yānsi) va(ba)hudhā śrī-Rāghav-āsīh kshanāta(t) | subhram subhram=iv=
ōdvamana(n)=[vi*]jayatē kirtti-pradānam param chandra[m] chandrikayā pra-
- 79 pūrṇatarayā sa[m*]sēvyamān=ākṛitima(tim) [[[50*] Durgēshu dāva-dahanah ksha-
(kshī)tibhristu(tsu) vajra[m*] mādyat-kar-īndra-ghatanāsu cha [siṁ]ha eshah [[*] vi-
[dvēshī]-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 80 bhūmīpatayō nivasanti yatra śrī-Rāghava-kshitipatir=vvitata-pratāpah [[[51*] Śrī-
Rāghava-dharādhiśah kshōṇi-nātha-śa(śi)rōmaṇih | a-
- 81 karōd=rāmva(jya)m=avda(bdā)nām=uddāmō daśa pañcha cha [[[52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍa-
gaṅga-kshiti-valaya-patērvvañśa(r=vvañśa)-santāna-malli-kandva(nda)-śrī-Chandrale-
- 82 khā sphutam=Aditir=iva prēyasā(śi) Kasya(śya)pasya | tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-kshayita-
dinamanīrya(r=jja)ñivān=Rājarājō rājanya-kshōda-
- 83 kēli-tilakita-maha(hi)ma-vyāpta-dikra(k-cha)kravālah [[[53*] Tasmin vi(di)g-[vi]jaya-
prayāṇa-rasikē sa[m*]rambha-śumbhach-chamu(mū)-sa[m]kshunna-kshiti-chakra-
pā[m]śu-pa-
- 84 ṭala-prāgbhāravaty=amva(mba)rē | bhū-saṁspa[r]śa-ghṛinā-vaśā[d*]-dinamanēr=uchai-
(chchai)h p[l]utam sapta(ṭi)bhīh svabhyasta[m*] sura-sintu(ndhu)rēna dharāṇī-pattē
rad-ōdgha-

¹ There is an unnecessary *vēpha* stroke on this letter.

² Read *pañktim*.

- 85 tṭanam(nam) ||[54*] Chōdagaṅga-narēndrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikrama¹h ||[*] Rājarāja iti khyāpu(tā)s=Trikaṅga-mahīpatih ||[55*] Viśva[m*] krōdayati praga-
- 86 lbha-yaśasi prālēya-śaila-tvishi yad=yad=yādrig=abhūd=abhūta-sadrīsam santa[h*] samā-karṇnyatām(tām)||² dhātri pī[tha*]³ti liṅgati svar-achalah prāsūda-
- 87 ti tvad-yaśō diṅ-nāthāh pratimanti yasya paritaḥ śrashtu(śrēya)h-padam śri(śri)ṅgati ||[56*] Āna[m]dam vidadhāti chētasi bhavat-kirttir-gguṇa-grāhipah
- 88 sūtē pē(dō)hadam=arthina[h*] sumanasi śri-Rājarāja dhruvam(vam) ||[*] s=ōyam karṇa-patham samētya hridayē śalyāyatē vairīnah sv-āmē(tm-ē)chchānu-
- 89 vidhāyinān=na hi nā(ni)jō bhāvah kvachid=drīsyatē ||[57*] Ētasyām bhuvi pañcha-viṅśa-(viṅśa)ti-samāh kshmāpāla-lakshmīdhavah
- 90 kritvā jitvara-chāpa-chañchala-bhuja(jā)-dambhōlir=urvīpatih | rājyam prājya-yaśas-tushāra-kirāṇa-śrēṇī-ragā(sā)d=āsa-
- 91 nād=udgachchha[t*]-puruḥūta-giti-charita-śri-Rājarājō nripah ||[58*] Tasy=ānujō nripati-rāja-padē=bhishiktah s-ūkta(kti)-
- 92 priyah parimit-ādirīpa-praśastah | prithvīpatih kalimal-āhita⁴-dharma-śuchēla(dēla) | kāryya-kshamah prabhur=asāv=**Aniyāṅkabhīmah** ||[59*]
- 93 Vir⁵-ādhishtita-saṅgar-ādri-śikharē sa(sa)[m]kha-svan-āsāsītē kunt-ōdbhinna-madēbha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvali-puñjitē | harshād=ugra-
- 94 nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaṅga(dga)-śruchā vidvishām rājñām=ānana-paṅkajāna(ni) nripati[r]=ggatv=ānayad=ya[h*] śa(śri)yam ||[60*] Kshīr-āvdhē(bdhē)r=amṛitah(tāt)=sa(su)-
- 95 r-āsu[ra-bhu]ja-vyāpāra-vikshōbhitā[ch*]=chandrasy=ārddham=abhū[t*]=tad=apy=a[dhi*³]-ya[yā]ri(v=ī)śānam=ēkañ=kila | chañchad=vi(bā)hu-va(ba)lēna saṅgara-bhuvi dvi (tvat)-
- 96 khaṅga-dhārā-jalāj=jātas=tv=ashta-dig-iśvarā[t*]=prithu⁶-yaśa[s=cha*]ndra[h*] samāliṅgati ||[61*] Ya[t]-prayāṇa-samudbhūta-rajah-sa[m*]pūritē=mva(mba)-
- 97 rē | abhū[d]=dviradarājasya dhūli-mada-chitā taru(nu)h ||[62*] Daśa varshāṇi virō=sau nirjjit-ārāti-maṅdalah | Aniyāṅkabhīma-bhū-
- 98 pīlī [lhariteirū] samapālayat ||[63*] Prau[dh-ānarggala]-vikramah kula-[griham yō daṇḍanīti]-śriyah saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāru-cha-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 99 ritah puṇy-aika-pirāyaṇah | tasy=āsīd=Aniyāṅkabhīma-nripatēr=arddh-āṅga-lakshmī[h*] svaya[m*] [snē]hasy=ātīśayēna paṭtamahishī Vā[ghalla]dēvi bhuvī || [64*]
- 100 Tulita-pitri-guṇ-augha[h] sūnur=āsīd=[amushyā niratīsayi]ta-[tējā] y[au]van-āvāpta-[rājyah] | pranata-nripati-chūdā-ratna-rōchih piśaṅgikṛita-

¹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* here.

² One *danḍa* is unnecessary.

³ There is space for engraving this *akshara* but it has not been engraved.

⁴ The Nagari plates have °*jjhita*° here.

⁵ An unnecessary *u-mātrā* is seen in this letter.

⁶ Traces of an *akshara* resembling *m* are seen between *thu* and *y* here.

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III — Plate IV

iv, b

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- 101 charaṇa-sarōjō **Rājarājō** nripālah¹ [[[65*] Yasy=ōdyad-[vāji-vrinda]-prakhara-khura-put-āghāta-nirddhā(rddā)rit-ōrvvī-śa(sa)mbhūtam=bhūri-bhāsvat-kara-nika-
- 102 ra-guṇah¹ syūta-sāndra-prayāṇē(ṇam) | vistīrṇam karnṇa-tāl-āhativirabhirat²-ōnmatta-sēnā-gajānām=ashtānām diggajānām mukhapāṭa-tulanā-
- 103 m=ādadhē dhūli-jālam(lam) [[[66*] Yasmīn śāsati śāsīt-āti-nikaraiḥ³ samyak samudr-āmva-(mba)rām prithvī[m*] pārhiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājē
- 104 nripē | cakram mMā(Mā)dhava eva taikshṇam⁴=adhikam kaukshēyakē chintanam⁵ śāstr-ābhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha jaḍatā kālē kalau śrūyatē [[[67*] Yat-kīrtti-
- 105 dugdha-jaladhīr=bhuvan-āntarālam sa[m*]p[l*]āvya dūrataram=uchchalitah sa bhīti | tāra-gaṇā[h*] sphuṭa-ruchō gaganē samantāt=sūkshma-ātisūkshma-tara-
- 106 lā iva viprushanti [[[68*] Tyāgē sau(śau)ryyē cha satyē cha Karṇṇ-Ārjjuna-Yudhishtiraiḥ [| *] sadriśō=yam mahāvā (vī)rō Rājarājō narādhipah [[[69*] Rāja-
- 107 rājō narapati[r=dda]śa sapta cha vatsarān | bhuvī rājya-śriyam bhuktvā svā rājyāya pratasthivān | [| 70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūtā vēlā sau-
- 108 ndaryya-vāridhēh | nāmnā Malhanadēv=īti mahishī tasya bhūpatēh [[[71*] Tasyām=abhūd=adbhuta-vikrama-śrīh śrīmān=ayam bhūbhīd=**A-**
- 109 **nañkabh[i]mah** | virājatē kīrtti-sudhā-taraṅgair=dhautāsu dig-bhittishu yat-prasastih | [| 72*] Yasy=ānarggala-dōr-vvilāsa-la-
- 110 hari-lāvanya-vairi-vrajat-kranda[t*]-paura-vadhū-vilōchana-payah-pūrain-dharā da[ntu]-rām(rā) [| *] kiñ=cha tyāga-taraṅga-bhaṅgi-kalanaiḥ pāthōdhi-
- 111 yā n=ōtsavād=vrīdā-vakrita-kandharah sa bhagavān=manyē purānō munih [[[73*] Kas-tvam=bhōh kal[r=a]sm]i kin=nu vimanāh kasmai nivēdy=ātma-
- 112 nah śōk-ā[m*]bhōdhim=apāharāmi kalayā ki[m*] vētsi nō mām Hariṁ(rim) | yady=ēvam kalay=ā[sm]a]diya-samay-ōtkshēpāya Gaṅg-ānvayē jā-
- 113 taḥ śrīmān Anāñkabhīma-nripatih sō=py=arthabhūtō mama [[[74*] Dhyān-ānuva(ba)ndha-nivi(bi)da-prasara-pramōda[m*] mādhvika-mugdha-masriṇam hrida-
- 114 y-āravinda[m*] | dēvah purāṇa-purushah parirabhya yasya rōlamva(mba)-damva(mba)-rakalām kalayāmchakāra⁶ [[[75*] Lakshmi-rakshana-sauvidarlla(la)-pa-
- 115 davi[m*] pratyarthi-prithvī-bhujām prāṇ-āka[r*]shana-rarjju⁷(jju)-vaibhava=tulām=uddāmam=āmānda(ṇḍa)yan | saṅgrāma-sthala-kēli-tāṇḍava-kalā-pāṇḍi-
- 116 tyam=ā[ma*]ṇḍayan yēn=āyam jagad-adbhut-aika-vilasat-krīdā-nataḥ sāyakah || [76*] Hiranyagarbha mā garvva[m] kurushv=ēv=ēti s-ērshyayā [| *]
- 117 hiranyagarbhō bhūtvā yah kshām=imā[m*] paripālayan(yat) [[[77*] Yasy=ānarggala vikram-ārjjita-yasah-kshīr-ōḍa-dān-ōrmmibhīh dā(bhīr-dā)tā-

¹ The Nagari plates have °mahah° here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 254, text line 101).

² Read °bhīr-avirat-ō°

³ The Nagari plates have °amaraganaiḥ° here (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 255, text line 103).

⁴ There is an unnecessary *ra* engraved after this.

⁵ The *anusvara* mark is to the right.

⁶ Read *kalayāmchakāra*.

⁷ This *repha* stroke should have been engraved above *sha* of the previous word °ākarshana°.

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 118 raḥ kila kāma-gō-prabhṛitayaḥ prōchehhō(tsā)ritā dūrataḥ | kiñ=ch=āyañ=cha hiraṇya-garbha-kalanā-[vai]dha(da)[gdh]yam=ā[karṇṇayaḥ-lajjā-lōla-chaturmmu]-
- 119 kh-ākshi-yugalō manō(nyē) mahān padmabhūḥ ||[78*] Yēn=ābhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-trayēṇa nītas=tulāpuruṣha-dāna-kal-ānuva(ba)ndhaiḥ | lavdh=ā(bdh=ā)pi naḥ
- 120 kshitir=amushya mudē tath=ābhūd=yāḍrigvi(g=dvi)jāti-jana-śāsana-dāna-kēliḥ ||[79*] Āka[r]shatā hṛidayam=ēṇa-vilōchanānām=ā[dhunvatā cha pa]-
- 121 ritaḥ pratip[ā]rthivānām [|*] arth-ānvaya-praṇaya(yi)nā kṛitinām=Anaṅgabhīma-prasiddhir=amunā vidadhē nṛipēṇa || [80*] Sō=yam śrīma[d-Aniya]-
- 122 **ākabhīma-narēndrah** ātmanaḥ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhy-artha[m] **Kōṭarāvāṅga-vishayē** **Sagaḍāvadhī-khaṇḍē Ti[ppa]riāmvilō-samva(mba)ddha-Phaphaḍā-kshē-**
- 123 tra-sahitaṁ Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-grāmaṁ [sa]mudāyēna dvya-dhika-shasṭi-vāṭi-parimitaṁ **Rālagunchha(ñcha)-vishayē** pūrvva-dīśa(śi) alpā-pushkara-
- 124 nī-pāśchima-sētu[h] dakṣiṇa-dīśa(śi) Nāgēśvara[h*] pāśchima-dīśa(śi) sasimā-pushkariṇi-[pūrvva-sētuḥ] uttara-dīśa(śi) Nārāyaṇa-sādhu-pu-
- 125 shkaraṇī-uttara¹-sētu[h] ēva[m] chatus-simā-prāchī(chī)na-Kapilēśvara-sahitaṁ **Rāvāṅga-vishayē Madhya-khaṇḍ[ē] Khambhāra-grāmaṁ=cha** sa-jala-
- 126 sthara(la)-kshētra-matsyē(ṭsya)-kachehapa-viṭap-āraṇya siddha-chatuḥ-sim-āvach-chhinnaṁ Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Dharādharma-śarmma-
- 127 ṇaḥ putrāya Śrīdhara-śarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya Ananta-śarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya Yujurvved-āntarggata-Mādhy[ndi²]na-śā-
- 128 kh-ādhyāyinē Vājapēya-yājīnē Jaga[nnātha]-śarmmaṇē śrī-Purushōttama-kshōtrē **Sōma-grahaṇa-samayē** vā(dhā)-
- 129 rā-pūrvvakam=ā-chandr-ārkk-ōpabhōgāy=ākari-kṛitya pā(pra)[tipāditah] Paṭuvāḍapāṭaka-[vā]sinah|| Vājapēya-yāji Sūryyaka(kṛi)shṇa Sa-
- 130 rvvajña Anantakaṇṭha Jautisha Kapilakaṇṭha Paṇḍita Śrīdhara Pāṭhi Āgamadhara [Pāṭhi] Siddhēśvara Paṇḍita Gōvinda
- 131 Pāṭhi Arjjuna-śarmmaṇaḥ|| ētē Bhārachehā(dvā)ja-sagōtrāḥ || [Jau]tisha Rudrakara³ Jautisha Vāsudēva Pāṭhi Sabhāpati
- 132 Pāṭhi Vṛi(Bṛi)haspati Pāṭhi Ananta Pā⁴ṭhi Uddāi Pāṭhi . la Pāṭhi Jaga[nnātha]-śarmmaṇaḥ ētē Vatsa-sagōtrāḥ|| Pa-
- 133 rṇṇata⁵ Mrityuñjjayā(ō=p)i Vatsa-sagōtrāḥ || Pāṭhi Viśvōśvarā(rō) Māṇḍavya-sagōtrāḥ || Atha grīh-āṅgaṇa-bhāgiṇaḥ | Paṇḍa(ṇḍi)ta

¹ Read °dakṣiṇa°.

² There is space here for engraving the *akshara ndi*, but it was not engraved.

³ The name may have been *Rudrakumāra* as well.

⁴ Some other *akshara* was attempted to be engraved here.

⁵ The intended word seems to be *Paṇḍita*.

ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF ANANGABHIMA III—Plate V



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Scale : Three-fifths

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- 134 Mṛityuñjaya Madhu Lōkadhara Vidyādhara [Ha]dap[ra]kara Ga[d]ādhara Ma ka..
dhava Chakradhara Jāvanara Lōkā-
- 135 yī Sūrjāyī Gōvinda-haru Pāṇigrāhī Chaṇḍa . chehha . . ra . ri pāla Madhusō(sū)dha-
(da)na Ga[d]ādhara Pañ Vi-
- 136 śvē[śva*]ra Sēnāpati Rājapradhānī Vidyākara Mādhava . dhakar . . Pāṭhi Sannu Pāṭhi
Purī [Atha*] Paṇḍita Vēda[vidāh] |

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 137 kha . ra[śrī] Jyōtisha Rudrakara-[śar]mmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah | Gaṅga[la]-śarmmā s-
ārdhha-vāṭikah | Vri(Bri)haspati-śarmmā ēka-vā-
- 138 tī[kah] | . . vara-śar[mmā] s-ārdhha-vāṭikah | Ya[jña]-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah | Janār-
ddana-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah ētē Vatsa-sagōtrāh [||*]
- 139 A[nanta]-śarmmā [Vi]dyākara-śarmmā pañcha-vāṭikah Śrīdhara-śarmmā dvi-vāṭikah
Dharañidhara-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah
- 140 Ga[d]ādhara-śarmmā dvika-vāṭikah [Sar]vadhara-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah Ābharāṇa-
śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah Viṣṇu-śarmmā ēka-vāṭi-
- 141 kah Kā[ma]dēva-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah Madhusō(sū)dha(da)na-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah
Mādhava-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah Mēdī-śa-
- 142 rmmā ēka-vāṭikah Uddāi-śarmmā Mayadhara-śarmmā cha pratyēkam dvi-vāṭikō Dhṛitikara-
śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah Sujā-
- 143 i-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah Bhāṇakara-śarmmā arddha-vāṭikah Madhu-śarmmā arddha-vāṭikah
Ugra-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah ētē
- 144 Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāh || Viśvōśvara-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah Rāmadēva-śarmmā s-ārdhha-tri-vāṭi-
kah Mṛityuñjaya-śarmmā
- 145 dvi-vāṭikah ētē Māṇḍavya-sagōtrāh [||*] Vāsudēva-śarmmā ēka-vāṭikah Sū[r*]jyakara-
śarmmā ēka-
- 146 vāṭikah Nārāyaṇa-śarmmā s-ārdhha-vāṭikah ētē Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāh [||*] [Atha*] Vēda-
Vyākaraṇa-maṭhayō=
- 147 [r] pa(h=Pa)[ra*]mēsvaraḥ || || Vāṭī ē[sha]¹ Va(Ba)labhadra-dēvasya arddha-vāṭī daṇḍa-
pāsi(śi)kasya vāṭī-dvayam Paṭa(tu)vādapāṭakē Tri-
- 148 dēvānām mmashta²-vāṭyaḥ || Pūtimāsha-gōtrāh śāsanādhikāri Tallar-āryyō dvi-vāṭikah[||*]
Vēda-Purāṇa-Vyākara-
- 149 ṇa-maṭhānām nava-vāṭyaḥ [||*] Vri(Bri)hatvri(dvri)[ddha]-maṭhasyē(sy=ai)kā vāṭī ||
Tāmvvra(bra)kāra Lōkāyī ēka-vāṭikah || Daṇḍapāsi(śi)ka-
- 150 sya vāṭī-chatuṣṭaya[m*] || Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-artha[m*] tad-rakshā-phala-siddhayē
[|*] maddharmmaḥ pratipālyō=ya[m*] bhūpair=āchandra-
- 151 tārakam(kam) || [81*] Mā bhūdi(d=a)phala-śāṅkā tē para-datt=ēti pār³thiva [|*] sa(sva)-
dattād=adhika[m*] puṇyam para-datt-āna(nu)pālanē || [82*] Sva-dattā[m*]

¹ Read *ēkā*.

² Read *°dēvānām=ashfavāṭyaḥ*.

³ The *rēpha* sign is engraved between *pā* and *thi*.

- 152 para-dattām para-dattā¹ vām(vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [*] mahīm matimatām śrēshṭha dānāch= chhrēyō=nupālanē(nam) || [83*] Sva-dattā[m*] pa-
- 153 ra-dattāma(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharām(ram) [*] sa vishṭhā(shtā)yām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē ||[84*] Nirjjalē prāntarē dēsē(sē)
- 154 śushkaṁ(shka)-kōtara-vāsinah [*] kṛishṇa-sarpā hi jāyantē yē haranti vasundharām(rām) ||[85*] Gām=ēkām svarṇnam=ēkaṁ vā bhūmēr=apy=a-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 155 rddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam)[*] haran=nara[kam=āpnōti y]āvad=ābhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) ||[86*] Śatruṇ=āpi kṛitō dharmmah pālanīyō manīshibhiḥ [*] śatruṇ=ēva hi śatru[h*] syād=dharmmah śatruṇ=nna
- 156 kasyachit ||[87*] Tasy=ā[jñayā yathā-jñānam] Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇān=prati [*] praśastirachanā-ślōkāṁn Tallapah² kritavān kṛitī ||[88*] Lōkāikēn=ōdghātitaṁ(tam)||

¹ This *para-dattā* is redundant.

² Read *ślōkāms=Tallapah*.

No. 56—THREE EARLY KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHARWAR DISTRICT

(2 Plates)

MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE

(Received on 9.2.1967)

The three inscriptions edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, were copied by me in the course of my epigraphical survey of Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District, Mysore State, during the month of October, 1965. Of these, No. I¹ is from **Araḷihonḍa** and Nos. II² and III³ are from **Māvalli**, all belonging to the same Taluk.

I. **Araḷihonḍa Inscription of Piṭṭiamman**

This inscription was copied from a loose slab kept in the temple of Kalmēsvara in the village. The upper portion of the slab is broken. The text is in three lines.

The **characters** generally resemble those of the Yekkēri rock inscription⁴ and Aihole inscription⁵ of Chālukya Pulakēsin II on the one hand and the Turimeḷḷa inscription⁶ of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēsin II on the other. In the Yekkēri rock inscription, the initial vowel *a* (lines 1 and 6) has the lower loop unconnected with the left of the upper stroke, whereas in the Aihole inscription there are both types (lower loop unconnected, lines 1, 12 etc., lower loop connected, lines 3, 11, 14 etc.). In the inscription under discussion, this vowel occurs twice, once each in lines 1 and 2, the lower loop joining the left of the upper stroke in the former case and not joining in the latter. The Turimeḷḷa inscription has the letter *y* with its left loop fully developed in lines 1, 3 etc. and almost fully developed in lines 6, 7, 8 and 11. In the inscription under discussion, *y* occurs in lines 1 and 3 (once in each) and in both cases the left loop is fully developed and this feature becomes regular in the later periods. The other peculiarity in this inscription is in the formation of the consonant *k* in *kṭi* (line 2) where the vertical stroke is not bent in its lower part but remains straight. However the vertical stroke is bent in other cases (lines 1, 2 and 3) and these represent the features regular for the period. Thus on the basis of these palaeographical features and its general appearance, this inscription can be assigned to the middle of the 7th century A.D.

The initial vowel *a* occurs twice (once each in lines 1 and 2) and *e* once (line 3), final *n* once (line 1) and final *r* once (line 3), subscripts *k* (in *iko*) once (line 3) and *g* (in *nga*) once (line 3), *t* twice (in *kottār* in line 3 and *Piṭṭiamman* in line 1) and *t* twice in *Kaṇṇasakti* and *datti* (in line 2). The **language** of the record is **Kannāḍa**.

Amongst the **orthographical** peculiarities, the use of *r* and *r* in the words *Konnerayangai* and *Ereva* may be noted.

¹ Registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66, Appendix B. No. 377.

² *Ibid.*, No. 405.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 406.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, plate facing page 8.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, plate facing page 6.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, plate facing page 162.

The inscription states that while **Piṭṭiamman**¹ was ruling over the earth, **Ereva Konnerēyaṅgaḷ**² gave away four *mattar* of land³ belonging to **Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa**.⁴

The inscription states that Piṭṭiamman was ruling over the earth (*Piṭṭiamman prithuvirājya[m] keye*). We know that the inscriptions of this period mention only a sovereign ruler as the ruler of the earth and sometimes without any royal titles.⁵ Of course this practice continued even in the later period.⁶ But in the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to state whether he (Piṭṭiamman) was an independent ruler or not, though he is mentioned to be ruling over the earth, because he does not bear any titles like *prithivīvallabha*, etc. which are usually mentioned for describing a paramount ruler by the inscriptions of this period. However, as this inscription belongs to the area which was under the suzerainty of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi during this century, it is likely that this ruler Piṭṭiamman was one of their feudatories.

Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa recalls to our mind some of the Sēndraka chiefs whose names also end in *śakti* as for instance **Durgasakti**, **Kundaśakti**, **Vijayaśakti**⁷ etc. **Ereva Konnerēyaṅgaḷ** seems to be another chief. The exact relation between him, **Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa** and **Piṭṭiamman**, however, is not known.

TEXT⁸

- 1 ***Piṭṭiamman** pri¹⁰thuvirājya[m] keye
- 2 **Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa** datti nāl-mattal=[bhū][mi*]
- 3 **Ereva Konnerēyaṅgaḷ**=kottār

II. Māvalli Inscription of Gaṇḍamahārāja

The inscription is engraved on a stone pillar set up near a dilapidated structure¹¹ in the deserted village **Māvalli**. The pillar has three panels, the 1st from the top containing a figure

¹ In this word *Piṭṭi* appears to be the Prakritised form of *Prithvi*.

² *Ereva Konnerēyaṅgaḷ* may be treated as one name or the term *ereva* may be taken to connote the regular meaning 'ruling'. The same purport can also be seen in *ereya* in *Konnerēyaṅgaḷ* (*Konn-ereyaṅgaḷ*) which indicates his being a master (in the sense of administrator). Cf. Kittel, *Kannada English Dictionary*, p. 279, under *ere*, where, the meaning of the word *ereya* is given as, a master, a king, etc. If both these terms are taken in this sense, this inscription would furnish one of the earliest instances where *r* and *ṛ* interchange.

³ The name of the recipient of the grant does not appear in the inscription.

⁴ It can also be interpreted that **Kaṇṇaśakti-arasa** made a grant of four *mattar* of land which was later on confirmed by **Konnerēyaṅgaḷ**.

⁵ Cf. *SII*, Vol. XX, p. 2, text of the inscription No. 2.

⁶ Vide the expression *Tailapadēva prithivirājya geye* which is absolutely similar to the one occurring in the inscription under discussion. *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, B. K. Nos. 88 and 90.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. XX, p. vii.

⁸ From inked impressions.

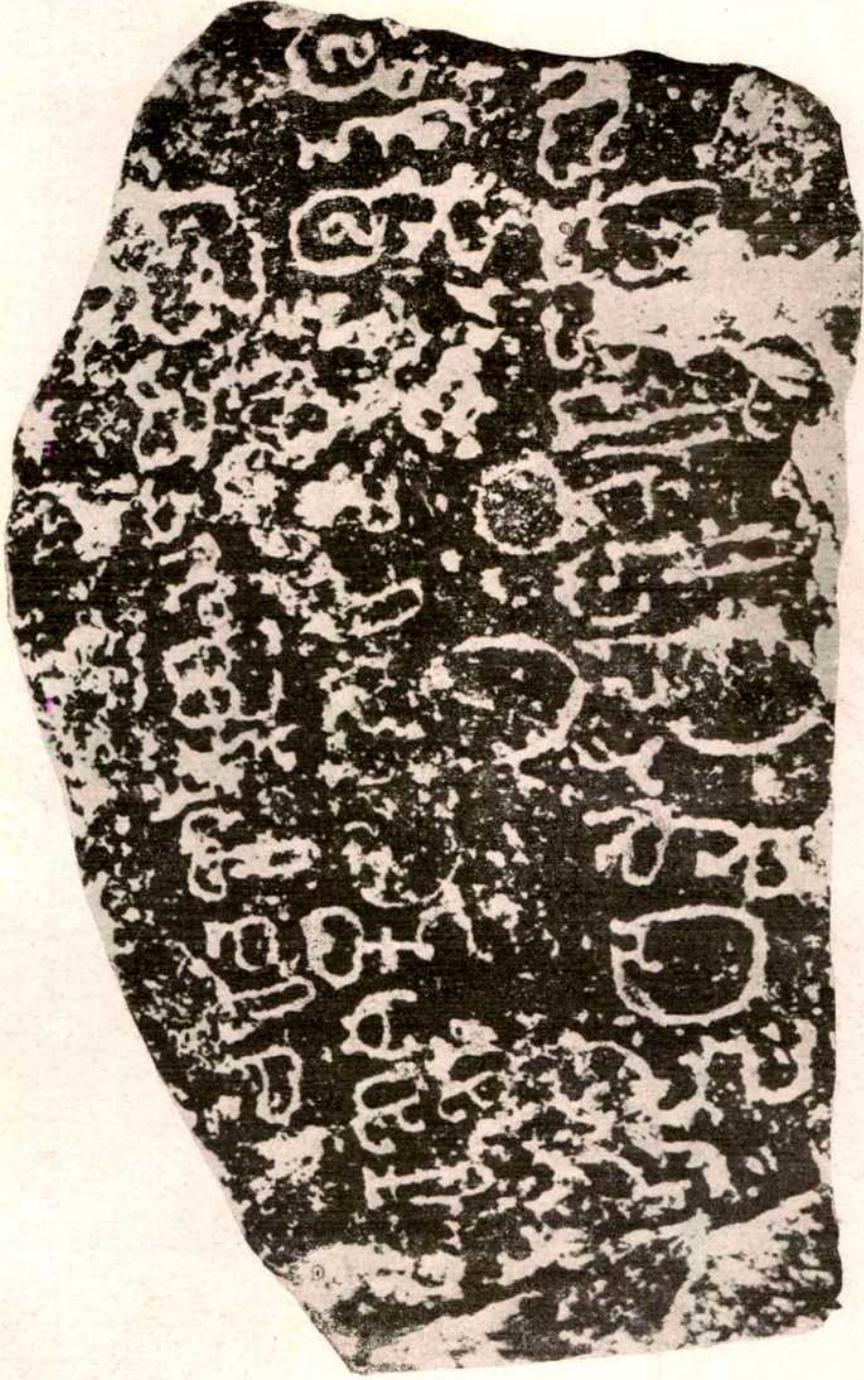
⁹ The text of the inscription is engraved from bottom upwards. It starts with *Ereva Konnerēyaṅgaḷ* (line 3) and ends with *keye* (line 1). It is likely that there was the usual imprecatory stanza or the name of the recipient of the grant after the present ending, which is now lost due to the upper portion of the slab being broken; vide *SII*, Vol. XX p. 2, inscription No. 2 where the imprecatory verses follow the grant portion immediately.

¹⁰ The *i-mātrā* is wrongly added to *pri* here.

¹¹ The inscribed pillar has definitely some connection with the dilapidated structure as they (the pillar and the structure) represent the same style and are in the chloritic schist which is the stone used for the representative structures during the period from 8th to 12th century A.D. There is another inscribed pillar (also chloritic schist) near this structure edited as No. III below and a slab (also in chloritic schist) within a furlong from here, which bears a Kannada inscription in characters of the 12th century. All these are lying in a cultivated field having an area of about 2 sq. furlongs. Medieval pottery could be noticed strewn over the whole area which represented Māvalli township during this long period of about four centuries. A few fragmentary sculptures including the head of a Jain image were also noticed in the same area.

THREE EARLY KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHARWAR DISTRICT—Plate I

i. *Aralihonda* Inscription of *Pitijammani*.



2

2

Scale : One-half

G. S. Gai

Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXVII

ii. Māvalli Inscription of Gaṇḍamahārāja



Scale : One-half

(probably of a *Jaina Tirthāṅkara*) flanked by two lamps, the 2nd containing the figures of two bulls and the 3rd containing the inscription being edited.

The record is in seven lines and the **characters** resemble in general those of the *Betgere* inscription¹ of *Kṛishna II*, dated A.D. 888² and can be assigned to the 9th century A.D.

Initial *ā* occurs once (line 5). The *rēpha* sign occurs twice (once in line 2, in *rājar= Ppalasige* and once in *rchchāsira* in line 3). The **language** of the record is **Kannāḍa**.

Of the **orthographical** peculiarities, the reduplication of *p* following *r* (line 2, in *rājar= Ppalasige*) and the form *duga* (line 4, *dugarāja*) for *yuva* (*yuvarāja*) are noteworthy.

The inscription states that while **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja** was ruling over **Palasige-12,000** and *Chandapa* was the heir-apparent,³ *Mahāvalli* was being administered by *Mūvadimbaru*. It mentions a son (name lost) of *Mantara* or *Āmantara* *Biṇacha*, a *nālgāmiga*.

The purport of the inscription seems to be the setting up of the pillar, on which it is engraved, by the son of *Mantara* (or *Āmantara*) *Biṇacha*, though it is not specified by the record.

The inscription brings to light a hitherto unknown chief **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja** who was administering over **Palasige-12,000**. The inscription does not say anything about his actual status as an administrator. However, since we know that the *Rāshtrakūṭas* were the paramount rulers of *Karṇāṭaka* including this division viz. **Palasige-12,000**, during this century, it may be presumed that **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja** was one of their feudatories. The inscription is also silent on the relationship between *Chandapa* who was named heir-apparent and **Gaṇḍa-mahārāja**. *Mūvadimbaru* seems to be the thirty persons forming a body which was in charge of the administration of *Mahāvalli*. *Mantara* or *Āmantara* *Biṇacha* is mentioned as a *nālgāmiga*. The term *Mantara* (or *Āmantara*) seems to connote a family name.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in the inscription, **Palasige-12,000**, is the region around *Halasige* i.e. modern *Halsi* in *Belgaum District*, *Mysore State*. The earliest reference to this division as **Palasige-12,000** was hitherto furnished by a record³ dated, Śaka 853 (A.D. 931) and the present record takes back its existence by about a century. **Mahāvalli** is another place-name mentioned in the record and this is the same as *Māvalli*⁴ (which is now a deserted village) in *Kalghatgi Taluk*, *Dharwar District*.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Svasti śrī-Gaṇḍa-mahā-
- 2 rājar-Ppala⁶sige-Panni-
- 3 rchchāsirakke rājya[m]geyu-
- 4 ttire Chandapa dugarājan=āge Mahāva-⁷

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 182.

² *Dugarāja* occurs for *Yuvarāja* in the later periods also. Cf. above Vol. XXVII, p. 226, lines 3 and ff. It can also be an alternative form for *durgarāja* in which case it can be supposed that *Chandapa* was looking after the administration of the forts.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. B. 400.

⁴ It is interesting to note that this place had acquired the importance of a headquarter of the division, *Māvalli-500* (named after the village), by about the 11th century (Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1965-66, Nos. B. 385 and 411).

⁵ From the impressions.

⁶ The line after *la* is accidental.

⁷ The line before *va* is accidental.

- 5 ||iya[m] muvadimbarum=ā|uttire Ā
 6 mantara Bīnacha-nā|gāmigana
 7 magana

III. Māvalli Inscription of Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā

This inscription is engraved on another stone pillar set up near the inscribed pillar No. II above. The pillar has four panels one below the other, the 1st from the top containing the inscription (with a figure of the crescent above the inscription in the mid-top of the pillar) being edited, the second and third each containing the figure of a bull and the fourth containing the figure of a plough.

The record is in six lines and the characters resemble in general those of No. II above with the exception of the following letters which betray slightly later features : *ḍ* (line 1 in *Kaḍambā*) has its right loop more developed, the subscript *b* (line 1 in *Kaḍambā*) has its upper portion unconnected, *n* (line 2 in *Pannisāsira*) has more roundish features as compared with the same letter in No. II above. This record can be assigned to the later part of the 9th century on the basis of these palaeographical features and to a period slightly later than No. II above.

Initial vowel *e* occurs once (line 3, in *ereyavaṃ*). It is interesting that both the class-nasals *n* (line 2), *m* (line 1) and *anusvāra* (in lines 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6) occur in this record.

Of the orthographical peculiarities, lengthening of *mba* (into *mbā*) in *Kaḍambā* (line 1) and the replacement of the usual term *pannirchchāsira* by *Panni[sā]sira* (line 2)¹ are worth noticing. The language of the inscription is Kannada.

The inscription states in lines 1-3 that Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā was ruling over [Palasi]ge-12,000. In lines 4-6, it mentions Polaiya and Śa[m]keya and refers with some deed by them. It can be guessed on the basis of the letters not worn out that Polaiya set up the pillar and Śa[m]keya caused the record to be engraved.

The record brings to light Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā, a hitherto unknown ruler of this important division Palasige-12,000. It is difficult to say to which dynasty he belonged though the term *Kaḍambā* indicates that he may have belonged to the dynasty of the Kadambas. No record of this dynasty discovered so far mentions the name Rāchchaya. If it could be proved that this chief did belong to this dynasty, he would be the earliest of the Kadambas to rule over this division.

Palasige-12,000 is the only geographical name given in this record and it is discussed under No. II above.

TEXT²

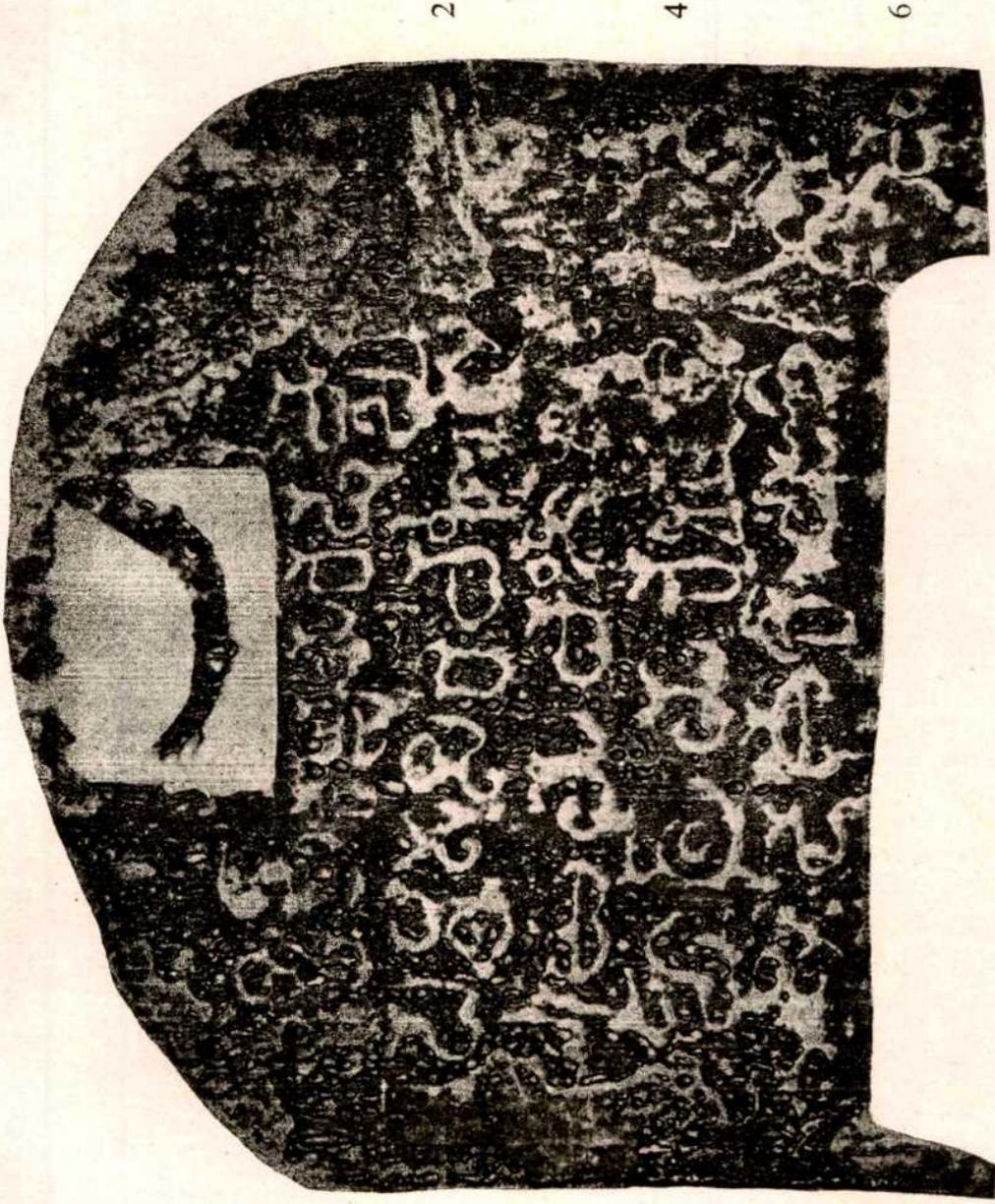
- 1 Svasti śrī-Rāchchaya-Kaḍambā [Palasi]-
 2 ge-Panni[sā]siravaṃ ..
 3 ereyavaṃ ge
 4 ḍida Polaiya kaṃ[ba].
 5 gēsida[m] Śa[m]keya ba[ra]si-
 6 daṃ

¹ Cf. No. II above, text line 3.

² From impressions.

THREE EARLY KANNADA INSCRIPTIONS FROM DHARWAR DISTRICT—Plate II

iii. *Māvalli* Inscription of *Rāchchaya-Kaṭambā*.



Scale : One-half

No. 57—TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN, YEAR 40

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

(Received on 12-2-69)

These copper plates were discovered in Tembūru village in Patapatnam Taluk of Srikakulam District, Andhra Pradesh. Shri B. N. Shastri of Hyderabad, an enthusiastic worker in the field of Andhra History and Culture, obtained them from Dr. G. V. Sitapati and published in the Telugu Monthly *Bhārati*, Vol. 44, Part 12 (December 1967), pp. 13 ff. When I visited Hyderabad in December 1968, Shri Shastri was kind enough to hand over these plates to me for examination and study. The record is edited here from the impressions taken under my supervision at Hyderabad. The plates are now deposited in Navodaya Samiti Office at Hyderabad. I am thankful to Shri Shastri for placing the plates at my disposal.

The set consists of **three** plates, each plate measuring 15 cm x 6.5 cm. At the left end margin of each plate is a ring-hole, 1.2 cm in diameter, through which passes a ring, 12.5 cm in diameter. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal measuring 7 cm x 5 cm. The depression of the seal bears in relief a legend in four lines which is rather indistinct. We can, however, make out the letters '—*Umavarmmanah*' at the end. The weight of the three plates is 440 gm while that of the ring with the seal is 880 gm. The first and third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second plate contains writing on both the sides. The first and the second plates have suffered some damage with the result that some letters have become indistinct, though they can be easily made out from the context.

The **characters** are early South Indian of about the 6th century A.D. and resemble those of the other grants of the same king Umavarman, viz. the Brihatprōsthā grant,¹ Dhavalapēṭa plates,² Tekkali plates³ and also of the Kōmarti and Bobbili plates⁴ of Achaṇḍavarman. Of the initial vowels, only *ā* is found three times in lines 6, 17 and 18. The sign for *jihvāmūliya* occurs in line 1 while that for *upadhmanīya* in lines 3 and 9. Final *t* is met with in lines 18 and 19, final *n* in line 2 and final *m* in lines 15 and 16. The numerical symbols for 10, 20 and 30 appear in line 19. As for **orthography**, the consonant following *r* is doubled. The **language** is Sanskrit and, except for the customary verses at the end, the text is in prose.

The charter is issued by *mahārāja Umavarman* from *Sirnhapura* and registers the gift of the village *Hōnarēṅga* made to the *brāhmaṇa* Bhartrīśarman belonging to Vāsishtha-gōtra and Taittiriya-sākhā, for the increase of the merit and fame of the king's son Vasushēnarāja. The gift-village is stated to have been made an *agrahāra* after separating it from Dantayavāgū division (*madamba*) so that it would enjoy the privileges of other *agrahāras* in Kaliṅga with exemption from all taxes.

The **date** of the grant is given in line 19 as the 20th day of Vaisākha in the (*regnal*) year 40. This date is expressed by the two symbols 30 and 10.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 4 ff. and plate.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 132 ff. and plate.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 298 ff. and plate. See below p. 338.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff. and plate and Vol. XXVII, pp. 33 ff. and plate. For the reading of the name of this king as Achaṇḍavarman and not Chandavarman, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 3.

The draft of the inscription closely resembles that of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant of the same king Umavarman, dated in his 30th year, mentioned above. In both these grants, the ruling king Umavarman is described as *Bappa-pāda-bhaktah* and *Kalīṅgādhipatiḥ* and both of them are issued from Simhapura.¹ While the Dhavalapēṭa plates², issued from Sunagara, describe him as *parama-daivata bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*, the Tekkali plates³, issued from Vardhamānapura in his 9th regnal year, call him as *pītri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ*. Venkataramayya, who edited the Tekkali plates, considers Umavarman of these plates to be different from Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant and the Dhavalapēṭa plates on the ground that the title *Kalīṅgādhipati* is absent in the Tekkali plates and that the seal of these plates contains a legend only in one line, reading *pītri-bhaktah*, whereas the seals of the other two grants have a legend in four lines ending in *Mahārāj-Ūmavarmnā*.⁴ In our opinion, the argument based on the absence of the title *Kalīṅgādhipati* is not a satisfactory one in as much as the Dhavalapēṭa plates also do not refer to Umavarman as *Kalīṅgādhipati*, which fact has escaped the notice of Venkataramayya. We may surmise that the Dhavalapēṭa plates (the date-portion in which is lost), along with the Tekkali plates of the 9th regnal year of Umavarman, were issued when the king had not assumed the title *Kalīṅgādhipati* which he did when he issued the Bṛihatprōshthā grant in his 30th regnal year as well as the present plates in his 40th regnal year. As regards the difference in the legends of the seals, it may be pointed out that the legend in four lines given on the seals of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant and the Dhavalapēṭa plates as well as on that of the present grant is, unfortunately, not distinct except the last word *Mahārāj-Ūmavarmnāḥ*. It is not certain whether this legend contained the expression *pītri-pādabhaktah* also which alone is found in the one-line legend of the Tekkali plates.⁵ We are, therefore, inclined to identify the Umavarman of the Tekkali plates with his namesake mentioned in the remaining three other grants, viz. the Bṛihatprōshthā grant, the Dhavalapēṭa plates and the present Tembūru plates. Thus the present set is the fourth grant of Umavarman discovered so far and records his latest regnal year as yet known, viz. year 40.

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time that Umavarman had a son called **Vasushēnarāja** for whose merit the grant was made.

The *ājñā* or the messenger was one Vāsudēva who was also the messenger of the Bṛihatprōshthā grant. The writer of the document was *dēsākshapatāl-ādhiprīta* Mātrivara son of Haridatta, and these two persons are also mentioned in the other grant with the same relationship.⁶ According to the Bobbili plates of Achaṇḍavarman, the charter was written by *dēsākshapatāl-ādhiprīta* Rudradatta, son of Mātrivara. It is not unlikely that this Mātrivara might be identical with his namesake of the grant under review.

Of the geographical names, **Kalīṅga** is well-known and comprised parts of the present northern areas of Andhra Pradesh and southern parts of Orissa. **Simhapura** from where the

¹ The Kōmarti and Bobbili plates of Achaṇḍavarman are also issued from Simhapura and describe the king as *Kalīṅgādhipati*. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that this Achaṇḍavarman might have been the son of Umavarman (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 212).

² Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 134.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 302.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 306-02. He suggests that this Umavarman might have been a successor of Achaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti and Bobbili plates.

⁵ In fact, the first line in the legend of the present grant seems to contain the words *pītri-pāda*....

⁶ In the bṛihatprōshthā grant, the first two letters *Mātri* of *Mātrivareṇa* are slightly damaged but can be easily made out.

TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN, YEAR 40

i

2

4

2

4

ii, a

6

8

10

6

8

10

ii, b

12 12

14 14

iii

16 16

18 18

20 20

Scale : Actual size

grant was issued is identified with modern Singupuram in Visakhapatnam District and situated between Śrikākulam and Narasannapēṭa. The territorial division **Dantayavāgū** is called in the present grant as a *madamba* whereas it is called a *bhōga* in the Bṛihatprōshthā grant.¹ This and the gift-village **Hōnarēnga** cannot be identified.

TEXT²*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham³ [*] [Svasti] vi[jaya]⁴ **Si**nh⁵apurād-Bappa-pāda-bhaktah=Kaliṅg-ādhipatiḥ
- 2 [śri-ma]hārāj-**Ō**mavarmmā |⁶ Hōnarēnga-grāmē sarvva-samavētān
- 3 kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayaty=asty=ēsha grāmō=smābhiḥ=putra
- 4 **Vasushē**narājasya punya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē Vāsishṭha-sagō-
- 5 trāya Taittiriya-sabrahmachāriṇē brāhmaṇa-Bhartṛisarmmaṇē

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 ā-sahasrāṁśu-śaśi-tāraka-pratishṭham=agrahāraṅ=krītvā **Danta-**
- 7 **yavāgū**-madambād=vinishkṛishya⁷ **Kaliṅg-**āgrahāra-sāmānyam krītvā
- 8 sarvva-kara-parihāraiś=cha parihṛitya prattah [*] tad=ēvam viditvā
- 9 yushmābhi[h=pūrvv-ō]⁸chita-maryyāday=ōpasthānān=karttavyaṁ mēya-hira-
- 10 ny-ā[dyañ=ch=ōpanī]yam=bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayati [*] dharmma-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 krama-vikramāṇām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpya mahīm=anusāsatām
- 12 pravṛittakam=idan=dānam saddharmmaṁ(rmma)m=anupaśyadbhir=ēshō=grahārō=nu-
- 13 pālyah [*] bhavanti ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītāḥ ślōkāḥ [*] Bahubhir=bba-
- 14 hudhā dattā vasudhā vasudh-ādhipaiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ
- 15 tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yatnād raksha Yudhi-

¹ Cf. the expression *Kharapuri-madamba-vinirggatām Pattana-bhōga-vinirggatām cha krītvā* appearing in the Sripuram plates of Kalinga king Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.) where both the terms *bhōga* and *madamba* occur. *Bhōga* appears to be a bigger division than *madamba*.

² From the impressions.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ These two letters are damaged and only their traces can be seen.

⁵ The *i-mātrā* and the *anusvāra* above this letter *Si* are damaged.

⁶ This punctuation mark denoted by a horizontal stroke is unnecessary.

⁷ The Bṛihatprōshthā grant has *Dantayavāgū-bhōgād=uddhṛitya*, though Jultsch reads *Dantayavācu-o*.

⁸ The proton in the bracket has been damaged.

Third Plate

- 16 sh[thi]ra] [*] mahim=mahimatām śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrōyō=nupālanam || [*]
 17 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah [*] ākshēpatā ch-ā-
 18 numantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [**] ājñā Vāsudēvah
 19 Saṁvat 30 10 Vaiśākhā(kha) dī(di) 20 dēśākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita-
 20 Haridatta-sūnunā Mā[tri]varṇa likhitam=iti || ¹

¹ There is a floral design between these *danḍas*.

TEMBURU PLATES OF UMAVARMAN

Seal



Scale : Actual size

CEEI-1-XXXVII-8.

1000

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXVII

OCTOBER 1968

PART VIII

EDITED BY

DR. G. S. GAI, Ph. D.,
Chief Epigraphist



1967

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI-II

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, (PUB. UNIT)
SANTRAGACHI, HOWRAH, INDIA

Price : Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 sh. 8 d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

Archaeological Survey of India

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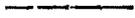


1967

Published by the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-11
Printed at the Government of India Press (Publication Unit), Santragachi, Howrah, India

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72.	„ —Plate II	<i>to face page</i>	340

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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- Page 3, text line 1.—*Read* Siddham^s [....] tasya
- „ 8, f.n. 1.—*For* *Mausaaparvan*, read *Mausalaparvan*
- „ 16, line 27.—*For* Vidarba read Vidarbha
- „ 16, f.n. 7.—*For* *Kāvyañimāñsā* read *Kāvyañimāñsā*
- „ 17, f.n. 1.—*For* द्वयक्त read द्वयक्त
- „ 21, f.n. 8.—*For* akshaas read aksharas
- „ 22, text line 27.—*For* अष्ट read अष्ट
- „ 25, line 9.— *For* Harshvardhana read Harshavardhana
- „ 27, 7.—*For* indentification read identification
- „ 31, line 17.— *For* Paddda read Pedda
- „ 34, text line 10.—*For* rājabhis= read rājabhiḥ (bhi)s=
- „ 34, f.n. 8.—*For* ast read last
- „ 38, f.n. 1.—*For* 215 read 235
- „ 44, text line 15.—*For* ḡṛithivā read ḡṛihītvā
- „ 48, line 21.—*For* Śāka read Śaka
- „ 48, line 29.—*Delete* 'further on'
- „ 51, line 14.—*For* Irugupa read Irugapa
- „ 51, f.n. 6.—*For* B 330 read B 336
- „ 58, f.n. 3.—*Add.*—There is a third record too, viz., the Valipattana C. P. grant of Raṭṭarāja, dated Śaka 932. See *IHQ.*, Vol., IV, pp. 203 ff.
- „ 59, text line 6.—*For* ṛīpa-gaṇa read ṛīpa-guṇa
- „ 60, f.n. 2.—*For* Ādītyavarmā read Ādītyavarmā. Also read 'a cross-mark after varmmā' etc.
- „ 62, line 17.—*Delete* y

- Page 74, line 32.—Add a note:— Cf. the expression *vipralumpaka* used as an adjective of the bad king in the *Manusmṛiti*. (VIII, 309) and explained by the commentators as 'one who confiscates property by inflicting improper punishment.'
- „ 76, line 2.—For verse 4 read verse 5
- „ 77, line 26.—For appear read appears
- „ 85, line 13.—For thich read thick
- „ 86, last line.—For Peddaya read Peddaya
- „ 88, line 21.—For Cheruvu- read Cherupa-
- „ 90, text lines 30-31.—For it read iti
- „ 91, text line 69.—For Padumaṭi read Paḍumaṭi
- „ 91, text line 82.—For yāt read syāt
- „ 96, line 2.—For Cheruva read Cherupa
- „ 101, text line 110-11.—For dakesinataḥ read dakshinataḥ
- „ 102, f.n. 4.—For b characters read bold characters
- „ 104, line 9.—For Katakapuri read Kaṭakapuri
- „ 104, line 12.—For Pramād read Pramādi
- „ 105, line 21.—For Anata read Ananta
- „ 106, line 24.—For fortressess read fortresses
- „ 109, f.n. 1. line 11.—For Śrīrangapaṭṭnam read Śrīraṅgapaṭṭnam
- „ 124, text line 18.—For हंसाव read हंसीव
- „ 125, f.n. 7.—For the Rāmatīrtham etc. read The seals of the Rāmatīrtham, etc.
- „ 126, line 29.—For the full-moon day read on the full-moon day.
- „ 133, line 29.—For Mādhavaśorman read Mādhavaśarman
- „ 134, lines 9-10.—For hero-stone from read hero-stone inscription from
- „ 138, f.n. 1.—For Kaṇḍuha read Kaṇḍuka
- „ 141, line 36.—For importance read importance
- „ 145, line 20.—For naptōḥ read naptuḥ
- „ 146, f.n. 9.—Do.

- Page 154, f.n. 6.—*For lüders read Lüders*
- „ 155, f.n. 3.—*For V. S. 1921 read V. S. 1321*
- „ 159, f.n. 3, line 1.—*For Indravarmon read Indravarman*
- „ 159, f.n. 3, line 5.—*For f' our read of our*
- „ 160, line 20.—*For agrahārika read āgrahārika*
- „ 160, line 36.—*For mahattara- read mahattara-*
- „ 164, line 3.—*For his read her*
- „ 164, text line 3.—*For [śrī]dēvibhir= read [Śrī]dēvibhir=*
- „ 164, f.n. 5.—*For annual funeral ceremony of read annual śrāddha ceremony.*
- „ 166, f.n. 3.—*For Śaka 947 read Śaka 946*
- „ 171, line 26.—*For Ka[dh]ika and Kambhāra read Kā[dh]ika and Kāmbhāra.*
- „ 176, line 37.—*For respectively read respectively*
- „ 179, lines 17-18.—*For Tiruvarāṅgachchiriyānbhaṭṭar read Tiruvarāṅgachchiriyā-
chchānbhaṭṭar.*
- „ 179, line 35.—*For Kalarpūr read Kalarpūr*
- „ 181, text line 35.—*For Sainga (ka) the read saingatā(kathā)*
- „ 182, text line 51.—*For Nuruṅgal read Nuruṅgal*
- „ 183, f.n. 6.—*For ē of the gan read ē-mātra of gau*
- „ 186, f.n. 5 line 5.—*For cowards read towards*
- „ 196, f.n. 2.—*For Bibliography read Bibliography*
- „ 198, f.n. 3.—*For Thap read Thapar*
- „ 205, line 14.—*For seventh tithi of the month read seventh tithi of the bright half of
the month.*
- „ 206, f.n. 1,—line 11.—*For kṛita-read kṛita-*
- „ 206, f.n. 3.—*For bhūbhṛiti read bhūbhṛiti*
- „ 206, f.n. 4.—*For āmbuvattāḍ= read āmbuvattāḍ=*
- „ 206, f.n. 6.—*For -brīḥ read -śrīḥ*
- „ 206, f.n. 7.—*For Chakrāyudhan read Chakrāyudhan*
- „ 207, f.n. 4, line 6.—*For Nāgabha's read Nāgabha's*
- 3 DGA/72

- Page 211, text line 1.—*For sudi 9 read sudi 2*
- „ 213, line 3.—*For Velipattu read Vēlipattu*
- „ 213, line 4.—*Read Kōnēdinādu situated in Chaṅgalipaṭusīma in the Paḍaviḍu-mahārājya etc. Also add a note. The geographical units Beṇḍāyiravvēlipattu and Chaṅgalipatu are evidently identical respectively with the Raṇḍāyira-mahāvēli and Śeṅgaḷanīrpaṭṭu of the Unmanjeri plates of Achyutarāya of Śaka 1462. See above Vol. III, p. 154, text lines 99 ff.*
- „ 213, line 6.—*For Kūttanūru read Kuttanūru*
- „ 213, line 24.—*Do.*
- „ 214, text line 21.—*For यन read येन*
- „ 214, text line 22.—*For स्थिरा and कामिना read स्थिरी and कामिनी [:] respectively.*
- „ 215, text line 32.—*Read कासपु(प्पो)डयम-*
- „ 217, text line 71.—*For तञ्जय-read तञ्ज*
- „ 218, text line 86.—*For संतोष(षि)ष [:] read संतोष(षि)ण [:*]*
- „ 218, text line 101.—*For भिषक क्षणा -read भिषेक [:*] क्षणा-*
- „ 222, line 23.—*For pas read was*
- „ 223, f.n. 7.—*For Bhōjacharita read Bhōjacharitra*
- „ 227, line 22.—*For Vasu read Vāsu*
- „ 228, text line 3.—*For visēsha read viśēsha*
- „ 229, text line 18.—*For nair=rddhūtā- and -Endru- read nair=ddhūtā- and Ēndra-respectively.*
- „ 229, text line 19.—*For archchatī (ti) read archchatih (ti)*
- „ 229, text line 21.—*For ṭhaukitām read ḍhaukitām*
- „ 231, text line 57.—*For saha-dēvarāja- read saha Dēvarāja-*
- „ 233, line 21.—*For Pāmanghāti read Bāmanghāti*
- „ 234, line 31.—*For Rāyabhāṅja read Rāyābhāṅja*
- „ 234, line 36.—*For Kushika- read Kuśika-*
- „ 236, f.n. 2.—*For Vol. XXIV, P. 157, read Vol. XXV, pp. 147 ff.*

- Page 237, text line 15.—*Read* sutah [Khi]-
- „ 237, f.n. 2.—*For* instance *read* instance
- „ 238, text line 21.—*For* chatuṣī (s-sī) mā vacchhinaḥ *read* chatuṣī (s-sī) m-āva-
- „ 238, text line 28.—*For* vacchhinnah *read* chchhina(nnaḥ)
- „ 238, text line 28.—*For* -pavēśah⁶ *read* -pavēśah⁶
- „ 243, f.n. 1 (line 4).—*For* uchchrūpitaḥ *read* uchchrūpitaḥ
- „ 243, f.n. 1 (line 9).—*For* prachchāda *read* prachchhāda
- „ 244, line 11.—*For* tbough *read* though
- „ 245, line 13.—*For* toe *read* the
- „ 246, line 19.—*For* remembered *read* remembered
- „ 247, line 6.—*For* Ṭhāṇa *read* Ṭhāṇā
- „ 247, f.n. 6.—*For* 3, pp. *read* 4, pp.
- „ 248, line 4 5.—*Read* Sōḍḍhala, in his well-known *Champūkāvya* named *Udayasundarikathā*, etc.,
- „ 252, text line 23.—*For* वेयप *read* वैयप
- „ 254, f. n. 1.—*Add* :—The correct reading is ? only.
- „ 255, text line 62.—*Read* पोषणा [यं°]
- „ 255, text line 73.—*For* सदा *read* सद्यो
- „ 259, f.n. 1. (line 3).—*For* Śilābhanja *read* Śilābhañja
- „ 259, f.n. 1. (line 9).—*For* Gandhata *read* Gandhaṭa
- „ 260, line 15.—*For* Aṭhamallik, the findspot etc., *read* Aṭhamallik, which is only six miles from the findspot etc.
- „ 260, text line 3.—*Read* Bhañjānarādhipatayō
- „ 265, line 11.—*For* Aichadataka *read* Aīchadataka
- „ 272, line 16.—*For* Bhoppuga *read* Boppuga
- „ 272, line 25.—*For* lines 57-60 *read* lines 51-60
- „ 272, f.n. 4.—*Add* Vol. VIII, pt. I *after* Ibid.,

-
- Page 273, line 8.—*For Jayasaṅga- read Jayasiṅga*
- „ 274, text line 8.—*For vimukūta read vimukta*
- „ 277, f.n. 1.—*For tKrishna read Krishṇa*
- „ 278, line 2.—*For śreshṭhin read śrēshṭhin*
- „ 278, line 11.—*For śrēshṭa read śrēshṭha*
- „ 280, line 37.—*For Dōdyā read Dōdyā*
- „ 282, line 27.—*For Sāmbalūrav read Sāmbalūra*
- „ 284, line 4.—*For Ēlasvāmi read Ēlasvāmin*
- „ 284, text line 8.—*For -svāminah(nē) read -svāminah- (nyai)*
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BY S. SANKARANARAYANAN, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure to foot-notes, and *add.* to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used; *au.*=author; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *chron.*=chronicle; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *feu.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear [measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *peo.*=people; *pl.*=plate, plates; *pr.*=prince, princes; *prov.*=province; *q.*=queen; *reg.*=region; *rel.*=religion, religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *Tel.*=Telugu; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tk.*=taluk; *tn.*=town; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work; *wt.*=weight.

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