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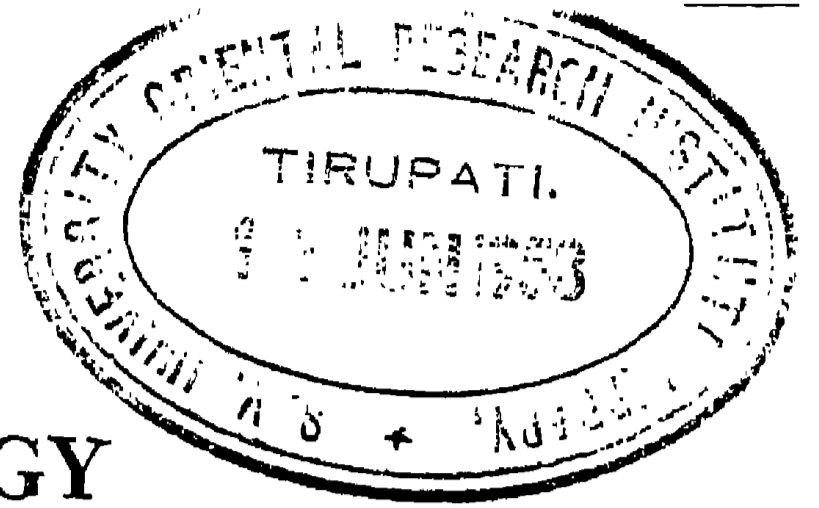
**DR. B. CH. CHABRA**, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D., F.A.S.,  
Government Epigraphist for India



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DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOLUME XXIX

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EDITED BY

**Dr. B. Ch. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph. D. (Lugd.), F.A.S.**

Government Epigraphist for India

(Parts I to IV)

**N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.**

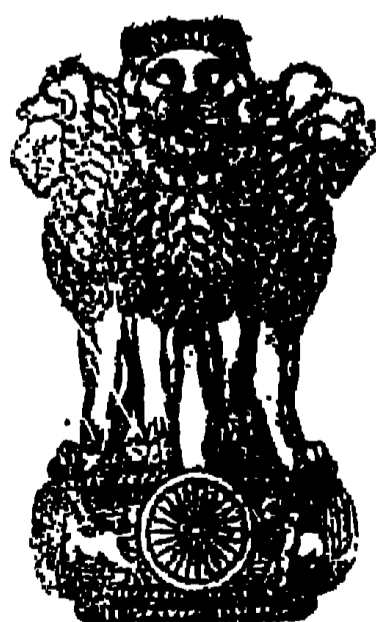
Government Epigraphist for India

(Parts V to VII)

**Dr. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D.**

Government Epigraphist for India

(Part VIII)



सत्यमेव जयते

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1957



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*The name of the contributors are arranged alphabetically*

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## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 6, text line 4.—*For Śrīmā<sup>o</sup> read Śrīmā<sup>̃</sup>.*
- „ 9, text line 57.—*For Śrīmā<sup>o</sup> read Śrīmā<sup>̃</sup>.*
- „ 16, text line 13.—*For °jvala read °j[j\*]vala.*
- „ 17, text line 33.—*For dattaṁ read dattaṁ(ttam).*
- „ 19, line 31.—*For i and ī read i, ī, u and ū.*
- „ 19, line 44.—*For for chandraśērshō read for chandra-śīrshō.*
- „ 23, line 18.—*Omit comma after predecessor.*
- „ 24, line 20.—*For re-conquest read conquest.*
- „ 28, text line 13.—*For kṛitaṁ read kṛitaṁ(taḥ).*
- „ 35, line 28.—*For Srikakulam read Ganjam.*
- „ 37, text line 35.—*Read (kūḥ | ).*
- „ 41, f.n. 5.—*Read yā for yā.*
- „ 45, line 40.—*For churnī read chūrṇi.*
- „ 45, f. n. 2.—*Add note—Pravarta is mentioned in an early inscription from Bengal (Select Inscriptions, p. 356). It may be the same as pravarti mentioned in Sarvānanda's Amarakōsha-ṭīkā (under verse 89 of Vaiśya-varga) as equal to 5 Khārīs.*
- „ 47, lines 2-3.—*For Srikakulam District of Madras read Ganjam District of Orissa.*
- „ 47, line 21.—*For Tiruchirapalli read Tiruchirappalli.*
- „ 47, line 50.—*Add at the beginning of the last paragraph—Lines 40-42 of the inscription refer to the king's request to the people addressed as well as to the*
- „ 54, line 1.—*For parts read of parts.*
- „ 55, text line 24.—*For śri read śrī.*
- „ 58, line 8.—*For °ṅkuśaṁ read °ṅkuśa[h].*
- „ 59, f.n.2.—*For Cōla Studies read Studies in Cōla History and Administration.*

- Page 62, f. n. line 3.—*Read* 10th year (1021 A.C.).
- „ 64, line 13.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.
- „ 64, line 15.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.
- „ 65, text line 6.—*For* Dēvakiḥ *read* Dēvakiḥ
- „ 65, text line 8.—*For* kānanaṁ *read* kānanaṁ(nam).
- „ 68, text line 60.—*For* sa=dvīpāṁ *read* sa-dvīpāṁ.
- „ 69, text line 85.—*Read* daṇḍēśām=a(śair=a)bhavat°.
- „ 69, text line 86.—*Read* kṣaṇaṁ(nam).
- „ 69, text line 87.—*For* vivṛie *read* vivṛi°.
- „ 69, text line 88.—*For* bhṛitaḥ(tāś=cha)ḥ *read* bhṛitaḥcha(tāś=cha)ḥ.
- „ 69, text line 89.—*For* ṛi *read* ṛi°.
- „ 70, text line 95.—*For* Karvnā(nnā)ṭaka *read* Karvnā(rṇṇā)ṭaka.
- „ 70, text line 95.—*For* °n=aśvikē° *read* °na(n=ā)śvikē°.
- „ 70, text line 96.—*For* hastikēna *read* h[ā\*]stikēna.
- „ 70, text line 108.—*For* Krovviṇḍlētāin=bāsi *read* Krovviṇḍlētāribāsi.
- „ 73, line 10.—*For* impure *read* ill.
- „ 73, lines 11 and 12.—*For* purify *read* cure.
- „ 73, f.n.1, line 1.—Omit comma after *Raṅgūchūrya*.
- „ 73, f.n.1, line 2.—*For* engaging *read* engaging themselves.
- „ 73, f. n. 7, line 1.—*Read* born on the occasion.
- „ 74, f. n. 3, line 10.—Omit comma after *Vide*.
- „ 75, line 38.—*For* Kīlpālāru *read* Kīlpālāru.
- „ 75, line 40.—*For* Mēlpālāru *read* Mēlpālāru.
- „ 76, f. n. 4.—*For* after n *read* after ṇ.
- „ 81, f. n. 5.—*Read* year 70 or 60.
- „ 84, f.n. 7.—*For* 820-25 A.C. *read* 831 A.C.
- „ 89, line 24.—*For* importnace *read* importance .

- Page 93, f.n. 6.—*Add editorial note.*—The word *nripēśvara* means 'a ruler'. Rājāditya was the personal name of the executor.
- „ 95, f. n. 9.—*Add editorial note.*—For the correct meaning of the expressions, see *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 196.
- „ 99, line 26.—*For* has read have.
- „ 100, line 9.—*For* Gorakhapur read Gorakhpur.
- „ 100, line 28.—*For* for read to.
- „ 101, f.n. 6.—*For* danda read daṇḍa.
- „ 112, lines 17 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—The rule of Gōvinda of the Aihole inscription cannot be assigned to 630-55 A.D. since he is known to have come into conflict with Pulakēśin II about the beginning of the latter's career, i.e. about 610 A.D. Pulakēśin II did not meet Gōvinda in the course of his campaign in the region of the Rēvā and the Vindhya, but in the area about the northern bank of the Bhīmarathī (Bhīmā) much nearer his capital.
- „ 113, line 31.—*Add editorial note.*—There is no proof that Padmanagara was a capital city.
- „ 114, text line 8.—*Read* Kāntaḥ=kārunikaḥ=kala.
- „ 114, text line 9.—*Read* rahitaḥ=ketuḥ=karālō.
- „ 114, text line 11.—*Read* patih=kalpa.
- „ 115, text line 18.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading is *Varmullaka*.
- „ 115, text line 20.—*For* karmma[nta](ntā) read karmma[nta]°
- „ 115, text line 20.—*Read* tachchha(ch=cha).
- „ 115, text line 23.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading seems to be °matō=chchhivāhalal=ai[bhī]°  
The name of the locality was therefore Achchhivāhalalā and not Uchchhī(chhī)vāhalā as assumed by the author (cf. pp. 110,114).
- „ 115, last line.—*Read* Ju(Yu)[ddhā]suraḥ.
- „ 120, text line 12.—*For* grāmakūṭāyayuktaka read grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka.
- „ 125, line 16.—*Read* sīma°
- „ 125, line 32.—*For* Meters read Metres.
- „ 129, f.n. 9, line 2.—*For* vijay-avahaḥ read vijay-āvahaḥ.
- „ 138, lines 3 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—A *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* of this type was discovered in the course of excavations at Kondapur and is now in the Hyderabad Museum. A damaged terracotta female figure from Bhita (near Allahabad) now in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) and a bas-relief on the wall of the Vēṅkaṭ-ēśvara temple on the Vaikunthapuram hill in the Guntur District have the lower part fashioned in the same posture.
- „ 138, f.n. 5, line 1.—*For* Ehuvuja read Ehuvula.
- „ 147, line 4.—*Read* Kṛishṇa.

- Page, 147 line 36.—*Read* Chūdāmaṇi.
- „ 151, line 34.—*Read* Mahāgaūrī.
- „ 152, line 21.—*Read* a geographical.
- „ 153.—*For* 135 *read* 153 *in the number of page*.
- „ 154, text line 25.—*For* ḍripta *read* ḍripta.
- „ 155, text line 34.—*For* °bhis=cha *read* °bhiś=cha.
- „ 155, f.n.4, lines 4-5.—*Read* °ōtkampābhi°.
- „ 157, line 38.—*Read* Viṣṇu.
- „ 157, f.n.1.—*Read* Purāṇa.
- „ 158, line 15.—*Read* subduers.
- „ 160, line 27.—*Read* Dravidian ṛ.
- „ 160, line 31.—*Read* °bhujāyamānuṁṛ=ayina.
- „ 162, line 36.—*For* Cuddapah *read* Guntur.
- „ 163, lines 18 ff.—*Read*—covering a considerable area extending in a north-easterly direction over a tract from Turimella in the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District right upto Kocherlakōṭa in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District.
- „ 163, f. n. 11.—*For* was omitted *read* had been omitted.
- „ 174, lines 29-30.—*Add editorial note*.—The palaeography of the record seems to suggest a date in the sixth or seventh century A.D.
- „ 176, text line 2.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kārasya śrīmatō.
- „ 177, text line 3.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °rājasy=ānujñayā.
- „ 177, text line 4.—*Add editorial note*.—The name Śyāvalāṅgī stands for Sanskrit Śyāmalāṅgī. She made a gift of 50 golden bars as *dakṣhiṇā* to the donee of the *agrahāra* granted by Prabhāvati.
- „ 177, text line 6.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kāli(lī)naḥ(nam).
- „ 177, lines 7-8.—*Add editorial note*.—The intended reading may be °arthi-jana-hriday-ānandam samabhivardhayantyā.
- „ 177, text lines 8-9.—*Add editorial note*.—The reading is *vansōnayata* for *vamś-ōnnayantyā*. Āryā Prabhāvati seems to have granted the *agrahāra* to a Brāhmaṇa whom Śyāmalāṅgī gave 50 golden bars as *dakṣhiṇā* of the said gift. Prabhāvati may have been Śyāmalāṅgī's mother-in-law. There is no reason to identify Vibhurāja and Māṇa(na)rāja.
- „ 177, line 11.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °rjitō(ta)-chāra(ta)-bhaṭa-a(ṭ-ā)prāvēśyē(śya)°.
- „ 177, line 13.—*Read* °danē(kē)[na\*].
- „ 177, line 16.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kūtasya.
- „ 178, line 2.—*For* Harkēli *read* Harakēli.
- „ 178, line 17.—*Read* inscription.—Omit bracket before *Mr*.

- Page 178, line 23.—*For* nd *read* and.
- „ 178, line 29.—*For* laces *read* places.
- „ 178, line 30.—*For* inscriptin *read* inscription.
- „ 178, f. n. 3.—*Read* Vol. III.
- „ 181, text line 11.—*Read* Hiranyakasi(śi)pō°
- „ 186, line 4.—*For* callecd *read* called.
- „ 186, line 6.—*Read* pañcha.
- „ 186, line 16.—*Omit* redundant *m* before *maṇḍala*.
- „ 186, line 17.—*Add* full-stop at the end of the line in the place of apostrophe.
- „ 186, line 19.—*Read* sattva.
- „ 186, line 20.—*Read* Sandhi°.
- „ 186, line 22.—*For* descriptin *read* description.
- „ 186, line 22.—*For* Brāhmaḍa *read* Brāhmaṇa.
- „ 186, line 23.—*For* epither *read* epithet.
- „ 186, line 25.—*For* śātra *read* śāstra (in two places).
- „ 186, line 36.—*For* belived *read* believed.
- „ 186, line 40.—*For* Indēḍḍa *read* Indēḍḍā.
- „ 186, f.n.3, line 3.—*For* °smṛti *read* °smṛiti.
- „ 188, text line 15.—*For* ātumajō *read* ātmajō.
- „ 188, text line 16.—*For* sudha-sarm̄ *read* sudhā-sam̄°.
- „ 188, text line 21.—*For* manōhāriṇāy *read* manōhāriṇā.
- „ 188, text line 22.—*For* pulshṭ-ārāti *read* plusṭ-ārāti.
- „ 188, text line 25.—*For* pitri *read* pitṛi.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*Read* Jilōṇḍā.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*For* bhavishyād *read* bhavishyad.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*For* °trā(n=rā)-japutrān *read* °trī(n=rā) japutrān.
- „ 188, text line 28.—*For* °jīvinah *read* °jīvinah.
- „ 188, text line 29.—*For* vshaya *read* vishaya.
- „ 190, line 41.—*For* Jaipur *read* Jajpur.
- „ 191, f.n.2, line 13.—*For* suggests *read* suggest.
- „ 195, f.n. 4.—*Read* Āshāḍhasya.
- „ 196, line 8.—*For* wich *read* which.
- „ 196, line 11.—*For* callecd *read* called.
- „ 196, line 21.—*For* Sārdūla° *read* Śārdūla°.
- „ 196, line 22.—*For* andākrāntā *read* Mandākrāntā.
- „ 196, f.n 3. *For* ust *read* must.

- Page 196, f. n. 7.—*For* who write *read* who wrote the.
- „ 198, text line 23.—*Read* Dēlhuka.
- „ 200, line 4.—*For* Padmāvati *read* Padmāvati.
- „ 201, f.n.5, line 5.—*For* has *read* have.
- „ 202, f.n.3, line 2.—*For* on *read* at.
- „ 216, text lines 9-10.—*Read* °uchitam kāryam.
- „ 216, text ~~line~~ 11.—*Read* Harēh.
- „ 222, line 35.—*For* mahādēvi *read* mahādēvi.
- „ 224, f.n. 3.—*For* See above...*read* See above, p. 191, note 2.
- „ 224, f.n. 5.—*Omit* Above, Vol....
- „ 232, line 38.—*For* Goṅkaraja *read* Goṅkarāja.
- „ 238, text line 1.—*For* bhīg-ōpama *read* bhōg-ōpama.
- „ 238, text line 47.—*For* dbādaśa *read* dvādaśa.

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## No. 1—TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of Belwā lies a few miles to the west of the Hili railway station on the East Bengal Railway, in the eastern fringe of the Dinajpur District, not far from the borders of the Bogra and Rangpur Districts. Some time in 1946, a Santal inhabitant of the village, named Khārē Sāotāl, discovered two inscribed copper plates while digging the compound of his house with a view to enlarging a fire-place. Mr. Manoranjan Gupta of Calcutta soon secured the plates with the help of Muhammad Basīr Sarkār who is an official at the Zamindar's Katchery at the village of Kaśīgāri, not far away from Belwā. Mr. Gupta studied the inscriptions and published both of them in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (Bengali), Vols. LIV, B. S. 1354, pp. 41-56; LVI, B. S. 1356, pp. 60-65, with plates.<sup>1</sup> The original plates were also presented to the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. One of the records belongs to king Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, and the other to his grandson Vīgrahapāla III (circa 1055-90 A. C.). As, however, the inscriptions appeared to me to have been neither carefully read nor correctly interpreted, I requested, several times, the authorities of the Parishat to lend me the original plates for a few weeks for examination or to supply me with a set of good impressions of each of the inscriptions. Unfortunately neither of these requests was complied with.<sup>2</sup> At last impressions of both the plates were available to me through the kindness of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. I edit the inscriptions from those impressions.

### A.—Plate of Mahīpāla I ; Regnal Year 5

The record is incised on a single copper-plate, measuring 13" × 14·6". The weight has not been recorded. The seal, which closely resembles those attached to other charters of the Pāla rulers, is, as usual, soldered to the upper part of the document. It is the celebrated *dharmachakra-mudrā* of the Pālas who were Buddhists. It has in the centre a circle with raised rim and beaded border which is surrounded by arabesque work and is surmounted by a *chaitya* symbol. The upper half of the inner circle of the seal is occupied by the Buddhist 'Wheel of the Law' having an umbrella above it and a deer couchant on either side. Below the central demarcation line, forming a pedestal for the above, is the legend *śrī-Mahīpāladēvasya*, the space beneath being covered by arabesque foliage. There are altogether 58 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, 33 lines on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. The incision is deep and clear, and the

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<sup>1</sup> For an English version of these papers, see *Journ. As. Soc., Letters*, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-35.

<sup>2</sup> In December 1950, when I happened to be in Calcutta, I was allowed to examine the original plates in the Parishat's office. My thanks are due to Mr. Gupta and the authorities of the Parishat for this help.

preservation of the plate is fairly satisfactory. Six lines of writing at the top on the obverse and five lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle, owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the only other copper-plate charter of king Mahīpāla I so far known to the students of history. This is the Bāṅgaṛh plate finally edited by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the pages of this journal, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., with plates. The introductory verses at the beginning of the record, the description of the place of issue, the list of officials and others to whom the royal order was addressed, the list of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee and the imprecatory and benedictory verses about the end are practically the same in both the charters. Indeed most of these are common to all charters of the Pāla family. It is only the actual grant that is different in the Bāṅgaṛh record and the charter under review. The present epigraph, like some other Pāla records, usually indicates superscript *r* by a horizontal short stroke below the top *mātrā* of the consonant towards the left, sometimes making the sign almost undistinguishable.

The date of the record, given in one figure in line 49, is the year 5 (of the reign of Mahīpāla I), the 26th day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Line 46 speaks of the grant being made by the king on the occasion of a ceremonial bath taken by him in the waters of the Ganges on the day of the *vishuvat-saṅkrānti* (i.e., *vishuva-saṅkrānti*) which indicates the sun's equinoctial passage into Mēsha on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha or into Simha on the 1st day of solar Kārttika. In the present case, it is possible to think that the grant had been made on the 1st of Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later on the 26th of Śrāvaṇa. A ceremonial bath and offering of gifts on the occasion of the *vishuva-saṅkrānti* are both enjoined by the Hindu scriptures.<sup>1</sup> The action of the Pāla king, who was a Buddhist, as recorded in the document, no doubt points to the fact, often noted, that there was little difference between the life of a lay follower of Buddhism and that of an ordinary Brahmanical Hindu in the age of the Pālas at least in Eastern India. As we have elsewhere observed, when the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers were busy in refuting one another's views, the life of the lay man appears to have been marked by absolute religious toleration and the Buddhist laity was gradually nearing absorption into Brahmanical society.<sup>2</sup>

The charter begins with the *akshara ni* (an abbreviation of the word *nibaddha* meaning 'registered') which is also found at the end of line 1 as in the Bāṅgaṛh plate of the same king and in many other records. This kind of double endorsement by the king himself and by one of his officials is also known from other records from Bengal such as those of the Sēnas.<sup>3</sup> The first *ni* is followed by the usual symbol for *siddham* and the introductory word *svasti*. Next come 12 verses in lines 1-23 forming the introduction of the charter. It is well-known that the fashion of quoting

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Brahma Purāna* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *saṅkrānti*: *Nityam dvayōr-ayunayōr-nityam vishuvatōr-dvayōh | chandr-ūrkayōr-grahāyōr-vyatīpātēshu parvasu || Ahō-rātr-ōshitah snānam śrūddham dānam taihā japam | yah karōti prasann-ātmā tasya syād-akshayañi=cha tat ||*

<sup>2</sup> See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 124; *J.R.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XV, p. 104. Most of the grants of the Buddhist Pāla kings were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The Manahali plate (*Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 148 ff.) records a grant of king Madanapāla to a Brāhmaṇa as *dakṣiṇā* for his recitation of the *Mahābhārata* before the *Paṭamahādēvi* Chitramatikādēvi. The Bhāgalpur plate (*ibid.*, pp. 56 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 309) of the *Paramasaugata* king Nārāyaṇapāla speaks of his Śaivite leanings and records a grant made by the king "for the suitable performance of *pūjā*, *balī*, *charu* and *satra*, for the *navakarman* (i.e., repairs or extensions of the temple) and for other requirements of the divine Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka at Kalasāpōta, for whom Nārāyaṇapāla himself has built a *sahasr-āyatana* (possibly a temple with thousand pillars) and whom he has put up there (at Kalasāpōta); in order to provide couches and seats, medicines for the sick, requisites, etc., to the congregation of Pāsupata teachers (at Kalasāpōta); and in order to enable the Pāsupatas to bestow blameless enjoyments, consisting of a share fixed by them, on other persons as desired by them".

<sup>3</sup> See *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 64, 75, 88, etc.



verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became prevalent in the Pāla house amongst the descendants of Vighrahapāla or Śūrapāla I (*circa* 850-54 A. C.) who was the cousin's son and successor of Dēvapāla (*circa* 810-50 A. C.). The first six verses of our record describe the exploits of Gōpāla I (*circa* 750-70 A. C.) who was the first imperial ruler of the Pāla dynasty, his son Dharmapāla (*circa* 770-810 A. C.), his younger brother and general Vākpāla, his son Jayapāla who was a general of Dēvapāla, his son Vighrahapāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla (*circa* 854-908 A. C.). These verses are noticed for the first time in the charter<sup>1</sup> of Nārāyaṇapāla and are found quoted in all the later grants of the family. It is as yet unknown whether the first five of these verses were quoted by Nārāyaṇapāla from a charter of his father, as no copper-plate grant of Vighrahapāla I has so far been discovered. We have also as yet no charter of the time of Rājyapāla (*circa* 908-40 A. C.), son and successor of Nārāyaṇapāla, although the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II (*circa* 940-85 A. C.), son and successor of Rājyapāla, was published some time ago in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* (B. S. 1334, part i, pp. 264 ff.).<sup>2</sup> It is therefore no wonder that verses 7-9 of our record dealing with Rājyapāla and Gōpāla II are also found in the Jājilpārā plate. Verse 10 speaks of Vighrahapāla II (*circa* 985-88 A. C.), son and successor of Gōpāla II, and the following two verses (verses 11-12) of his son and successor, the reigning monarch Mahīpāla I (*circa* 988-1038 A.C.). Verse 11 says that Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal *rājya*, which had become *anadhikṛita-vilupta* (lost owing to the occupation by usurpers), after having killed all the enemies in battle by the prowess of his own arms. Our inscription, dated in the king's fifth regnal year, shows that Mahīpāla attained success against the enemies quite early in his reign. The enemies who dispossessed Mahīpāla I of his paternal kingdom are usually identified with the Kāmbōja rulers of northern and south-western Bengal known from the Bāṅgarh pillar inscription and the Irda plate, although there is a theory challenging the suggestion of Kāmbōja occupation of parts of Bengal in the second half of the tenth century A. C.<sup>3</sup> Whatever be the truth of the suggestion regarding the recovery of northern and south-western Bengal by Mahīpāla I from the Kāmbōjas, we know that the Pāla king very probably reconquered south-east Bengal from the Chandras quite early in his reign. As I have elsewhere shown,<sup>4</sup> the Chandras originally ruled over Chandradvīpa, otherwise called Vaṅgāladēśa, in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal; but Śrīchandra, the first imperial ruler of the family, conquered and ruled over wide regions of south-east Bengal in the second half of the tenth century. There was a short eclipse of Chandra power after Śrīchandra apparently owing to the success of Mahīpāla I. This is suggested not only by Mahīpāla's claim referred to above, but also by the Bāghāurā<sup>5</sup> and Nārāyaṇpur<sup>6</sup> inscriptions, dated respectively in his 3rd and 4th regnal years, which speak of Mahīpāla's rule over Samatāṭa, i.e., the present Tippera-Noakhali region, although Chandra suzerainty was re-established in eastern and south-eastern Bengal by Gōvindachandra during the life-time of Mahīpāla I himself. Verse 12 of our record says that the war elephants of Mahīpāla I roamed in the eastern countries, then in the valleys of the Malaya mountain range (the modern Travancore hills), next in the Maru country (i.e., the Marwar region in the Rajputana desert in the ancient Western division of India) and ultimately in the valleys of the Himalayas. This has often been taken to indicate aimless wanderings of the Pāla army owing to a great catastrophe that befell the Pāla kingdom.<sup>7</sup> But,

<sup>1</sup> *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 55 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 137-44.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 133 ff., 190 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 410 ff. The Chandras originally owed allegiance to a dynasty of Harikēla kings possibly represented by Kāntidēva of the Chittagong plate. See also *J.R.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XVII, pp. 90-91.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

as I have demonstrated elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> it refers to the usual conventional claim of *dig-vijaya* over the *chakravarti-kshētra* covering the whole of India. That the claim has not much history behind it is clear from the fact that the same verse, describing the exploits of Mahīpāla's forces in the present record, has been employed in the Bāngarh plate of the same king to eulogize the achievements of the army of the king's father Vīgrahapāla II. Again, the same verse is also found in the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II as well as the Āmgāchhi<sup>2</sup> and Belwā plates of Vīgrahapāla III (grandson of Mahīpāla I) in the description of the exploits of the armies of the reigning monarchs.

Lines 23-27 of the charter introduce the place of issue which was the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at the city of Sāhasagaṇḍa. It is interesting to note that the same description is employed in all the Pāla charters, beginning with those of Dharmapāla, although the *jaya-skandhāvāras* (probably temporary capitals) themselves were different. This stereotyped description suits only a city on the Bhāgīrathī (*i.e.*, the Ganges) and it suggests that the various *jaya-skandhāvāras*, some of which cannot be satisfactorily indentified, were all situated on the Ganges.<sup>3</sup> This is supported by the fact that most of the grants were made by the Pāla kings after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges. Lines 27-28 introduce the reigning monarch, who was in good health while making the grant, as the *Paramasaugata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Mahīpāladēva* who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Vīgrahapāladēva*.

Lines 28-31 give details regarding the gift land which consisted of three localities all situated in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. The first of the three was Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛitti which measured 210 and was attached to the territorial unit called Amalakshudduṅga within the Phāṇita *vāṭhī*. The expression *sva-sambaddh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta* (*i.e.*, 'land that pertains to the king's own self and has its ground not yet alienated'), found in the description of the piece of land, is also known from other Pāla charters. The standard land measure, according to which the area of Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛitti was calculated to have been 210, has not been specified. The Belwā plate of Vīgrahapāla III, edited below, speaks of the land measures *udamāna*, *ādḥavāpa*, *drōṇa* (*i.e.*, *drōṇavāpa*) and *kulya* (*i.e.*, *kulyavāpa*) as prevalent in the same locality. Of these, 4 *ādḥavāpas* made 1 *drōṇa*, 8 of which were equal to 1 *kulya*. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> about 45 *udamānas* (otherwise called *udāna* or *unmāna*) probably made an *ādḥavāpa* (originally from 4 to 5 modern Bengal *Bighās* of land). It is difficult to determine as to which of the four land measures has been regarded as the standard one in the record under discussion, especially in view of the fact that all the four are known to have been the standard land measure in different localities, although the area of each may not have been the same in all places. The high number in the specification of the area suggests that the reference is possibly not to the *kulya* or *kulyavāpa*.

The second piece of the gift land comprised the locality called Nandisvāminī which measured 490 of the standard land measure and was situated in Shaṭṭāpāṇāyichatra which incorporated Pañchakāṇḍaka and lay in the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala*. The third plot of the gift land was the locality called Gaṇēśvara to which some village tanks were attached. The area of this plot was 151 of the standard land measure and it was situated in the Pañchanagarī *vishaya*.

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. A. S. B., L.*, Vol. V, pp. 407-15, especially p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, 295 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The following *jaya-skandhāvāras* are known to have been places of issue of the Pāla charters: Pāṭaliputra (near modern Patna), Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr), Rāmāvati (near modern Gaur in the Malda District), Vata-parvataka (modern Vaṭēśvar-parvat near Pātharghātā in the Bhāgalpur District), Vilāsapura and Sāhasagaṇḍa. The name of the place, whence the Āmgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III was issued, is doubtful; but to me it appears to be Vilāsapura.

<sup>4</sup> *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309-13.

The list of officials and others associated with the above three pieces of the gift land is quoted in lines 31-40. This is practically the same in all Pāla records.<sup>1</sup> In this list is included servants like *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers, or policemen and peons) of various nationalities such as Gauḍa, Mālava, etc. These are for the first time noticed in the Nālandā plate<sup>2</sup> of Dharmapāla. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee specified in lines 41-44 are also common with other records of the Pāla kings.<sup>3</sup> As in so many other records of the Pālas, the above three villages are said to have been granted in the name of (*uddiśya*) the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka for the increase of merit and fame of the king and his parents. The specified land was made a permanent rent-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jivadharadēvaśarman, who belonged to the Hastidāsa *gōtra* having the Āngirasa, Āmbarisha and Yauvanāśva *pravaras* and was the son of Dhīrēśvara-dēvaśarman and grandson of Viṣṇudēvaśarman. The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the area for the protection of his grant and his order to the cultivators to offer in due time to the donee all dues including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara* and *hiranya* are couched in the same language as in the other Pāla charters. After giving the date (*Samvat 5 Śrāvāṇa-dinē* 26) in line 49, the imprecatory verses, found not only in the Bāṅgaṛh plate of the same king but also in other grants of the Pāla kings, are quoted in lines 50-56. The last two verses of the record mention the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that Mahīpāladēva made the *mantrin* (minister) Lakshmīdhara the executor of the charter. The plates are said to have been engraved by the artisan Pushyāditya who was the son of Chandraditya hailing from the village of Pōshalī. The artisans of Pōshalī are also known to have engraved some other records of the Pāla kings such as the Bāṅgaṛh plate of Mahīpāla I and the Āmgāchhi plate of Vighrahapāla III.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the *jaya-skandhāvāra* called Sāhasagaṇḍa-nagara, which was apparently situated on the Ganges, cannot be satisfactorily indentified. The gift villages, *viz.*, Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛitti (*i.e.*, Ōsinna which had been once allotted to the Kaivarttas for their service), Nandisvāminī and Gaṇēśvara cannot also be identified. These three villages

<sup>1</sup> These are : *rājan* (subordinate king); *rājanyaka* (feudatory chief); *rājaputra* (possibly, noble man); *rājāmātya* (minister or executive officer); *mahāsāndhivigrahika* (minister for war and peace); *mahākshapaṭalika* (accountant); *mahāsāmanta* (feudatory); *mahāsēnāpati* (general); *mahāpratīhāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate); *mahākārtākṛitika* not mentioned in our record; *dauḥśādhasādhanika*; *mahādāṇḍanūyaka* (judge); *mahākumārāmātya* (minister of the rank, of a prince of the royal blood); *rājasthān-ōparika* (viceroys); *dāsāpurādhika* (minor judge); *chaurōddharanika* (prefect of the police); *dāṇḍika*; *dāṇḍapūśika* (police officer); *śaulkika* (customs officer); *gaulmika* (officer in charge of a police station); *kshētrapa* (officer in charge of the royal lands); *prāntapāla* (warden of the marches); *kōṭṭapāla* (governor of a fort); *khaṇḍaraksha* or *anḡaraksha*; those appointed or commissioned by the above-mentioned; those in charge of elephants, horses, camels, navy and army; those in charge of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats and sheep; *dūtaprēshanika*; *gamāgamika*; *abhitvaramāṇa*; head of a district; head of a village; ferry-man; *chāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and other servants of such nationalities as Gauḍa, Mālava, Khasa, Hūṇa, Kulika, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa; other unnamed subjects and servants of the king.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>3</sup> These were : 'up to its boundaries, grass and pasture land' (*sva-sīmā-triṇayūti-gōchāra-paryanta*); 'with its ground' (*sa-tala*); 'with the space (above the ground)' (*s-ōddēśa*); 'with its mango and *madhuka* trees'; 'with its water and dry land'; 'with its pits and saline spots' (*sa-gariti-ōśhara*); 'with the tax from temporary tenants' (*s-ōparikara*), although this is omitted in our record; 'with *dāsāpachāra* (*dās-āparādhā* of other records which refers to the fine realised for ten minor offences)'; 'with things recovered from thieves' (*sa-chaur-ōddharāṇa*); 'with exemption from all oppressions'; 'not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (usually interpreted as regular and irregular troops, but may be policemen and peons)'; 'nothing to be taken (by way of tax, etc.)'; 'together with all revenues such as *bhāga* (royal share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.), *kara* (taxes), *hiranya* (tax to be paid in coins), etc.'; 'according to the maxim of *bhūmi-chchhidra*'; 'to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure'. *Bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* refers to the custom of allowing a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation to enjoy it without paying rent.

were situated respectively in Amalakshuddunga within the Phāṇita *vīthi* (subdivision),<sup>1</sup> in Shaṭṭā-pānāyichatra incorporating Pañchakāṇḍaka within the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (smaller district or its part), and in the Pañchanagarī *vishaya* (district). Of these, the Pañchanagarī *vishaya* no doubt had its headquarters at the city of the same name whence the Baigram plate<sup>2</sup> was issued. We have elsewhere<sup>3</sup> suggested that this city is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and is no other than modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, originally comprised northern Bengal, although in later times its jurisdiction is known sometimes to have extended over certain parts of south-eastern and southern Bengal. The village of Pōshali, whence the family of the engraver hailed, seems to be the same as the Pōshali *gāñi* of the Rādhiya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. The village has been identified with modern Pōshēlā about 5 miles to the south-east of Maṅgalkōṭ in the Burdwan District of West Bengal,<sup>4</sup> although little can be said in favour of the identification.

## TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 8 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2, 3, 6 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasantatilakū* ; verse 5 *Āryā* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 13-17, 20, 21 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 18 *Sālinī* ; verse 19 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Ni<sup>o</sup>[|\*] [Siddham<sup>o</sup>] | Svasti [|\*] Maitrīn-kāruṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ prēyasī[rh] ni<sup>o</sup>
- 2 sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō(mbō)dhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-ja-
- 3 la-kshālīt-ājñāna-paṅkaḥ | jītvā yaḥ [kāma\*]kāri-prabha-
- 4 vam=abhibhavaṁ śāsvatīm=prāpa śānti[m] sa śrīmā-
- 5 l=Lō(l=Lō)kanāthō jayati daśa-va(ba)lō='nyas=cha Gōpā-
- 6 ladēvaḥ || [1\*] Lakshmi-janma-nikētanam sama[ka\*]rō vōdhum ksha-
- 7 mah kshamā-bharam |<sup>o</sup> paksha-chchhēda-bhayād=upasthitavatām=ēk-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām |
- maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ śaury-āla-
- 8 yō=smād=abhūd=dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmmapālō nṛipaḥ || [2\*] Rā-
- masy=ēva gṛihīta-satya-tapasas=tasy=ānurūpō
- 9 guṇaiḥ Saumitrēr=udapādi tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām=ānujaḥ [|\*] yaḥ śrīmān=naya-vikram-
- aika-vasatir=bhrātuh sthitaḥ śāsa-
- 10 nē sūnyāḥ śatru-patākinībhir= akarōd=ēk-ātapatrā diśaḥ || [3\*] Tasmād=Upēndra-charitai[r]=
- jagatīm punānaḥ putrō va(ba)bhūva vijayī
- 11 Jayapāla-nāmā | dharmā-dvishām śu(śa)mayi[tā] yudhi Dēvapālē yaḥ pūrvajē bhuvana-
- rājya-sukhāny=a[n]aishīt || [4\*] Śrīmān=Vigrahapāla-
- 12 s=ta[t]-sūnur=Ajātaśatru=iva jātaḥ [|\*] śu(śa)tru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilōpi-vimal-āsi-jala-
- dhāraḥ || [5\*] Dikpālaiḥ kshiti-pālanāya da-
- 13 dhatam dēhē vibhaktā[n=gu]ṇ[ā\*]n śr[ī]mantañ=janayāmva(mba)bhūva tanayam Nārāyaṇam
- sa prabhuḥ | yaḥ ksh[ō]ṇipatibhiḥ śirō-maṇi-ruch=āślishṭ-ā[m\*]ghri-pī-

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Gupta is inclined to identify Phāṇita with Pānituāl or Pānitolā on the Karatōyā and Amalakshuddunga with Amalgārī not far from Belwā. He also equates *gaṇḍa* in *Sāhasa-gaṇḍa* with the *gārī*-ending of modern names.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 498.

<sup>4</sup> N. N. Vasu. *Vaṅger Jātīya Itihāsa*, Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa (Bengali), Vol. I, p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> From an impression.

<sup>6</sup> Ni is a contraction of the word *nibaddha*, "registered," "endorsed."

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA  
 A.—PLATE OF MAHIPALA I; REGNAL YEAR 5

Obverse

2 य... 2  
 4 व... 4  
 6 ल... 6  
 8 म... 8  
 10 नि... 10  
 12 क... 12  
 14 ए... 14  
 16 श... 16  
 18 क... 18  
 20 म... 20  
 22 न... 22  
 24 म... 24  
 26 म... 26  
 28 वि... 28  
 30 स... 30  
 32 न... 32

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- 14 th-ōpalam nyāy-ōpāttam=alañchakāra charitaiḥ svair=ēva dharmm-āsanam(nam) || [6\*]  
Tōyāsayair=jaladhi-mūla-gabhīra-garbhair[r]=da(r=dē)vālayaiś=cha
- 15 kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kakshaiḥ | vikhyāta-kī[r]ttir=abhavat=tanayaś=cha tasya śrī-Rājyapāla  
iti madhyama-lōka-pālah || [7\*] Tasmāt=pū[r]va-kshiti-
- 16 dhrān=nidhir=iva mahasām Rāshtrakūṭ-ānvay-ēndōs=Tuṅgasy=ōttuṅga-maulē[r]=duhitari  
tanayō Bhāgyadēvyām prasūtaḥ [|\*] śrīmān=Gōpāladēvaś=chi-
- 17 rataram=avanēr=ēka-patnyā iv=aikō bhattrā(rtt=ā)bhūn=naika-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuḥ-  
sindhu-chitr-āmśukāyāḥ || [8\*] Yam svāminam rāja-guṇair=anūna-
- 18 [m=ā]sēvatō [chā]rutay=ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-prabhuśakti-lakshmiḥ pṛithvīm sapatnīm=  
iva śilayantī || [9\*] Tasmād=va(d=ba)bhūva savitur=vasu-
- 19 kōṭi-varshī |<sup>1</sup> kālēna chandra iva Vighrapāladēvaḥ | nētra-priyēṇa vimalēna kalāmayēna  
yēn=ōditēna dalitō bhūva-
- 20 nasya tāpaḥ || [10\*] Hata-sakala-vipakshaḥ saṅgarē vā(bā)hu-da[r]pa(rpā)d=anadhikṛita-  
viluptam rājyam=āsādyā pitryam(tryam |) nihita-charaṇa-padmō bhū-
- 21 bhujām mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālah śrī-Mahīpāladēvaḥ || [11\*] Dēśē prāchi  
prachura-payasi svachchham=āpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntvā ta-
- 22 d-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu | kṛitvā sāndrair=Marushu jaḍatām śīkarair=abhra-tulyāḥ  
Prālēyādrēḥ kaṭakam=abhajan yasya sēnā-
- 23 gaj-ēndrāḥ || [12\*] Sa -khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sam-  
pādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-[nihita-śaila]-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhra-
- 24 māt |<sup>1</sup> ni[ra]tisāya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmi-samāravdha-  
(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt |<sup>1</sup> udīchī-
- 25 n-ānēka-narapati-prā[bhri]tikṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhini<sup>2</sup>-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsarita-  
digantarālāt |<sup>1</sup> paramēśvara-sēvā-sa-
- 26 māyāt-āsēha-Jamvu(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pā[dā]ta-bhara-namad-avanēḥ śrī-Sāhasagaṇ-  
ḍa-nagara-samāvāsi[tā\*]t śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārā-
- 27 [t<sup>1</sup>] paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vighrapāladēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-  
paramabhattāraka-mahārājādhi-
- 28 rājāḥ śrīman-Mahīpāladēvaḥ kuśālī |<sup>1</sup> śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau |<sup>1</sup> Phāṇita-vīthī-samva-  
(mba)ddha-<sup>3</sup>Amala[kshuddu]ṅg-āntaḥpāti-sva-samvā-<sup>4</sup>
- 29 vichchhinna-tal-ōpēta-[da]ś-ōttara-śata-dvaya-pramāṇ-Ausi[nna]-Kaivartta-vṛitti- |<sup>2</sup> Puṇḍa-  
rikā-maṇḍal-āntaḥpa(pā)ti-Pañchakāṇḍak-ādika-
- 30 Shaṭṭāpānāyichatrō<sup>5</sup> navaty-uttara-chatuḥ-śata-pramāṇa-Nandisvāminī- |<sup>1</sup> Pañchanagarī-  
vishay-āntaḥpāti-<sup>3</sup>ēkapañchāsad-uttara-śa-
- 31 ta-pramāṇa-Gaṇēśvara-samēta-grāma-pushki(shka)riṇīshu |<sup>1</sup> samupagarā(t-ā)śēsha-rājapu-  
rushān |<sup>1</sup> rāja-rājanyaka- |<sup>1</sup> rājaputra- |<sup>1</sup> rājāmā-
- 32 tya- |<sup>1</sup> mahāsāndhivighraḥika- |<sup>1</sup> mahākshapaṭalika- |<sup>1</sup> mahāsāmanta- |<sup>1</sup> mahāsēnāpati- |<sup>1</sup> mahā-  
[pra]ṭihāra- |<sup>1</sup> dauḥśādhāsādhani-

<sup>1</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *ni* was engraved.

<sup>3</sup> *Sāndhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Read *sambaddh-ā*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read °*chatra*-. *Chatra* may be the same as *chaturaka* (cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94).

33 [ka]- |<sup>1</sup> mahādaṇḍanāyaka- |<sup>1</sup> mahākumārāmātya- |<sup>1</sup> rājasthān-ōparika-<sup>2</sup> |<sup>1</sup> dāsāparādḥika- |<sup>1</sup> chaurōddharaṇika- |<sup>1</sup> dāṇḍika |<sup>1</sup> dāṇḍa-

*Reverse*

- 34 pāsi(si)ka- |<sup>1</sup> śaulkika- |<sup>1</sup> gaulmika-kshētrapa- |<sup>1</sup> prāntapāla- |<sup>1</sup> kōṭṭapū-  
 35 la- |<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>aṅgaraksha- |<sup>1</sup> tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka- |<sup>1</sup> hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-  
 36 nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka- |<sup>1</sup> ki[śō]ra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-ā-  
 37 vik-ādhyaksha- |<sup>1</sup> dūtaprēshaṇika-gamāgamika- |<sup>1</sup> <sup>3</sup>abhitva[ra\*]-  
 38 māṇa- |<sup>1</sup> vishayapati- |<sup>1</sup> grāmapati- |<sup>1</sup> tarika- |<sup>1</sup> Gauḍa- |<sup>1</sup> Mālava- |<sup>1</sup>  
 39 Khasa- |<sup>1</sup> Hūṇa- |<sup>1</sup> Kulika- |<sup>1</sup> Karṇāṭa- |<sup>1</sup> Lāṭa- |<sup>1</sup> chāṭa- |<sup>1</sup> bhāṭa- |<sup>1</sup> sēvak-ādīn |<sup>1</sup> anyāmś=cha-  
 ākīrttitān |<sup>1</sup> rāja-pād-ōpajīvinah prativā-  
 40 sinō Vrāhmaṇ-aitarān<sup>4</sup> |<sup>1</sup> mahattam-ōttama-kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga-Mēd-Āndhra-Chaṇḍāla-pary-  
 antān<sup>5</sup> yath-ārham mānayati |<sup>1</sup> vō(bō)dhayati sa-  
 41 mādisati cha |<sup>1</sup> viditam=astu bhavatām |<sup>1</sup> yath=ōparilikhitāḥ tri-grāmāḥ<sup>6</sup> sva-sīmā-tṛiṇayūti-  
 gōchara-paryantāḥ sa-tala-  
 42 s-ōddēsāḥ s-āmra-madhukāḥ |<sup>1</sup> sa-jala-sthalāḥ |<sup>1</sup> sa-gratt-ōsharāḥ |<sup>1</sup> sa-daś-āpachūrāḥ |<sup>1</sup> sa-  
 chaur-ōddharaṇāḥ pariḥṛita-sarva-pidāḥ |<sup>1</sup> a-  
 43 chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēsāḥ |<sup>1</sup> a-kiñchit-pragrāhāḥ(hyāḥ) |<sup>1</sup> samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-  
 pratyāya-samētāḥ |<sup>1</sup> bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyē-  
 44 na ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam |<sup>1</sup> mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē  
 bhagavantam Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya Ā-  
 45 ṅgiras-Āmva(mba)rīsha-Yā(Yau)mu(va)nāsva-pravarāya |<sup>1</sup> Hastidāsa-sagōtrāya Viṣṇudēva-  
 śarmaṇaḥ putrāya |<sup>1</sup> Dhīrēsvaradēvaśarmmaṇaḥ  
 46 putrāya |<sup>1</sup> śrī-Jivadharadēvaśarmmaṇē |<sup>1</sup> viśu(shu)vat-saṅkrāntau vidhivat |<sup>1</sup> Gaṅgāyān  
 snātvā śāsanīkrītya pradattō=smābhiḥ<sup>7</sup> | a-  
 47 tō bhavadbhi[s=sa]rvair-ēv=ānumantavyam bhāvibhiś=cha bhūpatibhiḥ |<sup>1</sup> bhūmēr=dāna-phala-  
 gauravāt |<sup>1</sup> apaharaṇē cha mahā-naraka-  
 48 pāta-bhaya(yā)t |<sup>1</sup> dānam=idam=anumōdy=ānupālaniyam |<sup>1</sup> prativāsibhiś=cha kshētrakaraiḥ |<sup>1</sup>  
 ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyībhūya yathā-kāla[m]  
 49 samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kā[rya] iti || Samva(samva)t [5]  
 Śrāvaṇa-dinē 26 [||\*] Bhavanti ch=ātra dha-  
 50 rmma(rmm-ā)nuśamsinaḥ ślōkāḥ [||\*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |  
 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya [tasya\*] tadā phalam(lam) || [13\*] Bhū-  
 51 mim yaḥ pratigṛihṇā(hṇā)ti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhai(bhau) tau puṇya-karmma-  
 (rmmā)ṇau niyataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14\*] Gām=ekā[m] svarṇam=ē-  
 52 kañ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=a(m=ā)yāti ya(yā)va[d=ā\*]-  
 hūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [15\*] Shashṭim=va(shṭim va)rsha-sahaśrā(srā)ḥi svarggē mōdati  
 bhūmida-

<sup>1</sup> The *dāṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The designation *rājasthān-ōparika* is found as *rājasthānēy-ōparika* in most of the Pala records.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *paryantāḥ* was engraved.

<sup>6</sup> \**Likhitō=yam grāmāḥ* was originally engraved. All the epithets of *grāmāḥ* in the singular in lines 41-43 were later made plural to suit *tri-grāmāḥ* by the addition of an *ā mātrā*. But *pradattō=smābhiḥ* in line 46 escaped the engraver's notice and was left uncorrected.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pradattā asmābhiḥ*.



- 53 ḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [16\*] Sva-dattām para-dattām [vā\*]  
yō harē[ta\*] vasundharām(rām) | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pi-
- 54 tribhiḥ saha pachyatē || [17\*] Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayatē-  
(ty=ē)sha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=ṛi-
- 55 pāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyaḥ kramēṇa || [18\*] Iti kamala-dal-amvu-(l-āmbu)-vindu-lōlām  
śriyam=anuvichintya<sup>1</sup> ma[nu\*]shya-jīvita-
- 56 fi=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti ||<sup>2</sup>  
Śrī-Mahīpāladēvēna dvija-śrē-
- 57 shṭh-ōpapādītē [|\*] [śrī]māl=La(l=La)kshmidharō mantrī śāsanē dūtakaḥ kṛitaḥ || [20\*] Pōshali-  
grāma-niryāta-Cha[ndrā]dityasya sū(sū)nunā | i-
- 58 daṁ śāsanam=utkīrṇam śrī<sup>3</sup>-Pushyādityēna śilpinā || [21\*]

### B.—Plate of Vighrahapāla III; Regnal Year 11

The inscription is written on a single plate which is of the same size as the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I, edited above. The seal, which is broken at the top, very closely resembles that of Mahīpāla's plate. The legend on the seal, attached to the charter under discussion, reads *śrī-Vighrahapāladēvaḥ*. There are 54 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, the obverse containing 29 lines and the reverse 25. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not quite satisfactory. Some of the letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion. Five lines at the top on the obverse of the plate and four lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

Little calls for special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription as they very closely resemble those of the Āngāchhi plate,<sup>4</sup> the only other copper-plate charter of king Vighrahapāla III so far published. In most cases in our inscription, the left curve of the letter ṛ does not start from its top but from the middle of its central vertical. The letter ś usually resembles in form the conjunct *tbh* or *vbh* as found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age.

The charter is dated on the 19th day of Bhādra in the year 11 of the king's reign (line 46). Like the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I and several other records of the family, the grant under discussion was made by king Vighrahapāla III after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *vishuvat-sankrānti*. It appears therefore, as in the case of Mahīpāla's record discussed above, that the grant had been made on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later.

As in the grant of Mahīpāla I edited above, both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of our charter occurs the letter *ni* which is a contraction of the expression *nibaddha* meaning 'registered.' The actual record begins with the *siddham* symbol and the word *svasti* which are followed by fourteen verses (lines 1-22). These verses are also found in the Āngāchhi plate of the same king. Of these, twelve verses are common with Mahīpāla's plate edited above. But, as already pointed out, the verse referring to the exploits of the king's elephant force in all the four corners of the *chakravartti-kshētra* (verse 14) is employed in the description of Vighrahapāla III himself instead of that of Mahīpāla I. Verse 12 of our record speaks of king Nayapāla (*circa* 1038-55 A. C.), son and successor of Mahīpāla I, and verse 13 of Nayapāla's son and successor Vighrahapāla III (*circa* 1055-90 A. C.) who issued the charter under discussion. These verses are not only found

<sup>1</sup> Read =<sup>o</sup>*anuvichintya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [19\*] *iti*.

<sup>3</sup> Omit *śrī* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 295 ff.

in the Āmgāchhi plate of Vighrahapāla III, but also in the Manahali plate<sup>1</sup> of Madanapāla (1144-62 A. C.),<sup>2</sup> great-great-grandson of Vighrahapāla III. As no other copper-plate charter of the successors of Vighrahapāla III, in which the verses are expected to have been quoted, has as yet been discovered and as the text of verse 13 of our record could not be satisfactorily read either in the Āmgāchhi or in the Manahali plate, the charter under discussion offers the correct reading of the verse in question for the first time.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* of Vilāsapura which was also the place of issue of the Bāngarh plate of Mahīpāla I and possibly of the Āmgāchhi plate of Vighrahapāla III. Its description (lines 22-26) is the same as in other Pāla charters including the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I, edited above. Lines 26-27 introduces the *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja śrīmad-Vighrahapāladēva* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja śrī-Nayapāladēva* and as enjoying good health at the time of making the grant. The land granted comprised parts (*ardha*) of the village called Lōvanikāma which was then recently cultivated and was attached to the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (subdivision) within the Phāṇitavīthī *vishaya* (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. Phāṇita was originally the name of a *vīthī* (subdivision); but later Phāṇita-vīthī came to be the name of a *vishaya* or district.<sup>3</sup> It is said that Lōvanikāma was partitioned (*riju-khaṇḍīkṛita*) and that one part measuring 1 *kulya* (i.e., *kulyavāpa*) 2 *drōṇas* (i.e., *drōṇavāpas*) 3¼ *āḍhavāpas* and 3½ *udamānas* was left out, while the other measuring 3 *kulyas* 7½ *drōṇas* and 11 *udamānas* was made the subject of the grant.

The list of officials and others associated with the gift land (lines 29-37) and that of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee (lines 38-49) are the same as in other Pāla charters including the one edited above. The grant was made in the name of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jayānandadēva-śarman who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* having the Bhāradvāja, Āngirasa and Bārhaspatya *pravaras* and was the son of Śrīpatidēva, grandson of Hṛishikēśadēva and great-grandson of Mitrakaradēva. The words *śrī* prefixed and *śarman* suffixed only to the name of Jayānandadēva appear to suggest that he was living while his ancestors were all dead and that *śarman* was already regarded as a distinctive Brahmanical name-suffix, although it was not an integral part of the family's cognomen. The donee is said to have been a student of the Pippalāda *śākhā* and to have been reputed for his scholarship in *mīmāṃsā*, grammar and logic. He was an inhabitant of Vēllāvāgrāma, but his family hailed from Vahēḍāgrāma. His epithet *śrī-Ananta-sabrahmachārīn* literally means that he was a co-student of a Brāhmaṇa named Ananta. It however seems to me that the reference is here not to a co-student of the donee but to his preceptor.<sup>4</sup>

The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the locality and his order to the cultivators to offer the dues payable to the donee in due time come next in lines 44-46. The date (*Samvat 11 Bhādra-dinē 19*) is also given in line 46. The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 47-53. The two concluding stanzas in lines 53-54 speak of the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that one Trilōchana was made the executor of the charter by king Vighrahapāla. The plates were engraved by the artisan Prithvidēva who was a son of Haradēva hailing from the village of Tinnidī.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Vilāsapura, whence the grant was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it was apparently situated on the Ganges. The

<sup>1</sup> *Gaudalēkhamālā*, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27-31. For the date of Vighrahapāla III, see our paper on the Bangaon plate to be published in this journal.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Khēṭak-āhāra* and *Khēṭakāhāra-vishaya*; *Kudūr-āhāra* and *Kudūrāhāra-vishaya* in *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> See our paper on the Bangaon plate to be published in this journal.

TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

B.—PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 11

Obverse



30

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

32

भ्यां प्रतीयां सुखाद्युत्तरा

34

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

36

मातृजातया कृता क्रान्तं कुरुते

38

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

42

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

52

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

54

यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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यत्कुरुते तत्तु पूर्वो ज्ञानो

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Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* are also mentioned in the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I, discussed above. The Phāṇita-vīthī *vishaya* of our inscription is mentioned in that record as the Phāṇita *vīthī* only. The village of Lōvanikāma and that of Tinniḍī which was the original home of the engraver's family cannot be identified with any amount of precision. The village of Vēllāvā, where the donee lived, is no doubt the same as the present Belwā, the findspot of the charter; but the village of Vahēḍā, whence the donee's family hailed, cannot be identified.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[ Metres : Verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Śikharinī* ; verse 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 14 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 15-19, 22, 23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 20 *Śālinī* ; verse 21 *Pushpitāgrā*. ]

*Obverse*

Lines 1—17<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

- 18 bhūbhujām=mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālah śrī-Mahīpāladēvaḥ || [11\*] Tyajan=dōshā-saṅgam śirasi kṛita-pādaḥ kshitibhṛitām vitanvan sarvv-āsāḥ prasa-
- 19 bham=Uday-ādrēr=iva raviḥ | hata-dhvānta[h\*] snigdha-prakṛitir=anurāg-aika-vasati[h\*] sutō va(dha)n[y]aḥ puṇyair=ajani Nayapālō narapatiḥ || [12\*] Pitaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ Sma-
- 20 raripōḥ pūjāsu raktaḥ sadā saṅgrāmē dhavalō='dhikaś=cha Haritaḥ kālah kulē vidvishām-(shām) | chāturvvarṇya-samāśrayaḥ sita-yaśaḥ-pūrain=jjagad=rañjaya[m\*]s=ta-
- 21 smād=Vigrahapāladēva-nṛipatiḥ puṇyāj=janānām=abhūt || [13\*] Dēśē prāchi prachura-payasi svachchham=āpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntvā tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu |
- 22 kṛitvā sāndrair=Marushu jaḍatām śikarair=arvbha(bhra)-tulyāḥ Prālēyādrēḥ katakam=abhajayi(n=ya)sya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14\*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarattamāna-nā-
- 23 nāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhramā[t] |<sup>3</sup> nirati-saya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmī-
- 24 samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāta(hāt) |<sup>3</sup> udīchin-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛitī-kṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsari-
- 25 ta-digantarālāt |<sup>3</sup> paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-Jamvu(mbū)-dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēḥ |<sup>3</sup> Vilāsapura-samāvāsita-śrīma-
- 26 j-jaya-skandhāvārāt |<sup>3</sup> paramasaugatō mahārājadhī(dhi)rāja-śrī-Nayapāladēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirā-
- 27 ja-śrīmad-Vigrahapāladēva[h<sup>4</sup> ku]śalī |<sup>3</sup> śrī-Puṇḍravardhana-bhuktau Phā[ṇi]tavīthī-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha<sup>5</sup>-adhunā-hala-kuli-
- 28 [t-ārddha-Lō]vanikāmaḥ(ma)<sup>5</sup>-riju-khaṇḍīkṛita-sārdha<sup>5</sup>-udamāna-tray-ōttara-sapad-ādḥav ipa-tray-ādḥika-drōṇa-dvay-ōpēta-kulya-pramāṇ-āmśa-varjjita-sva-
- 29 samva(mba)ddh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta<sup>5</sup>-ēkādaś-ōdamān-ādḥika-sārdha-sapta-drōṇ-ōpēta-kulya-traya-pramāṇ-āmśē |<sup>3</sup> samupāgat-āsēsha-rājapurushān |<sup>3</sup>

*Reverse*

30 rāja-rājanyaka-|<sup>3</sup> rājaputra- |<sup>3</sup> rājāmātya- |<sup>3</sup> mahāsāndhivigrahika-|<sup>3</sup> mahā-

<sup>1</sup> From an impression.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of these lines is practically the same as that of lines 1-20 of the plate of Mahīpāla I, edited above

<sup>3</sup> The *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* was at first omitted and later made on *k*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 31 kshapaṭalika-<sup>1</sup> mahāsāmanta -<sup>1</sup> mahāsēnāpati -<sup>1</sup> mahāpratīhāra - <sup>1</sup> dau-  
 32 ḥsādhasādhanī[ka\*]-<sup>1</sup> mahādaṇḍanāyaka-<sup>1</sup> mahākumārāmātya-<sup>1</sup> rājasthā-  
 33 n-ōparika-<sup>1</sup> dāsāparādhika-<sup>1</sup> chaurōddharāṇika-<sup>1</sup> dāṇḍika-<sup>1</sup> dāṇḍa-  
 34 pāsika-<sup>1</sup> sau(śau)llika-<sup>1</sup> gaulmika-<sup>1</sup> kshētrapa-<sup>1</sup> prāntapāla-<sup>1</sup> kōṭa(ṭṭa)pāla-<sup>2</sup> aṅgaraksha-<sup>1</sup>  
 tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-<sup>1</sup> hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-<sup>1</sup>  
 35 kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvīk-ādhyaksha-<sup>1</sup> dūtaprēshaṇika-<sup>1</sup> gamāgamika-<sup>2</sup> abhitva-  
 ramāṇa-<sup>1</sup> viśhayapati-<sup>1</sup> grāmapati-<sup>1</sup> tarika- [<sup>1</sup>] Gauḍa-<sup>1</sup>  
 36 Mālava-<sup>1</sup> Khasa-<sup>1</sup> Hūṇa-<sup>1</sup> Kulika-<sup>1</sup> Karṇṇāṭa-<sup>1</sup> Lāṭa-<sup>1</sup> chāṭa-<sup>1</sup> bhāṭa-<sup>1</sup> sēvak-ādīn <sup>1</sup>  
 anyāś=ch=ākīrtitān <sup>1</sup> rāja-pād-ōpajīvināḥ <sup>1</sup> prativā-  
 37 sinō Vrā(Brā)hman-ōttarā[n] <sup>3</sup> mahattam-ōttama-kuṭumvi(mbi)-[purōga]-Mēd-Āndhra-Chaṇ-  
 ḍāla-paryantān <sup>3</sup> yath-ārham mānāyati <sup>3</sup> vō(bō)dhayati <sup>3</sup> samādiśati  
 38 cha | viditam=astu bhavatām <sup>3</sup> yath-ōparilikhitō='yam grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-[ṭri]ṇayūti-  
 gōchara-paryantāḥ sa-talaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ s-āmra-madhukaḥ <sup>3</sup>  
 39 sa-jala-sthalāḥ <sup>3</sup> sa-daś-āpachāraḥ sa-chaur-ōddharāṇāḥ <sup>3</sup> paribhṛita-sarva-pīḍāḥ<sup>4</sup> a-chāṭa-  
 bhāṭa-pravēśaḥ <sup>3</sup> a-kiñchit-pragrājya(hya)ḥ <sup>3</sup> samasta-bhāga-  
 40 bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-samētaḥ <sup>3</sup> bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna<sup>4</sup> ā-[cha\*]ndr-ārka-kshiti-  
 sama-kālam <sup>3</sup> mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-  
 41 bhivṛiddhayē bhagavantām Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya | Bharadvāja-sagōtrāya <sup>3</sup>  
 Bhāradvāj-Āṅgīrasa-Vā(Bā)raspatya-pravarāya <sup>3</sup> śrī<sup>4</sup>-Ananta-savra(bra)hmachā-  
 42 riṇē <sup>3</sup> Pippalāda-śākh-ādhyāyinē mīmānsā(māmsā)-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidē <sup>3</sup> Vahēdā-grāma-  
 vini[rgga]tāya <sup>3</sup> Vēllāvā-grāma-vāstavyāya <sup>3</sup>  
 43 Mitrakaradēva-prapautrāya <sup>3</sup> Hṛishīkēśadēva-pautrāya <sup>3</sup> Śrīpatidēva putrāya <sup>3</sup> śrī-Jayā-  
 nandadēvasarmmaṇē Vishuvat-samkrāntau vidhivat <sup>3</sup>  
 44 Gaṅgāyā[m] snātvā śa(śā)sanīkṛitya pradattō='smābhiḥ | atō bhavadbhiḥ sarvair=ēv=ānuman-  
 tavyam | bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhiḥ <sup>3</sup> bhūmēr=ddāna-phala-  
 45 gauravāt <sup>3</sup> apaharaṇē cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayāt <sup>3</sup> dānam=idam=anumōdya pālānyam |  
 .prativāsibhiś=cha kshētrakaraiḥ ājñā-śrava-  
 46 ṇa-vidhēyībhūya yāthā-kāla[m] samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ  
 kārya iti || Samva(Samva)t 11 Bhādra-dinē 19 [||\*]  
 47 Bhavanti ch=ātra dharm-ānūsāmsinaḥ ślōkāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabis=Sagar-  
 ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala-  
 48 m || [15\*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim=prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-kar-  
 māṇau niyataṁ svarga-gāminau || [16\*] Gām=ēkām svarṇam=ēka-  
 49 ñ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulam(lam |) haran=narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhūta-samplavam  
 || [17\*] shasṭim=va(shṭim va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidāḥ | ākshē-  
 50 [ptā] ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēta(sēt) || [18\*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttām  
 vā) yō harēta vasundharām | sva(sa) viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pa-  
 51 chyatē || [19\*] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthvi(rthi)v-ēndrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayaty=  
 ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō='yan=dharma-sētur=ṇripāṇām kālē kālē pāla-

<sup>1</sup> The dāṇḍa is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The dāṇḍa is unnecessary. Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>3</sup> The dāṇḍa is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

- 52 ni(nī)yaḥ kramēṇa || [20\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya  
manushya-jīvitāñ=cha [[] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi
- 53 purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti<sup>1</sup> || Śrīmad-Vigrahapālēna kshmāpāla-kula-mauli[nā] ||  
[kṛitō\*]=tra śāsanē dūtaḥ [suma]tiḥ
- 54 śrī-Trilōchanah || [22\*] Tinnidī-grāma-niryāta-Haradēvasya sū[nu]nā | idam śāsanam=utkīr-  
ṇam Prithvī[dēvēna śi]lpinā || [23\*]

## No. 2—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA BHOJA II ; SAKA 1104

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This inscription, now preserved in the wall of the Hari-Harēśvara shrine in the compound of the famous Mahālakshmī temple at Kolhāpur, was first noticed by me in December 1945, when I visited the place for the excavations on the Brahmapuri mound, near Kolhāpur. The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have been found while digging the foundation wall of Mr. Panditrao's house in close vicinity of the temple several years ago and later built into the outer wall of the above-named shrine for the sake of preserving it. I edited the inscription some years back in Marāṭhī in my book<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions from Mahārāshṭra*, pp. 73-80. I re-edit it here in English for the sake of a wider circle of scholars. The text of the record presented here is based on the inked estampage<sup>3</sup> which I owe to the courtesy of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, has been kind enough to make several useful suggestions in preparing the article.

The inscribed area of the stone slab is about 4½ feet in length and 2½ feet broad. At its top, figures of the sun, the moon, a *maṅgala kalāśa*, a milking cow with a calf, and a sword are carved in high relief and are now worshipped daily by the visitors to the shrine. There are 39 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. Some parts of the record, however, are damaged and worn out, probably on account of the constant watering of the stone resorted to by its worshippers. A few letters at the ends of lines have also been damaged while fixing the slab in its present position.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, of which lines 1-17 and 34-39 are in verse. The rest is in prose as also the concluding sentence in line 39. The characters are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet current in the 12th century A.C. and do not call for any remarks.

As regards orthography, the following deserve mention. *Ksha* is used for *khya* in line 5. *Ś* is substituted for *s* occasionally ; e.g., *āśit* in line 2, *yaśyā* in line 6, etc. The word *Nairrītya* is spelt as *Naiyirītya* in line 23. The rules of *sandhi* are often disregarded. The style of the inscription is in general agreement with another inscription from Kolhāpur published in this journal previously.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription is dated Śaka 1104, Śubhakṛit-samvatsara, Pushya śuddha 4, Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti. The date which is expressed in words only in lines 20-21 corresponds regularly to 1st December 1182 A.C.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Bhōja II, the Śilāhāra ruler of Kolhāpur, who is stated to have obtained a boon from the goddess Mahālakshmī and is styled *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara*. It was issued from his residence at Valavāḍa. The object of it is to record several donations by

<sup>1</sup> Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [21\*] *iti*.

<sup>2</sup> Published by the Bhārata Itihāsa Samsōdhaka Maṅḍala, Poona, in 1947.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, No. 355 of 1945-46.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

<sup>5</sup> Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 367.

the king to the religious establishment (*matha*) founded by Lōkaṇa Nāyaka, a Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇa, in the premises of the Mahālakshmī temple, for carrying on the worship of the god Umā-Mahēśvara, a form of Amṛitēśvara (Śiva), for maintaining the granary of the *matha*, for keeping it in good repair, for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, and for similar other purposes.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then comes the genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty which commences with the *Vidyādhara* Jīmūtavāhana, its mythical founder, and is brought down to Bhōja II. Most of the verses containing this description are identical with those occurring in the Kaśēli plates<sup>1</sup> of the same ruler, dated Śaka 1116, except verses 6, 13 and 14 which are new in the present inscription. Unfortunately these verses are too much damaged to yield any coherent sense. Verse 6, devoted to the praise of Bhōja I, son of Mārasimha, contains the names Gōvinda and Kōṅgaja. As gathered from the Kollāpur plates<sup>2</sup> of Gaṇḍarāditya, these persons appear to be some petty chiefs defeated by Bhōja I. Verses 13 and 14 seem to contain the praise of Bhōja II and do not appear to be important historically.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that this is an early dated inscription of the Śilāhāra ruler Bhōja II. An earlier inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1101, is said to have been found near Kōṭitīrtha, a sacred tank in the precincts of Kollāpur; and Major Graham in his *Statistical Account of the Principality of Kolhapur*, pp. 382 ff., gives a kind of a facsimile of this inscription, but its original cannot be traced now.

The *matha* founded by Lōkaṇa Nāyaka, referred to in the present inscription, is already known from the town-hall inscription of Bhōja II,<sup>3</sup> dated Śaka 1112. Its mention here carries the date of its existence further back to Śaka 1104. It is interesting to observe that the residents of the *matha* are practically the same as are mentioned in the town-hall inscription, except Janārdana Bhaṭṭa who appears to have succeeded Lakshmīdhara.

The Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in these and other inscriptions, claim to have arrived in the south from Ahichchhatra and Kāshmir. They seem to have been a fairly well settled community in the Deccan and Karṇāṭak as can be gathered from the references to them in several mediaeval inscriptions of this period.<sup>4</sup> Even now Kollāpur retains a large population of this class of Brāhmaṇas who are engaged mostly in trading and banking activities.

The following **geographical** names occur in the present inscription: Tagarapura (line 18), Valavāḍa (line 19), Kollāpura (line 21), Paṇaturage-golla (line 26) and Seleyavāḍa (line 26). Of these the first three are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of Kollāpur. Tagarapura is modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State; Valavāḍa which was the seat of the permanent residence (*sthira śibira*) of the Śilāhāras is taken to be identical with the site of modern Rādhānagarī near Kollāpur; and Kollāpura is undoubtedly modern Kollāpur. Paṇaturage, which appears to be the name of a tract (*golla*), may be identified with the village Paṇutrā, 14 miles S. W. of Kollāpur, situated on the bank of the river Dhāmṇi. Seleyavāḍa is probably modern Sheloshi, about 7½ miles further S. W. of Paṇutrā, on the bank of the same river.<sup>5</sup> The change from Paṇaturage to Paṇutrā appears to be natural as suggested by the change from Ājirage to Ājre. Paṇaturage would thus have some form like Paṇutare and this is exactly the form in which the name occurs in certain

<sup>1</sup> *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 393 and the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 176-82; the plates were earlier edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for instance *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Hassan 61; *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1927-28, p. 141.

<sup>5</sup> Both these villages can be traced on the 1 inch=1 mile Survey Sheets, old Nos. 206 and 240 published by the Survey of India in 1932.



old Marāṭhī documents of the 17th-18th century.<sup>1</sup> The expression *golla* can be equated with Kannāḍa *koḷḷa* which means a valley or low land. The Paṇaturage *golla* would therefore correspond to the valley formed by the river Dhāmṇi, bounded on the east by the Bhōgāvātī river and on the west by the Kumbhī river, as seen on the maps. There are several mountainous tracts in this region which appear to have been mentioned in the Tālale copper plates<sup>2</sup> of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya, as forming the boundary of this Paṇaturage *golla*. This *golla* again seems to have been mentioned in the Bāmaṇi inscription<sup>3</sup> of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya, where it is read as ‘.ṇavu[ka]-gegollā’ wherein the village of Mada[lū]ra was situated. The doubtful nature of the reading can be seen from the dots and the square brackets enclosing it. So it is possible to restore the reading as [Pa]ṇatu[ra]ge-*golla* and Madalūra may be identified with Mandūr, which is about 3 miles west of Paṇutrā.

My thanks are due also to Sri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for his useful suggestions in connection with this paper.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

[ Metres : Vv. 1-3, 10, 15, 18-20 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 4, 5, 9, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 7, 8, 14 *Upajāti* ; v. 13 *Mālinī* ; v. 17 *Śālinī* ; vv. 6, 11, 16 *Vasantatilakā*. ]

- 1 ॥अ०<sup>5</sup>॥ स्वस्ति श्री ॥ जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षो]<sup>6</sup>भितार्णव(वम्) ।  
दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविष्ठा(श्रां)तभुवनं वपुः ॥[१॥\*]
- 2 आशी(सी)द्विद्याधरः पूर्वं ना[म्ना जीमूतवाहनः । परार्थं जी]<sup>6</sup>वितं येन  
गरुडाय निवेदितं(तम्) ॥[२॥\*] शिलाहाराख्यवं-
- 3 शोयं ॥<sup>7</sup> तगरेश्वरभूभृतां(ताम्) [। तद्वंशे जतिगो राजाऽजनि भूभृ]<sup>6</sup>च्छि(च्छि)-  
खामणिः ॥[३॥\*] स्वस्ति श्रीजतिगक्षितीशतनयो ना-
- 4 यिमनामा नृपः ॥<sup>7</sup> पुत्रस्तस्य [च चंद्रराट् पृथुयशास्तस्यापि सूनुः]<sup>6</sup> किल ।  
संजातो जतिगो जगज्जननुतः श्रीमां[श्च]
- 5 तंनं(तन्नं)दनो गोकल्लो भुवि [भूमिपालतनयः श्रीमारसिंहो नृपः]<sup>8</sup> ॥[४॥\*]  
तत्सूनुर्नृपमौलिलालितपद[:\*] श्रीगूवलाक्षो(ख्यो)नृप[:\*] । तद्भ्राता भुवि
- 6 भोजदेवनृपतिः वैरी[भपंचाननश्चक्रे राज्यमखंडितं पृथु]<sup>6</sup>यशा लंकेशतुल्यः किल ।  
॥[५॥\*] य[श्या](स्या)त्मजो कृतनि.....
- 7 गर्गवर्गो गोविंदकोंगज.....यकसुतां.....बभूव भुवि विक्रम.....॥[६॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Rājwāde, *Marāṭhyāñchyā Itihāsāchī Sādhanā*, Vol. VIII, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff. In this record the tract is referred to as Panaturage-kholla.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> From the original stone and ink impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> Readings restored from the Kaśēli plates.

<sup>7</sup> The *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> This reading is restored conjecturally though it is not actually found in the Kaśēli plates.

- 8 ॥ तस्यानुजातो विदित[प्रतापो बल्लाळदेवक्षि]<sup>1</sup>तिपस्सदैव । श्रीकामिनीनां विनताव-  
नीशो दिक्प्रांततापः प्रथि[तप्र]-
- 9 तापः ।[1७॥\*] तस्यानुजो धर्म[धरो धरित्र्यां दधार]<sup>1</sup> धर्मानखिलान्स्वधर्मो ।  
धैर्याग्रधुर्यो धनदो धनानां श्रीगंडरादित्य इति
- 10 प्रसिद्धः ।[1८॥\*] दीनानाथदरिद्रदुःखविकलव्याकीर्णनानाविधः(ध)प्राणित्राणपरायण[:\*]  
प्रतिदिनं गुप्ताख्यदानेन यः । यः
- 11 कृष्णाजिनधेनुभूम्युभयतोमुक्षा(ख्या)दिदानप्रदः [1\*] स(श)श्वद्धर्ममतिप्रवीणहृदयो  
भूदेवकल्पद्रुमः ।[1९॥\*] तुलापुरुषदाना[दिषोड-]
- 12 शक्रतुकारकः । सौ(शौ)चगांगेयकीर्त्ते(त्ये)कनिलयः स्वगुणैर्भुवि ।[1१०॥\*]  
तनं(तन्नं)दन(नः) प्रबलमंडि(ड)लिकद्विपेंद्र[पंचाननो]<sup>2</sup>जनि जगत्त्रितयैकवीरः ।
- 13 प्रत्यर्थिपार्थिवललाटतटस्थपादपीठस्फुटोज्वलयशो(शा) विजयाकर्कदेवः ।[1११॥\*] दानाय  
द्रविणार्जनं जनपरित्राणाय वीरव्रतं [सत्या]-
- 14 य पृ(प्रि)यभाषणं हरिपदध्यानाय चेत[:\*]स्थितिः । संप[त्ति]सु(स्सु)मनोविपद्वि-  
[हतये यस्य प्रकामं]<sup>1</sup> कविः [1\*] कः स(श)क्तः प्रविचिच्य तस्य  
विजया[दित्य]-
- 15 स्य वक्तु(क्तुं) गुणाः(णान्) ।[1१२॥\*] जगति विजयसूनुर्वैरि[नी]हारभानुनिज  
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ वल्लीलवित्रः[1\*] विभवविजयशक्रः खंडिता-  
राति-
- 16 चक्रो वरनृपकृतसेवो भूपतिर्भोजदेवः ।[1१३॥\*] रामो यथा.....
- 17 था.....देवेन तेनाजनि भोजराज्ये ॥[१४॥\*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंच-  
[महासे(श)ब्द] महामंडलेश्वर सिलारकुलवंसो(शो)द्भव.....<sup>3</sup>
- 18 गेय परनारीसहोदर शरणागतवज्रपंजर कलियुगयुधिष्ठिर...विद्याधर श्रीमहालक्ष्मि-  
(क्ष्मी)देवीलब्धवरप्रसाद [श्रीतगर]-
- 19 पुरवराधीश्वरो(र) इत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीविराजित[:\*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वरो(रः) श्री-  
भोजदेवो वलवाडसिवि(शिबि)[रे सुखसं]-

<sup>1</sup> Reading restored from other inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.

<sup>3</sup> Read वैरिपन्नगवैनतेयशौचगां- as in other inscriptions.

- 20 कथाविनोदेन राज्यं कुर्वाण(ः) शक[नृपकाला]दारभ्य वर्षेषु चतुरो(रु)त्तरशताधिक-  
सहस्रेषु निवृत्तेषु वर्तमानशुभकृ[त्संवत्स-]
- 21 [रांतर्गतपुष्य]सु(शु)द्धचतुर्थ्या भौ[म]...[रु]त्तरायणसंक्रमणपर्वणि निज[राज्या]भिवृद्धये  
श्रीमत्कोल्लापुरमहालक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)दे-
- 22 वालयाभ्यन्तरे पश्चिमद्वारोत्तर[र....सह]वासिलोकणनायकेन अमृतेश्वरमूर्त्युमा-  
महेश्वरार्थं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभोजनार्थं च [कारितस्य]
- 23 मठस्य कोष्ठागारार्थं तद्दे.....मठस्याभ्यन्तरे नै[यि]रित्य(ऋत्य)दिशो भागे  
द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणं गृहमेकं तन्मठनिवि[ष्टसह]-
- 24 वास्यादित्यभट्ट जनार्दनभट्ट [करहाटकप्रभा]<sup>1</sup>करघैसास वासियणघैसासेत्येवं  
[प्रमुखां(खेभ्यो) ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.....पुरवर्गः दक्षिणदि]-
- 25 [शो ग्रामे] धवलगृहचतुष्टयं.....पूजार्थं.....पूर्वे(र्वस्यां) दिशि पुष्पवाटकमेकं  
तस्यैव [देवस्य] पूजार्थं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण[भोज][ना\*]-
- 26 र्थं च पणतुरगेगोलांतर्गतसेलेयवाडग्रामसीमाभ्यंतरंनु(रमु)त्तरदिग्भागे.....शादधिकं  
च चतुः[शत]-
- 27 क्षेत्रं तत्प्रतिव(ब)द्धं पंडरंन[न्त]द्ग्रामाभ्यन्तरे द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणगृहमेकं एतत्सर्वं  
पूर्वो.....शासनसहितं [धा]-
- 28 रापूर्वकं सर्वम(न)मस्य(स्यं) सर्ववा(बा)धापरिहारं राजकीयानामनंगुलिप्रे-  
क्षणीयमाचंद्राकर्क.....[त]स्यैव देवस्य [पंचोप]-
- 29 चारपूजार्थं तन्मठखंडस्फुटितजीर्णोद्धारार्थं [त]दीयब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभोजनार्थं च  
एडेनाड.....
- 30 [त]द्देशद(दं)डेन पंचविंशत्यधिकद्विस(श)तवप्रकं क्षेत्रे द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं  
निवेशनं च....प्रतिव(ब)द्धं.....
- 31 निवर्तनं क्षेत्रं द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं निवेशनं च अरुवणसहितं अष्टभोग[तेजसाम्य  
सहितं काश्यप]सगोत्रस्य उद्ध[वा]-
- 32 र्यस्य पौत्राभ्यां महत्तरमाधवार्यस्य पुत्राभ्यां नेम[ण]लक्ष्मणयोर्दत्तां तेनैव लोक-  
णनायकेन सर्वनम-
- 33 स्यसर्वबाधापरिहारं सर्वायविशु[द्धं] [शासन]सहितं दानक्रयेन(ण) गृहीतं  
आचंद्राकर्कतारं चिरं दत्तं ॥छ॥<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *chha* indicates the end of the topic.

- 34 बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरा[दिभिः [1\*]यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
तदा फल(लम्)[॥१५॥\*] मद्रंशजा[\*]परमहीप-
- 35 तिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भू[मिपालाः । ये पालयन्ति म]म धर्ममिमं  
समस्तं तेभ्यो मया [वि]रचितोजलारेष मू[र्धिन] ॥ [१६॥\*]
- 36 सामान्ये(न्यो)यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले [पालनीयो भव]द्भिः । सर्वान्ये-  
(ने)तान्भाविना(नः)पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच[ते राम]-
- 37 चंद्रः ॥ [१७॥\*] दानं वा पालनं वापि दाना[त्\*] श्रेयोनुपालनं(तम्) ।  
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं(दम्) ॥ [१८॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
वा यो हरे-
- 38 त वसुंधरां(राम्) । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः । [१९॥\*]  
.....[सयुक्षेप]क्षणक्षय(यि)णि जीविते यो द्विजादाहरे.....
- 39 तस्यां वीचीक्ष[यो]क्षयः ॥[२०॥\*] अपुत्रिकद्रव्यसहवासि.....

### No. 3—MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was copied in the year 1930-31 by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, at the village of Māser, Basodā Pargana, District Bhilsa.<sup>1</sup> The record is fragmentary and its concluding portion is not traceable. The existing portions of the inscription are contained in two broken pieces of a mutilated stone discovered amidst the ruins of a fallen house of a Brāhmaṇa in the village of Māser. The only other ancient relics found in the locality were a few broken sculptures and carved stone fragments lying near what looked like the basement of a small shrine. From a perusal of the summary of the contents of the inscription published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*, for the year 1930-31, I realised the importance of the record for the history of Central India and the Deccan in the 10th century A.C. At my request the Government Epigraphist for India secured two estampages of the inscription which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph must have been engraved on a large slab which later broke into several pieces. Of them, only two have been found, the rest are not forthcoming. The first of the extant fragments, which forms the beginning of the record, containing, as it does, the opening lines, measures 3' 6" by 11" and bears portions of 10 lines of writing engraved on it. The other piece which is a continuation of the first one and has been put together with the first measures 2' 3" by 1' 1" and contains portions of 12 lines of writing. Both the pieces have suffered considerable damage. Since the ends and beginnings of lines do not follow in sequence, considerable portions of the full inscribed

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior, 1930-31, Inss. Nos. 1 and 2: pp. 10 and 22.*

stone towards the right side of the existing fragments are missing. On their left side, however, there has been only a slight damage and a little mutilation of the stone extending to a space covering one or two *aksharas* and affecting about five to six lines. In respect of the second fragment which is smaller than the first, still larger portions of the inscribed slab towards its right are missing. Though the impression of the second piece shows some uniform blank space at the end of each line, suggesting thereby that the lines do not continue further, yet it becomes clear from the study of the text of the record, which is metrically composed, that the lines must have continued on to the same extent of space as they do on the first piece of which the second is only a continuation. Evidently the second fragment was touched by some human agency and dressed with a view to its utilisation in some construction. However, it is fortunate that it is possible to judge the extent of the loss on the right sides of the two fragments. The record being in verse, the number of *aksharas* forming the metrical portions of the missing text can be counted. It would appear that about eight to ten *aksharas* in each line up to line 10 are found wanting in respect of the first fragment and about thirty-six to thirty-eight letters from line 11 onwards in the case of the second piece. In addition to these losses, some more *aksharas* are effaced owing to the damage sustained by the extant pieces. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, the present record embodies much historical information, although its elucidation is rendered difficult owing to the incomplete and disjointed text that is available for study.

Altogether we have portions of twenty-one lines of the inscription.<sup>1</sup> Of these the last three are completely damaged, only a few letters here and there being visible. Except for the obeisance to god Śambhu with which the record opens, the entire inscription to the extent now available is in verse. As many as twenty-five verses composed in different metres can be counted. They are, however, not numbered in the inscription. The first four of them are introductory, in invocation of the mother divine and her consort, lord Śiva. Verse 5 traces the origin of the Śulkī *vaṁśa* and introduces one Bhāradvāja, an early ancestor of the family. Verses 6 to 10 speak of king Narasimha born of the same family and they embody an elaborate description of his conquests. His son Guṇādhyā, famous as Kēsarin, is then introduced in verse 11. Verses 12 to 15 evidently contain a description of this chief and his achievements.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. The size of the letters varies from .6 to .7 of an inch in height. Medial diphthongs and medial vowels (except *i* and *ī*) are indicated by both *śirō-mātrās* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. Medial *i* and *ī* are indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās* alone. The consonant *ph* is written in two forms: *phala*, line 1: *phalāni*, line 7, and *phalāya*, line 18. Similarly *ḍ* has two forms; the *ḍ* in *viḍamvi(bi)tā* in line 8 and in *vaḍavānalē* in line 19 may be compared with the *ḍ* in *Viḍa*<sup>2</sup> in line 5, *maṇḍapā* in line 6, and *pushpāḍamvarayū* in line 7.

The language is Sanskrit and except for a few words in the beginning, the rest of the record is in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The consonant following a *r* is mostly doubled. *B* is indicated throughout by the sign for *v*. *Ṣ* is used in place of *s* in certain cases: e.g., *svarggaukaśām*, line 4; *śrucḥ=aiiva*, line 6; *siṅghāśanam*, line 11. *Gh* is used for *h* in *siṅghāśanam*, line 11. The *visarga-sandhi* is not observed in cases like *dharah śrīmān*, line 5; *yah sudhīh*, line 13. There is one instance of the use of *jihvāmūliya* in *yutah=Kṛishṇa-*, line 6, where the sign for it resembles *ḍ*. The *anusvāra* has been used mostly for class nasals. The *avagraha* is conspicuous by its absence. There are practically no scribal errors. What may be counted as one such seems to be in respect of the word *chandra-śērshō* for *chandraśērshō* in line 2. Otherwise the record is composed in faultless Sanskrit.

<sup>1</sup> Line 10 of the text is divided between the two fragments, the first containing only the upper parts of some few letters towards the end.

<sup>2</sup> This may also be read as *Viḷa-*

After the obeisance to god Śambhu in the words *namah Śambhavē*, there follow four *maṅgala-ślokas*, the first of which is in praise of Dēvī, the divine mother, who pervades the animate and the inanimate. The second, parts of which are not quite clear, seems to contain a prayer for the destruction of sins by Śiva who is described as the bee around the lotus face of Gaurī. The third stanza is also an invocation of Śiva whose glance, though cool and refreshing for Gaurī, acted as the very blazing fire for cupid. The fourth verse invokes the aid of Śiva's consort, Pārvatī, for the destruction of all evils through her eyebrows which were knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavī (i.e., Gaṅgā).

Then begins the historical portion of the record. It is stated that a certain hero, adorned by the *granthi-trika*, Bhāradvāja by name, emanating from a drop of water that fell out of the hand of Dhātā (Brahmā) adorned the Śulkivamśa and was a veritable death to hostile kings. In the family of Śulka of the lunar race there arose king Narasimha. He was the lord of Viḍa-dvādaśa<sup>1</sup> and had his permanent abode at his *Kulagrāma*, called Gōlahattī-Chānakī in the vicinity of Ēlāpura. At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he defeated the enemies in battle, and as if entering a sacrificial *maṅḍapa*<sup>2</sup> he entered the arena of battle and performed a sacrifice in the form of a great war; and in the sacrificial fire of his rage he offered as ghee the blood of the elephants, slain by him, out of the ladle of his sword; and in such a sacrifice he initiated into widowhood the (women of his enemy). Then his prowess and generosity are described in the succeeding verses. Then a certain Guṇādhyā described as Kēsarin is introduced as son (of Narasimha). At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he conquered the king of Lāṭa (*Lāṭēśa*) and a Kach[*chha*]vāha.

Verse 15 seems to refer to the founding of a city called Arkavana which was purified by Lakshmī and which was, as it were, the birth-place of piety and noble conduct. Verses 16 to 18 contain important allusions to a number of kings with reference to whom some facts are stated, the nature of which it is impossible to make out. Thus Vākpati is stated to have done some act and the same verse refers to a *Tantrādhipa* in the nominative case. Muñja and Chachcha are mentioned further on in the genitive case. The hero (Kēsarin ?) is then stated to have met the Hūnas, sent by Lōlikya, in battle at Paṭṭanaka and to have destroyed a large army consisting of horses, elephants, and infantry. Then follows a description of the plight of enemy women who resolved to put themselves to death. In the battles fought by the hero (Kēsarin ?) even the skulls of the fallen enemies were not traceable. There is some allusion to Kṛishṇa who destroyed the pride of Duśśāsana and Śalya (v. 21). The facts stated further on are important. The hero (Kēsarin ?) is eulogised as one who kept women's company only for the sake of progeny and as one spending his life for the sake of his master (v. 22). There is again a reference to a Hūna ruler in verse 24, and in the next verse, which is the last extant, the hero is described as a lion to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and as the foremost of the servants of Hara.

Thus the record embodies the eulogy of a family of Śulkī (i.e., Chālukya ?) chiefs starting from Bhāradvāja and mentioning Narasimha and his son Kēsarin.

While editing the Bargaon temple inscription of Śabara in this journal<sup>3</sup> some years ago, Professor Mirashi assigned to king Kṛishṇarāja of the present record the date c. 950 A.C. and thought that he might be identical with a certain Kṛishṇa-nripa whose minister Vāchaspati of

<sup>1</sup> This may also be read as *Viḷa-dvādaśa*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly there is a pun on the word *maṅḍapa*, referring to the fort of Māṅḍu which is also called Maṅḍapa or Maṅḍava in some records. Above. Vol. XIX, pp. 16-7.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 279-280.

the Kaundinya *gōtra* defeated, according to a fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā,<sup>1</sup> the lord of Chēdi, killed a Śabara chief called Simha and restored the chiefs of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōdapādi to their dominions. Professor Mirashi further assumed that king Kṛishṇa of the above references was identical with the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in the Dudahī inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that Kṛishṇarāja, the overlord of Narasimha and of Kēsarin of the inscription under study, and Kṛishṇanṛipa of the fragmentary Bhilsā inscription are identical inasmuch as both fought a common foe, *viz.*, the Chēdi king and as both lived about the same period, *i.e.*, the middle of the 10th century A.C. But there is a greater possibility of Kṛishṇarāja of the present inscription being identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.). This depends upon the identification of Narasimha, the lord of Viḍa-dvādaśa, who was the commander of Kṛishṇarāja's troops.

Now as for the identification of the chiefs, Narasimha and his son Kēsarin, attention may be drawn to a Chālukya family whose origin is traced likewise from Bhāradvāja and which figures in the Bilhārī Chēdi inscription.<sup>3</sup> The account given there is as follows. There was a sage Bhāradvāja (Drōṇa) whose conduct roused the wonder of the three worlds. Now, in the water, of which he had taken up a handful (*chuluka*) in order to curse Drupada for the insult offered by him, there arose a man from whom proceeded the clan of the Chalukyas and in that powerful family was born Avanivarman who had as his father Sadhanvan and grandfather

<sup>1</sup> P. R. A. S. I., W. C., 1913-14, p. 59. F. E. Hall (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXI (1862), page 111, foot-note) writes :

“ At Bhilsā, within the fort, I recently found a fragmentary inscription built into the outer wall of a modern house, and looking upon one of the streets of the town. Subjoined is all that remains of a record of which perhaps a full half is missing.

- 1 . . . . . śriyam=ayam=api nanv=āsritā n=ūsrit=āsya
- 2 gēham mē Vētravatyā niyamita-janatā-kshōbham=asy=āpy=ajasram |
- 3 tējōmayy=atra ch=ōchchair=vvitatan=iti viditv=ādarēṇ=ātma-tulyam
- 4 Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā ravir=avatu bhuvah svāminam Kṛishṇarājam ||
- 5 Chēdīsam samarē vijitya Śabaram sarhṛitya Simh-ūhvayam
- 6 Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādy-avanipau bhūmyām pratishthāpya cha |
- 7 dēvam drashṭum=ih=āgatō rachitavūm(n)=stōtram pavitraṁ param
- 8 śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nṛip-aika-mantri-pada-bhāk Kaundinya-Vāchaspatiḥ ||
- 9 Suchiram=iyam kṛitir=ūstām ruchirā śrīmad-Gajānkuśēyasya |
- 0 Kākūkēna vilikhitā Kāyastha-sē . . . . ”

In the Salotgi pillar inscription (A) of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 867 (945 A. C.), mention is made of one Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajānkuśa who is described as belonging to the Kaundinya *gōtra* and as the chief minister and *sandhivigrahin* of this Rāshtrakūṭa king. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60, 62-3. Kaundinya-Vāchaspati, who in the Bhilsā inscription is described as Gajānkuśēya (*i.e.*, son or descendant of Gajānkuśa) is in all likelihood the son of Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajānkuśa of the Salotgi inscription. This would favour the identification of Kṛishṇarāja of the Bhilsā inscription with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the exploits claimed by Vāchaspati find some corroboration from other sources. According to an account about Paramāra Siyaka II found in the *Navasāhasānīkacharita* this prince is credited with the conquest of a certain chief of Rudapāṭī. (Canto XI, v. 89 :- *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 42). Perhaps it was this chief of Rudapāṭī, called *Rōdapādyavanipa* in this Bhilsā inscription, that was restored to his kingdom by Vāchaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa (III). In regard to the Śabara prince, Simha, killed by Vāchaspati, no satisfactory identification seems possible at present. However, attention may be drawn to the fact that W. Gaṅga Mārasimha II, the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III is credited with a victory over Naraga, a Śabara chief, in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Belagoḷa (above, Vol. V, p. 171 ; text lines 21, 54 and 96), which also mentions the northern campaigns of this Gaṅga prince. Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280), however, identifies the illustrious Śabara of the Bargaon temple inscription with Śabara Simha of the Bhilsā inscription.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 185, 186, 191 and 194 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-7* ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. and vv. 30 ff.

Simhavarman. The illustrious Nōhalā was born of Avanivarman and she became the beloved of the Kalachuri prince Kēyūrarvarsha, i.e., Yuvarājadēva I. Queen Nōhalā is stated to have endowed a temple of Śiva with the villages of Viḍā, Pōṇḍī, Khailapāṭaka and others. It will be seen that although the story of their origin differs in some particulars from that relating to Narasimha given in the present record this much seems certain that both the families were of the same stock and were perhaps even lineally connected.<sup>1</sup> Narasimha was a subordinate of a Kṛishṇarāja who fought against the Kalachuris<sup>2</sup> and the only Kṛishṇarāja of this period who could answer to this description was Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.) of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.<sup>3</sup> Narasimha of our record seems to be a later descendant or a collateral member of the same family since his area of authority was in the same region around Bilhārī over which the Chālukya family of Nōhalā exercised sway. Viḍa-dvādaśa which was the fief of Narasimha seems to be identical with the area around Bilhārī itself since Viḍa may be identified with Viḍā which was one of the villages granted by Nōhalā to the temple of Śiva at Bilhārī, as stated in the Bilhārī Chēdi inscription referred to above. Though I am unable to identify Viḍā, the donated village, with any place near Bilhārī, some of the other villages which the princess granted along with Viḍā are however identifiable. Thus Pōṇḍī and Khailapāṭaka, two of the gift-villages, are represented by the modern Pondi and Khailwara which are to the north-west and north-east of Bilhārī respectively. Viḍā must be another village in the same locality.<sup>4</sup> The exact relationship of Narasimha with the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā belonged can only be decided by further researches.<sup>5</sup>

Now, returning to facts stated in the present Māser inscription, it has to be ascertained under what circumstances Narasimha had to encounter the Kalachuris under the orders of Kṛishṇarāja. It has been assumed above that Kṛishṇarāja was Kṛishṇa III who claims in his Karhād plates<sup>6</sup> a victory over the Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna, who was the elderly relative of his mother and his wife. Kṛishṇa III achieved this victory as *Yuvarāja*, i.e., sometime between c. 934 and 939 A.C. It was evidently in this campaign of Kṛishṇa III that Narasimha took part and obtained the victory over the Kalachuris as described in the present record. As Prof. Mirashi<sup>7</sup> and Dr. H. C. Ray<sup>8</sup> have shown, the Kalachuri adversary of Kṛishṇa III may be identified with Yuvarāja I (c. 914-945 A.C.) who, being a member of the family of Sahasrārjuna, i.e., Kārtavīrya, was referred to as

<sup>1</sup> I later found that Prof. Mirashi had already arrived at this conclusion; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> Although the text of our record at this place is mutilated, there seems to be no doubt that the Kalachuri is referred to as the adversary and not as a friend. This would be apparent from the context which refers to the *vaidhavya-dīkshā* given to the *chatura-Kalachuri-kshamābhī* . . . etc.

<sup>3</sup> Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II was a friend and ally of the Kalachuri king Kokkala. It was Kṛishṇa III who fought the Kalachuris as stated in his Karhād plates (above, Vol. IV, p. 279). The Chandēlla king Kṛishṇapa with whom Kṛishṇarāja of our record has been sought to be identified by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280) is not known to have fought the Kalachuris, though his father Yaśōvarman defeated a Chēdi king.

<sup>4</sup> If the alternate reading *Viḷa-dvādaśa* for *Viḍa-dvādaśa* is preferred, Viḷa may perhaps stand for Bilhārī itself.

<sup>5</sup> I was at first inclined to refer Narasimha and his son Kēsarin of the Māser inscription to the Chālukya family of Vēmulaṅḍa, the well-known Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories, and identify these two princes with their namesakes of that family, Narasimha and Arikēsarin II. This does not appear likely since the latter belonged to the solar race and were rulers of a much wider territory, viz., the Sapādalaksha which they were ruling from their capital Lēmbulapāṭaka, i.e., Vēmulaṅḍa in the Hyderabad State. The Śulki Narasimha of our record was of the lunar race and a small potentate ruling Viḍa-dvādaśa, a region which lies in the Madhya Pradesh, a far cry from Sapādalaksha which was situated in the Hyderabad State (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 42). Further, in none of the genealogical accounts of the Vēmulaṅḍa Chālukya family is there an allusion to Bhāradvāja or to the *chuluka* story. It seems, therefore, best to view these families as altogether unrelated.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 279.

<sup>7</sup> *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 371; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II (1936), p. 762.



Sahasrārjuna in the Karhād plates. The Bilhārī inscription of the rulers of Chēdi<sup>1</sup> expressly refers to the conflict between Yuvarāja I surnamed Kēyūrarsha and the Karṇāṭas, who, in this period, could only be the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves or perhaps their Chālukya vassals, the chiefs of Vēmūlavāḍa. Hence the present Māser inscription affords further confirmation to the conflict that took place between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris in the time of Kṛishṇa III and Yuvarājadēva I, to which the records of both the dynasties bear testimony. The exact causes for the conflict between the two powers, who were even matrimonially connected, are not clearly known. One fact, however, needs elucidation here. How was it that Narasimha of the Śulki family whose area of authority was Viḍa-12 in the Kalachuri kingdom fought as a general under Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III? There is nothing improbable in this. Although Yuvarājadēva I and Kṛishṇa III were adversaries, prior to their advent into the political arena, there were matrimonial relations between the families in the days of their predecessors, Kalachuri Kokkala and Mugdhatuṅga, and Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and Amōghavarsha III, as is well-known. It may also be recalled that Amōghavarsha III, father of Kṛishṇa III, was the son-in-law of Yuvarājadēva I. We have said that the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājadēva I belonged, was of the same stock with which Narasimha of our record was connected. It may be supposed that during the early days of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the two families, the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas, Narasimha or his predecessor, sought service under the Rāshtrakūṭa king, retaining all the time his fiefdom, the Viḍa-dvādaśa in the Kalachuri kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

Of Kēsarin, the son of Narasimha, our inscription says that he conquered the king of Lāṭa and a Kach[chha]vāha at the instance of Kṛishṇarāja, i.e., Kṛishṇa III. As to when these events could have taken place two views are possible.

The Kach[chha]vāha spoken of here was evidently a scion of the Kachehpaghāta family of Gwalior. The Lāṭa country alluded to here may be taken to correspond roughly to the central and southern Gujarāt. This region was included in the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala, i.e., modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad District.<sup>3</sup> In the time of Kṛishṇa II the province was recovered by him from a collateral Rāshtrakūṭa family and remained within the empire of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed.<sup>4</sup> From the Kāpaḍvaṇaj grant of Kṛishṇa II dated Śaka 832 (910 A.C.) we know that Prachaṇḍa of the Brahmavāk(?) family had gained the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Akālarsha and was ruling at Harshapura (Harsola).<sup>5</sup> During the reign of Indra III there seems to have been some trouble in the area as we are told that his feudatory, Narasimha II of Vēmūlavāḍa, fought the Lāṭas.<sup>6</sup> But the region continued to be under Rāshtrakūṭa control since the Bagumrā (Nausāri) plates of Indra III (both sets), dated Śaka 836 (914 A. C.),<sup>7</sup> and the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV,<sup>8</sup> dated Śaka 852 (930 A. C.) record gifts made by them in Lāṭa-dēśa. Subsequent to this date direct evidence of Rāshtrakūṭa hold over the region is met with in the time of Paramāra Harsha-Sīyaka II whose Harsola grants of V. S. 1005, i.e., 949 A. C., issued by him as a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and recording his gifts in Khēṭakamaṇḍala, indicate that the region was under his sway. In one of these grants Sīyaka II is stated to have made the gifts when he was returning

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 256, v. 24.

<sup>2</sup> It may be pointed out that Jura in the Maihar State of Madhya Pradesh where an inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was found (above, Vol. XIX, p. 287) is not far from Bilhārī near which Narasimha of the present inscription held a fief.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 53, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 118-9.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 28-9.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 28.

from his expedition against Yōgarāja, who was none other than the Chāvḍa king of Anhilvādapāṭan and whom scholars have identified with Avanivarman II, the great-grandson of Bāhukadhavaḷa.<sup>1</sup> Bāhukadhavaḷa was a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras. Avanivarman II Yōgarāja who continued to be a Gūrjara feudatory, was holding Surāshṭra and parts of Gujārāt from his capital at Anhilvāḍa.<sup>2</sup> He seems to have encroached upon Lāṭa and it was evidently to dislodge him from the area that Śiyaka II marched against him and drove him back. Owing to his occupation of part or whole of Lāṭa for a while, Yōgarāja Avanivarman II might have acquired the title of Lāṭeśa<sup>3</sup> and if this was the person that is referred to as Lāṭeśa in the present inscription as having been the adversary of Kēsarin, Kēsarin must have joined Śiyaka II in this expedition, as both were acting on behalf of their Rāshṭrakūṭa overlord Kṛishṇa III. If so, these events have to be placed sometime about 948-949 A.C., before the issue of the Harsōla grants. The Kachchhavāha prince who was ruling at Gwalior at this date was Lakshmanarāja, the father of Vajradāman of the Sāsbaḥu inscription, who being a Pratihāra feudatory,<sup>4</sup> like Yōgarāja, might have been allied with him in his attack on Lāṭa, and was likewise defeated by Śiyaka II and Kēsarin. If what has been stated above as the possible trend of events in which Kēsarin of the present inscription encountered the Lāṭeśa and the Kach[chha]vāha is correct, it has to be supposed that the events represent an attempt made by the Pratihāra ruler, who on this date was Mahēndrapāla II, to attack the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire in the region of Lāṭa which, however, failed to bring any success. On the other hand, the defeat sustained by the Gūrjara feudatories seems to have paved the way for the Paramāra reconquest of Mālwa. For, evidence of Pratihāra control over the region is available only up to 946 A.C.<sup>5</sup> The absence of their records in Mālwa territory after this date and the evidence afforded by the Harsola grant of the Paramāras dated V. S. 1005 (949 A.C.)<sup>6</sup> would show clearly that their hold on it was lost, the Paramāras having established themselves firmly over the area by 949 A.C.

The events detailed above which have been placed round about 949 A.C. would, however, make it impossible for Kṛishṇa III to have been present in person to direct the campaign, for on this date he was in the south fighting the Chōḷas.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, the reference made to him in the present inscription for the second time in the locative case as *Kṛishṇarājē* may be construed to indicate his absence from the northern campaigns at this date which were fought by Śiyaka II and Kēsarin on his behalf.

Or, in the alternative, Kēsarin's conflict with the Lāṭeśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place much later in the reign of Kṛishṇa III as shown below.

Now, it is well known that Kṛishṇa III effected a second invasion of North India sometime after 964 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jura,<sup>8</sup> near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, in the territory of the Kalachuris. It is known that in this expedition he was ably assisted by his Gaṅga feudatory Mārasimha II who, in commemoration of the victories secured by him in the north assumed the title of the 'lord of the Gūrjaras.'<sup>9</sup> The expedition seems to have been necessitated by the growing challenge to his authority over his possessions in Bundelkhand, Mālwa

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff, and Vol. XIX, pp. 236-38; see *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Kanauj*, pp. 230-1, 338-9.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Mirashi suggests that the Lāṭeśa Chandravarman, whose daughter Mrigōnkāvaḷi married Kēyūravarsaha according to the story in the *Vidhaśālabhañjikū* might be a member of this Chālukya family: See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36, v. 5: see also *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 822.

<sup>5</sup> Pratapgarh inscription of 946 A.C., above, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-1.

<sup>6</sup> Harsola grant, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Colus*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XLX, p. 289; *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 120-1.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 170, 176, text lines 7-8.

and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by the Chandēlla ruler, Yaśōvarman (c. 950 A.C.). The Khajurāho inscription (II)<sup>1</sup> of his son Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśōvarman captured the fort of Kālañjara. This fort had been held in his possession by Kṛishṇa III from about 935 A.C. Yaśōvarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālwa which must have been then under the rule of Paramāra Siyaka II. The Khajurāho inscription (II) testifies to this event for it states that Yaśōvarman was the very death to the Mālavas (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālwa early in his reign as he is stated in the same Khajurāho inscription (v. 45) to have acquired the territory as far as Bhāsvat on the river of Mālava, i.e., Bhilsā on the Vētravatī (Betwa) in Gwalior. Besides the Chandēlla ruler, the Chēdi king Lakshmaṇarāja (c. 945-70 A.C.) setting at naught the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Mālwa and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Sōmanātha-Pāṭan in Saurāshṭra, Kathiawar.<sup>2</sup> Not long after the date of these happenings the Lāṭa country seems to have slipped from Rāshtrakūṭa hold since it is found that Bārappa, the Chālukya chief, evidently taking advantage of the Chēdi king's raid across the country, assumed the title of the king of Lāṭa some time about 960-1 A.C.<sup>3</sup> All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kuḍlūr plates of Mārasimha II of 963 A.C. that Kṛishṇa III set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the Aśvapati.<sup>4</sup> The Aśvapati was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king to whom the title of Aśvapati has to be applied at this period.<sup>5</sup> The distinguishing appellation, 'King of the Gūrjaras' by which Mārasimha II is stated to have become known by conquering the northern region for Kṛishṇarāja (III) would support our surmise that the Aśvapati against whom Kṛishṇa III directed his campaign was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler.<sup>6</sup> As we have seen, the Jura inscription affords some evidence for the conduct of this expedition. Under the above circumstances, Kēsarin's encounter with the Lāṭeśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place during this campaign, the Lāṭeśa being perhaps Chālukya Bārappa, and the Kachchhavāha being Lakshmaṇarāja, both of whom were Pratihāra feudatories.

The facts stated further on in the last part of the present record are important inasmuch as a number of contemporary rulers are introduced. Thus mention is made of Vākpati and a Tantrādhipa and of some action relating to Muñja and Chachcha. The Hūṇas despatched by Lōlikya are stated to have been defeated at Paṭṭanaka.

Among the contemporaries (of Kēsarin ?) figure Vākpati Muñja and Chachcha, both Paramāra chiefs. Muñja was the well-known Vākpati II Muñja whose known dates range from 974 to 995 A.C. Chachcha was the Paramāra prince of Naddūla, who is mentioned in verse 28 of the Paṇahera inscription of his descendant Jayasimha,<sup>7</sup> and whose date falls in this period (c. 950-75

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 128, v. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-3.

<sup>3</sup> A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XI, p. 365.

<sup>4</sup> Mys. Arch. Rep., for 1921, paras. 41 ff. text lines 123-4. Kṛishṇa III is here given the title of *Narapati*.

<sup>5</sup> See Rapson's article 'Lord of horses, lord of elephants and lord of men' in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 196-9. The title *Hayapati* is actually borne by a Gūrjara-Pratihāra king, Dēvapāla, who was in fact the very contemporary of Kṛishṇa III (see above, Vol. I, p. 124 and Vol. XIV, p. 180).

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Altekar believes that the Gūrjara king subdued by Kṛishṇa III and Mārasimha II was Paramāra Siyaka II himself. Sten Konow held that he might be Chālukya Mūlarāja (*Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 120-21).

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 43.

‡ DGA

A.C.). Verse 29 of this inscription tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khoṭṭigadēva at Khalighaṭṭa on the bank of the Rēvā in the cause of Sīyaka and went to heaven. Evidently, the same exploit is attributed to the Paramāra prince Kaṅkadēva of the same Naddūla family in the Arthūnā inscription of Chāmunḍarāja,<sup>1</sup> verse 19 of which relates that Kaṅkadēva overthrew the army of the king of Karṇāṭa in battle on the bank of the Narmadā and in fighting on the side of Śrī-Harsha of Mālava died a hero's death. It has been assumed by some writers<sup>2</sup> that Kaṅkadēva is identical with Chacheha and that it was this prince who fought against Rāshtrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga on behalf of Paramāra Sīyaka II. It would seem that the facts narrated above with reference to several contemporary princes, including the fight at Khalighaṭṭa, were incidents of one and the same campaign, viz., the one undertaken by Khoṭṭiga against the Pratihāra and other princes of the north, viz., the Chēdi, the Chandēlla and lastly the Paramāra who was his erstwhile feudatory. Kēsarin too may be supposed to have taken part in the expedition as can be deduced from the present Māser inscription. These events pertain to the reign of Khoṭṭiga and must have taken place before 972-3. A.C. As Māser where the present eulogistic inscription is found lies north-east of Khalighaṭṭa (modern Khalghat) on the Narmadā, it may be supposed that Khoṭṭiga was not halted at the Narmadā as a result of this battle but was able to proceed further north victoriously.

Now, the Māser inscription, recounting as it does the exploits of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate, must have been set up before Khoṭṭiga's reign came to an end, i.e., before 972-3 A.C., as after this date the chances of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate setting up an inscription so far north would be very remote, the area having come under the rule of the Paramāras by this date.

The mention of Muñja (*Muñjōrvvīpa*) in this record, assigned as it has been done to a date before 972-3 A.C., would lead to the conclusion that he had already become king in succession to Sīyaka II by that date. Since, neither the latest date of Sīyaka II nor the date of accession of Muñja is definitely known yet, it is not unlikely that Muñja ascended the Paramāra throne before 972 A.C., though the earliest date known of his is 974 A.C. It is usually believed that the Mālava king who plundered Mānyakhēṭa in 972 A.C. was Sīyaka II Harsha on the evidence of a reference found in the *Pāñyalachchhi*. But as surmised by Fleet the Mālava king might have been Vākpati Muñja himself.<sup>3</sup>

Another incident of this campaign mentioned in the present inscription is the fight against the Hūnas sent by Lōlikya which took place at Paṭṭanaka. If Paṭṭanaka is identical with Anahilavāḍa-Pāṭan which at this date was ruled by Chālukya Mūlarāja, it may be supposed that the armies (of Kēsarin?) marched against this Chālukya chief and his Hūna vassals. I am unable to identify Lōlikya who despatched the Hūnas.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Gōlahattī-Chāṇakī near Ēlāpura may be identified with Gōla and Chāṇēgaon near Ellōrā, i.e., Ēlāpura, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State. Viḍa, as stated already, may be identified with Viḍā near Bilhārī. Or, both Viḍa and Viḍā may stand for Bilhārī itself.<sup>4</sup> I am unable to locate Paṭṭanaka where the Hūnas were encountered. Whether it stands for Anahilvāḍa-Pāṭan or Sōmanātha-Pāṭan cannot be determined until more definite data are available. I am also unable to locate Arkavana.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 422-3. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 22, n. 4.



MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

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B. CH. CHHABRA  
Reg. No. 3977 E'36-499'52.

SCALE: ONE FIFTH

SURVEY OF INDIA. CALCUTTA

## TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 23 and 24 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2, 3, 8 and 11 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 10 *Upajāti* ; v. 14 *Āryā* ; vv. 15 and 20 *Vasantatīlakā*.]

- 1 Ōm<sup>1</sup> [ || \* ] Namaḥ Śambhavē || Sā jayaty=asakṛid=Dēvī mātrikā lōka-vīrutā | yay=ā-kār-ādibhir=vvarṇṇair=vvyāptam sarvvaṁ charācharam || [1 || \*] Dṛiṣṭvā kaṁṭhē surakshām madana-phala-yutām bhūta-vidrāvaṅ-ākhyām pāṇau va(ba)ddhām priyāyā vishadhara-dama[nā — — — — — ]
- 2 kṛityam Nihāra-patnyāḥ sakalam=idam=iti pratyajan=pannag-ādīn=Gaurī-vakrām(vu(ktr-āmbu)j-āliḥ prakiratu duritam chandra-sē(śi)rshō Bhavō vaḥ || [2 || \*] Ātmany-ātmanam=ēva sphaṭika-vad=amalē paśyataḥ svair=upāyaiḥ svargaukaḥ-prārthanē=pi [ — — — — — ]
- 3 pātō dvidhā vaḥ | Kāmē=samprāpta-kāmē bhṛīsa-kapīsa-jatā-dhūma-varttēḥ kṛīśānuḥ Śambhōr=ambhōja-garbha-chchavir=iva Girij-āsy=ēṁdu-vimvē(bimbē) punātu || [3 || \*] Haṁtu Haimādri-kanyāyā bhrukutir=duritāni vaḥ | patikē Jāhnavim dṛiṣṭvā kōpa-rakt-āti[ — — — — — ] [4 || \*] [ — — — — — ]
- 4 [m=ē]chchhatō nanu purā svarggaukaśām(sām) svāminō Dhātuḥ pāṇi-puta-chyut-ōdaka-lavād=dhirō=bhavad=bhūtalē | Śulki-varīsa-mahodayō=hita-kṛitām sākshād=Yamō bhūbhṛitām Bhāradvāja iti prasiddha-mahimā granthi-trika-ālamkṛi[taḥ ||] [5 || \*] [ — — — — — ]
- 5 [vam]sē tārādhipa-prabhē | Śulka-ānvaya-dharaḥ śrīmān=Narasimhō=bhavan=ṇripaḥ || [6 || \*] Sa Viḍa-dvādaś-ādhiśaḥ Kulagrāmē=vasach=chiram | Gōlahatṭyām tu Chāṇa-kyām=Ēlāpura-samīpataḥ || [7 || \*] Prādād=vaidhavya-dikshām chatura-Kalachuri-kshmābhṛi — — — — —
- 6 — p[ē ?]dē sakala-guṇa-yutaḥ=Kṛīṣṇarāj-ājñayā yaḥ | vistirṇ-āji-dhvaj-ādhyā-pravara-vidhi-kṛitē maṁḍap-āntaḥ praviśya krōdh-āgnim pūjya<sup>2</sup> samyag-ghata-kari-rudhir-ājyēna khadga-śru(sru)ch=aiva || [8 || \*] Garjjitvā guru dūram=unnati-bhṛi — — — — —
- 7 —dhi gajasya dāna-samayē samjāyatē=ṇur=mmadaḥ | pushp-āḍam(va)rayā janāya dadati prāyaḥ phalāni drumā n=ōtsēkō na madō na kāla-haraṇam dānasya yasy=ābhavat || [9 || \*] Kṛīś-āsaya=ātyamta-viruddha-tāpayā vi[pam] — — — — —
- 8 —[śi]līmukh-āsvādita-va(ba)ṁdhujīvayā yasy=āri-nārī śaradā viḍamvi(bi)tā || [10 || \*] Tasmād=vair-ibha-kumbha-sthala-dalana-paṭuḥ Kēsar=iti prajānām bharttā jāto Guṇādhyāḥ kshitisura-śaraṇam kshānti-bhṛit=sūnṛita-jñāḥ | jitvā yō [yō] — — — — —
- 9 — — Kṛīṣṇarājē Lātēśam Kach[chh]avāharṁ samada — — — — — || [11 || \*] — — va(ba)ddha-jatā-kalāpam=uchitam prēt-ādhivāsa-kriyam tikshṇ-ōd-bhāsita-sūla-dārīta-chitam bhasm-āvar[ū]ksha-chchhavi [ | ] — — — — —
- 10 — — — m=Umāpatēr=iva vapur=yad=vidvishām maṁdiram || [12 || \*] Kēsāḥ snigdha- — — — — — [ | \*] — — — — —

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

<sup>2</sup> Better read *pūjajitvā hata-kari*, etc.

- 11 tam cha yad=ripu-vadhū-sakhyā chiram śōchitā || [13 || \*] Siṅghāsa(hāsa)nam=  
· adhirūḍham jamvu(bu)kam=ava[lēkā(lōka)]ya dviśhām bhavanē | sphuṭitā hridayē nūna[m]  
..... [||14||\*] —  
— — — — — [||\*] — — —
- 12 puṇya-yinay-ōdyama-janma-bhūmim Padmā-pada-praśuchim **Arkkavan-ābhidhānam** ||  
[15||\*] Satya-tyāga-guṇ-ādrikō=dbhuta-yaśāḥ sādhu-[dvi] —  
— [||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 13 ti[shthā]vatām śrīmad-**Vākpatinā** kṛitam svaka-va(ba)lē tantrādhipō yaḥ audhīḥ ||  
[16||\*] Muñj-ōrvvīpa-mahattamasya sahasā **Chachchasya** dattā[bha] —  
— [||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 14 havē [ku]mt-āgra-prasit-āmalām na valimām [vyā]pādya kānśhid-dhathū[t] || [17 || \*]  
**Hūpān=Paṭṭanakaḥ** samētya tarasā **Lōlikya**-samprēshitān-du —  
— [||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 15 māpra — śva-va[r-ē]bha-patti-vipulām niḥka(shka)[in]takām sv-āsina || [18 ||\*] Vatsē kim  
ruditēna yāhi sarasam kurvv-ātmanō vānchchhitām nītaḥ —  
— [||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 16 yasy-āri-pramadā-janō dṛiḍha-matir=mmṛityum prati prasthitāḥ || [19 || \*] Ya[t-sa]-  
myugēshu vara-vīra-śiraḥ-kapālam pātrāya n-ālabhad-ahō sa[ka] — [||\*] — — — — — —  
— [||20||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 17 t-ā[rgha]-vidhivān=Jishṇv-archhit-ānghi-dvayō yō **Duśśāsa(sa)na-Salya-darppa-dalana-**  
vyāpāra-lavdh(bdh)-āvadhīḥ | durvvār-āhita-ghāta-satya-vibhavō gī —  
— [||21||\*] —  
— — — — —
- 18 na chayāḥ kshātrēṇa śatru-kshayaḥ samtānāya su-yōshitāsv=ahar-ahaḥ kōpō va(ba)la-kshāriti-  
kṛit | su-svām-īshṭa-phalāya jīvita —  
— [||22||\*].....(8 letters lost here).....
- 19 yatr=āri-rva(ba)ḍavānalē | kallōla iva tōyānām sahasā pralayam gataḥ || [23 || \*]  
**Hūpēsvara-mahī[sēna]** — — sēnā [di]vaḥ gatā | parē ..... (14 letters of this verse lost  
here) [||24||\*] —
- 20 h-āhita-kumjarēndra-nakharī dāsō **Harasy=ōttamaḥ** | dātā sarvva-janāya — ma —  
— [||25||\*].....
- 21 .....

<sup>1</sup> Only the upper parts of many letters are to be seen in this line.



# APPENDIX

## RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

(4 Plates)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI, AND B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

This abnormally long inscription appears on twenty-five stone slabs, each measuring more or less 3' high by 2½' broad. Twenty-four of them are fixed in a row at short intervals into the wall of the Nauchauki *ghāt* at the Rājasamudra, while one is found inside a marble pavilion. Rājasamudra, popularly known as Rāj Samand, is an artificial lake which lies to the north of Kankroli, a railway station on the Mavli-Phulad-Marwar Junction branch of the Udaipur State Railway, and is about 40 miles north-north-east of the city of Udaipur. The lake is a fine sheet of water, extending over three miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It is formed by a dam built at its south-western extremity. It is mainly fed by the water of the Gōmatī, but is also abundantly augmented by the rain-water draining into it from the surrounding hills.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription comprises a *mahākāvya*, entitled *Rājaprasasti*, consisting of twenty-four cantos. Twenty-four of the slabs contain each a canto, while the inscription on the twenty-fifth consists merely of invocations to various deities, and as such it does not form an integral part of the poem proper. This invocatory section occupies the foremost position, though it was composed last of all, as is evidenced by its eleventh stanza wherein the poet invokes blessings for Rājasimha's son Jayasimha as well as for the latter's children. The poet informs us that he composed the *prasasti* by the order of Rājasimha,<sup>2</sup> but that it was engraved on the stone slabs at the instance of his son and successor Jayasimha.<sup>3</sup>

Although several instances are known of such lengthy records engraved on stone, yet the present one is perhaps the longest so far discovered. This remarkable poem has not yet been edited entirely<sup>4</sup> or properly,<sup>5</sup> though its contents have occasionally been noticed by some scholars.<sup>6</sup> The work is important more as a narrative of events than anything else. It no doubt conforms to many of the conventional characteristics of a *mahākāvya*, still it exhibits very little real poetic merit.

The script employed is Nāgarī, almost of the type prevalent at present. The language is Sanskrit throughout, except that here and there some phrases or sentences in the local dialect

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed description of the *ghāt* as well as of its surroundings see Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's *Rājputāne-kā Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. I, Ajmer, 1927, pp. 310 f.

<sup>2</sup> Canto I, Verse 10.

Canto V, Verse 51.

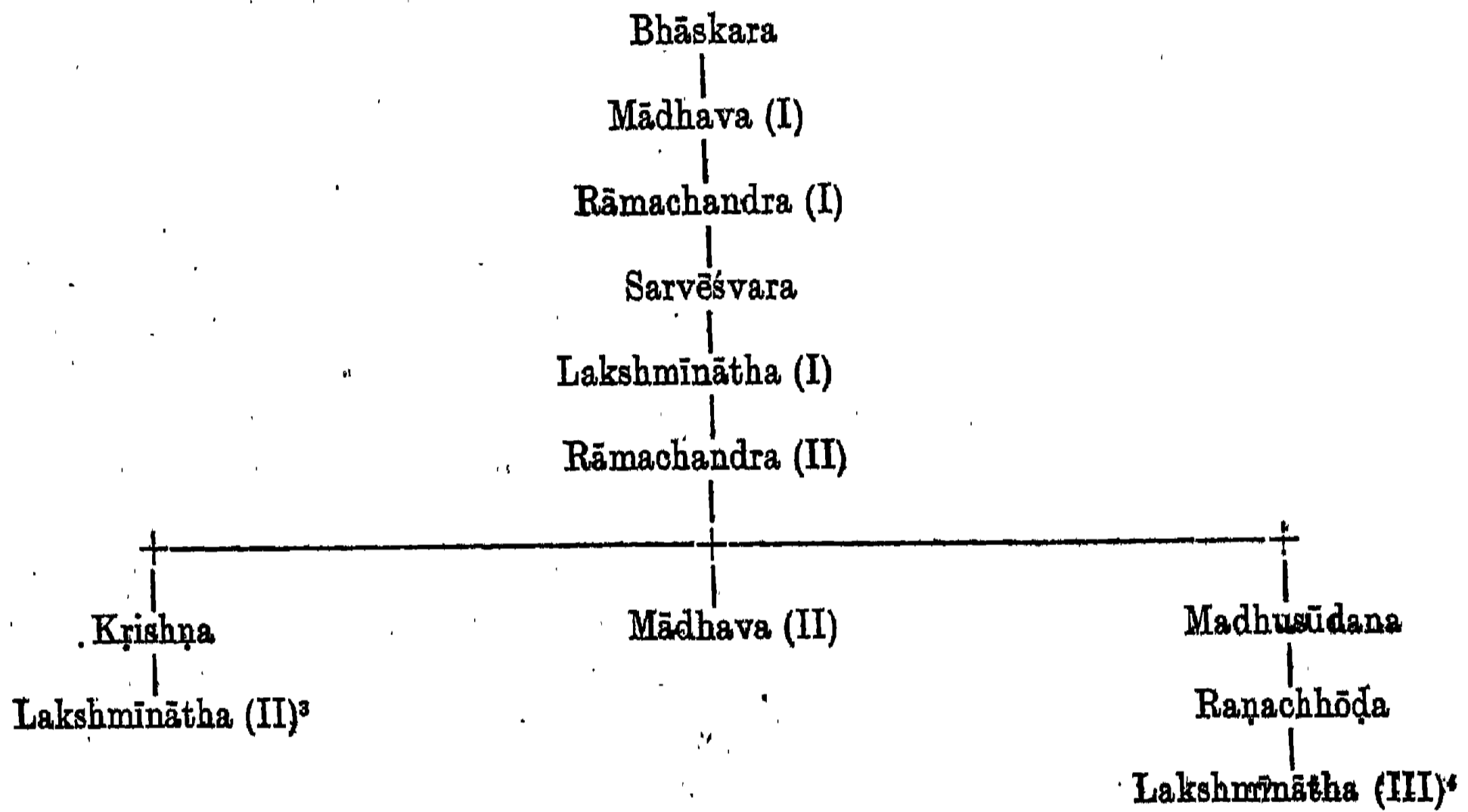
<sup>4</sup> Two cantos, the second and the third, have been edited in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 145-154 ; but the text presented there is found inaccurate at several places.

<sup>5</sup> Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, has undertaken to edit it. His work was to appear in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. We have seen a part of it in print and found that his treatment of the record is not strictly scientific. Besides, his readings are not correct throughout.

<sup>6</sup> Especially by Ojha, *An. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1918, pp. 2 ff. ; *Rājputāne-kā Itihās* (Hindi), Vol. II, pp. 879 ff. *et passim*.

are met with. It is, however, noteworthy that the poet not only presents certain Muslim names and titles in their Sanskritized forms, but also treats a few vernacular and even Persian terms as Sanskrit words like *śēra* in the sense of 'a seer,'<sup>1</sup> *lattā* for 'a kick' and *salāma* meaning 'salute' respectively in verse 16 of the Canto III and in verses 41 and 48 of the Canto IV. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities may be noticed : (1) an *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal as well as for a final *m* almost invariably ; (2) a consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled as in *mūrdhnmā* (Slab I, l. 37) ; (3) usually a single *chh* is written where a *chchh* is required,<sup>2</sup> such cases as *vilasachchhatrō* (Canto III, l. 1) being exceptional ; (4) the sign of *avagraha* is seldom used (Canto II, l. 18) ; (5) in many cases *v* is employed instead of *b*. (6) Sometimes *sh* stands for *kh*. There are certain other peculiarities, such as the spelling of the name *Bharata* as *Bharatha*, which betrays the poet's place of origin being South India.

The author of the poem is a Tēlaṅga or Telugu Bhāhmaṇa, Raṇachhōḍa,<sup>3</sup> by name, born of the Kaṭhōṇḍi family. From the description of his parentage given towards the end of several cantos, we extract the following pedigree :



The poet Raṇachhōḍa also mentions his mother's name as Vēṇī, daughter of a *Gōsvāmin* whose proper name is not given but who presumably belonged to the Vallabha *sampradāya*. It may be pointed out that Vallabhāchārya, the founder of this sect, had also hailed from the Telugu country. His second son Viṭṭhalanātha was the first to assume the title of *Gōsāi* or *Gōsvāmin* which was later held by all the *āchāryas* of the sect. These Vaishnavas had their centres at various places in North India, but the one with which the maternal grandfather of the poet Raṇachhōḍa was connected was probably that of Nāthadvārā, about 30 miles north of Udaipur.<sup>5</sup> We are further informed in verses 9 and 10 of Canto I that the poet composed the *praśasti* while teaching a younger brother of his, named Lakshmaṇa, who seems to have had

<sup>1</sup> A certain Indian weight, roughly equal to 2 lbs.

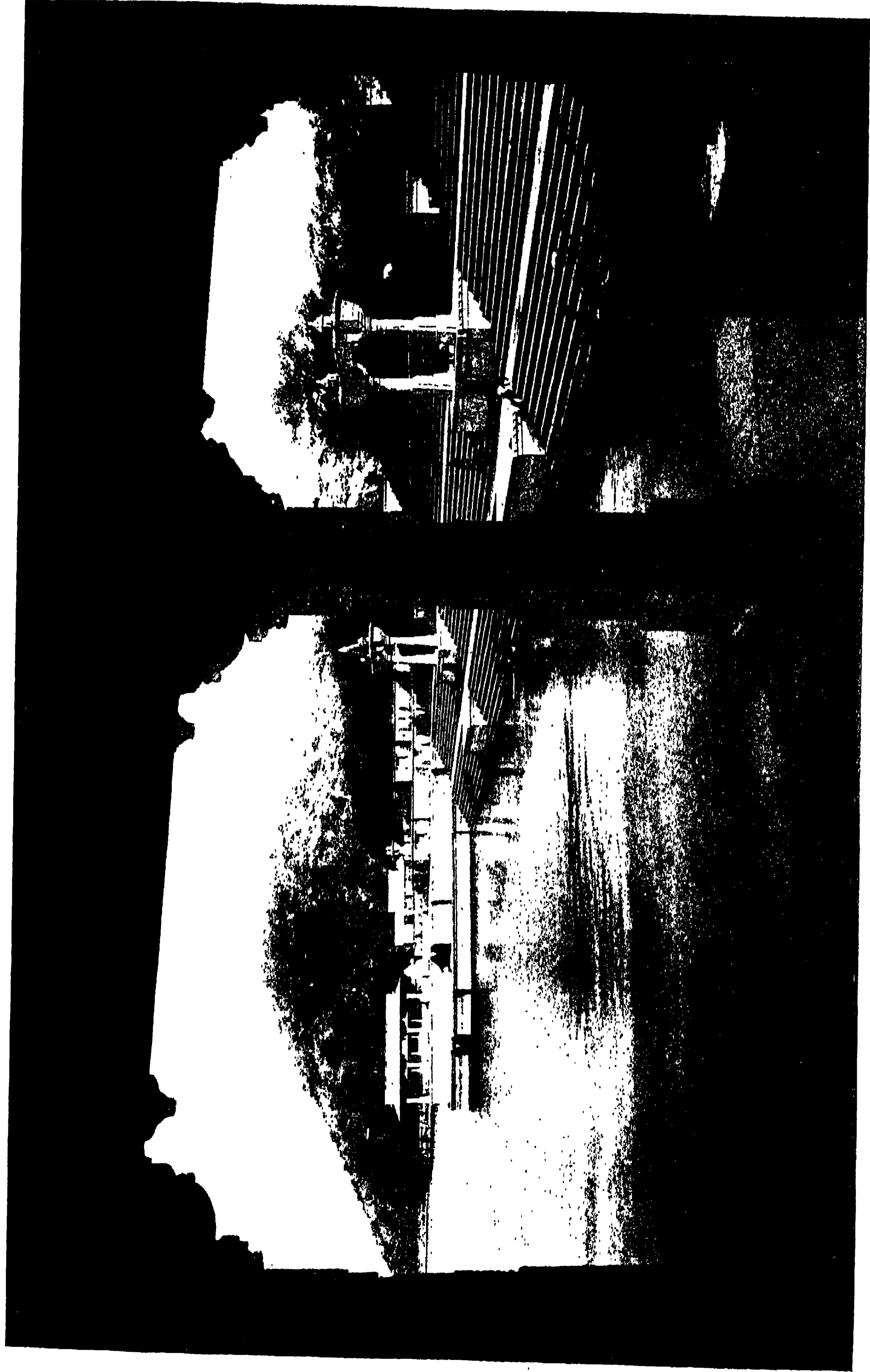
<sup>2</sup> For metrical requirements, the *chh* in the name Raṇachhōḍa has in most places to be read without the duplication.

<sup>3</sup> This Lakshminātha (II) is, in fact, not at all mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti*, but we know of his existence from the Jagannātharāya temple inscription at Udaipur, of which he is the composer, and in which he gives his genealogy perfectly agreeing with the one given here (see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 83, verse 48).

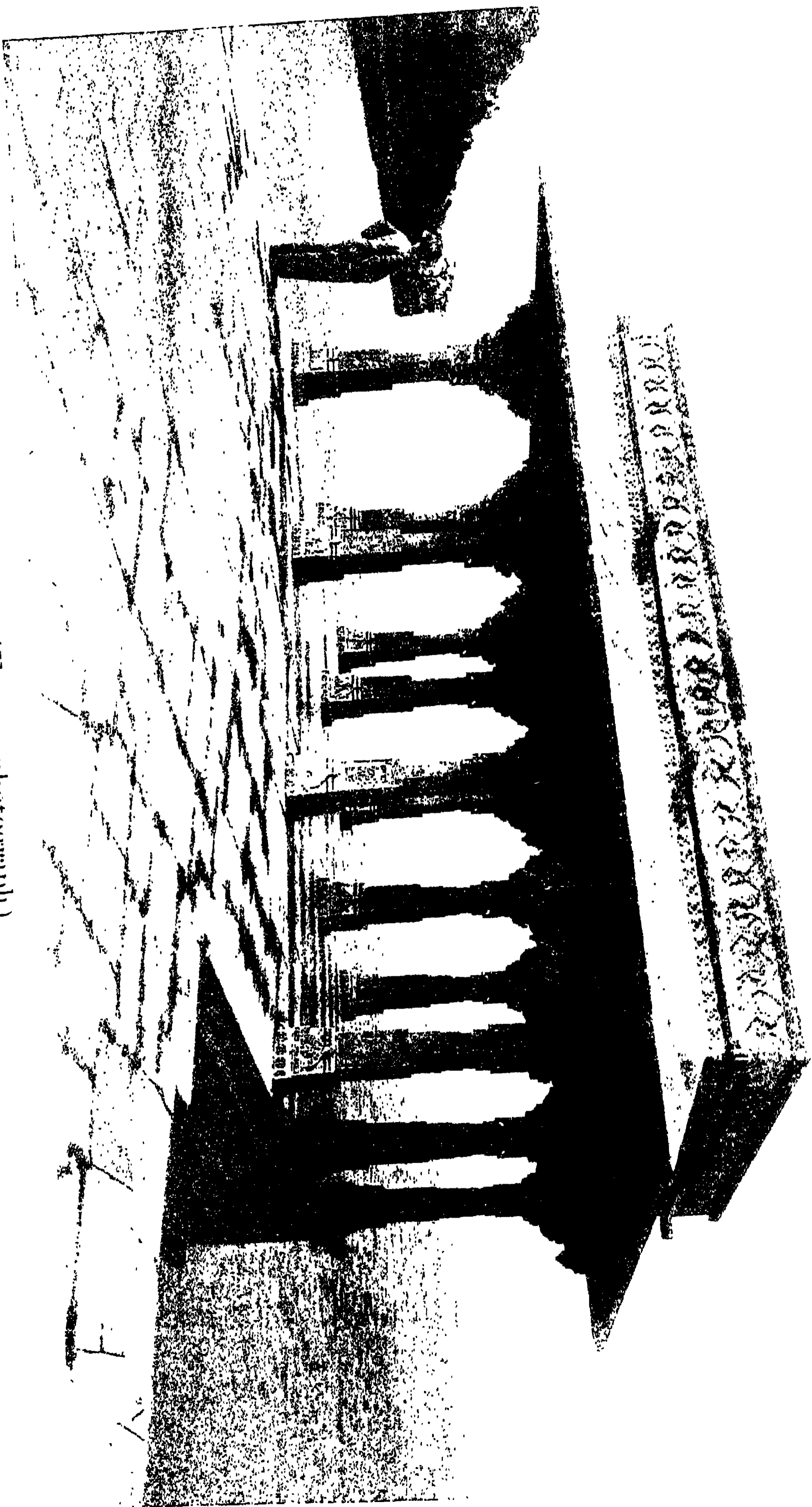
<sup>4</sup> He is known from slab IX, ll. 45—46 : slab XXV, v. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Rājputāne-kā Itihās* (Hindī), Vol. I, pp. 338 ff. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 76 ff.

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR  
I-A VIEW OF THE NAUCHAUKI GHAT, RAJASAMUDRA



(From a photograph)



(From a photograph)

another elder brother called Bharata,<sup>1</sup> and that he commenced the composition on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the Vikrama year 1718 in compliance with the orders of *Mahārāṇā* Rājasimha who is stated to have at the same time ordered the construction of the Rājasamudra lake as well, while halting at the village of Dhōdhumdā.<sup>2</sup> The week-day on that date was Budha, as can be ascertained from verse 14 of the Canto IX, where the same date is repeated. It thus regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st January A. D. 1662, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta*.

It took full fourteen years to complete the work of excavating the lake and constructing the dam and the *ghāṭ*; for, we are informed that the inauguration ceremony of the Rājasamudra took place on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the Vikrama Samvat 1732,<sup>3</sup> which regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 20th January A. D. 1676.

The names of the masons who are responsible for the engraving of the present inscription as also perhaps for the construction work are given in the *bhāshā* portions occurring towards the end of some slabs. They are : *Gajadhara*<sup>4</sup> Mukarṇḍa, *Gajadhara* Kalyāṇa's son Urajaṇa, *Gajadhara* Sukhadēva, *Gajadhara* Keso (Kēśava), Sundara, Lālā, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The pivotal theme of the poem is the Rājasamudra. It records the digging of the lake as well as the building of the dam and the *ghāṭ* in a very elaborate manner. Besides, it abounds in incidental details upon which it is needless to expatiate here. Since the text will be found simple enough to be self-explanatory, no comments are deemed necessary in this introduction. And a verbatim translation of the whole poem would unnecessarily increase the bulk of the article which is already exceeding usual limits. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by giving an abstract of the contents at the end of the text, adding notes on the historical portions. It may, however, be observed here that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic or traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable. The inaccuracies will be pointed out at their proper places.

The text has been prepared from the inked estampages taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934. The present article was ready as early as 1940, but its publication has been delayed due to the suspension of the printing of the journal for some years during and after the World War II.

## TEXT<sup>6</sup>

### Slab I ; Invocation

[Metres : vv. 1-14 *Sikharinī* ; vv. 15-21, 24-30 *Sragdharā* ; v. 22 *Upajūti* ; v. 23 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*.]

1 ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ यशोहेतुं सेतुं सुकृतिकृतिसेतुं जलनिधौ सुबद्धं यश्चक्रे  
घरणिघरचक्रेण रुचिरं । रुचा कामः कामं जनक-

<sup>1</sup> The poem was also intended to be a text book for the poet's own children, Lakshminātha and the rest see Slab XXV, v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly it is the same Dhōdhumdā as is mentioned further on in verse 5 of the Canto IX, where it is enumerated as the first of the sixteen villages whose area was included in the lake.

<sup>3</sup> This date as well as that of the commencement of the work is given at several places in the poem, but of such instances where week-days are also mentioned one may be seen in ll. 41-44 of Slab IX.

<sup>4</sup> The term *gajadhara* is equivalent to *sūtradhāra* meaning 'mason', literally 'holder of the yardstick' (*gaja-gaz* 'yard').

<sup>5</sup> More or less the same list is found towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII, IX and XXV.

<sup>6</sup> From ink impressions.

- 2 तनयावामनयनासुविश्रामः कामं कलयतु स रामः कृतजयः ॥१॥ स्मितज्योत्स्नालेपोज्व(ज्व)-  
लललितकंठः कचचयशिखिस्फूर्जत्पक्षेक्ष-
- 3 णगलितनागो विभसितः । मुदे चेलांदोला(लां)शुगत इति भूषाप्रतिकृतेर्धूतेगो<sup>१</sup>र्याः शुं(शं)भुः  
स्फटिकरुचिदेहेतिरुचिरः ॥२॥ पुरा राणेंद्रस्वत्र(ञ्च)रणशरणः
- 4 सेतुविलसत्प्रबं(बं)धं कृत्वाब्धिं नवमिह तडागं रचितवान् । प्रतिष्ठामस्याद्वा तव  
विवरराज्ये भगवति प्रभावो निवि(विं)ज्जं स गिरिवरमातर्जय जय ॥
- 5 ॥३॥ वराभीत्योर्वात्रीं पृथुतमकुचां कामवशां महाकालोरःस्थां ससुखमजचक्रौर्विनुतां । प्रसन्नाक्षीं  
श्यामां स्मितमयमुखीं
- 6 वक्षिणतमां स्तुवन्कालीं विद्याक्षितिसुतधनानीह लभते ॥४॥ चतुर्भिः कैलासस्फुरितकरिभिर्है-  
मससुधैर्घटैः शंडो-
- 7 त्क्षिप्तैः स्मरति सुखसिक्तां कनकभां । वरांभोजद्वंद्वाभययुतकरां त्वांसु(त्वांसु)जगतां रमे  
श्रीमत्ते यो मुखमपि स मत्तेभधनवान् ॥५॥
- 8 रुचेंदव्या भास(स्व)त्स्फटिकहिमकुंडाब्जजयकृद्धाना वासो वा मुकुररुचिपद्यासनगता । नवीना  
वीणाभृद्विधिहरिहरेंद्राविकनुता स-
- 9 रस्वत्यास्तां [न]: सुमतिकृतये जाड्यहृतये ॥६॥ मृदुं वाणीं लज्जां धिया(य)मपि दधानां  
मणिलसत्किरीटेंद्रुद्योतां मणिघटलसत्सव्यचरणां । त्रिनेत्रां
- 10 स्मेरास्यां समणिचषकाब्जो(ब्जो)द्यतकरां जपारक्तां भक्ता भजत भुवनेशीं पृथुकुचां ॥७॥  
रुचेंगालः<sup>१</sup> खंडगो(खंडगो) ललितकमली ह्रीमयमुखः क एष द्रा[गी]-
- 11 हृक्(ग्) लघुकलितशक्तिहंसकरः । हलांसो हूलली धृतसकलमायोऽनलवधूस्तुतिमंत्र जप्त्वा  
जयति धरणीशो मनुरिव ॥८॥ कपो-
- 12 लप्रोल्लोलत्कनकविलसत्कुंडलयुगां(गं) मुखेंदुं वि(वि)भ्राणां कनकविकसच्चंपकरुचि । गदा-  
दीर्णारति करगरिपुजिह्वां च वगला-
- 13 मुखीं ध्यायेद्यस्तद्विमुखमुखसंस्तंभनविधिः<sup>२</sup> ॥९॥ शतायुः सिद्धिं वा सवसि व(व)दुर्बुद्धिं  
विदधतीं प्रसिद्धिं लोके वा सततमृणवु-
- 14 द्वि च विगतां । गुणानाम्द्वि वा सुभगसुतवृद्धिं धनगिरां समृद्धिं भक्तानां सपदि  
हरसिद्धिं भज मनः ॥१०॥ शिवे राज-

<sup>१</sup> The form *aiṅgāla* is evidently derived from the word *iṅgāla* which is a Prakrit equivalent of *aṅgāra*.

<sup>२</sup> The sign of *visarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and supplied later on.

- 15 न्यानां जयसि समरादौ जयकरी शतायुष्यं रां(रा)णं कलय जयसिंहं सतनयं । स्थिरं  
राणाराज्यं जगति रचयाऽऽचंद्रतपनं प्रशस्तेः स्थैर्यं
- 16 त्वं मम सुतगिरायुर्धनसुखं ॥११॥ चतुर्वारं तंतर्जनकलकलालंकृततनुं गिरिं श्रुत्वा लोके  
तव विवरराज्यं त्वनुमितं । ध्रुवं निःसंदे-
- 17 हं रचय नृपदेहं मम वपुः स्थिरं गेहं स्नेहं तनयमपि तेहं निजजनः ॥१२॥ इदं  
स्तोत्रं स्तुत्यं पठति मनुजो म(मं)गलकं(क)रं सुकार्यादौ यस्त-
- 18 द्रवति सफलं विघ्नरहितं । प्रपूर्णं वा<sup>1</sup> तूर्णं जननि रणछोडेन रचितं पठित्वा श्रुत्वादौ  
जगदखिलमास्तां सुखमयं ॥१३॥ इति भवानीस्तोत्रं [॥\*]
- 19 सरोलंबे स्तंबेरममुखसदंबे(बे) कितमुखे सुहेरंबे(बे) त्वं वेदवति गुणलंबे(बे) त्वयि विभो  
[॥\*] समालंबे कं वेरितवति भृशं वेदितविपत्कदं-
- 20 बेऽनालंबे(बे) सुकविनिकुरंबे(बे) कुरु कृपां ॥१४॥ नद्यः क्षुद्राः समुद्राः सलवणसलिलाः<sup>2</sup>  
कूपवाप्योऽ<sup>3</sup>भद्रा दारिद्र्यं वीक्ष्य वारां किल सुरस-
- 21 रितो वारि गृह्णाति लग्नं । शैवालं केशपंकित शिरसि च शकु(क)लं चंद्रकं रत्नसेतोः  
सिद्धं वा(वा)लुकौघं दधदिति गुणिभिः पातु गीतो गणे-
- 22 शः<sup>2</sup> ॥१५॥ कर्णौ सूर्पद्वयं वाप्यलिवलयमिषाच्चालनीं दंतदर्वी(वीं) चंद्रं रौप्यं कटाहं  
विधुकरनिकरं पिष्टकं स्निग्धकुंभौ । दानं मिष्टं जलं यत्प-
- 23 चति दधदलं धूमकेतुं च सर्वैलंडूकारि तदुक्तो ह्यसुरसुरनरालंबलंबोदरोव्यात् ॥१६॥  
शुंडादंडं प्रचंडं मदलसदसितं रंध्रवद्वह्निशस्त्रं
- 24 वि(बि)भ्राणो धूमकेतुं मधुकरगुटिकादंतमुहंडुदंडं । तन्नूनं वह्निशस्त्री दितिजह(ह)तिकृते  
स्थापितः शंभुनासौ भ्रांत्या लोकगंगास्यः क-
- 25 थित इति मुदे श्रीगणेशः सुवेषः ॥१७॥ पूज्योभूद्वक्रतुंडः सुरदितिजनरैः सर्वकार्येषु  
कस्मात्तन्मन्ये क्रीडनेयं जलनिधिमधिकं शुंडया पीत-
- 26 वान्वे । लंकास्थद्वारकास्था<sup>4</sup>सुरसुरमनुजार्हीद्रलक्ष्मीस्वयंभूविष्णुस्तोत्रंस्तु मुंचन्सकलमिदमतः सर्वबंधो  
मुदे सः ॥१८॥ प्रात-

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *vā* is inscribed above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The sign of *visarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and was supplied later on.

<sup>3</sup> Read *kūpa-vāpyō=py=abhadrā*, as otherwise the line would be short of one syllable.

<sup>4</sup> The words *Lankāstha* and *Dvārakāstha* qualify the *asura*, etc., i.e., demons, etc., of *Lankā* as well as of *Dvārakā*.

- 27 भानुं रसालोत्तमफलत(म)तितो निर्मलोद्यत्सिताभिभ्राजल्लङ्कबुद्ध्या निशि मधुरधिधुं चंडया  
शुंडया यत् । धृत्वा स्वास्ये वधे तद्ग्रहण-
- 28 मिति जनैः स्नायिभिः श्रांत<sup>1</sup>मस्मात्पार्वत्या मोचिते(तौ) तौ सहसितमवतात्प्लेशहर्ता गणेशः  
॥१६॥ श्रातः किं वाहनस्य प्रकटयसि न वा
- 29 लालनं स्कंदवाक्यादेवं प्रोद्दंडशुंडामुलकलितमहामूषकस्पर्शलेशः । भोक्तुं भोगी किमित्थं ब्रवति  
कृतमतौ मूषकेस्मादकस्मात्स्कं-
- 30 धात्तस्य स्वलघ्नस्खलितमतिवचश्चारु दद्याद्गणेशः ॥२०॥ सत्कुंभो बुंदुभो द्वी भुजगसुलकरं  
वाद्यमुद्दंडशुंडां तालौ वा कण(णं)तालौ त्रिपु-
- 31 रह्रमहातांडवाडंब(ब)रे यत् । चंडाद्या वाक्यंति द्विपवदनविभोरेष तुष्टो विशिष्टं  
स्वाविष्टः(ष्टं) स्पष्टनृत्यं प्रविदधद<sup>2</sup>धिकं पातु मामिष्टशिष्टं ॥२१॥
- 32 श्रीवक्रतुंड(ड)स्तव एष तुंडस्थितः सतां मंडितसूक्तिकुंडः । उद्दंडवेतंडघटाप्रचंडविद्यामणीकुं[ड]लदः  
सदा स्य(स्या)त् ॥२२॥ इति गणेश(श)स्तोत्रं ।
- 33 स्वनामलजं गायतः स्रस्तरोगानजलं जनान्दल्लवट्टं वितन्वन् । जयस्रपाभूषयन्धस्रमुच्चैः  
सहस्रद्युतिस्संमुदे स्ताबुदुल[ः]
- 34 ॥२३॥ सत्पीतं चामरं किं कलयति तपनो धार्यमाणं दिगीशैः सूताभायाहभाभिः<sup>3</sup> कृतपट-  
घटनायापि सूचीसहस्रं । वेदुं तद्धा(द्धां)तदंता-
- 35 बलसव(ब)लव(ब)लं स्वर्णवा(बा)णजं वा तर्क्यते तर्क्यलोकैरिति रविकिरणा येत्र ते पुत्रदाः  
स्युः ॥२४॥ जाते यस्योदयेसावुदय<sup>4</sup>गिरिवरः सू-
- 36 र्यवाहारुणाभारुपैः शुद्धैर्हिरण्यैर्मरकतमणिभिः पद्मरागैः कृतं द्राक् । शृंगस्तोमे समस्ते रक्षयति  
निचयं भूषणानां यथेच्छं(च्छं)
- 37 यादृश्यत्रोपयुक्तं स भवतु भगवान्भूतये भानुमाली ॥२५॥ प्रा[च्या]मुद्दुनाना धृतोसौ मरकत-  
कनकोद्भासितोत्तंस उच्चैर्वृत्तोद्यत्स्वर्ण-
- 38 पत्रं हरिदरुणपटं छत्रकं मूर्द्धिन मेरोः । वर्षासिंस्यद्भूतं वा हरिधनुरधुना कुंडलीभूतमित्थं  
सूतस्वाश्वप्रभाभत्सुम्निभिरुदितं मंडलं पा-
- 39 तु पूषणः ॥२६॥ मुक्तागुच्छं विषस्वद्वपुररुणमणिं विद्रुमं सूतरूपं छत्रं सत्पुष्परागं हरिहरित-  
मणीन्दीर्घवैडूर्यदंडान् । वि(वि)भ्रद्वज्रस्य चक्रं

<sup>1</sup> The word *brānta* is used in the sense of *avasita* 'understood' or 'inferred'.

<sup>2</sup> The engraver had dittographically engraved a superfluous *da* after this *da*, which he later on scored out.

<sup>3</sup> This expression is not very clear. If the third word in the compound is meant to be *ahan*, the correct form should be *āhar-bhāhhih*, which would not fit in with the metre.

<sup>4</sup> After *ya* is a scored out medial *ī*.



- 40 त्वसितमणिधुरं धन्यगोम(मे)दमंचं श्रीभानोः स्यंदनस्ते मनसि खलु धृतो हंतु सर्वप्रहात्तिं(त्तिं) ॥२७॥ विश्रामच्छयना मूर्द्धिन् लघुगमनकरा ये मेरोर्धुन-
- 41 द्याः कल्लोलोलासितेस्मिन्मयु<sup>1</sup>वरयुवतीसंचये चंचलाक्षाः । हेषासंकेतशब्दैर्विदधति भृशमासक्तिमह्नां गुरुत्वं प्रीष्मे कुर्वति युक्तं हरिहरय इत-
- 42 स्ते श्वियं ते विशंतु ॥२८॥ व(च)क्राप्रं शक्र सम्यक्(ग्) धुरि यम समतामक्षमाधेहि रक्षस्त्वं वीतीन्वि(न्वी)तिहोत्रारुणमिह वरुण स्थापय त्वं रथे[शं] । वायो वाऽऽयोजय
- 43 त्वं रथमथ धनदाराधन(नं) त्वं हरीणां शम्भो त्वं भो[:\*] प्रियं मे वदति तदरुणो दिक्पतीन् शास्ति सोव्यात् ॥२९॥ आश्लेषे पदिचमाशाकुचयुगविलस[त्कुं-]
- 44 [कु]मालेपसक्तः किं वा वालैः प्रवालैर्जलनिधिजठं(ठ)रे स्पर्शनैर्घर्षणैश्च प्रेमणा(म्णा) [वाच्छा]दितः किं हरिहरदबलापाणिना सत्कुसुंभा रक्तेनैवां(ब)रेणा ८
- 45 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ — — ८ — — [॥३०॥] .. .. .<sup>2</sup>

## Slab II ; Canto I

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 *Mālinī* ; v. 3 *Prithvī* ; 5, 14, 15, 17-29 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 8, 11, 12, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9, 10, 30, 31 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 16 *Sālinī*.]

श्री<sup>3</sup>[:॥\*]

- 1 ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ मुनिनृपमनुजेभ्यो वरुणं संप्रदातुं परमकरुणयैवागत्य कैलास-शैलात् । तदभुवि कुटिलाया एकर्लिगस्त्रि-
- 2 कूटे स्थित इह विवरेद्रौ राजसिंहेशमव्यात् ॥१॥ तुहिनकिरणहीरक्षीरकर्पूरगौरं ।<sup>4</sup> वपुरपि जलदाभं कालि-
- 3 कापांगवत्या(ल्ल्या): ॥(१) प्रतिकृतिघटनाभिर्वि(विं)भ्रवभ्रांतभक्तः ।<sup>4</sup> कलयतु तव राजन्मंग-लान्येकर्लिगः ॥२॥
- 4 चतुर्मितपुमर्थसद्वितरणाय सद्गुह्यः सदा ।<sup>4</sup> चतुर्भुजधरो मुदा किल चतुर्यगोद्यद्यशाः ॥ (१) चतुर्भुजह-

<sup>1</sup> *Mayu* means *kinmara*.

<sup>2</sup> This portion has not come out on the impression. How much matter has been lost after the verse 30 cannot be determined.

<sup>3</sup> Engraved on the top.

<sup>4</sup> This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

- 5 रिश्चिरं निजचतुर्भुजाभिः शुभं चतुः<sup>1</sup>श्रुतिसमीरितं दिशतु राजसिंहप्रभोः ॥३॥ जगदखिल-  
जनानां पालनादस्ति
- 6 यांवा(बा) निगमवचसि यांवा(बा)लांबिकांबा किलोक्ता<sup>2</sup> ॥(1) सुखयतु सहितं त्वां  
पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रैरवतु तव तु गोत्रं सांवि(बि)-
- 7 का राजसिंह ॥४॥ ऐं(ऐं)दिरं विभवं दद्यात् ।<sup>3</sup> शौक्ली(क्ली) वृत्तिं(त्तिं) वध-  
त्यलं ॥(1) बुधे प्रसन्नासौः(सौ) स्फूर्जद्वाला भूप प्रवाल-
- 8 भाः ॥५॥ दधदतुलकरे द्राङ्मोदकं यस्य भक्तः ।<sup>3</sup> कलयति सं(स)फलार्थं मोदकं  
राजसिंह । नृपवर स तु विघ्नं वि-
- 9 घनराजो विनिघ्नन् रचयतु तनयस्ते मंगलं मंगलायाः ॥६॥ प्रथमनृपमुनो यः सिद्धिदाता  
विघ्नस्वान् ।<sup>3</sup>
- 10 अपरमनुमिव त्वां वीक्ष्य सिद्धिं प्रदातुं ॥(1) दशशतकरयुक्तो युक्तमेवेत्यहो त्वा- ।<sup>1</sup>  
मवतु स तु नितांतं भूप-
- 11 ते राजसिंह ॥७॥ धीरः कविः स्फुटपुराणवरोनुशास्ता ।<sup>3</sup> धाता स्फुरद्गुणगणस्य  
तमःसपत्नः ॥(1) आदित्य-
- 12 वर्ण इह मां मधुसूदनोव्यात्कार्पेतिद्रुस्तरतरे<sup>4</sup> प्रविशंतमद्वा ॥८॥ इती(ति) मंगलाष्टकं ॥  
यस्यासीन्मधुसू-
- 13 वनस्तु जनको जातः कठोडी कुले तेलंगः कविपंडितः सृजननी वेणी च गोस्वामिजा ॥(1)  
कुर्वे राजसमुद्रनामक-
- 14 जलाधारप्रशस्तिं त्वहं सोदर्यं रणछोड एष भरथा(ता)द्यं लक्ष्मणं शिक्षयन् ॥९॥ पूर्णं  
सप्तदशे शते समतनौ(नो)त्स्वष्टा-
- 15 दशाख्येब्दके ।<sup>3</sup> माघे श्यामलपक्षके नरपतिः [स]त्सप्तमी वासरे ॥(1) धोषुंदावसति  
जलास(श)यमहारंभं च तस्याज्ञ-
- 16 या प्रारंभं रणछोड एष कृतवांस्तस्य प्रशस्तेस्तथा ॥१०॥ वर्ष्यं त्ववर्ष्यमपि वेत्ति न  
वा(बा)लको वा दृष्टार्थसंकथक
- 17 एव गलद्भूयश्च । सोहं तथैव गुणवृद्धसभोपविष्टः किञ्चिद्दामि मम वाष्टर्षमिदं  
क्षमस्व ॥११॥ जिह्वासु चेतफणिपति-

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *ub* is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the intended reading is =*ambālik=nlka*.

<sup>3</sup> This *danda* is not necessary.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *du* is inscribed above the line.

- 18 लिङ्गनेषु<sup>1</sup> कार्तवीर्यार्जुनो वक्षसि वाक्पतिरेव वाहं ॥(1) ज्ञातुं<sup>2</sup> गुणांस्तव तदा निपुणो  
भवामि काँश्चित्ततो नृप वदाम्यति-
- 19 साहसेन ॥१२॥ पुण्या जनार्दनहरेस्तु कथास्ति पुण्यश्लोकस्य वा नलनृपस्य बुद्धि-  
ष्ठिरस्य ॥(1) तादृक्कथा जयति वाप्य-
- 20 नपस्य वक्ष्ये श्रीराजसिंहनृपतेरपि सत्कथां तत् ॥१३॥ रामायणे भारतेस्ति प्रोक्तानां  
भूभुजां यशः । यथा राज्ञा-
- 21 मिहोक्तानां स्यात्तथाऽऽचंद्रतारकं ॥१४॥ खंडप्रशस्तिर्भुवने रामचंद्रस्य शोभते । श्रीश्रखंड-  
प्रशस्तिस्ते राजसि-
- 22 ह विराजते ॥१५॥ मर्त्यायुष्यैस्तुल्यमायुस्तु भाषाप्रधानां स्याद्देवभागभारतादेः । देवायुष्यैस्तुल्य-  
मायुस्ततोहं प्र(प्रं)थं कु-
- 23 र्बे राण गीर्वाणवाण्या ॥१६॥ व्यासवाल्मीकिवद्वन्द्वो वा(वा)णश्रीहर्षवधूपैः । स संस्कृतकवी  
राज्ञां यशोगस्थापकश्चिरं
- 24 ॥१७॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य वर्णनं कर्तुमुद्यतः । भूपान्वाष्पादिका[न्व]क्तुं वक्ष्येहं मुनिसंमति  
॥१८॥ वक्ष्ये वायुं(यु)पुराणस्य ।<sup>4</sup> मे-
- 25 दपाटीपखंडके ॥(1) षष्टे(ष्ठे)ध्याये त्वेकलिगमाहात्म्ये वाक्यमीरितं ॥१९॥ अथ शैलात्मजा  
व(व)ह्यन् शोकव्याकुललोचना ॥(1) नै(नै)दिनं प्रथ-
- 26 मं वाष्पं सृजंती तमुवाच ह ।[1\*] २०।[1\*] यस्माद्वाष्पं सृजाम्यद्य वियोगात्<sup>3</sup> शंकरस्य  
च [1\*] पूर्वदत्ताच्च मच्छा(च्छा)पाद्वाष्पो राजा भविष्यति ॥२१॥
- 27 आराध्य तं जगन्न(क्षा)थं ।<sup>4</sup> तीर्थे नागहृदे शुभे । राज्यं दाकृ इव प्राप्य पुनः  
स्वर्गमवाप्स्यसि ॥२२॥ पुनश्चंडगणं प्राह पार्वती व्याकु-
- 28 लेक्षणा । मर्यादां हृतवानद्य ।<sup>4</sup> द्वाररक्षेप्यरक्षणात् ॥२३॥ हारीत इति नाम्ना त्वं  
मेवपाटे मुनिर्भव । तत्राराध्य शिवं देवं ।<sup>4</sup> त
- 29 तः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यसि ॥२४॥ इति वायुपुराणस्य संमतिस्तत्र विस्तरः ॥(1) द्रष्टव्यो  
वाष्पवंशेस्मिन् ।<sup>4</sup> कार्यः शिष्टैस्तदादरः ॥२५॥
- 30 न मे विज्ञानतरणी राजसिंहगुणांबुधेः ।<sup>5</sup> पाराप्त्यै वक्त्रमुडुप(प)मस्याज्ञाकरमाश्रये<sup>6</sup> ॥२६॥  
सालंकारमणिः सूक्तिमौक्तिकः सद्र-

<sup>1</sup> The correct form is *lēkhana*.

<sup>2</sup> Better read *pāṭuṃ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> This *danḍa* is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> Both *visarga* and the *danḍa* are above the line.

<sup>6</sup> While composing this verse the poet obviously had in mind Kālidāsa's *Kva sūrya-prabhāṭe vanaśah kvā-  
ch=ālpa-vishayā matiḥ | titirahur=dustarān mōhād=udupēn=āsmi sāgarān || (Raghuvamśa, 1, 2).*

- 31 सामृतः ॥(1) राजप्रशस्तिग्रंथोस्ति समुद्रोन्य[:\*] सुवर्णभूः ॥२७॥ सेतिहासो भारतवत्प्रोक्त-  
सूर्यान्वयः समः ॥(1) रामाय-
- 32 णेन पठनाद्ग्रंथस्तादृक्फलाय नः ॥२८॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य महावीरस्य वर्णने ॥(1)  
वाष्पः सूर्यान्वयी सर्गे सूर्यवं-
- 33 शं वदेप्रिमे ॥[२९॥\*] आसीद्भ्रास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वर[कः] कठोडि-  
कुलजो लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्तुतः<sup>1</sup> । तेलंगोस्य तु राम-
- 34 चंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य [वा\*] माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्त्रय इमे व(ब)ह्मोशक्तिष्णूपमाः  
॥[३०॥\*] यस्यासीन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च
- 35 गोस्वामिजा माता वा रणछोड एष कृतवान् राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्वयराजसिंहनृपति-  
श्रीवर्णनाटकं महद्वीरांकं प्रथ-
- 36 मोत्र पूत्तिमगमत्सर्गोर्थवर्गोत्तमः ॥[1\*] ३१॥[1\*] इतिश्रीमधुसूदनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याह्वये  
महाकाव्ये [प्रथमः सर्गः ॥]

## Slab III ; Canto II

[Metres : v. 1 *Mandākrāntū* ; vv. 2-38 *Anuṣṭubh.*]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[\*] गुंजापुंजाभरणनिचयं चंद्रकालीकिरीटं गोत्रं वेत्रं करकमलयोः पुंजितं  
चित्रवस्त्रं ॥(1)
- 2 मध्ये पीतं वसनमपरं किंकिणीं वक्रवेणीं ।<sup>2</sup> नासामुक्तां वधवतिमुदे तेस्तु गोवर्द्धभैरवः  
॥१॥ आदौ जल-
- 3 मयं विश्वं ।<sup>2</sup> तत्र नारायणः<sup>3</sup> स्थितः । ह(हि)रण्यहारी तन्नाभौ ।<sup>4</sup> पद्मकोष  
इहाभवत् ॥२॥ व(ब)ह्मा चतुर्मुख(ख)स्तस्य म-
- 4 रीचिः कश्यपोस्य तु ॥(1) सुतो विवस्वा(स्वां)स्तस्यासीन्मनुरिक्ष्वाकुरस्य सः ॥३॥  
विकुक्षिः स शशावान्यनामा
- 5 तस्य पुरंजयः ॥(1) ककुत्स्थापरनामाया<sup>2</sup>मस्यानेनास्ततः पृथुः ॥४॥ ततोभूद्विश्वरथिस्तु  
ततश्चंद्रस्ततोभव-
- 6 त् ॥(1) यवनाश्वोस्य शावस्तो व(ब)हवश्वोस्य वात्मजः ॥५॥ ततः कुवल्याश्वोभट्टं  
धुमारापराभिधः ॥(1) दृढाश्वोस्यास्य ह-

<sup>1</sup> Read °s-tataḥ as in I. 35 of Slab IV.<sup>2</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.<sup>3</sup> *Visarga* is above the line.

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III - SLAB III

2 मध्येपीतैलसून मपरंकिंकिणी वक्तवेणी तासा मुक्ता दध दति मु देतेसु गो वर्धनेद्रः॥१॥ आ दी जल 2  
 4 रीदि कश्यपोस्य तु॥ सुतो विवस्य स्या स्या म्मत् रि द्या कुर स्य सः॥ आविकु डिः स श शो दायनामा 4  
 6 त स्पपु रं न यः॥ क ह रथा परना माया स स्यानेना स्रतः प थुः॥५॥ ततो चू द्व स्व सं विसु तत शं र सती च व 6  
 8 त्सा युवनाश्वो स्य शो वस्तो व ह द श्वे स्या वामनः॥ पातत कु वल पा यो न च्ये भा रा पयो नि यः॥ द व श्वे स्या श्वे द 8  
 10 स्तु प रानि भा॥ गा व क र्त्त स्य त व यः पुरु कु सो स्य वा सुतः॥ व स द सु रि ती पो स्या द न र ए प स्र तो न व र ॥८॥ 10  
 12 ह प र्यो स्या र्ण स स त्रि वं ध न चू प ल तः॥ स य वृ त त्रि शं क श्चु स्य ता मो त रं त तः॥ ९॥ ह रि श्वे नो रो दि तो स्य 12  
 14 त स्य वा द रि त स्त नः॥ वं प स्र स्य सु दे वो स्या द्वि ज यो च र को श्य वा णं त श्म । दु को वा दु को स्य त सु वः स ग रः स च्वा 14  
 16 व क्त व ता मु म या दू प ल्यां त स्या च न स ता॥ शो यो षः ष ष्ठि न ह स्तो द्य सं स्याः सा ग र का र क्तः स ग र स्या त्प न 16  
 18 द्या दू के शि व्या म स न ज सा॥ सा सो सु मा दि जी पो स्या व स्या ग्ना तो ज गी र या त त म्प त स्र तो ता नः सि षु ही शो स 18  
 20 त सु ता॥ १०॥ आ प्र ता पु त्त स्य ज त स्र तु प रं सुं त पु तः॥ श्वे क्त म म्पु द सो स्य त स्या षि व स ह प त्तिः॥ अ द पं त्प स क ल्मा 20  
 22 ष पा दा न्या र्वो स्य चा श्म कः॥ मू ल के स्या द श र य स्र त वे उ वि ड स्र तः॥ ११॥ ता तो वि श्व स द स्त 22  
 24 स्या च र्वां ग श्च क व र्त्त तः॥ दौ र्ध वा दु रि ता पो स्य र वुर स्या च न तः॥ १२॥ जा मे द श र स्य स्य कौ श 24  
 26 त्य यो सु तो न व र्वा॥ आ रं चं क्के के यो न र यो रा म च कि प्रा व ॥ १३॥ सु मि त्रा य ल द्य ण श्व श चू वृ षे 26  
 28 ति ना म तः॥ आ सी त यां कु शो जा तो न व श्वे ति कु श । द चू र ॥ १४॥ कु मु द स्यं म ति थि को नि ष धो स्य त 28  
 30 तो न ल ग्ना न चो य पुं इ री को स्य डे म ध ना तो न व र्वा॥ १५॥ दे व ती क स्र तो इ द नः पा रि या त्रे स्य त सु तः॥ व 30  
 32 त्प स्र स्य स्व ल स्या इ ज न्ना च स्र तो न व र्वा॥ १६॥ स ग र या त्प वि ध त्तः पु त्र स्य सु तो न व र्वा॥ दि र ष्ट ता 32  
 34 चः पु षो स्या दू व सि षि स्र त्तो न व र्वा॥ १७॥ सु द र्श नो स्य ष्ठि व र्ण स स्य शी च्च स्र तो म र्वा णं त प्र सु श्रु त स्र 34  
 36 स्या द्यं धि स्र स्य तु म र्ष ण ग्ना २१॥ त तो म द स्यं स्र स्या चू व र्ण स्या दू प्र सैन जि र ॥ त त स्र त स्र स्र को 36  
 २२ स्या च ह दृ त्प ति व यं २३॥ म स चार त संग्ग मे ति ह त स्र जि म त्पु ॥ ए ते व ती ता व्या से त्त सं प्रो क्ता चार 22  
 २४ ते व पा २५॥ न ग ता ज ग्ना रे वं व्या स स्र त्त व व र मि ता न् ॥ र ह दृ त्प ह दृ ष्ण स्यो रु क्ति य द त्त तः॥ २५॥ व क् 24  
 २६ व डः प्र ति वो म स्य स्या स्या द्या नुर स्य वा॥ दि व क स्य स्य प्र द वी वा दि नो ष ति रि त्य च्च ॥ २६॥ त स्या सी त्त स्र दे वी 26  
 २८ स्य व र द श्व त्त तो न व र ॥ आ नु मा र वा प्र ता स श्वे स्य त स्या सु प्र ती क क्तः २७॥ त तो चू म सु दे वो स्य सु न्ने द्रो 28  
 ३० स्य पु क र्वा त तो रि लुः सु षा स्य स्या मि त्र जि द स्य तु ॥ २८॥ व द द्रा ज स्र तो व रि स्या स्या न स्य व त्त न यः॥ त र्म द्र 30  
 ३२ णं त य स्य स ज यः शो को इ म्र तः॥ २९॥ गृ षो दो स्या त्तं ग लो स्य प्र सैन जि द च्च व त्तः॥ चू द क स्र स्य स ण क स्र 32  
 ३४ स्या सी स्रु र थ स्र तः॥ ३०॥ सु मि त्र सु मि त्र तं इ च्च को श्व यो न वं वा उ क्ता ना ग व ते स्व द्ये न व मे वे म ए दि ता ॥ ३१॥ 34  
 ३६ ना दि श च्ये त्त ग त्त व म्प न स्या क्ता व र्वा ॥ प्र सि द्धा स्र व वं श स्या न् व र्ण ना जो न व त्त तः॥ ३२॥ म हार यो वि रा जे द्र 36  
 ३८ क र्त्त म्प द ति र थी न यः॥ स्या द च ल से त्त सु से ना स्य व र्त ना र गो ॥ ३३॥ त स्या क न क्त से तो स्य ह रि गे ज र य त्या त 38  
 ४० स्या द्वि ज य से तो स्या त्र य से न स्र तो न व र्वा ॥ ३४॥ अ न ग से न स्या सु म द से त्त स्र तो ५ न व र्ण र्ण सि ह र थ स्वे ते श्व 40  
 ४२ यो ध्या स सि ले न पाः॥ ३५॥ त स्या इ ज व चू षे यं तु क्ता ५ यो ध्यो र ण ग तो न ॥ जिल ता पा च्च द्वि ण स्या न व स द द्वि ण 42  
 ४४ द्यो गो ३६॥ त त्रा स्या का श वा णा सा मु क्तो र ता नि च्च म या ॥ आ दि त्त स्या तु ध ते व्वा न व त्त न व द त्त वे ॥ ३७॥ जा 44  
 ४६ ता वि ज य च्च पा ता रा जा नो म नु पूर्व क्ता वी रः सं स्ये रि ता ते षं प व वि रा यु न्त रा ना ॥ ३८॥ आ सा दि त्त दि दि त्त य स र्गो 46  
 ४८ म र्वा ॥ ३९॥ ८ व पे मा च्च मा से क्त ल प दो स्र म्प र्ण यो रा जे त्त मु द्री मु ह र त रा यो राज सं ध जी की धो ॥ सं व 48  
 ५० स्या ॥ ४०॥ ३२ ॥ व पे मा च्च मा रो स्र क ल प दो १ प ति थै रा त्त स्र म्प र्ण यो रा जे त्त मु द्री मु ह र त रा यो राज सं ध जी की धो ॥ सं व 50



- 7 र्यंश्वो निकुंभस्तस्य वा ततः ॥६॥ व(ब)र्हणाश्वः कुशाश्वोस्य सेनजित्तस्य वा ततः ॥(१)  
युवनाश्वोस्य मांधाता असह-
- 8 स्युपराभिधः ॥७॥ चक्रवर्त्यस्य तनयः पुरुकुत्सोस्य वा सुतः ॥(१) असहस्युर्द्वितीयोऽस्मावन-  
रण्यस्ततोभवत् ॥८॥
- 9 हर्षश्वोस्यारुणस्तस्य त्रिवं(बं)धननृपस्ततः ॥(१) सत्यव्रतस्त्रिशंकुस्तु तस्य<sup>१</sup> नामांतरं ततः ॥९॥  
हरिश्चंद्रो रोहितोस्य
- 10 तस्य वा हरितस्ततः ॥(१) चंपस्तस्य सुबेवोस्माद्विजयो भरुकोस्य वा [॥\*] १०।[१\*]  
तस्माद्वृको वा(बा)हुकोस्य तत्पुत्रः सगरः स च ॥(१)
- 11 चक्रवर्ती सुमत्यां तु पत्न्यां तस्याभवन्सुता[\*] ॥११॥ श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठाः) षष्टिसहस्रोद्यत्संख्याः  
सागरकारकाः । सगरस्यान्यप-
- 12 तनयां(तनयां) तु केशिन्यामस[मं]जसः<sup>२</sup> ॥१२॥ ततोऽशुमान्दिलीपोस्मात्तस्माज्जातो भगीरथः ।  
ततः [श्रु]तस्ततो [ना]भः सिंधुद्वीपोस्य
- 13 तत्सुतः<sup>२</sup> ॥१३॥ अयुतायुस्तस्य जात ऋतुपर्णस्तु तत्सुतः । सर्वकामः सुदासोस्य तस्मान्मित्र-  
सहःपति[\*] ॥ ॥१४॥<sup>३</sup> मदयंत्याः स कल्मा-
- 14 षपादान्याख्योस्य चाशमकः ॥(१) मूलकोस्माद्<sup>४</sup>शरथस्तत एडविडस्ततः ॥१५॥ जातो विश्वसहस्त-
- 15 स्मात्खट्वांगश्चक्रवर्त्यतः ॥(१) दीर्घबाहुद्विलीपोस्य रघुरस्याज इत्यतः ॥१६॥ जातो दशरथ-  
स्तस्य कौश-
- 16 ल्यायां सुतोभवत् ॥(१) श्रीरां(रा)मचंद्रः<sup>५</sup> कैकेय्यां भरथो(तो) रामभक्तिमान् ॥१७॥  
सुमित्रायां लक्ष्मणश्च शत्रुघ्नश्चे-
- 17 ति ना(रा)मतः ॥(१) श्रीसीतायां कुशो जातो लवश्चेति कुशा<sup>६</sup>दभूत् ॥१८॥ कुमुद-  
त्यामतिथिको निषधोस्य त-
- 18 तो नलः ॥(१) नभोथ पुंडरीकोस्य क्षेमघन्वा ततोभवत् ॥१९॥ देवानीकस्ततोऽहीनः  
पारियात्रोस्य तत्सुतः ॥(१) व(ब)-
- 19 लस्तस्य स्थलस्तस्माद्भ्रनाभस्ततोभवत् ॥२०॥ स(सं)गणस्तस्य विधृतिः पुत्रस्तस्य सुतोभवत्  
॥(१) हिरण्यना-

<sup>१</sup> The letter *ta* is engraved above the line.

<sup>२</sup> *Visarga* is above the line.

<sup>३</sup> The figure 14 between two sets of *danḍas* appear above the line. The first pair of *danḍas* is thus in excess.

<sup>४</sup> Here instead of *Daśaratha* the *Purāṇas* give *Śataratha* which appears to be correct

<sup>५</sup> The syllable *ma* appears above the line.

<sup>६</sup> A space for one or two letter is left blank between *śā* and *da*.

- 20 भः पुष्योस्माद् ध्रुवसिद्धिस्ततोभवत् ॥२१॥ सुदर्शनोस्याग्निवर्णस(स्त)स्य शीघ्रस्ततो मरुत् ॥(१)  
ततः प्रसुश्रुतस्त-
- 21 स्मात्संधिस्तस्य तु मर्षणः ॥२२॥ ततो महस्वाँस्तस्याभूद्विश्वसाह्वः प्रसेनजित् ॥(१)  
ततस्ततस्तक्षकोऽ-
- 22 स्माद्(द्)हद्(द्)ल इति त्वयं ॥२३॥ महाभारतसंग्रामे निहतस्वभिमन्युना ॥(१) एते  
त्वतीता व्यासेन संप्रोक्ता भार-
- 23 ते नृपाः [॥\*]२४[॥\*] अनागतान्ज(ञ्ज)गादैर्षं व्यासस्तत्र वदामि तान् ॥(१)  
वृ(वृ)हद्(द्)लाद्(द्)हद्गणस्तस्योरुक्रिय इत्यतः ॥२५॥ वत्स-
- 24 वृद्धः प्रतिव्योमस्तस्यास्माद्भानुरस्य वा ॥(१) दिवाकस्तस्य पदवी वाहिनीपतिरित्यभूत् ॥२६॥  
तस्यासीत्सहदेवो-
- 25 स्य वृ(वृ)हद्श्वस्ततोभवत् ॥(१) भानुमान् वा प्रतीकाश्वोस्य तस्मात्सुप्रतीककः ॥२७॥  
ततोभून्मरुदेवोस्म(स्मा)त्सुनक्षत्रो-
- 26 स्य पुष्करः ॥(१) ततोतरिक्षः सुतपास्तस्मान्मित्रजिवस्य तु ॥२८॥ वृ(वृ)हद्भ्राजस्ततो-  
व(व)हिस्तस्मात्तस्य कृतंजयः ॥(१) तस्माद्र-
- 27 णंजयस्तस्य संजयः शाक्य इत्यतः ॥२९॥ शुद्धोदोस्माल्लांगलोस्य प्रसेनजिवथ स्वतः ॥(१)  
क्षुद्रकस्तस्य रुणकस्त-
- 28 स्यासीत्सुरथस्ततः ॥३०॥ सुमित्रस्तु सुमित्रांत इक्ष्वाकोरन्वयोभवत् ॥(१) उक्ता भागवते  
स्कंधे नवमे ते मयोदिताः ॥३१॥
- 29 द्वाविंशत्यप्रशतकमेषां संख्या कृता वदे ॥(१) प्रसि[द्धा]त्सू(न्सू)र्यवंशस्यान् वज्रनाभो  
भवत्ततः ॥३२॥ महारथीति राजेंद्र-
- 30 स्तस्मादतिरथी नृपः ॥(१) <sup>1</sup>तस्माद्वचलसेनस्तु सेनास्य त्वचला रणे ॥३३॥ तस्मात्कनक  
सेनोस्य महासेनोर्ग [इ]त्यतः ॥(१) त-
- 31 स्माद्विजयसेनोस्याऽजयसेनस्ततोभवत् ॥३४॥ अभंगसेनस्तस्मात्सु मदसेनस्ततोऽभवत् । भूपः  
सिंहरथस्त्वेते<sup>2</sup> अ-
- 32 योध्यावासिनो नृपाः ॥३५॥ तस्माद्विजयभूपोयं मुक्त्वाऽयोध्यां रणागतान् ॥(१) जित्वा  
नृपान्दक्षिणस्थानवसद्दक्षिण-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *ta* is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.



- 33 क्षितौ ॥३६॥ तत्रास्याकाशवाण्यासीन्मुक्त्वा राजाभिधामथ ॥(१) आदित्याख्या तु धर्तव्या  
भवता भवदन्वये ॥३७॥ जा-
- 34 ता विजयभूपांता राजानो मनुपूर्वकाः ॥(१) वीरा संख्येरितास्तेषां पंचत्रिंशद्युतं शत(तं)  
॥३८॥ आसीदित्यादि<sup>1</sup> । द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
- 35 संवत् ॥१७॥१८ वृषे(वर्षे) माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां त(ति)थौ रामसमुद्रा मुहूर्त  
(मुहूर्त) राणेराजसीघजी कीधी ॥ संब-
- 36 त ॥१७॥३२॥ वृषे(वर्षे) माघमासे सुकल(शुक्ल)पक्षे १५ तिथै(थौ) राजसमुद्र  
प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) कीधी गजधर मुकुंद गजधर कल्याण-
- 37 जी सुत उरजण गजधर सुष(ख)वेव गजधर केतो ॥ सु(सु)ंदर ॥ लाला ।  
सोमपुरा<sup>2</sup> [ज]ति ॥ चतुरा पुरब्ध ॥ राजराज वाच[ना]जी [१]\*

## Slab IV ; Canto III

[Metres : vv. 1, 35, 36 *Śārdūhvikrīḍita* ; vv. 2-12, 24-27, 32-34 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 13, 14, 16-20, 22, 23, 30 *Upajāti* ; vv. 15, 29, 31 *Indravajrī* ; v. 21 *Indravajrī* ; v. 28 *Upajāti* of *Indravajrī* and *Vamśasthāvīla*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ उल्लोलीभवदुभ्रताद्य(च्छ)सुरभीपुच्छ(च्छ)द्य(च्छ)टाचानरः सद्गोवर्द्धन-  
धन्यगोश्रविलसच्छत्रो जितेन्द्रो द(द)-
- 2 ली ॥(१) गोपालैः कलितश्च गोपतनयासक्तो निजप्रमवाण्यायाद्गोधनभक्तरक्षणपरः सच्च-  
क्रवर्ती हरिः ॥१॥ ततो वि-
- 3 जयभूपस्य पद्मादित्योभवत्सुतः ॥(१) शिवादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्देवदत्तोस्य<sup>3</sup> वा सुतः ॥२॥  
सुजसादित्यनामास्मात्सुमु-
- 4 सादित्यकस्ततः । (१) सोमदत्त<sup>4</sup>स्तस्य पुत्रः शिवादित्योस्य चात्मजः ॥३॥ केशवादित्य  
एतस्मान्नागादित्योस्य चात्म-
- 5 जः । भोगादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्देवादित्यस्ततोभवत् ॥४॥ आशादित्यः कालभोजादित्योस्मात्तनयोस्य  
तु ॥(१) ग्रहादित्य इहा-
- 6 दित्याश्चतुर्दशमितास्ततः ॥५॥ ग्रहादित्यसुताः सर्वे ग(गु)हिलौताभिधापुताः । जाता युक्तं  
तेषु पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो वाण्याभिधोभव-

<sup>1</sup> By this are meant the two stanzas, Nos. 30 and 31, of Slab II, Canto I.

<sup>2</sup> *Sōmapurā* means 'architect'.

<sup>3</sup> The name should end in *āditya* rather than in *datta* in accordance with the information contained in verse 37 of Slab III, Canto II and verse 5 of the present one.

<sup>4</sup> DGA

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- 7 त् ॥६॥ यं दृष्ट्वा न(नं)दिनं गौरी दृशोर्वाष्पं पुराऽसृजत् । नन्दी गणोसौ वाष्पोरि-  
प्रियादृक्वा(ग्वा)ष्पदोऽभवत्<sup>1</sup> ॥७॥ हारी-
- 8 तराशिः सुमुनिश्चंडः शंभोर्गणोभवत् । तस्य शिष्योभवद्वाष्पस्तस्याज्ञातः प्रा(प्र)सावतः ॥८॥  
नागहृदपुरे तिष्ठन्ने-
- 9 कर्लिंगशिवप्रभो । चक्रे वाष्पोऽर्चनं चास्मे वरान्द्रुद्रो ददौ ततः ॥९॥ चित्रकूटपतिस्त्वं  
स्यास्त्वद्वंश्यचरणाद्भु-
- 10 वं । मा गच्छ(च्छ)ताच्चित्रकूटः संततिः स्यादखंडिता ॥१०॥ प्राप्येत्यादिवरान्वाष्प एकस्मिन्  
शतके गते ॥(१) एकाग्रनव-
- 11 तिस्रष्टे<sup>2</sup> माघे पक्षेवलक्षके ॥११॥ सप्तमीदिवसे वाष्पः स पंचदशवत्सं(त्स)रः ।  
एकलिंगेशहारीतप्रसादाद्भाग्यवानभूत् ॥१२॥
- 12 नागहृदाख्ये नगरे विराजी नरेश्वरः खड्गधरेषु धन्यः । व(ब)लेन वेहेन च भोजनेन  
भीमो रणे भीमतमो
- 13 रिपूणां ॥१३॥ पंचाधिकत्रि(त्रिं)शदमंदहस्तप्रमाणयुक्पट्टपटं दधानः । व(ब)भौ निचोलं  
किल षोडशोद्यत्करप्र-
- 14 माणं विमलं वसानः ॥१४॥ श्री<sup>3</sup>एकलिंगेन मुदा प्रवत्तं हारीतनाम्ने मुनयेथ तेन ।  
वत्तं दधानः कटकं च हैमं पंचा-
- 15 शदुद्यत्पलमानमास्ते ॥१५॥ द्वात्रिंशदुद्यत्तमढब्बुकाद्यैः प्रस्थ(स्था)भिधैः शेरवरैः कृतस्य ।  
मणस्य चैकस्य
- 16 भरं हि चत्वारिंशन्मितैर्वि(र्वि)भ्रदांसि दधानं ॥१६॥ एकप्रहारान्महिषौ महासेर्दुर्गार्चनायां  
जवतो विनिघ्नन् । भुं-
- 17 जन्महाङ्गागचतुष्टयं स<sup>4</sup> अगस्त्यश[स्त्यः] प्रबभूव वाष्पः ॥१७॥ ततः स निर्जित्य नृपं  
तु मोरीजातीयभूपं
- 18 मनुराजसंज्ञं । गृहीतवांश्चित्तचित्तकूटं चक्रेत्र राज्यं नृपचक्रवर्ती ॥१८॥ राज्याति-  
पूर्णत्ववरत्वलक्ष्मीमय-

<sup>1</sup> Compare verses 20 and 21 of Canto I above.

<sup>2</sup> Read *svabdē*; *su* being prefixed to the word *abda*. *Su, sat, lasat, udyat, etc.*, will be found used as mere expletives very commonly in this poem.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> The correct *sandhi* would be *sō=’gastyā-*, but *sa Agastyā-* has been retained for the sake of the metre.

- 19 त्वशब्दादिमवर्णयुक्तां । तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो वाष्पाभिधानः स रराज राजा  
॥१६॥ ततः खुमानाभि-
- 20 धरावलोस्माद्गोविंदनामाथ महेंद्रनामा । आलूनूपोस्मादथ सिंहवर्मा तस्यात्मजः शक्तिकुमार-  
नामा ॥२०॥ जा-
- 21 तस्ततो रावलशालिवाहनस्तस्यात्मजोभून्नरवाहनस्ततः । अंबाप्रसादोस्य च कीर्त्तिवर्मकस्तत्पुत्र आ-  
22 सीन्नरवर्मनामकः ॥२१॥ ततो नृपालो नरपत्यभिर्यस्त्वथोत्तमोस्मात्पुत्रोस्मात् । श्रीपुंजरा-  
23 जोभवदस्य कर्णादित्यः सुतोस्यापि च भार्वासिंहः ॥२२॥ श्रीगा(गो)त्रसिंहोथ स हंसराजः  
सुतोस्य सूनुः शुभ-
- 24 योगराजः । स वैरडाख्योथ स वैरिसिंहस्ततोस्य वा रावलतेजसिंहः ॥२३॥ ततः  
समरसिंहाख्यः पृथ्वीराज-
- 25 स्य भूपते[\*] ॥(1) पृथाख्याया भगिन्यास्तु पतिरित्यतिहार्दतः ॥२४॥ गोरीसाहिबदीनेन  
गज्जनीशेन संगरं
- 26 । कुर्वतोऽखर्वगर्वस्य महासामंतशोभिनः ॥२५॥ दिल्लीश्वरस्य चोहाननाथस्यास्य सहायकृत् ।
- 27 सद्वादशसहस्रैः(स्रैः) स्ववीराणां सहितो रणे ॥२६॥ वध्वा(बद्धा) गोरीपति देवात्स्वर्यातः  
सूर्यबिम्बभित् ॥(1) भाषारासापुस्त-
- 28 केस्य युद्धस्योक्तोस्ति विस्तरः ॥२७॥ तस्यात्मजोभून्नूपकर्णरावलः प्रोक्तास्तु षड्विंशतिरावला  
इमे । कर्णात्मजो
- 29 माहपरावलोभवत्स डूंगराद्ये तु पुरे नूपो बभौ ॥२८॥ कर्णस्य जातस्तनयो द्वितीयः  
श्रीराहपः कर्णनृपालयोयः ।
- 30 वाक्येन वा शाकुनिकस्य गत्वा मंडोवरे मोकलसीं स जित्वा ॥२९॥ तातांतिके  
त्वानयति स्म व(ब)द्धं कर्णोस्य राणाविरु-
- 31 दं गृहीत्वा । मुमोच तं चारु ददौ तदीयं रानाभिधानं प्रियराहपाय ॥३०॥ भव्याशिषा  
त्रा(त्रा) ह्यणपल्लिवालज्ञातीयविद्व-
- 32 छ(च्छ)रशल्यनाम्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटे व(ब)ललब्धराज्यं चक्रे ततो राहप एष वीरः  
॥३१॥ ततो व(ब)भौ चित्रकूटे राहपा(पो) वाहपोप(ष)कः ।
- 33 पूर्वं सीसोदनगरे वासात्सीसोदिया स्मृतः ॥३२॥ रानाविरुदलाभेन रानेत्युक्तोखिलैर्व(बं)भौ ।  
वंशस्याग्रे भविष्यं-

<sup>1</sup> This word is spelt here both ways *rāṇā* and *rānā*.

- 34 ति रानाविरुदिनो नृपाः ॥३३॥ राजेंद्रराजीपूज्योयं नारायणपरायणः । विशेषणादिवर्णहृद्यां  
वीरो रानाभिधां दधे ।<sup>1</sup>
- 35 ॥३४॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वे (श्व) रकः कठोडिकुलजो  
लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्ततः
- 36 । तेलंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्त्रय इमे  
द्व(द्व)होशविष्णूपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्या-
- 37 सीन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गा(गो)स्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड एष कृतवान् राज-  
प्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्वयरा-
- 38 जसिंहसुगुणश्रीवर्णनाढ्यं महद्वीराकं समभूत्तृतीय इह सत्स्वर्गः सुसर्गः स्फुटं ॥३६॥ इति-  
श्रीतेलंगनातीयकठोडीक-
- 39 विपंडितोपनाममधुसूदनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते राजप्रशस्त्याह्वये मा(म)हाकाव्ये तृतीयः सर्गः ॥  
सं १७३२ वर्षे माघी १५ राजसमुद्रप्रतिष्ठा ॥\*॥

## Slab V ; Canto IV

[Metres : v. 1 *Mālinī* ; vv. 2-50 *Anuṣṭubh.*]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ कलितहलनिचोलो नीललोलोंतिकेसौ तररिति धृतवस्त्रा वेगता  
घत्र गोप्यः । विवधति जलकेर्ल
- 2 य(यं) च सिंचति सोस्मान्मुखयतु यमुनायास्तीर[व\*]र्ती तमालः ।१। तस्य पुत्रो नरपती  
रानास्य जसकर्णकः । तन्सु(त्सु)तो नागपा-
- 3 लोस्य पुण्यपालः सुतोस्य तु ।[१२॥\*] पृथ्वीमल्लः सुतस्तस्य पुत्रो भुवर्नासिहकः । तस्य  
पुत्रो भीर्मासिहो जयसिहोस्य तत्सु-
- 4 तः ।३। लक्ष्मसिहस्वे(स्त्रे)ष गढमंडलीकाभिधोस्य तु । कनिष्ठो रत्नसी भ्राता पश्चिनी  
तत्प्रियाभवत् ॥४॥ तत्कृतेल्लावदीनेन रुद्धे
- 5 श्रीचित्रकूटके । लक्ष्मसिहो द्वादशस्वभ्रातृभिः सप्तभिः सुतैः ।५। सहितः शस्त्रपु(पू)तोसी  
विषं यातोऽस्य चात्म-
- 6 जः । एक उर्वरितोऽजेसी राज्यं चक्रे ततोऽरसी ।[१६॥\*] ज्येष्ठः(ष्ठः) सुतः पितुः  
संगे यो हतो(तस्) तत्सुतो दधे । राज्यं हमीरो दानीद्रो मर्द-

<sup>1</sup> This *danda* is superfluous.

- 7 गंगाप्रदर्शकः ॥७॥ विदूरे त्विन्द्रसरसि श्रीमूर्तिं स्फटिकीं धृतां । ल प्राप्तां सुस्थसमय  
एकलिंगस्य तद्व्रधात् ॥८॥
- 8 मूर्तिं षतुर्मुखीमेतां श्यामां श्यामायुतां ततः । क्षेत्रसिंहस्ततो लाषा(खा) लक्षदो मोकल-  
स्ततः ॥९॥ भ्रातृरावतबाध-
- 9 स्याज्जपत्यस्य फलाप्तये ॥१०॥ बाधेलाख्यं तडागं तन्नाम्ना नागहृदेकरोत् ॥१०॥ त्रिद्वारं  
स्फटिकाभाश्मजुष्टं कैलाशवक्षुपः । प्रा-
- 10 कारमुत्तमाकारमेकलिंगप्रभोर्व्यधात् ॥११॥ कृत्वायं द्वारकायात्रां शंखोद्धारं गतस्ततः । सिद्ध  
एकोस्य पत्न्यास्तु गर्भे राज्याप्तयेदि-
- 11 शत् ॥१२॥ स कुंभकर्णोभूत्पुत्रो मोकलोस्यास्य मस्तकात् । खवति स्म जलं गांगं  
प्रसिद्धमिति निश्चयभूत् ॥१३॥ कुंभकर्णोथ भूपो-
- 12 भूद्गुर्गुंभलमेरुकृत् । स[षोड]शशतस्त्रीयकु(युग्) ।<sup>1</sup> रायमल्लोथ राज्यकृत् ॥१४॥ संग्रामसिंह-  
स्तत्पुत्रः स द्विलक्षमितैर्भटैः । युक्तो वा(वा)बर-
- 13 दिल्लीशदेशे फत्तेपुरावधि ॥१५॥<sup>1\*</sup> गत्वात्र पीलियाखालपर्यं(पर्यं)[तं\*] पर्यंकल्पयत् ।  
स्वदेशसीमानमयं रत्नसिंहोथ राज्यकृत् ॥१६॥ तद्भ्राता विक्रमा-
- 14 द्वित्यो<sup>2</sup> भूपोभूत्तस्या(स्य) सोदरः । राना<sup>3</sup> उदयसिंहोथ स दिव्योदं(द)यसागरं ॥१७॥  
तथोदयपुरं चक्रे तडागोत्सर्गकर्मणि [१] छीतूभट्टाय सो-
- 15 दर्यलक्ष्मीनाथयुताय च ॥१८॥ भूरवाडाग्राममदाद्व्रधाद्दानं तुलादिकं । चित्रकूटेथ योद्धास्य  
राठोडो जैमलो रणं ॥१९॥<sup>4\*</sup> पत्ता सीसो-
- 16 विद्या चक्रे दिल्लीशेन महायशाः । अकब्बरेण भट्टयुगवीर ईश्वरदासकः ॥२०॥ कुलकं ।  
प्रतापसिंहोथ नृपः कछ(च्छ)वाहेन मा-
- 17 निना । मानसिंहेन तस्यासीद्वैमनस्यं भुजेर्विधौ<sup>4</sup> ॥२१॥ अकब्बरप्रभोः पार्श्वे मानसिंहस्ततो  
गतः । गृहीत्वा तद्व(द्व)लं ग्रामे खं-
- 18 भनौरे समागतः ॥२२॥ तयोर्द्वमभूदो(द्वो)रं लोहकोष्ठगतस्य सः । मानसिंहस्य कुंभीद्वकुंभे  
शुभपराक्रमः ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठः
- 19 प्रतापसिंहस्य<sup>3</sup> अमरेशाभिधः सुतः । कुंतं शकुंतवेगोयं मुमोचारुणलोचनः ॥२४॥ राणा-  
प्रतापसिंहोथ मानसिंहस्य

<sup>1</sup> This *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The syllable *tyō* is engraved below the line.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhuji* has apparently been used here in the sense of food.

- 20 हस्तिनः । कुंभे कुंतं मुमोक्षाशु पश्चाद्दंती पलायितः ॥२५॥ समयत्र प्रतापेशं शक्तसिंहोस्य सोदरः । मानसिंहस्य सं-
- 21 गस्थे(स्थो) दृष्ट्वैवं स्नेहतोवदत् ॥२६॥ नीलाश्वस्याश्ववार त्वं पश्चात्पश्य प्रभो ततः । प्रतापसिंहो ददृशेस्व(श्व)मेकमथ निर्ययौ
- 22 ॥२७॥ ततो द्वौ मुगलौ वीरौ मानसिंहेन वेगतः ॥(१) प्रेषितौ शक्तसिंहोपि गृहीत्याज्ञां महाव(ब)लः ॥२८॥ मानसिंहस्य सु-
- 23 गलौ प्रतापेद्रेण संगरं । चक्रतुः श्रीप्रतापेन शक्तसिंहेन तौ ततः ॥२९॥ निहृती हितकारीति शक्त[सिंहः] सहोदरः ।
- 24 राणेनोक्तं शक्तसिंहवंशा(श्या)स्तद्राणवल्लभः ॥३०॥ अकब्बर इहायातस्ततश्चक्रं स संगरं । प्रतापसि(सि)हं व(ब)लिनं मत्वा शे-
- 25 खूसुनामकं ॥३१॥ संस्थाप्यात्र सुतं ज्येष्ठमागरां प्रति निर्ययौ । अमरेशः खानखाना- वाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ॥३२॥
- 26 सुवासिनीवत्संतोष्य प्रेषयामास ताः पुनः । खानखानस्याद्भुतं तज्जातं शेखूमनस्यपि ॥३३॥ ततः शेखूजहांगीरना-
- 27 मा दिल्लीश्वरोभवत् । पुनरत्रागतो युद्धं कृत्वा खुरंमनामकं ॥[३४॥\*] संस्थाप्यात्त(त्र) सुतं स्वीयं रुद्धं कृत्वा प्रतापिनं । प्रतापसि-
- 28 हं चतुरा(र)शीतिसैन्यैर्वृतं गतः ॥[१\*] ३५॥[१\*] दिल्लीपति<sup>१</sup>(दिल्लीपति) प्रतापेशो घट्टे वेदेरनामके । सुलतानं सेरिमाख्यं चकताख्यं(ख्य)गजस्थितं ॥[१\*] ३६॥[१\*]
- 29 दिल्लीशस्य पितृव्यं तं वीक्ष्याभूत्संमुखस्ततः । सोलंकिभृत्यश्चिच्छे(च्छे)द गजांही पडिहारकः ॥[१\*] ३७॥[१\*] प्रता[प\*]सिंहो राणेंद्रो
- 30 रणे रावणविक्रमः । शकुंतवेगः कुंतेन कुंभि(भि)कुलं(भं) बभंज सः ॥३८॥ पपात् कुंभी तुरगमाहरोहाथ सेरिमः । अमरेशः स्वकुंतेन
- 31 न्यहनत्सेरिमाभिधं ॥३९॥ स कुंतः सशिरस्त्राणवर्मादिवं तमखंडयत् । अमरेशकराकृष्टः स कुंतो न विनिःसु-
- 32 तः ॥४०॥ ततः प्रतापेद्राज्ञातो दत्त्वा(त्वा) लतां पदेन सः । कुंतं चकर्षामर्षेण कुंताप्या हर्षमादधे ॥४१॥ दर्शनीयः स येनाहं

<sup>१</sup> The word *pati* appears below the line.

- 33 निहतः सेरिमावतान्त् ॥ अतापसिंहं (सिंह) स्तच्छु (च्छु) स्वाऽऽरे (स्वा रे) द्यत्कं विदुद्धं ॥४२॥  
सदं तं वीक्ष्य तेनो[क्तं] नायं प्रेष्यः स एव तु ॥ राजे-
- 34 वं (व): प्रेष्यावसत्<sup>२</sup> अमरेणं रणोत्कटं ॥४३॥ तं दृष्ट्वा सेरिमावत्<sup>३</sup> लोयनस्ति मये-  
क्षितः ॥ युद्धकाले नभोभूमिव्यापिशीर्षहारीरवा-
- 35 न् ॥४४॥ देवो (वा) नेत (न) हतोहं हि यास्ये स्थानं शुभं ततः ॥ कोत्तीथलाद्धेदु  
वत् (तु) रशीतिप्रमिता गताः ॥४५॥\* स्थानपालाः प्रतापेद्रो महोदयपुरे-
- 36 वसत् ॥ (१) वानं वदौ कोपि शतः प्राप्योष्णीषादिकं धनं ॥४६॥ प्रतापसिंहादिल्लीकं  
द्रष्टुं यातस्तदंतिके ॥ यदा प्राप्तू (न्त) स्तदा व (व) दं तदुष्णी-
- 37 वं करेदधत् ॥४७॥ गत्वा सलानं कृतवान्दिल्लीकेन तदेरितं ॥ किञ्चिदं सोवद्व्राणाप्रतापो-  
ष्णीषवित्यतः ॥४८॥ न धृतं मू-
- 38 द्विर्न दिल्लीकस्तुतोष क्षापिताशयः ॥ तदा तमस्ते जगति सर्वेहिंदूतुरष्ककैः ॥४९॥ अनघः  
श्रीप्रतापेद्रो वीर इत्युक्त-
- 39 [मौ] धिती ॥ इति राजा प्रतापस्य प्रतापः कथितो मया ॥५०॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याह्वये  
महाकाव्ये वीरांके अतुर्थः सर्गः ॥

## Slab VI ; Canto V

[Metres : vv. 1-32, 34-50 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 33 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 51, 52 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः ॥ राना<sup>२</sup> अमरसिंहाख्योऽकरोद्राज्य (ज्यं) त<sup>१</sup>ततः पुरा ॥ मानसिंहस्य  
संग्रामे खानखानावधूहता ॥१॥
- 2 सेरिमासुलतानस्य दधे प्रोक्तोस्य विक्रमः ॥ जहाँगीरस्यापि तेन खुरंमेणाथ युद्धकृत् ॥२॥  
अबदुल्लहखानेन व-
- 3 क्रश्चक्रे रणं ततः ॥ चतुर्विंशतिसंख्यैस्तै रुद्धः स्थानेश्वरैरलं ॥३॥ दिल्लीपतेर्भृत्यवरं जघ्ने  
कायमखानकं ॥ ऊंटायां मा-
- 4 लपुरभंग (गं) चक्रेत् वंडकृत् ॥४॥ पुत्रोस्य कर्णसिंहाख्यः सिरोजं मालवाभुवं ॥ धंधे<sup>४</sup>राक्षसां  
व (व) भंजात्र दंडं चक्रेतिलुट-
- 5 नं ॥५॥ ततो जहाँगीराज्ञातः खुरंमो मिलनं<sup>५</sup> व्यधात् ॥ गोधूंदायां समायातः<sup>२</sup>  
अमर (रे) शो निजस्थलात् ॥६॥ महोदयपुरात्तत्र खु-

<sup>१</sup> This *ta* is redundant.

<sup>२</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>३</sup> The name *Sārimā*, being of foreign origin, is used here *avibhaktika*.

<sup>४</sup> There is a scored-out *ē*-stroke over *ma*.

<sup>५</sup> The correct form is *mēlana*.

- 6 रंमोपि समागतः । इलाध्यरीत्या सावरं तौ सस्नेहौ मिलितौ ततः ॥७॥ राना<sup>1</sup>  
अमरसिंहेंद्रो महोदयपुरेऽवसत् । महादा-
- 7 नानि विदधे चक्रे राज्यं सुखान्वितं ॥८॥ लक्ष्मीनाथाख्यभट्टाय गुरवे मंत्रदायिने । राना<sup>1</sup>  
अमरसिंहेंद्रो होलीग्रामं ददौ मु-
- 8 दा ॥९॥ अथ राना कर्णसं(सि)हृदचक्रे राज्यं पुराकरोत् । सत्कौमारपदे गंगातीरे  
रूप्यतुलां ददौ ॥१०॥ शूकरक्षेत्रविप्रेभ्यो
- 9 ग्रामं पूर्वं तु वि[द्ध]रे । धंधेरामालवादेशसिरोजपुरभंगकृत् ॥११॥ अखेराजं सिरोहीशं  
चक्रे शत्रुजितं व(ब)लात् । पद्मलक्ष्मं(क्षमां)-
- 10 ह्लिकम<sup>2</sup>लः कर्णदानपराक्रमः । [१२॥\*] दिल्लीश्वराज्जहाँगीरात्तस्य खुरंमनामकं । पुत्रं  
विमुखतः प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजक्षितौ ॥१३॥ ज-
- 11 हाँगीरे विवं याते संगे भ्रातरमर्जुनं । दत्त्वा(त्वा) दिल्लीश्वरं चक्रे सोभूत्साहि-  
जंहाभिधः ॥१४॥ युग्मं [११\*] शते षोडशकेतीते चतुःषष्ट्यभि-
- 12 धेब्दके । भाद्रशुक्लद्व(द्वि)ती[या\*]यां कर्णसिंहनृपादभूत् ॥१५॥ जगत्सिंहो महेचाख्य ।<sup>3</sup>  
राठोडजसवंतजा । श्रीमज्जांबुवती तस्याः कु-
- 13 क्षेर्जतो व(ब)ली महान् ॥१६॥ शते षोडशकेतीते पंचाश(शी)त्यभिधेब्दके । राध-  
शुक्लतृतीयायां राज्यं प्राप जगत्पतिः ॥१७॥ जगत्सिं-
- 14 हाज्ञया मंत्री<sup>1</sup> अखेराजो व(ब)लान्वितः ॥(१) स डूंगरपुरं प्राप्तः पुंजानामाथ रावलः  
॥१८॥ पलायितः पातितं तच्चंदनस्य गवाक्ष-
- 15 कं । लुटनं डूंगरपुरे कृतं लोकरलं ततः ॥१९॥ जगत्सिंहाज्ञया यातो राठोडो  
रामसिंहकः । प्रति देवलियां सेनायुक्तो रावलमु-
- 16 डूटं ॥२०॥ जसवंतं मानसिंहपुत्रयुक्तं जघान सः । पुर्यां देवलियायां च लुटनं रचितं  
ज[नै]ः ॥२१॥ शते षोडशकेतीते षडशीत्य-
- 17 भिधेब्दके । ऊर्जकृष्णद्वितीयायां<sup>4</sup> जगत्सिंहमहीपतेः ॥२२॥ पुत्रः श्रीराजसिंहोभूद्वं(द्व)षांते<sup>1</sup>  
अरसी तथा । मेडताधिपराठोडराजसिंह-
- 18 महीभूतः ॥२३॥ पुत्री जनादेनाम्नी तत्कुक्षिजाताविमौ सुतः । अभून्मोहनदासाख्योऽ-  
पार(परि)णीताप्रिं(प्रि)याभवः ॥२४॥ अखेराजं

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> This *ma* is incised above the line.

<sup>3</sup> This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> The *anusvāra* of *yām* appears over the following letter.



## No. 4—SADASIVAGAD PLATES OF KADAMBA VIJAYADITYA ; SAKA 1102

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates<sup>1</sup> was secured by me for study in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karṇāṭak parts in February 1952. It was in the possession of Mr. H. V. Naik, Clerk of the Court, Civil Judge's Court, Karwar. Mr. Naik's family headquarters are at Sadāsivagad, about four miles from Karwar, and these plates were lying there as an heirloom. Details as to how and when this family came to possess them are not known. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The writing is found on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The rims are raised to protect the inscription which is, however, worn out in many places. The plates measure 8" in length, 6" in breadth and 1/8th inch in thickness. The ring which is 2" in diameter passes through a circular hole, 5/8th inch in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick circular seal having a rim. The seal, which is 2½" in diameter, contains on the sunken surface the figures of a rampant lion with upturned tail and a dagger in front of it. At the top around are the figures of a *svastika* and the sun, followed by the legend *Śrī-Vishnu-dāsaḥ* in Nāgarī characters, and then the crescent. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 *tolas* and the whole set weighs 380 *tolas*.

The characters are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, being normal for the period. The letter *ōm* at the commencement is written like *tum*. Medial *ā* is generally denoted by a side *mātrā*. Exceptions to this are the letters *vā* in line 1 and *mā* in line 44, where a slanting stroke is placed at the top of *va* and *ma* to denote the length. In regard to orthography, the consonant following a *rēpha*, as a rule, is not doubled. We do, however, note a few instances of doubling also, e. g., *mūrttēḥ* in line 4, *Vijayārka-* in line 31 and *suvarṇ-* in line 35. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse, except in lines 39-46 describing the particulars of the gift. The composition is defective in some places.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Śiva. After narrating the origin of the Kadamba family, in the usual manner, from the mythical hero Trilochana Kadamba who was born from the sweat of Śiva, it gives a succinct genealogical account of the Kadambas of Goa. The account stops with Śivachitta Permāḍi and his younger brother Vijayārka or Vijayāditya II, the sons of Jayakēśin II from the Chālukya princess Mailala Mahādēvi. The inscription represents Vijayāditya as the ruling monarch. Its object is to record a gift of land by the king to the goddess Āryā Bhagavati. Though not explicitly stated, it appears from the description of his family and the context that the beneficiary of the gift was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, named Gōvinda, who was well-versed in the science of astronomy. The donee's family is described for four generations. The gift property was situated within the boundaries of the village Aruvige included in the tract of Marruvattugadalu.

The record bears the date which is expressed in words thus : **Śaka 1102, Vikārin, Kārttika śu. 12, Sunday.** The Śaka year was current and the date regularly corresponds to **Sunday, October 14, 1179 A. C.**

<sup>1</sup> No. 2 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1951-52.

The importance of the epigraph lies in its being unique. Inscriptions mentioning the joint rule of the two brothers, Śivachitta Permāḍi and Vijayāditya II, and also those that refer to the rule of the former only who was the elder of the two, have been discovered. But no inscription referring to Vijayāditya as an independent ruler, has come to light so far. No doubt the second part of the Halsi inscription contains a reference to the regnal year possibly of Vijayāditya; but it is clear from the earlier portion that his brother Permāḍi was ruling at the time.<sup>1</sup> Hence the present happens to be the first and the only inscription so far discovered, attributing independent rule to Vijayāditya, dissociated from his brother. The reason for this appears to be that Permāḍi was no longer living by this time.<sup>2</sup> According to the Halsi inscription, Vijayāditya was a devotee of the god Vishṇu and bore the epithet *Vishṇuchitta*. But it is revealed from the seal of the present plates that he preferred to describe himself as *Vishṇudāsa*, i. e., 'an humble servant of Lord Vishṇu.'

The inscription contains two place-names. One is the region called Marruvattugadalu or Maruvattugadalu, and the other the village Aruvige situated therein. It is interesting to note that Maruvattugadalu is a purely Kannada expression made up of the words *maru*, *paṭṭu* or *matṭu* and *kaḍalu*. It means 'the coastal region adjoining the sea.' I am, however, unable to identify this tract. Aruvige appears to be identical with the present day Arage, a village about 4 miles to the south-east of Karwar, on the road to Ankola. The village Arage contains a shrine dedicated to a female deity named Durgā. This deity probably represents the goddess Āryā Bhagavatī of the epigraph.

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

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv: 3, 7 *Upajāti*; vv. 4, 8, 9, 14-18 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 11 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 12 *Vasantatilakā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 ॐ नम[ : ] शिवाय [ 1 \* ] लक्ष्मीभर्तुरगण्यपुण्यवपुष[ : ] क्रीडावरा-
- 2 हाकृतेदंष्ट्राग्रं शतचंद्रदी[धितिमयं] — — ∪ — [त्राय]-
- 3 तां<sup>4</sup> [ 1 \* ] यत्राना[वि]लशा(शी)लशैलज[ल] — — — ∪ — — ∪ —
- 4 क्षीरांभोनिधिशायिनो मुररिपोर्मूर्त्तैः पुपोष [ श्रियं ] [ 11 १ \* ] पा-
- 5 याच्चंद्रशिखामणिर्जगदिदं य — ∪ — — ∪ — —
- 6 ओन्नम्रफणी[द्र]सुंदरफणप्रोल्लासिर[त्ता]व[लीं ]]
- 7 आगच्छत्सुरसिंधुमंगलविधौ नीराजनाविर्भव[त्प्रौ]-
- 8 ढाहंकृतिदीपराजिविकसल्लक्ष्मीं दधात्युच्चकैः [ 12 \* ] पुरा पुराणां विजये

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, pp. 279-80; compare George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Kadamba Kula*, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>4</sup> In this and a few more instances that follow, the final *m* is changed to *anusvāra*.

36	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	36
38	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	38
40	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	40
42	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	42
44	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	44
46	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	46
48	शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥ शुभः प्रकृतं तस्य उजातानां नमः ॥	48

SEAL



From a Photograph

SADASIVAGAD PLATES OF KADAMBA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 1102

i.

2  
4  
6  
8  
10

2  
4  
6  
8  
10

युक्तिसिद्धयन्तु...  
 2 यत्काले...  
 4 श्रीयथावापिन...  
 6 यावद्विष्णु...  
 8 गङ्गासु...  
 10 निष्ठावयितु...

ii, a.

12  
14  
16  
18  
20  
22

12  
14  
16  
18  
20  
22

विनावतकर...  
 12 इववर्गविल...  
 14 यत्तुव्योनि...  
 16 ज्ञानेन...  
 18 लोषु...  
 20 त्रियकी...  
 22 एकसिद्धी...

ii, b.

24  
26  
28  
30  
32  
34

24  
26  
28  
30  
32  
34

विभासु...  
 24 उरुगवा...  
 26 वाकृ...  
 28 नय...  
 30 पनीतो...  
 32 मोनिमा...  
 34 कोरना...

9 पुरारे[\*] स्वदोदविं(विं)दु[च्छ]लतो ललाटे [।\*] अविर्व(र्व)भूवे गुणमं-  
[ द्रनीतिः सुखामृ ]-

10 तैः प्लावयितुं जगंति ।। ३\* ] ताः कदंब(ब)तलं प्राप्ता लोकोत्तुंगत्रिलोचनं ।

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 11 त्रिलोचनकदंबा(बा)ख्यं चतुर्भुजमजीजनत् ।। ४\* ] त[त्संता]नक-  
12 दंब(ब)वंशविलसत्क्षीरांबु(बु)धौ [स्थे]यसि प्राकारे शरणागत[क्षितिभुजां]  
13 लीलावनौ श्रीपतेः । लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतने कुवलय[प्रोल्लास] — — ∪  
14 यत्भू(द्भू)भृन्मौलिविराजिपादयुगल[\*] श्रीषष्ठदेवोजनि ।। ५\* ] एतस्माज्जयकेसि-  
15 भूप[ति]रभूदश्रांतविश्राणनः क्षोणीरक्षणदक्षिण[स्त्रिजग ]-  
16 तामानंदनिष्यंदनः । यत्पाथोनिधितीररोपितजय[स्तं]भ-  
17 प्रलंभां झगित्यंभःकुंभिघटाः(टा) धृषंति ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪  
18 लोः ।। ६\* ] परस्परं संगररंगचुंचू चालुक्यचोलाधिप[ ती ] ∪ — — [। ]  
19 निःशंकमके विरचय्य मित्रे लेभे यशो — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —  
20 ख्यां ।। ७\* ] ततः समजनि श्रीमान्विजयादित्यभूप[ तिः । ] . . . . .  
21 ति यत्कीर्तिकल्पवल्याः पयोधयः ।। ८\* ] ततो जगज्जयी ज[ज्ञे ज ]-  
22 यकेसिमहीपतिः । केनायंते [ तरां ] . . . . .

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 23 धौ । [। ९\* ] चालुक्यान्वयमौलिमौक्तिकमणिं सौजन्य — — ∪ — — —  
24 [ तुं ] जगतां श्रियः कुलगृहं पेर्माडिभूपः सुतां । [ यस्मै ] — ∪ ∪ —  
25 म मैललमहादेवीं जगन्मंगलां दासीकुंजरकोश[ देशसहितां ] द-  
26 त्वा(त्त्वा) कृतार्थोभवत् ।। १०\* ] तस्मादस्यामजनि विजयी वीर[पेर्माडिदे]-  
27 वो गौरीभर्तृप्रणयसदनं त्यागसिंहासनश्रीः । — — — — ∪ ∪  
28 भटमहादुर्गवर्गः कलीनां जन्मस्थानं विशदयशसां — ∪ — —  
29 पतीनां ।। ११\* ] तस्यानुजः सकलमंगलजन्मभूमिः श्रीसंपदां प-  
30 दमुदारगुणाभिरामः । त्रासावमं(न)अशिरसां(सा)वनिपाल-  
31 मौलिमाणिक्यरंजितपदो विजयावर्कदेवः ।। १२\* ] यस्मि [न्नैरु(र्क)त]-  
32 चक्रवर्त्तिनृपतौ क्षोणीभृतामाश्रये वीरश्रीनिजधामनि त्रिज-  
33 गतीभाग्याभिरामोदये । लक्षार्धाधिकदानकेलिरतये लो-

<sup>1</sup> This reading is restored conjecturally.

34 कोत्तरात्युन्नतौ लज्जन्ते फलभारनम्रशिरसः प्रायो [निलिपद्रु]-

35 माः ।। १३\* ] यद्वितीर्णसुवर्णोर्भार[र] . . . . .

*Third Plate*

36 प्रायः प्रस्थानमनुजा [न] ते ।। १४\* ] समस्तगुणसंपन्नः केशवाख्यो

37 द्विजोत्तमः । भारद्वाजः सुतस्तस्य गोविंदो भूवि विश्रुतः ।। १५\* ] कपर्दिनामा

38 तत्सूनुस्तत्पुत्रो द्विजपुंगवः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदां श्रेष्ठो गोविंदः सद्गुणा-

39 श्रयः ।। १६\* ] श्रीमदार्याभगवयै (त्यै) मरुवट्टुगडलुमध्यारुविगे ग्राम(मा)दारा-  
[दरुवि]-

40 गेवत(चतु)[ः\*]सीमांतर्गतं वेंकरेक्षेत्रं विशुद्धसीमासमन्वितनिधिनि[क्षेप]-

41 जलवृक्षादिसहितं राजकीयां(या)नंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं सर्वनमस्यं . . . . .

42 [ञ्च कृत्वा] शकादिवर्षाणां सहस्रे शते च पूर्णे द्वितीये विकारिसंवत्सरे

43 कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादश्यां रविवा[रे] सोयं सकलगुणालंकृतो वि[जया]-

44 दित्यदेवस्तस्मै शासनं दत्तवान् [।\*] त[त्\*]क्षेत्रसीमा<sup>1</sup> [वापयादार] . . . . .

45 यकोणकं तरन्नोतः दक्षिणदिशि नैरुत्येव कोणे पश्चिमदिशि . . . . .

46 षाणः वायव्यामिक्षुतडागः ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । य-

47 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।। १७\* ] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

48 त वसुंधरां । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ।। १८\* ] . . . [र्यं]-

49 शिष्योप[ज्ञ]जंगमसरस्वतिः शासनं रचयित्वैवं ति [ष्ठ] . . . . .<sup>2</sup>

**No. 5—TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR**

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In May 1949, I received for examination from Mr. K. C. Pāṇigrāhī, Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two sets of copper plates belonging to the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. I prepared transcripts of the inscriptions from the original plates which were in the usual course returned to Mr. Pāṇigrāhī. It was understood that he would contribute a paper on the above inscriptions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In December 1950, I met Mr. Pāṇigrāhī at Nagpur where

<sup>1</sup> The language of this passage is faulty.

<sup>2</sup> The record is complete except for the last few *aksharas* which are indistinct. In this line there is reference to the person who drafted the document. The name of the poet, who bore the epithet *jaṅgama-sarasvatī*, cannot be deciphered fully.

we assembled in connection with the thirteenth session of the Indian History Congress. He then informed me that it was not possible for him, owing to his pre-occupations, to take up the editing of the inscriptions. He requested me to publish them. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness shown to me in this connection.

The plates are now the property of the H.E. School at Bānpur which is a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the south-western part of the Puri District of Orissa. Mr. Pānigrāhī received them on a temporary loan for examination from the Headmaster of the Bānpur H. E. School. Nothing is known as to the circumstances that brought the plates into the possession of the above institution.

#### A. Grant of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja

This inscription was published by Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru with plates in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, part i, pp. 59 ff. But his treatment of the subject is rather perfunctory.

The set consists of **three plates** each measuring 6·6 inches by 3·9 inches. The plates are held together by a ring to which the seal is soldered. The ring was found cut open when the set reached me. The seal contains, in counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a couchant bull, facing proper right, and the legend *śrī-Madhyamarājadēvaḥ* below it. The first and third plates are engraved only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. The first plate is damaged at the top right corner, and a few lines of writing are partly obliterated. The plates weigh 64 *tolas*, while the ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*.

The inscription is an incomplete charter of the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja who seems to have flourished about the second half of the seventh century A.C. (circa 665-95 A.C.).<sup>1</sup> The writing on the reverse of the second plate ends with a verse describing the achievements of king Madhyamarāja. There is only half a line of writing on the obverse of the third plate, which was meant for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala, to whom the royal order regarding the grant was intended to be addressed. These letters should have properly been preceded by a prose passage mentioning the king, desirous of making a grant, as *kuśālī*. It is possible to think that this mistake committed by the engraver was the reason why the set was abandoned, at least for the time being. It is well known that plates were often kept ready in the record offices of ancient Indian rulers with the introductory portion of the grant inscribed and a blank for the necessary grant portion to be incised later as occasions arose.<sup>2</sup>

In respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Parikud plates<sup>3</sup> (issued in the 26th year of the king's reign), the only other record of Śailōdbhava Madhyamarāja so far known, and hardly anything calls for special mention. With the exception of the incomplete prose passage at the end, just referred to, the *siddham* symbol, the word *svasti* and the reference to the place of issue, the entire record is written in verse. There are altogether twenty verses, no less than eighteen of which are already known from the Parikud plates. The remaining two verses are also not new as they, like many others of both

<sup>1</sup> The 13th regnal year of his father, who ruled at least up to his 50th year, fell sometime after 619 A.C. He himself ruled at least up to his 26th regnal year. See below.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Kēdārpur plate of Śrīchandra, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92; Chittagong plate of Kāntidēva, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff., etc.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284-7. The date given in words in line 45 must have been given in figures in line 54. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing in this part of the plate is unsatisfactory and the figures cannot be deciphered from the published facsimile.

the Parikud and the present charter, have been quoted from the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa, father of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. The earliest inscription of the Śailōdbhava family is the Ganjam plates<sup>1</sup> issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II (circa 610-65 A.C.) in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.C.) when he was a feudatory of the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. The other charters of this Śailōdbhava king, so far discovered, were issued without any reference to his overlord apparently after the defeat of the Gauḍa king, either Śaśāṅka himself or his successor, by king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, allied with king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, sometime before 638 A.C.<sup>2</sup> Of the charters issued by the Śailōdbhava king during this period of his independent rule, the Khurda plates,<sup>3</sup> the introduction of which is couched in prose as in the Ganjam plates, appear to be the earliest. The Khurda plates as well as the Buguda plates,<sup>4</sup> the latter having an introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II, are not dated. Most of these verses are quoted not only in the later dated charters of the same king (the Puri plates<sup>5</sup>—regnal year 13, doubtfully read as 23 by Basak—and the Cuttack Museum plates<sup>6</sup>—regnal year 50), but also in all later records of the family. Later Śailōdbhava kings developed the habit of quoting the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessors and of adding a few stanzas composed about themselves by their own court poets. This custom can also be traced in many other royal families of ancient India, such as the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa and the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

It will be seen from what has been said above that all the twenty verses quoted in the inscription under discussion are already known from the published records of the Śailōdbhavas. Nevertheless, the present inscription is of considerable importance, as it helps us in correcting the faulty text of the Parikud plates.

The first verse, which is found at the beginning of the later charters of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II as well as of all the grants of his successors, is an adoration to Śambhu (Śiva). Verse 2, which is the same as the second verse of the Parikud plates, introduces a king named Mādhavēndra. Thereafter we have the history of the Śailōdbhava family from the very beginning. This style of the introduction, which is found also in the Aihole inscription,<sup>7</sup> would suggest that this Mādhavēndra (i.e., Mādhavarāja or Mādhavarman) was another name of the reigning monarch, Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It should, however, be pointed out that the same verse is also found in the Buguda plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II as well as in the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta who was the grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II and the son of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It therefore seems that all the above three Śailōdbhava kings bore *Mādhavarman* as a secondary name. Or better the verse in question referring to Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II is out of place and carelessly quoted in the records of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhya-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>2</sup> About 643 A.C. Harshavardhana led an expedition against Kōṅḍa in Orissa probably on behalf of the Gauḍa king whom he then considered his subordinate ally. Śaśāṅka's death and the discomfiture of the Gauḍa king took place sometime before 638 A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang travelled in East India. See *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 77 ff. Harsha's victory over the Gauḍa king seems also to have preceded his encounter with Pulakēśin II, which took place, according to the Aihole inscription, sometime before 634 A.C.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 284 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127-9.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 151-3.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. This *prasasti* begins with an adoration to Jinēndra, then introduces the reigning monarch Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II), and finally begins the history of the Chālukya family from its earliest illustrious member.



marāja and his son Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.<sup>1</sup> Verse 3, omitted in the Parikud plates but found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, introduces Mount Mahēndra which is intimately associated in literature with the Kalinga country. Verses 4-5 mentioning Pulindasēna as famous among the people of Kalinga and as a devotee of Lord Svayambhū (Śiva) and the following five verses (verses 6-10) speaking of the eponymous Śailōdbhava, his *kulaja* or descendant Aranabhīta, his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman I), his descendant (possibly an adopted son<sup>2</sup>) Ayaśōbhīta, and his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavavarman II), are found in most of the later records of the family. Verse 11, which is omitted in the Parikud plates but is found in the versified introduction of the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II, refers to the achievements of king Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II. Verse 12 speaks of the same king as Śrīnivāsa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Aśvamedha. The horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated by the Śailōdbhava king, before the issue of the Puri plates of his thirteenth regnal year, to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauḍa yoke. Verses 13-20 describe the reigning monarch Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja and are all of them found in the Parikud plates and some of them also in the later records of the family. The text of the verses common only to the present charter and the Parikud plates is corrupt in both the records, although the text offered by the record under discussion is better and has helped in restoring the reading intended by the author. Verse 15 describes the king as a royal ascetic. The next verse (verse 16) compares him with the god Śambhu and says that he had discourses with departed saints coming from heaven at his call. Verse 17 says that the king, who was as fair as the moon owing to his fame pervading the earth,<sup>3</sup> performed amazing tricks of archery. Verse 18 says how the jewel of Kōṅgōda (i.e., the king) became an equal of the son of Pṛithā (i.e., Arjuna) by piercing, from a distance, at a time four boards, each covered with two shields, with arrows discharged from two bows simultaneously by his two hands. Verse 19 describes how the king could run with two stout persons on his shoulders in emulation of the monkey hero Hanumat, famous in the story of the *Rāmāyana*.

Of the names of geographical interest, the inscription mentions Mount Mahēndra, Kalinga, Kōṅgōda and Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala. The Mahēndra is no doubt represented by the present Mahēndragiri peak in the Srikakulam District. Kalinga, in a narrow sense, was the country around it. Kōṅgōda was the name of both the kingdom and the capital of the Śailōdbhavas. It was apparently regarded as a part of the Kalinga country. The city of Kōṅgōda stood on the river Sālimā which is the modern Sāliyā running past Bāṅpur, the findspot of our record. The heart of the Kōṅgōda country, i.e., the dominions of the Śailōdbhavas, thus lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa.

<sup>1</sup> The mention of Mādhavēndra in the Parikud and Nivīnā plates was not explained by the scholars who edited those inscriptions. Pandit Rājaguru is apparently unaware of the fact that the verse in question is found in the records of three successive rulers of the Śailōdbhava family and not only in the charter under discussion.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Sātvāhanas*, pp. 400-1; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83. Note also that the epic hero Nala, son of Virasēna, is described in the *Naishadhīya*, V, 124, as *Virasēna-kula-dīpa*. There is, however, difference of opinion among scholars as to the genealogy of the Śailōdbhavas. For the son represented as a descendant of the father, see also the *Rājatarangīnī* VIII, 1083 (Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 512), the Assam plates of Vallabhadōva, line 16 (above, Vol. V, p. 184), etc.

<sup>3</sup> I do not agree with Pandit Rājaguru who thinks that *śaśāṅka-dhavalā*, used in the description of king Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja, has to be regarded as one of his names. He further thinks that Mādhava issued his Ganjam grant in the Gupta year 300 (619-20 A.C.) when he was holding the office of *Mahāsāmanta* under his father Śaśāṅka *alias* Madhyamarāja. The suggestion is, however, against known facts of history and without any evidence in support of it.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :—verses 1, 3, 5, 14, 15, 17-19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 12, 13, 16 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 6 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā*.]

*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> Svasti [||\*] vijaya-Kōṅgōda-vāsakāt [||\*] Indōr-ddhauta-mṛiṇāla-ta[n\*]tubhir=iva
- 2 śliṣṭāḥ karai[h\*] kōmalai |<sup>3</sup> r=vva(r=ba)ddh-āhēr=aruṇai[h\*] sphurat-phana(ṇi)-maṇēr=ddigdha-  
[h](gdha)-prabhāsō=ṅsu(sō=m̄su)bhiḥ [||\*]
- 3 Pārsvatyā[h\*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h\*]-pluti-  
bhinna-bhasma-ka[n]jikā[h\*] Śambhō-
- 4 ja(r=ja)tā[h\*] pāttu(ntu) vaḥ || [1\*] Śrīmān=uchchair=nnabhastō gurur=amara-<sup>4</sup>patē[h\*] kshōbha-  
jīd=ya[h\*] ksha[māyā] gambhī-
- 5 ras=tōyarāsēr=atha divasakarād=bhāsvad=ālōka-kār[ī] || hlādī sarvvasya ch=ēndōs=tri-bhuvana-  
bha-
- 6 vana-pē(prē)rakaś=ch=āpi vāyō |<sup>5</sup> rājā ssa(sa) sthāṇu-mūrttija(r=ja)yat[i] kali-mala-kshālanō  
Mādhavēndra[h || 2\*]
- 7 Prāchy-āmbhōnidhi<sup>6</sup>-rucha(ddha)-sāndra(nu)r=atula[h\*] pushpa<sup>6</sup> -drum-ālī-rvṛi(vṛi)taḥ syandaṁ=  
ni(ndan=ni)rjhara-vāri-
- 8 dārīta-darī-phēna<sup>7</sup>-skhalan-[n]is[v]ana[h ||] svāna-ttrasta-patattri-valgu-virutair=āpū-
- 9 rit-āntar-guṇ(gu)haḥ śrīmā[n\*]=Mēru[r]=i[v=ōdgataḥ ku]la-giriḥ khyātō Mahēndra[h\*]  
kshitauḥ(tau) || [3\*]
- 10 Prāṅsu(Prām̄su)r=mah-ōbha-kara-pīvara-chchā(chā)ru-vā(bā)hu[h\*] kṛiṣṇ-āśma-saṁchaya-  
vibhēda-viśāla-vakshāḥ [||\*]
- 11 ā(rā)jīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khyātāḥ Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēna[h || 4\*]
- 12 Tēn=ēttham̄ guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ēshtam̄ bhuvō maṇḍalam̄ |<sup>8</sup> śaktō ya[h\*]  
paripālanāya jaga-
- 13 taḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti | pratyādishta-vibh-u(bh-ū)tsavēna bhagavām(vā)n=ārūdhita[h\*]  
śāsvatas=tach-chitt-ā-
- 14 ṇu(nu)guṇa[m\*] vidhissu(tsu)r=adiśad=vāñchhām̄ svayambhō(mbhū)r=apiḥ(pi || 5) Sa śilā-sa-  
(śa)kal-ōdbhēdī tēn=āpy=ā-
- 15 lōkya dhi(dhī)matā | parikalpita-sad-vaṅśa(d-vaṁśaḥ) prabhuh̄ Śailōdbhava[h\*] kṛitaḥ [ || 6\*]  
Śailōdbhavasya kula-
- 16 jō=raṇabhīta āsīd=yēn=āsakṛit=ka(t=kṛi)ta-bhiyā[m\*] dvishad-<sup>9</sup>saṅganānām̄(nām) | jyōtsnā-  
pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhiy=ai-
- 17 va sārddham=ākampitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu chandraḥ || [7\*]<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> The Parikud and Nivina plates have *achala-patēḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *thi* was engraved in place of *dhi*. This verse is found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman II.

<sup>6</sup> The Cuttack Museum plates read *pushya*.

<sup>7</sup> The Cuttack Museum plates read *pāta*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ja* was originally incised in place of *da*.

<sup>9</sup> The rest of the line is blank.

A.—GRANT OF AYASOBHITA II MADHYAMARAJA

i.

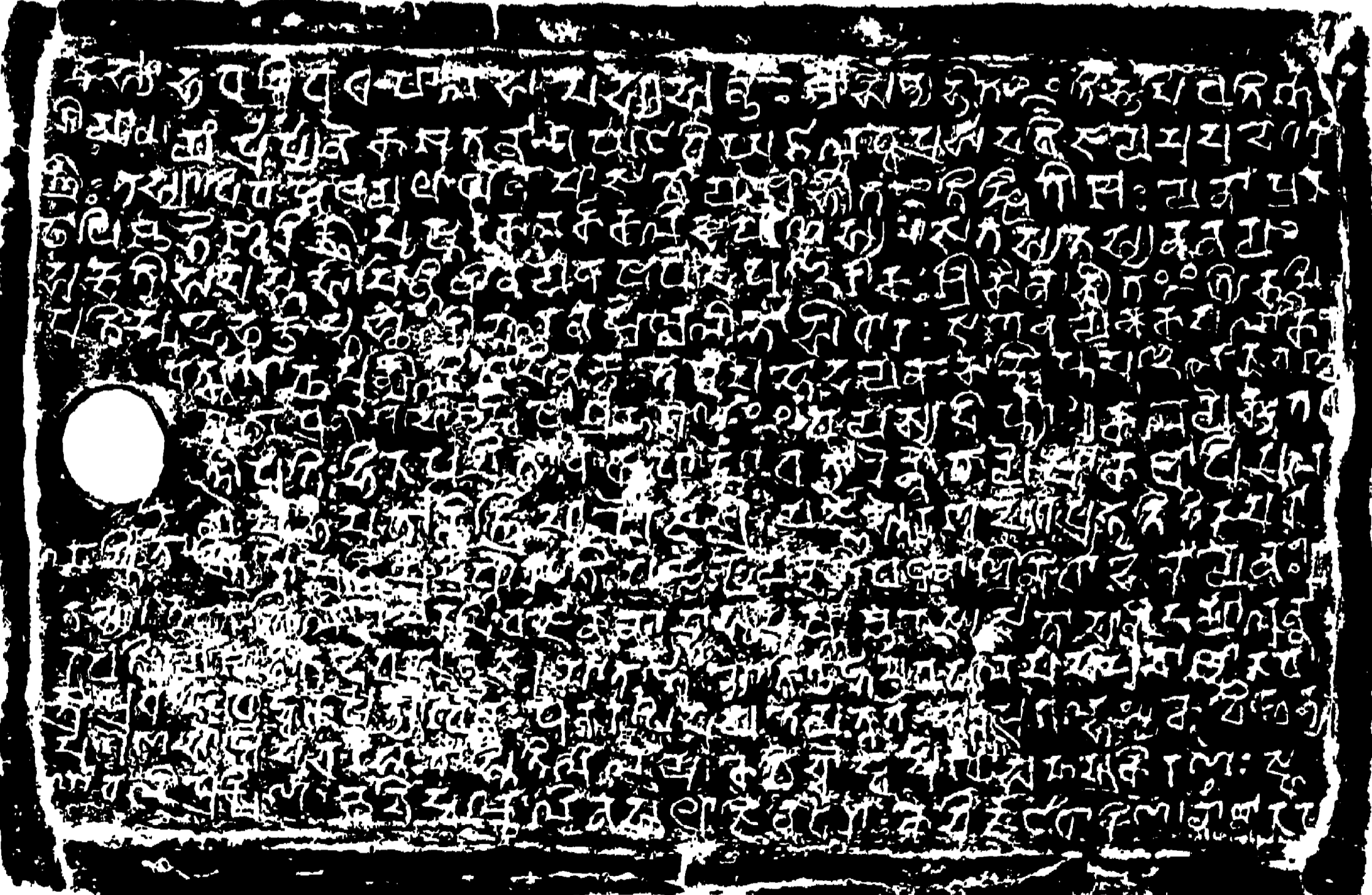
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2  
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ii, a.


18  
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22  
24  
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32



18  
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ii, b.

34  
36  
38  
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42  
44  
46  
48  
50



iii.

सुश्रितं कथायस्य...



Seal



## Second Plate ; First Side

- 18 Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi-patir=gga-  
 19 riyān | yam prāpy=ānēka<sup>1</sup>-śata-nāga-ghatā-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-vijayē(yam) mumudē  
 dhari-  
 20 ttriḥ(trī) [|| 8\*] Tasy=āpi vañsē(vamśē)=tha yathārtha-nāmā jātō=yaśōbhīta iti kshītīśaḥ [||\*]  
 Yēnā(na) praru(rū)-  
 21 dhō=pi śubhaiś=charittriḥ mṛi(ttrair=mṛi)shṭaḥ kalaṅka[h\*] kali-darppaṇasyaḥ(sya) || [9\*]  
 Jātasya(s=sa) tasya na(ta)nayaḥ  
 22 su-kṛitī [||\*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi =  
 23 patir=mmahēbha-kumbha-sthālī-dalana-durlalī(li)t-āsi(si)-dhāraḥ [ || 10\*] Jātēna yēna kamal-  
 ākara-  
 24 vat=sva-gōttram=unmilitō(tam) dinakṛit=ēva mahōdayēnaḥ(na |) samkshipta-maṇḍala-ruchaś=  
 cha  
 25 gatā[h\*] pranā(nā)śam=āsu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya dīptyāḥ(ptyā) || [11\*] Kālēyair=bhū-  
 tadh[ā]-  
 26 ttriḥpatibhir=upachit-ānēka-pāp-āvatārair=nnitā yēshā[m\*] kath=āpi prala-  
 27 yam=abhimatā kīrttri(rtti)-mā(pā)lair=ajasraṁ(sraṁ) | yajñais=tair=aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=  
 amarā  
 28 lambhitās=triptim=ū(m=u)rvvi(rvvi)m=urdra(ddṛi)pt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā Śrīni-  
 vāsēna yēnaḥ(na) || [12\*]  
 29 Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākḥil-ārē ma(r=ma)rud=iva jananād=bhāsvad-ushṇāmśu-tējā |<sup>2</sup> jātō<sup>3</sup> mānī  
 dayālur=nna-  
 30 rapatir=Ayaśōbhītadēvas=tanu(nū)ja[h\*] | mātaṅgān=yō=tituṅgām(ṅgān) va(ba)hala-mada-  
 muchā(cha)ś=chāru-va-  
 31 ktrā[n\*] prachandāḥ(ṇḍān) va(ba)ddhv=ākarshaty=a-khinnaḥ punar=api dayatē<sup>4</sup> yatnataḥ ssa-  
 (sa) pragalbhaḥ || [13\*] Kēchid=vanya-  
 32 mṛigēṇa sārddham=acharams=tām tām sthitim līlayā |<sup>2</sup> kēchich=ch=ōddha(rdhva)-mukhā[h\*]  
 sahasrakiraṇaḥ(ṇa)-jvā-  
 33 l-āvalī-prēkshīṇa[h\*] kēchid=valkalinas=tath=ājina-dharāḥ kēchir=ja(j=ja)bā-dhāriṇa(ṇō) |<sup>2</sup>  
 ṇānā-ru(rū)pa-

## Second Plate ; Second Side

- 34 dharās=tapanti munayō divy-āshpa(spa)d-ākām̄kshīṇaḥ || [14\*] Kēchich=chhaila-guh-ōdarēshu  
 niyatā<sup>5</sup> dhū-  
 35 m-āvalī-pāyinaḥ<sup>6</sup> anyō vāyu-phal-āmvu(mbu)-bhaksha-niyatā[h\*]<sup>5</sup> kēchin=nirāhārakā || (kāḥ |  
 ittham  
 36 yōga-yu(ju)shō vihāya vasati[m\*] dhyāyanti divyam padam |<sup>2</sup> chittram Madhyamarājadēva-  
 guṇa-dhṛi-

<sup>1</sup> Read *prāpya n=aika*<sup>o</sup> for the sake of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Other records of the family usually read *śūrō*.

<sup>4</sup> For the expressions (1) *dayatē*, (2) *yatnataḥ* and (3) *sa pragalbhaḥ*, some other records of the family have (1) *navatē*, *tapatē* or *tayatē*, (2) *yat-kṛitah* or *yan=nataḥ* and (3) *sampragalbhaḥ* respectively.

<sup>5</sup> Some records of the family read *niratā*.

<sup>6</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored here apparently for the sake of the metre.

- 37 d=rājyō(jyē)=pi tat=prāptavāmḥ(vān) || [15\*] Yasy=āhvānās=sa(t=sa)mīyuh<sup>1</sup> sura-bhavana-gatā divya-satvā(ttvāḥ) praga-
- 38 lbhāḥ tai(bhās=taiḥ) sārddham nitya-kālam sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛidya(dyān) prakurvvaḥ-(rvvan |) Śambhōs=tasy=ānu-<sup>2</sup>
- 39 kāri padam=amaram=ajam śāsvataṁ śānta-rūpaṁ lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)tsāhas=sa vīraḥ kshiti-[ta]la-
- 40 vasatē(ti)r<sup>3</sup>=nnirjīti-ārāti-pakshaḥ || [16\*] Sthity-utpatti-vināsa-kāraṇa-param yan=jyō(j-jyō)-tir<sup>4</sup>=avyāhataṁ |<sup>5</sup>
- 41 vyakt-āvyaktam=ananta-śakti-niyataṁ dēv-ātidēvō mahāḥ(hān |) tasy=ānugraha-kāri-vi-
- 42 krama-dhana(nu)ś-chēshṭāḥ karōty=adbhutāḥ sa śrīmān=atula[h\*] śāsānka-dhavalah kshōṇī-ya-
- 43 śa[h\*]-khyāpitaḥ || [17\*] Ā karṇād=atulam vikṛishya tarasā chāpa-dvaya[m\*] līlayāḥ(yā)<sup>6</sup>
- 44 ashtābhi[h\*] kavachai vi(r=vi)vēshṭya phalakān=ārād=ū(d=u)bhābhyām=api | pāṇibhyām chaturah śilīmu-
- 45 kha-mukhair=bhinta(ttvā) su-tikshṇai bhṛi(r=bhṛi)śaḥ(śa)ñ=jātō ddi(di)vya-gatī[h\*] Prithā-suta-samam(mah) Kōṅgōda-ratna[m\*] kshitauḥ(tau) || [18\*]
- 46 Varmabhyām sakalam śarīram=asakṛit=sa[m\*]vēshṭya līl-ānvitaḥ pi(pi)nau dvai(dvau) purushō(shau) nidhāya yuga-
- 47 pa[t\*] skandha-dvayē līlayā | sadya[h\*]-śāta-kṛipāna-bhāsura-karō dhāvaty=a-khinnō bhṛīśa[m\*]
- 48 bhūpālō Hanumat-parākrama iti khyāta[h\*] kshamā-maṇḍalaiḥ(lē) || [19\*] Jātēna śubhra-va-
- 49 pushā śāsin=ēva yēna samva(samva)rddhitaṁ kumuda-shaṇḍam=iva sva-gōttram(ttram) | saṅkōchita-
- 50 ñ=cha ripu-paṅkaja-vṛindam=ārās=sō(t=sō)=yam<sup>7</sup> ni(nṛi)pō jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpaḥ || [20\*]

### Third Plate

51 asmiṁ(smin) Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalē mahāsāmanta-śrī<sup>8</sup>

#### B. Grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta

This is a set of three plates, each measuring 6.35 inches by 3.5 inches, held together by a ring with seal. The seal contains the emblems of the crescent above, the couchant bull facing proper right in the middle, and an expanded lotus below. Between the bull and the lotus there is the legend reading *śrī-Dharmarājādēvasya*. The first plate is written on one side only, whereas the other two plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing on the reverse of the third plate is considerably damaged as portions of the metal on this side have peeled off. The three plates together weigh 61 *tolas*, while the weight of the ring and the seal is 26 *tolas*.

<sup>1</sup> In the Parikud plates of the same king, Banerji reads : *yasy=āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d\*]yu[s]=sura°*.

<sup>2</sup> In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *Śambhōs=samsthāna-kāri padam=amara-java[h\*]*.

<sup>3</sup> In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *vasatī(tim)*.

<sup>4</sup> The present record helps us in correcting the reading of the Parikud plates.

<sup>5</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored here for the sake of the metre.

<sup>7</sup> In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *kōpēna yō jayati*. The medial *i* of *li* is joined with a horizontal stop stroke (here superfluous) at the right of the letter as in the last line of the Sumaṇḍala plates and in some other records. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85, n. 5.

<sup>8</sup> The record abruptly ends here. This line containing the beginning of the list of officials to whom the royal order regarding a grant would have to be issued should have been properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the reigning monarch.

The charter belongs to king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta of the Śailōdbhava family of Kōn-gōda in modern Orissa and closely resembles the other charters<sup>1</sup> of the same king in respect of palaeography, language and orthography. The date of the charter under discussion is uncertain. After the word [*Sam\**]*vat*, only the figure 1 can be traced, the writing of the following portion being damaged in the plate. It is therefore doubtful whether the date is year 1 or any other regnal year between 10 and 19. The Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta seems to have flourished about the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth (circa 695-730 A.C.)<sup>2</sup>.

The draft of the present charter closely follows that of the Konedda grant issued by king Dharmarāja Mānabhīta in his thirtieth regnal year. The eighteen verses forming the introduction of our charter as well as the lengthy prose passage introducing the king as *kuśālī* (lines 1-40) are the same as the corresponding part of the Konedda grant (lines 1-47), with slight changes (including minor mistakes) in the text and the names of the places whence the charters were issued. Verses 1-11 of the record dealing with the predecessors of the reigning monarch are merely a selection from the introductory stanzas found in the records (cf. the Bānpur plates edited above) of his father Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. Verses 12-18 describe the achievements of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta himself. It is well known that only one of these verses (verse 15) gives a valuable historical information. It seems to say how Dharmarāja had an elder brother named Mādharma (i.e., Mādhavavarman probably named after his grandfather) who began to bear ill will against his younger brother as soon as he ascended the throne, how Dharmarāja defeated this Mādharma at the battle of Phāsikā, how Mādharma thereupon took shelter under a king named Tivara, and how both Mādharma and Tivara were defeated by Dharmarāja in a battle fought at the foot of the Vindhya. This Tivara may have been a later member of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśa of South Kōśala.<sup>3</sup> Verse 16 discloses the king's secondary name Mānabhīta.

The prose passage following the introductory verses in our inscription refers to the place whence the charter was issued. The name of the place is doubtful but may be *Āsilīḍa* or *Silīḍa*. The king is here described as a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and as devoted to his parents. Another interesting passage says that he was the son's son (i.e., grandson) of one who took an *avabhṛitha* bath after the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice (*aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-nirvartita-sūnōs-tanuyah*) apparently referring to the performance of the horse sacrifice by his grandfather Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa, already discussed above in connection with the Bānpur plates of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja, father of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.<sup>4</sup>

The passage recording the grant in the inscription under review is defective. The engraver had at first omitted a lengthy passage mentioning the donee, the gift land and the actual donor and later squeezed only the important words and names from the omitted passage in the limited space. The defective description suggests that the real donor of the grant was the queen Kalyāṇadēvī (or Śrīkalyāṇa<sup>5</sup>) and that her grant was endorsed by the king. The gift land consisted of 3 measures styled *tinpīra* in a locality called Suvarṇaralōṇḍī situated in the Thōraṇa *viśhaya* and

<sup>1</sup> The Konedda grant of the 30th regnal year (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), the Nivānā grant possibly of the 9th regnal year (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) and the Puri plates of a doubtful date (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff). Bhandarkar's reading of the dates of the Puri and Konedda plates is wrong (see *List*, Nos. 2040-41; *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 401).

<sup>2</sup> He ruled at least up to his 30th regnal year.

<sup>3</sup> This Tivara cannot be identified with Mahāśiva Tivara of the Pāṇḍuvarṇśa as the latter flourished in the sixth century (circa 565-80 A. C.; see *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144). Dharmarāja's rule (covering not less than 30 years according to the Konedda grant) can hardly be placed earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century because, as indicated above, his grandfather performed the *Aśvamēdha* before his 13th regnal year falling sometime after 619 A.C. and ruled for at least 50 years (cf. the date of the Cuttack Museum plates) and his father ruled for at least 26 years (cf. the date of the Parikud plates).

<sup>4</sup> The Parikud plates suggest that Madhyamarāja took part in the performance of his father's horse-sacrifice.

2½ *ṭimpīras* at the village of Madhuvāṭaka attached to the Rāṇḍa *sīman* probably forming a part of the same *vishaya*. The donee was a Jain (?) monk called *ēka-sāta* (possibly one who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth; cf. *ēka-chīvara*) Prabuddhachandra who was the disciple of the *arhadāchārya* (the most venerable teacher) Nāsichandra. The grant seems to have been actually made in favour of a deity or religious establishment in the residence of Prabuddhachandra. This is suggested by the expression *bali-sattra-charu-pravarttanāya*. But the record seems to say that Prabuddhachandra alone would have to enjoy the grant till his death. The gift was thus temporary. Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāṇadēvī (or Śrīkalyāṇa°) and the king Dharmarāja, although the epithet *rājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet *bhagavatī* used before the word *rājñī* may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabuddhachandra's residence. In case it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or a step-mother of the king. The word *ṭimpīra* (also written *timpīra* or *timpīra*) is found in many records<sup>1</sup> in the sense of a land measure. It is clear that the engraver omitted a large number of words from the passage detailing the grant in the original draft of the document.

The *dūtaka* or executor of the charter was the *Pañchakaraṇōparika-vaiśvāsika-bṛihadbhōgin* Sāmanta. Apparently the same person is mentioned in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja as the *Bṛihadbhōgin* Sāmanta who wrote that document. Of the official designations attributed to Sāmanta in our record, *pañcha-karaṇ-ōparika* is the same as *pañch-ādihikaraṇ-ōparika* of the Gunai-ghar plate<sup>2</sup> and may indicate 'the chief Superintendent of five administrative offices.' *Vaiśvāsika*, found in records like the Kanas plate<sup>3</sup> of Lōkavighraha, possibly means a privy councillor. The designation *Bhōgin* seems to have indicated an *ināmdār*. The plates were engraved by Āditya-dēva who appears to be styled *Akshasālīka*, i.e., a goldsmith.<sup>4</sup> The document was *lāñchhita*, i.e., endowed or registered with a seal, by the *pēṭāpāla* (literally, keeper of the boxes, i.e., those containing documents) named Balavarman who is also known from the Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the Thōraṇa *vishaya* is also known from other records,<sup>5</sup> although its definite location is doubtful. The king's *vāsaka* or residence whence the charter was issued cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the villages of Suvarṇaralōṇḍī and Madhuvāṭaka as well as the *sīman* or subdivision called Rāṇḍa.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

[Metres: verses 1, 3, 11, 14, 18 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 22 *Vasantatilaku*; verses 4, 13, 16, 19-21 *Anushtubh*; verse 7 *Indravajrā*; verses 9, 10, 15 *Sragdharā*; verse 17 *Nardaṭaka*; verse 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### First Plate

1 Siddham<sup>7</sup> Svastiḥ(sti ||) Indōr=ddhū(r=ddhau)ta-mṛiṇāla-tantubhir=iva ślishtā[h] karai[h]  
kōmalaiḥ<sup>8</sup> vaddh-āhēr=aruṇai[h] sphu-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 181 (Puri plates of Dharmarāja, text, line 49); above, Vol. XXIV, p. 153 (Cuttack Museum Plates of Mādhavarman, text, line 30), Vol. XXI, p. 41 (Nivina grant of Dharmarāja, text, line 47), etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 333.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> The same designation is also found in the forms *Akshasālīn* (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1479, 1497, etc.) and *Arkasālīn* (ibid., No. 1496). These appear to be Sanskritizations of Telugu and Kannaḍa *agasālī*, 'a goldsmith.'

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 129 (Puri plates of Mādhavarman II), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII, part i, p. 285 (Khurda plates of Mādhavarman II), etc.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plates and their impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol. [As for *svastiḥ*, with *visarga*, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 140, n. 2.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Read °*lāir=buddh*°.



TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR  
 B.—GRANT OF DHARMARAJA MANABHITA

i.

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ii, a.

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ii, b.

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 36

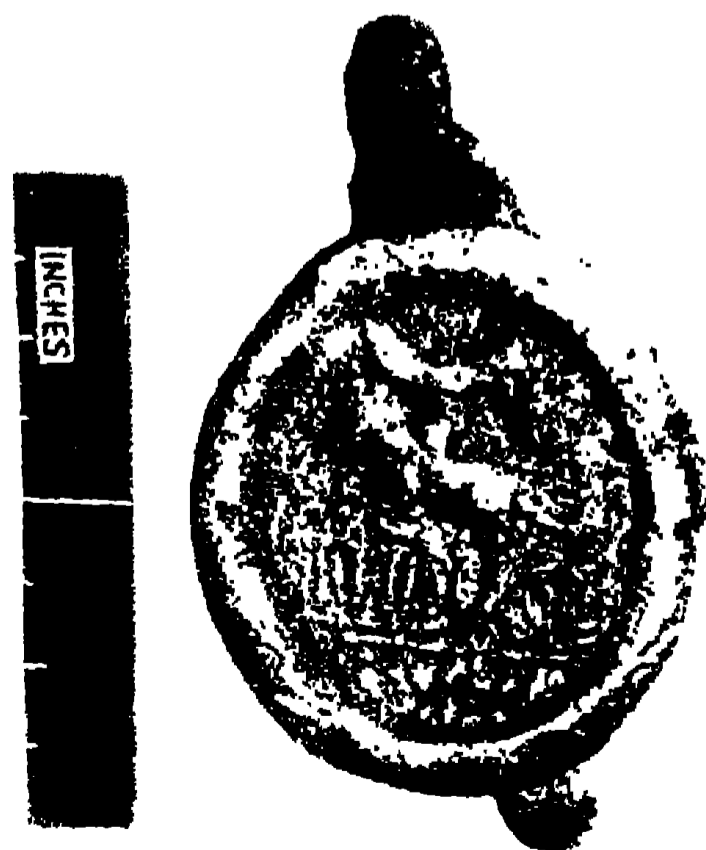
iii, a.

38 38  
 40 40  
 42 42  
 44 a. 44 a.  
 44 b. 44 b.  
 44 c. 44 c.  
 46 46  
 48 48

iii, b.

50 50  
 52 52  
 54 54

Seal



- 2 rat-phaṇi-maṇēr=digdha-prabhāsō=ṅsubhīh<sup>1</sup> [\*] Pārvvatyā[h\*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā |<sup>2</sup> Gaṅg-ā-
- 3 mvu(mbu)-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇikā[h\*] Śambhōr-jatāḥ=pānu(ntu) vaḥ ||[\*] Prāṅśu-(Prāṅśu)r=mahēbha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vū(bā)hu[h\*] kṛiṣṇ-āśma<sup>3</sup>
- 4 saṅcha(ñcha)[ya\*]-vibhēda-viśālā(la)-vakshā[h\*] rājīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khyā-taḥ Kaliṅga-janatāsu
- 5 Pulindasēna[h\*] ||[\*] 2\* Tēn=ēnthaṅ(tthaṅ) guṇinō=pa(n=āpi) satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ēshṭaṅ bhu-vōr=maṅḍalaṅ |<sup>2</sup> śaktō yaḥ pari(ri)pāla[nā]-
- 6 ya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti | pratyādisṭa-vibhur-bha(bh-ūtsa)vēna bha[ga]vān<sup>4</sup>=ārādhitā[h\*] śāśvataḥ ta(tas=ta)ch-chitt-ānu-
- 7 guṇaṅ vidhissu(tsu)r=adīśad=vāñchhāṅ svasa(ya)mbhō(mbhū)r=api || [3\*] Sa śilā-śakal-ōdbhēdī tēn=āpy=ālōkyā(kya) dhīma-
- 8 tā [\*] pari(ri)kalpita-sad-vaṅśu(d-vaṅśaḥ) prabhuḥ Śailōdbhavaḥ kṛitaḥ || [4\*] Śailōdbhava-sya kulajō=raṅabhīta āsīt y(d=yē)
- 9 n=āsakṛit=kṛitā(ta)-bhiyā[ṅ\*] dvishad-aṅganānāṅ(nāṅ) | jyōtsnāya<sup>5</sup>-pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhiy=aiva sārḍham=ākāṅ(ka)mpitō
- 10 nayana-pakshma-jalēshu chandra[h\*] || [5\*] Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta i-
- 11 ti bhūmipatiga(r=ga)rīyāṅ [\*] yaṅ prāpya n-aika-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-pratāpa-vijayaṅ ma(mu)mudē
- 12 dhari(ri)ttri || [6\*] Tasy= āpi vaṅśē(vaṅśē)=tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=yaśōbhi(bhī)ta iti kshīt-īśaḥ [\*] yēna pra-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 13 ru(rū)dhō=pi śubhaiś-charitraiḥ mṛi(trair=mṛi)shṭaḥ kalaṅkaḥ kali-darppaṅasya || [7\*] Jātō=tha [tasya tanaya]s-sukṛi-
- 14 tī samasta-sīmanta(ṅti)nī-nayana-shadpa(tpa)da-puṅḍarīka[h\*] | śrī-Sainyabhīta [iti bhūmi]-patir=mmahē-
- 15 bha-kumbhasthali-dalana-durlalit-āsi-dhāraḥ || [8\*] Kālēyair=bhūtadhātṛipatibhir=upachit-āñka-pā-
- 16 p-āvatārair=nītā yēshāṅ kath-āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrtti-mā(pū)lair=ajasraṅ||[sram | ) yajñais=tair=aśvamēdha-
- 17 prabhi(bhṛi)tibhir=amarā lambhitā tṛi(s=tṛi)ptim=urvvūn<sup>6</sup> =udṛi(ddṛi)pt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-paṭunā Śrīnivāsēna
- 18 yēna || [9\*] Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākḥil-āri(rē)r=mmarud=aiva janitō bhāsvad-ushṅāṅśu(shṅ-āṅśu)tējā[h\*] śūrō mānī dayā-
- 19 lur=narapatir=Ayaśōbhītadēvas=tanūja[h\*] | mātaṅgān=yō=tituṅgān=va(ba)hala-mada-mucha-
- 20 ś=chāru-vaktrāp-pra(n=pra)chaṅḍān va(ba)ddhv=ākarsṭaty=a-khinnaḥ punar=api [da]yatō<sup>7</sup> yatnataḥ sampragalbhaḥ || [10\*] Kēchi-

<sup>1</sup> Read *prabhāsō=ṅsubhīh*. An erased *ē* sign is noticed above *ṅśu*.

<sup>2</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> An erased subscript *l* can be traced beneath *śma*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ga* had been at first omitted and was later engraved above the line in a small form.

<sup>5</sup> Read *jyōtsnā*, omitting *yā*.

<sup>6</sup> The engraver had begun to incise *mu* close to *rvvī*, but gave it up to leave some space between the two *aksharas*.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 37, note 4.

- 21 ś=chhai(ch=chhai)la-guh-ōdarēshu niratā<sup>1</sup> dhūm-āvalī-pāyinaḥ<sup>2</sup> anyē vāyu-phal-āmvu-  
(mbu)-bhaksha-niratā[ḥ\*] kēchchi(chi)n=ti(n=ni)rā-
- 22 hārakā[ḥ\*] | ittham yōga-jushō vihāya vasatīm(tim) dhyāyam(ya)nti divyām(vya)m=padam  
chitra[m\*] Madhyamarājadēva-
- 23 guṇa-dhṛid=rājyē=pi tat=prāptavān || [11\*] Tasy=ūbhavat=sakala-śastra-viśēsha-vēdī śrī-  
Dharmmarāja
- 24 iti sūnur=adhī[ta\*]-śāstrah | yasy=ātinirmala-yaśah parivarddhamāna[m\*] pādau Harē-

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 25 r=iva na māyitam=ā tṛi(tri)lōkyāḥ<sup>3</sup> || [12\*] Nirāśrayai[ḥ\*] prayatnēna guṇais=sa parivāritah  
[i\*] vaimukhyād=ī-
- 26 rshayā ch=aiva sarvva-dōshair=vvivarjjitah || [13\*] Kālō hanti ripu(pū)n-mā(n=ma)hāraṇa-  
śata-vyāpāra-lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)nnatīna(tin)<sup>4</sup>
- 27 kālē dharmma-vivēchanāya na(ni)ratō vrā(brā)hmaṇya-madhyō sthitah Krauñchārēr=iva  
yasya chēshṭitam=alam lōka(kaiḥ)
- 28 samālōkyatē || [14\*] Rājyam lavdhv=ai(bdhv=ai)va darppād=a[vi\*]gūṇita-tayō Mādhavō  
jyēshṭha-bhāvāt(n) dēsām(śā)d=asmād=a-
- 29 pāstu[n=krī]ta-va(vi)shama-matir=vvigrahō Phūsikāyam || (yam |) yuddha-kshōbhōṇa bhagnō  
nṛipati-varam=asau samśrita-
- 30 s=Tivar-a(r-ā)khyam paschāt=tēn-āpi sārddham punar=api vijitō Vinḍhya-pādēshu jirṇṇa-  
[ḥ] || [15\*] Śauryam śrī[r=yau]-
- 31 vanam rājyam=ēk-aikam mada-kārakam(kam |) sarvva[m\*] śrī-Mānabhītasya nirvvi-  
kāram=upasthita[m](tam) || [16\*] Turaga-
- 32 khur-ābhighāta-vidalad-dharanī-talajam jaya-gaja-karṇah(ṛṇṇa)-chāmara-vidhūnana-vis-  
phuritam(tam) | su-bha-
- 33 ṭa-phara-prasarppaṇa-niruddha-kakū(ku)d-gaganam va(ba)la-raja ēva yasya jayati dvi-  
shatā[m] dhvajinīm(nīm) || [17\*] Ā-
- 34 rachya prasabham ghaṭā gaja-gaṇair=asvīya-pa(pū)dūtakaiḥ ji(kair ji)tv-ānyām(nyā)m=  
va(n=ba)la-sālinō nripa-varān=āgatya
- 35 dṛishtēr=bhuva[m](vam |) yuddhē bhīma-pa[rā\*]kramēṇa vijitā nirvrit-pādām prāpitāḥ(tā)  
dṛīsyantē bhavan-āṅgaṇē pra[vi-di]nam
- 36 prātaḥ praṇām-ārthinaḥ || [18\*] Vijay-Āsili[da]<sup>5</sup>-vāsakāt śrī-Śailōdbhava-kula-tilaka-mahāma-

*Third Plate ; First Side*

- 37 kha-vājapēy-āśvamēdh-āvavabhṛitha<sup>6</sup>-tsna(snā)nā(na)-nirvarttita-sūnōs tanayō va(ba)-  
hu-vividha<sup>7</sup>-matta-vāraṇa-vara-
- 38 turaga-ma(pa)dāti-śastra-sam(sa)mpāta-saṅkulō(la)-va(ba)hv-āhava-vinihata-śatruṇ-ānēka-  
vikram-ākṛānta-sakala-bhū-

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 37, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has been neglected here for the sake of the metre.

<sup>3</sup> The reading of this defective passage is slightly different in different records of the king. The emenda-  
tions suggested by scholars do not appear to be satisfactory.

<sup>4</sup> The second *pāda* of the stanza (*kālē . . . . . kathā-vistaraḥ*), which had been omitted through inadvertence,  
was later incised about the end of the record in lines 54-55.

<sup>5</sup> The reading may be *vijaya-Sili*<sup>o</sup>. The last *akshara* of the name may also be *da*, *da* or *ta*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *āvabhṛitha*.

<sup>7</sup> Better read *bahu-vidha*.

- 39 maṇḍalō su(bhu)ja-va(ba)l-ātula-prathita-yaśa(śū)ñ=chā(ś=cha)taradanta-saṅgrāmād=asakṛil-  
lavdha(bdha)-pratāpaḥ paramamāhōśva-
- 40 rō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudyātah śrī-Dharmmarājadēvaḥ kuśalī |<sup>1</sup> Thōraṇa-vishayē | mahā-  
sāmanta-
- 41 śrīsāmanta- | mahāra(rā)ja- | rājanaka- | rājaputr-āntaraṅga- | dāṇḍanāyaka- | dāṇḍavā(pā)-  
śik-aupari[ka\*]-sta(ta)dvini-
- 42 yukta[ka]-vyavahāriṇas-sa karaṇān=anyāś=cha(nyāś=cha) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādi-  
vaishayika-janapada(dān)ś=chāṭa-bhaṭa-
- 43 vallabha-jātīyān=yath-ārham=pūjayaśī mānayaty=ājñāpayati cha | viditam=astu bhavatām  
ētad-visha-
- 44 ya-samva(mba)ddha-<sup>2</sup>  
(a) d-arhat-ā(d-ā)chārya-Nāsichandra || tad-sī(ch-chhi)shya ēka-sāṭa-Pravu(bu)ddhachandra  
| yāva[t\*] jīvati | va(ba)li-sa(sa)ttra-charu-pravarttanāya | bhaga[va\*]tī śrī-rājñī  
(b) Śrī-Kalyāṇadēvī | Thōraṇa-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha | Suvarṇarājñī tīmpīra tṛi(trī)ṇi  
| 3 | Rāṇḍa-sīma-samva(mba)ddha-Madhuvāṭaka-grāma | tīmpī-  
(c) ra-dvayan 2 pādā(dah) 1
- 45 tad=anumōditō smābhi[h\*]<sup>3</sup> yatas tāmva(mra)-paṭa(tṭa)ka-darśanāt yathā-kāla-samu-  
chita-phalam-upabhuñjānō(nasya) dharmma-
- 46 gauravāt kēnachit-paripatthi(nthi)nā [na\*] bhavitavyam=iti | uktañ=cha dharmma-  
śāstrē ||<sup>4</sup> Va(Ba)hubhīr-vasudhā dattā rājabhis-Saga-
- 47 r-ādibhir=ya(bhīh | ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sa(sya) tasya tadā phala[m\*] || [19\*]  
Sva-dā(da)nā(tā)n-para-dattām-vā(ttān vā) yō harēta vasundharān(rām |)
- 48 sa vishṭhāyān kṛmir-bhūtva pitribhis-saha pachyatē || [20\*] Mā bhūd-a-phala-saṅkā vaḥ  
para-datt-ēti pāthivā[h] | sva-

*Third Plate ; Second Side*

- 49 dānāt=phalam āmantyan para-datt-ānupālana(nō) || [21\*] Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=ava-  
gamyā samya[g\*] lōka-sthitini
- 50 yaśasi [saktā \*]-manōbhir uchchaiḥ [|\*] ni[tyam pa]r-ōpakṛiti-mātra-ratair=bhavadbhīḥ  
dha(dbhīr dha)mm-ābhīrādhana-parair=anumōdi-
- 51 tavyā || [22\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-[lōlā]ñ=chhri(lān śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-  
jīvitam(ta)ñ cha | sakalam-ida-
- 52 m=udāhṛitam(ta)ñ chaḥ(ñ cha) vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō rvi(vi)lōpyā-  
[h ||\*] [23\*] [Dūtako-ttra] pañcha-karaṇ-ōpari[ka\*]-vai-
- 53 śvāsika-vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgī [Sāmanta:h]<sup>5</sup> utkīrṇā a[kshaśālikēna\*] Ādityadēvōna lāñchi-
- 54 tam peṭāpālā(la)-Va(Ba)lavarmma[ṇā | Sam\*]vat [1]...<sup>6</sup>[|\*] Kālē<sup>7</sup> sa(bha)[kt\*]im=[u]paiti śu-
- 55 bhra=charitaiḥ Śambhōḥ kathā-vistaraiḥ ||.....pritha....iti |

<sup>1</sup> The *danḍa*, used so many times in lines 40-41 and 44, is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The following two lines, marked (a) and (b) are offered in the original as two branches of line 44. The portion, marked (c), is a continuation of (b) and is engraved beneath the beginning of line 44. The engraver noticed after incising the word *samva(mba)ddha* that a lengthy passage detailing the grant had been omitted. He therefore squeezed only the important words of the omitted passage in as small a space as possible.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be *tad-dānam=anumōditam=asmābhiḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> Horizontal strokes are here used for interpunctuation instead of the usual vertical ones.

<sup>5</sup> See the Puri plates, line 60.

<sup>6</sup> The preserved lower part of two *aksharas* seems to read *lguśu* which possibly stands for *Phālgunastu*.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 42, note 4.

## No. 6—ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN ; REGNAL YEAR 62

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND S. RATHA-SARMA, PURI

The village of **Alagum** lies about twenty-three miles from the holy city of Purī, celebrated for the great temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, and about ten miles from the Sākhīgopāl station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. There is a small temple in the village, in which the god Śiva in the form of a *liṅga*, styled Garttēsvara, is worshipped. The temple itself is rather unimpressive like so many of its class in the villages in different parts of Orissa. But its importance lies in the existence of two inscriptions on the stones of its wall near the door, one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription on the proper left is in the Telugu script and language while that on the right is in the Gaudīya script and in the Sanskrit language. The second inscription forms the subject matter of this paper.

The inscription covers a space about four feet and four inches in length and about one foot eleven inches in breadth. There are altogether twenty-six lines of writing, the letters being about 1½ inches in height. Originally both the inscriptions were fully covered with cement. Of late the cement plastering was removed ; but there are still traces of it in the lower part of the inscription published here. Some letters, especially in lines 24-26, are not clearly visible.

The characters belong to a cursive form of the Gaudīya class, commonly called Proto-Bengali, and may be assigned to about the twelfth century A.C. or even later. The sign for medial *i*, which resembles that in modern Oriya, and the short type of medial *ā* sign exhibited in a few cases (cf. *Kāsyapa* in lines 5-6) are interesting to note. The initial *a* occurs several times in the inscription (lines 10, 18, 21, etc.) and the sign for *avagraha* only once (line 13). The characters may be compared with those in the records of the imperial Gaṅgas such as the Nagari plates of Anaṅga-bhīma III circa 1211-38 A.C.) edited above.<sup>1</sup>

The language of the inscription under discussion is incorrect Sanskrit, its orthography exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation ; cf. words like *dēsa* for *dēśa* (line 4), *vansa* for *vaṁśa* (line 7), *māhēsvara* for *māhēśvara* (line 8), etc. The rules of *sandhi* have been sometimes ignored.

The record is dated in the sixty-second year of a king named **Anantavarmadēva**. The great length of the reign referred to leaves hardly any doubt that the king is no other than the great Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who is known to have been crowned in 1078 A.C. and ruled for about seventy years up to 1147 A.C. The sixty-second year of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga would thus correspond to 1140-41 A.C. It may be noted that the reference is to the regnal reckoning and not to the *Anka* reckoning in which, as indicated by certain inscriptions of the later rulers of Orissa, a number of regnal years were not to be counted. The details of the date, quoted in the inscription under notice, speak of Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Māgha. The date thus regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 30th of January, 1141 A.C. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 284, the *śaṣṭhī tithi* ended on that date at 19 of the day.

The inscription records certain grants made by a person named **Kāmāṇḍi** whose epithet *disāpati* (Sanskrit *disāmpati*) looks like an official designation. It is possible to think that Kāmāṇḍi was the governor of a territorial unit of which the present village of Alagum in the Puri District formed a part. Kāmāṇḍi is simultaneously called *Paramamāhēsvara* and *Parama-*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

*vaishṇava*, which show that he was a devotee of both the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. His family belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and to the *pañch-ārshēya-pravara* (i.e., having five sages as *pravaras* or distinguished members of the *gōtra* in question). The Kāśyapa *gōtra*, however, is known to have only three *pravaras*, viz., Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. *Pañch-ārshēya* thus appears to be a mistake for *try-ārshēya*. In dealing with the ancestry of Kāmāṇḍi, the inscription rather curiously speaks of *Pitāmaha* Pōtāṇḍi, of the former's son Bhīmāṇḍi and of the latter's *vaṁś-ōdbhava* or descendant Kāmāṇḍi. It seems that Pōtāṇḍi was the *pitāmaha* or grandfather of Kāmāṇḍi and that Bhīmāṇḍi was his father in spite of the fact that he is said to have been merely a descendant of Bhīmāṇḍi. This seems to be suggested by the word *pitāmaha* used in connection with the name of Pōtāṇḍi, by the similar formations of the three names, viz., Pōtāṇḍi, Bhīmāṇḍi and Kāmāṇḍi, and also by the fact that there is hardly any meaning in mentioning only two distant ancestors of the donor when the established custom throughout India was generally to mention only his father and grandfather. It may, however, not be impossible that Kāmāṇḍi was actually the son of a brother of Bhīmāṇḍi who later adopted him as his own son. That is possibly why Kāmāṇḍi is called a *vaṁś-ōdbhava* and not exactly a *putra* of Bhīmāṇḍi. It may be recalled in this connection that the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhīta I of Kōṅgōda in Orissa is described in some records in prose as the son of Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman I, but in others in verse as merely a descendant of the latter.<sup>1</sup> A very interesting information about Kāmāṇḍi's family given in the record is that it hailed from a village, the name of which reads like Kaḍamvura, in the Chōḷa country, which was the modern Tanjore-Trichinopoly region of South India.

Kāmāṇḍi is said to have purchased with his own money a *hala* of land styled Kapālēsvara in the village of Alaguinma which formed a part of the Rāmaṅga *vishaya* and made it an endowment in favour of the *maṭha* of the god Garttēsvaradēva. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by certain honest *prajā-lōkas* apparently meaning the people of the locality. The object of the grant was two-fold. In the first place, it was to provide food to an ascetic, possibly living in the *maṭha* referred to, whose name may have been Bhij or Abhij. Secondly, three *pravartas* of paddy were allotted for providing *naivēdya* or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Garttēsvaradēva. In this description of the grant, the word *hala*, known also from other sources, has been used to indicate a piece of land of uncertain area. The exact weight of a *pravarta* of paddy is likewise unknown.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the piece of land granted, a sum of money was deposited with the local *adhikā-rins* (possibly superintendents of the temple) who are said to have been maintaining the *pallī-dēva*, literally 'village deity' (possibly meaning Garttēsvara), for providing an *alhandā* or perpetual lamp, apparently in the temple, in honour of the god Garttēsvara. The lamp was expected to be the *kula-tāraṇa* (i.e., a thing that ensures easy crossing of the sea of *samsāra* for the members of one's family) of "this *kūparyaka*" probably meaning Kāmāṇḍi himself. The word *kūparyaka* appears to be a mistake for a word like *kūpyaka* meaning 'a penitent'. The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred *chūrṇīs* added by five *purāṇas*. The word *chūrṇī* usually means a hundred cowrie-shells, while *purāṇa* was the old silver *kārshāpaṇa* usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. According to Oriya lexicons,<sup>3</sup> however, both the words *chūrṇī* and *purāṇa* are recognised in the sense of *kūhāṇa* (Sanskrit *kārshāpaṇa*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. There is no doubt that the words have been used in the same sense also in the record under

<sup>1</sup> See *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 400 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 250 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Is it Oriya *pauṣi* which is equal to ten maunds ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Pramōda Abhidhāna*, s.v. *chūrṇī* and *purāṇa*. The Mehar plate (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 189, text line 35 ; of. p. 191, note 5) spells the word as *chūrṇī* and uses it as a synonym of *purāṇa*. The same word also occurs in line 59 of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat plate of Viśvarūpasēna (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147), although it was wrongly read as *chūrṇā*.

discussion. This is clearly suggested by the fact that the amount given in words as ' a hundred *chūrṇīs* and five *purāṇas* ' is separately mentioned in figures as *pu 105* (i.e., 105 *purāṇas*). Thus the amount granted for making provision for the burning of a lamp perpetually in the temple of Gar-ttēsvara was 105 *chūrṇīs*, *purāṇas*, or *kāhāṇas* which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells.

It is interesting to note that the family of Kāmāṇḍī, who made grants in favour of the village-god of Alagum near Purī and appears to have been an official serving the Gaṅga monarch Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga, is said to have hailed from the country of the Chōḷas. It is well-known that Chōḍagaṅga's mother Rājasundarī was a Chōḷa princess and that the very name of the king points to the existence of Chōḷa or Chōḍa blood in his vein. Rājasundarī is described in the Gaṅga records as the daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājendra who is variously identified by scholars with Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.), Virarājendra (1063-70 A.C.) and Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I (1063-70 A.C. as Eastern Chālukya king; 1070-1118 A.C. as ruler of the united Chōḷa-Chālukya kingdom), although the Gaṅga king's name, Virarājendra-Chōḍagaṅga, found in some records, suggests that he was the grandson of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra after whom he was named.<sup>1</sup> One of the queens of Chōḍagaṅga was the Chōḷa princess Chōḍa-mahādēvī who is known to have granted some *Kulōttuṅga-māḍas* for a lamp at the temple of Bhīmēśa at Drākshārāma and may have been a daughter of Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I.<sup>2</sup> This seems to suggest that Chōḍagaṅga's mother was a cousin of Kulōttuṅga (son of a daughter of Rājendra I), a granddaughter of Rājendra I and a daughter of Virarājendra. We have also evidence to show that there was considerable Chōḷa influence at the court of some of the early monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, who sometimes employed Chōḷa officials.<sup>3</sup>

There is little doubt that the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in Kalinga was connected with the expansion of Chōḷa influence in that country.<sup>4</sup> It is now accepted by most scholars that the Gaṅga dynasty was established at Kalingangara (modern Mukhalingam near Chicacole or Śrikākulam) about the close of the fifth century A.C. The Gaṅgas soon established their power in Central Kalinga; but, in the seventh century, their position was threatened by the expansion of the power of their eastern neighbours, the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgōḍa (about the border between the Ganjam and Puri Districts of Orissa) and by the establishment of the Eastern Chālukyas at Pishtapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in the south. The authority of the Kalinganagara government was also considerably shaken about this time by the rise of collateral viceregal families like that of the Gaṅgas of Śvētaka. The process of decline continued and, in the tenth century, the kingdom seems to have been divided into five states under different branches of the Gaṅga family as well as of viceregal lines.<sup>5</sup> About the end of the same century, Vajrahasta Ananta-varman (*circa* 985-1016 A.C.), belonging to one of the branch lines of the Gaṅga family, seems to have consolidated his position in all the five states.<sup>6</sup> His success may have been due to the help he may have received from the Chōḷas. It has to be noted that this king, the first important ruler of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family, was a contemporary of the great Chōḷa king Rājarāja (985-1016 A.C.) who claims to have conquered Vēṅgi (the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas) by 998 A.C. and Kalinga (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) sometime before 1003 A.C.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga* (offprint), pp. 130-31.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 126 ff. See also *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935-36, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 450.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 220.

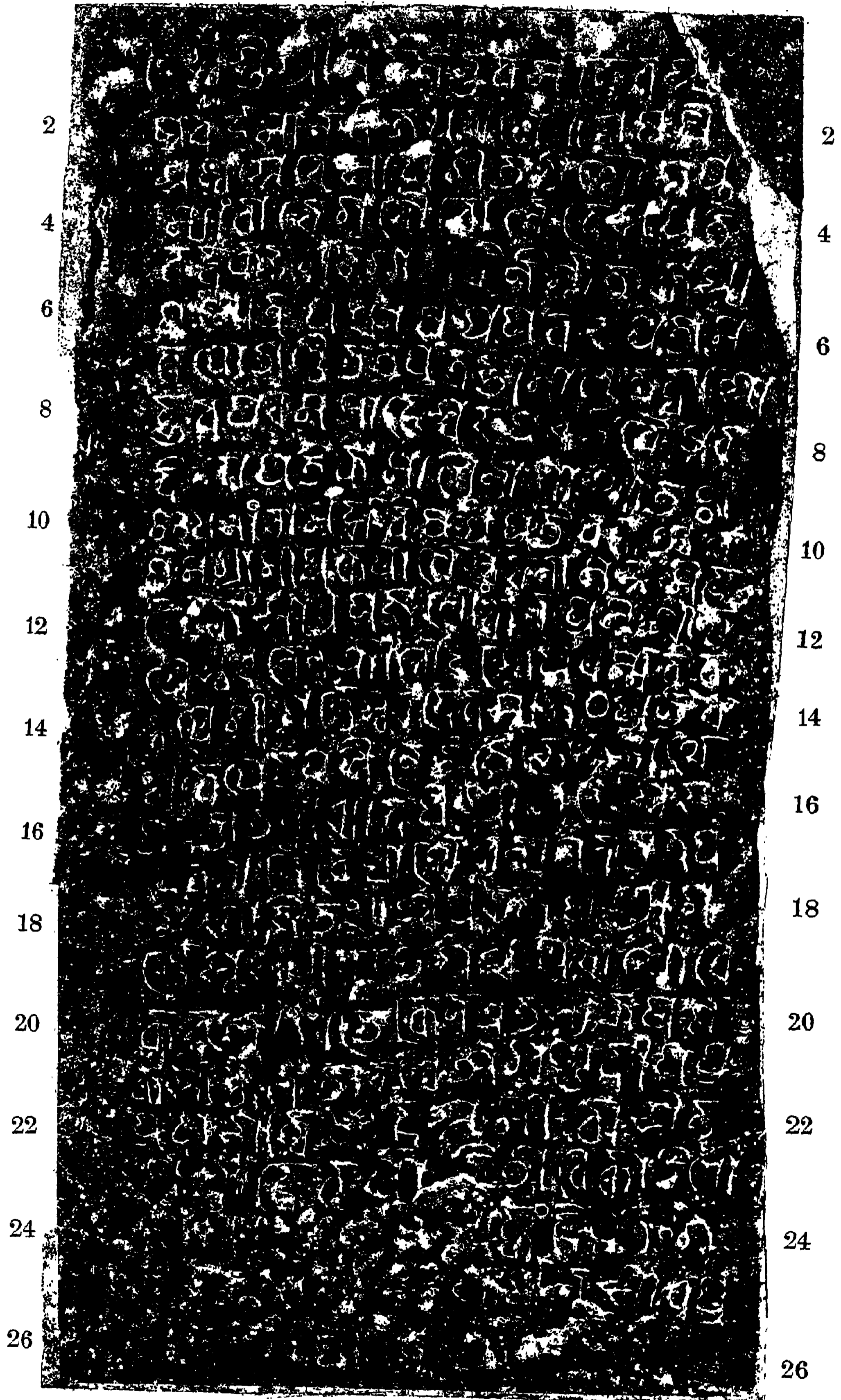
<sup>6</sup> The history of the ancestors of this ruler has been discussed in connection with the Nagari plates of Ananḡabhīma III (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.).

<sup>7</sup> Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 56-57.





ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN; REGNAL YEAR 62



B. CH. CHHABRA.  
REG. No. 3977 E'36-489'52.

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

His son Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.) also claims to have defeated the Eastern Chālukya king as well as to have set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahēndra in Kalinga (in the present Srikakulam District of Madras). Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father when he may have led the expedition against the Kalinga country as his father's general is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. But it is extremely interesting to note that, in the description of the expeditions led by the generals of Rājendra I about 1023 A.C. in the countries towards the east as far as South-East Bengal, mention is made of the reduction of Ōḍra (Puri-Cuttack area) and Kōsala (the Sambalpur region together with certain western tracts), both then under the Sōmavamśi king of Yayātinagara,<sup>1</sup> but not of any conflict with the king of Kalinga.<sup>2</sup> This fact seems to suggest that the early rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family were regarded by the Chōla emperors as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family was another Vajrahasta Anantavarman (1038-70 A.C.) who was the grandson of his namesake mentioned above and the grandfather of the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But Chōla influence continued in Kalinga as late as the reign of Chōḍagaṅga and even later.

The present inscription is one of the few records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga that have been so far discovered in the Puri-Cuttack region which was conquered by that monarch from the Sōmavamśis about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the location of Chōla-dēsa has already been noticed. Kaḍamvura may, as Mr. N. L. Rao has kindly suggested be identified with Kaḍambūr in the Udaiyarpalayam *taluk* of the Tiruchirapalli District. Alagumma is no doubt modern Alagum which is the findspot of the inscription under discussion. The name is Alaguma even now in Oriya pronunciation. The *vishaya* or district of Rāmaṅga, in which the village of Alagumma is said to have been situated, seems to be the same as the Rāvaṅga *vishaya* mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhānu II.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> Svasti [||\*] Śrīmad-Anantavarmadēvasya
- 2 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē ||<sup>6</sup> dvāshashṭhi(shṭa)-
- 3 samva(samva)tsarē Māgha-si(si)ta-tithau sapta-
- 4 myām vārē Gurau Chōla-dēsa(śa)-prati-
- 5 va(ba)ddha-Kaḍamvura-grāma-vinirggata-Kāsya(śya)-
- 6 pa-gōtra-pañch-ārsha(rshē)ya-pravara-pitāma-
- 7 ha-Pōtāṇḍi[h\*] tat-putra-Bhīmāṇḍi[h\*] tad-vans-ō(d-vamś-ō)-
- 8 dbhava-paramamāhēsava(śva)ra-paramavaishna(shṇa)va-
- 9 disāpati<sup>7</sup>-Kāmāṇḍi-nāmā khyātaḥ ||<sup>6</sup>
- 10 idānīm Rāmaṅga-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha<sup>8</sup>-Ala-
- 11 gumma-grāmīya-Kapālēsava(śva)ra-nāma-bhūmi-ha-
- 12 l-aikam sādhu-prajā-lōka(kā)n pramukhikṛi-
- 13 tya sva-dhanēna krītvā=<sup>9</sup>śēsha-dharma-viva(vṛi)-
- 14 ddhayē śrī-Garttēsya(śva)radēvasya maṭha-prativa(ba)-

<sup>1</sup> See *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff. ; above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ) ff.

<sup>3</sup> See *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly *disāmpati*.

<sup>8</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 15 ddhīkṛitya tapasvinē Bhijē<sup>1</sup> bhōjan-ārthē  
 16 pradattā(ttam | ) tan-madhyād=api śrī-Garttēsva(śva)ra-  
 17 dēvasya naivēdy-ārthē dhānya-pravartta-trayaṁ  
 18 niyōjitam(tam) || aparam=api śrī-Ga-  
 19 rttēsva(śva)ra-prītayē pañcha-purāṇ-ādhi-  
 20 ka-chūrṇi-śat-aikēna ētasya kāparya-<sup>2</sup>  
 21 kasya kula-tāraṇa<sup>3</sup>-akhaṇḍa-dīpa-pa-<sup>4</sup>  
 22 pradān-ārthē iha samāvāsita-  
 23 palli-dēva-pālit-ādihikāriṇā[m]  
 24 [ha]stē prada[ttā<sup>5</sup> a]ñkē hi(pi) pu 105 [I\*]  
 25 [ā-chandr-ārka-kāla]-paryantaṁ sādhu-pu-  
 26 [rushaiḥ\*] paripālanīyā<sup>6</sup> ||

No. 7—BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime about the beginning of 1951, Pandit Vishnulāl Śāstrī, a Research Scholar attached to the History Department of the University of Patna, kindly informed me that he had seen a copper-plate inscription at the village of **Bangāon** (P. O. Bariahi, Sub-district Saharsa) in the Bhāgalpur District of Bihār and that Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, President of the Chhēdnārāyaṇ Club at Bangāon, and formerly President of the Bhāgalpur District Congress Committee, might be approached for further information about the inscription. I at once wrote to Pandit Chhēdī Jhā, requesting him to send me a pencil rubbing of the epigraph so as to enable me to have a rough idea of its importance. Pandit Jhā kindly complied with my request and, on an examination of the rubbings sent to me, I found that the plate was issued by king Vigrahapāla III of the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. I was then eager to have the plate on a temporary loan for a careful examination of the inscription, and Pandit Jhā was good enough to send it to me about the beginning of June 1951. I am grateful to him for this act of kindness as well as for the following information regarding the findspot and discovery of the inscription.

The owner of the plate is Pandit Ghughur Jhā, teacher of the Kalabati High English School, Bangāon. The village is an old one, situated on the bank of the Dhēmurā, a tributary of the Kōsī. To the west of the rivulet, there stands Māhishmatī, the *siddha-pīṭha* of the goddess Tūrā and the native place of Maṇḍanamisra, famous in the Śaṅkarāchārya legends. To the north-west lies Kandaha where there is a temple of the Sun-god, said to be founded by a king named Bhavāditya, and to the north there is the Bāṇēsvara Śiva-līnga, installed, according to tradition, by the demon king Bāṇa. To the west of the village is a Gaḍh-Dīh where some gold coins of the Mughal times

<sup>1</sup> Or, *tapasvinē= dhijē*.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the intended reading is *kāpyaka*.

<sup>3</sup> The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> This *pra* is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *pradattam pañch-ādihika-purāṇa-śatam*.

<sup>6</sup> The word seems to qualify *dattir=ēshā* understood.

were dug out some forty years ago. A poster still hangs at the place forbidding people to dig earth there more than three feet below the surface. There are also several *Gulhs* and *Dih*s to the east and south of the village of Bangāon. The plate under discussion was discovered by Pandit Ghughur Jhā sometime in 1950 accidentally in the south-eastern part of the village, close to the Sharari-Dih. It was found buried in the earth with only the top of it visible above the ground. Pandit Ghughur Jhā dug it up and carefully preserved it in his house.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 13·4" in height, 12·2" in breadth and ·15" in thickness. On the top side of the plate is soldered the Pāla seal (7" in length and ·75" in thickness), shaped like 'the ace of spades' and known to have been called *Dharmachakramudrā*. The legend on the seal runs : *Śrī-Vigrahapāladēvaḥ*. The copper plate with the bronze seal is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation and weighs 425 *tolas*. A portion measuring about an inch in length has, however, broken away from the lower left end of the seal on the obverse of the plate. There are 32 lines of writing on the obverse and 19 lines on the reverse. Considerable space (from 5·4" to 7" in length) in the central part of five lines at the top of both sides of the plate is covered by the lower bifurcated part of the seal, causing a break in the continuous writing of those lines. The seal is fixed to the plate apparently with the help of three knobs passing through holes made in the plate.

The **characters** belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the eleventh century A.C., which I am inclined to call the Gaudīya script. In regard to palaeography, **language** and **orthography** the inscription under discussion closely resembles other Pāla inscriptions of the said age, especially the Āngāchhī<sup>1</sup> and Belwā<sup>2</sup> plates of Vigrahapāla III who also issued the present charter. The letter *g* is written in two different ways (cf., e.g., *samupagat-ā*<sup>o</sup> in line 26 and *purōga* in line 31), one of which is commonly used and resembles the form of *ś* (cf. *samupagat-āsēsha* in line 26). The letter *t* is also written both in the Bengali and in the Dēvanāgarī fashion (cf. *sataḥ* and *itō* in line 50). The superscript *r* is often a short horizontal stroke put below the top *mātrā* towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. *niryāta* in line 48) and is sometimes not easily noticed ; but in a few cases it is put above the top *mātrā* (cf. <sup>o</sup>*r=yajvanā*<sup>o</sup> in line 49). The superscripts in the conjuncts *tt* and *nt* are often undistinguishable (<sup>o</sup>*āvarttāt* in line 25, *kīrttitān* in line 30, *paryanta* in line 32, etc.). Medial *ē* is usually of the Bengali type put to the left of the consonant (cf. *śēsha* in the line 26) ; but in some cases it is put above the top *mātrā* of the consonant as in Dēvanāgarī (cf. *Mīd* in line 31), while in a few cases it is indicated by a short downward stroke or curve put at the left end of the *mātrā* (cf. *vōdha*<sup>o</sup> in line 31, *likhitō* in line 32). Medial *i* is sometimes without the top curve and is undistinguishable from the Bengali type of medial *ē* usually found in the record. The *anusvāra* is written in both the Bengali and Dēvanāgarī fashions (cf. <sup>o</sup>*rājan* and *dūtān* in line 48). The sign of *avagraha* has been used in several cases. The engraving is neatly done and there are only a few errors of language and spelling. The letter *ni*, which is a contraction of *nibaddha* meaning 'registered' or 'approved,' is found both about the beginning and at the end of the first line on the reverse of the plate. This characteristic is also found in some other Pāla grants, including the Āngāchhī and Belwā plates on which, however, the signs are seen on the obverse. Similar endorsements on the copper-plate grants of the Varmans and Sēnas of Bengal show that the two '*ni*'s refer to the approval of the king himself and of one of his high officials.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 293 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVI, pp. 60 ff. The inscription has since been edited by me, see above, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>3</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 64, 75, etc. For an absolutely wrong value attached to the sign, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1950, p. 107.

The charter under review is dated in the 17th regnal year of king **Vigrahapāla III** whose reign has been roughly assigned to the period 1055-70 A.C. in the latest authoritative work on the history of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> As will, however, be shown below, this dating requires modification in view of the evidence afforded by the present record.

The inscription begins, as usual, with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*, which are followed by fourteen verses (in lines 1-21). These verses are found exactly in the same order in both the known charters of **Vigrahapāla III** and have been fully discussed in our paper on the **Belwā** plates of **Mahīpāla I** and **Vigrahapāla III**. Lines 21-23 quote the usual description of the **Pāla jaya-skandhāvāra** (possibly, temporary capital) whence the charter was issued. It is well-known that several of such *jaya-skandhāvāras* are already known from the **Pāla** charters, the same description (suggesting their situation on the river **Bhāgīrathī** or **Ganges**) being applied to each one of them. Our record adds a new name to the list of the **Pāla jaya-skandhāvāras** so far known. Lines 24-25 of the inscription say that the charter was issued by the *Paramasauvata* (devout Buddhist) **Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vigrahapāladēva** meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, **Nayapāladēva**, from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at **Kāñchanapura** which is as yet unknown from any other **Pāla** grant. Line 25 speaks of the land to be granted as a part, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called **Purāṇa**?)<sup>2</sup> of the locality called **Vasukāvartta** in the **Hōdrēya viśaya** (district) of **Tirabhukti**. The lines that follow (lines 26-31) quote the list of feudatories, officials and others, associated with the above piece of land. The same list is also found in other **Pāla** grants, including those of **Vigrahapāla III** himself. The charter then goes on to say (lines 32-40), in the well-known style of the **Pāla** grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of **Vasukāvartta** was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the *pratyāyas* such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* and others) in accordance with the *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya* (i.e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a **Brāhmaṇa**. Like many other **Pāla** grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the **Ganges** on the occasion of the **Vishuvat saṅkrānti**. As expected, this portion of the charter is almost a replica of the corresponding section of the **Belwā** plate already discussed by me. The donee of the present charter was **Ghāṇṭūkaśarman** who was an inhabitant of **Iṭṭāhāka** or **Iṭuhōka**. He was the son of **Tuṅga** and grandson of **Yōgasvāmin**. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been **Kōlāñcha**. He is described as well-versed in *mīmāṃsā*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and as belonging to the **Śāṇḍilya gōtra** having the **Śāṇḍilya**, **Asita** and **Dēvala pravaras**. The donee is further said to have been a *sabrahmachārīn* of **Narasimha** and a student of the **Chhandōga śākhā**. It is well-known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a **Brāhmaṇa** as a *sabrahmachārīn* or *adhyāyīn*, i.e., a student, of a particular *śākhā* or *charaṇa* of a **Vēda**.<sup>3</sup> In later **Pāla** charters, however, we have often mention of the donee as *sabrahmachārīn* of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of 'a pupil'. Thus **Ghāṇṭūkaśarman** was probably a pupil of **Narasimha**.

future rulers of the region not to confiscate the gift land. This is followed by the date of the charter : the 28th day probably of the month of **Aśvayuj** in the 17th regnal year of **Vigrahapāla III**. Next follow in lines 42-47 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The two verses that

<sup>1</sup> *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> The grants of the **Sēnas** of **Bengal** usually refer in a similar context to the annual income of the gift land in **Purāṇas** counted in cowrie-shells (*Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 74, 87, etc.). The records of the rulers of ancient **Assam**, however, speak of paddy in the same context (*Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 78, 99). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measure of the principal crop.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 103, 105, 120, 179, 190, 248, 298, etc.

follow in lines 47-49 speak of the *dūta* or *dūtaka* (i.e., the executor of the grant) and the engraver of the plate in the usual style of the charters of Vīgrahapāla III. What is, however, very interesting in our record is that its *dūta* is said to have been the *mantrin* **Prahasitarāja** described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vīgrahapāla III, the ending *rāja* has been preferred to the expected *pāla* cannot be determined.<sup>1</sup> The engraver of the plate was the artisan Śāsīdēva who was the son of Hrīdēva hailing from Pōshalī. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village. Indeed the same verse also occurs at the end of the Āmgāchhī plate where, however, Śāsīdēva is called *Mahīdharadēva-sūnu* instead of *Śrīmān=Hrīdēva-sūnu*. The passage in our record is, however, grammatically wrong and requires some modification. Whether the reading intended is *śrī-Mahīdēva*<sup>o</sup> cannot be determined, although in such a case Mahīdharadēva and Mahīdēva may have been regarded as identical.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end (lines 49-50). According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmaṇa officers, named Ghaṇṭīśa. This man is described as a *vidhēya* or servant of the lord of Gauḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own *hala*, probably meaning the *jāgīr* under his possession. Ghaṇṭīśa was the son of Yōgēśvara and the grandson of Vivada. This Vivada is said to have been born of Iddhahālā, daughter of Gōhaṇaka and granddaughter of Kāchchha who came [to Tīrabhukti or North Bihār] from Krōḍāñcha. There is no doubt that Krōḍāñcha is the same as Kōlāñcha mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of Ghāṇṭūkaśarman, donee of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the Kailan (otherwise called Kailain) plate,<sup>2</sup> according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmaṇas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāra* and a hitherto unknown son of Vīgrahapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a rent-free holding, a fact of considerable importance in the Bangāon plate is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year.<sup>3</sup> Of course there were the Kurkīhār image inscriptions,<sup>4</sup> dated in the 19th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla, and a manuscript of the *Pañcharakshū* copied in the 26th year of his reign.<sup>5</sup> But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vīgrahapāla III or his great-grandfather Vīgrahapāla II. The recently discovered Naulāgarh image inscription,<sup>6</sup> dated in the 24th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vīgrahapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vīgrahapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers<sup>7</sup> assigned to Vīgrahapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vīgrahapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others<sup>8</sup> assigned the long reign-period to Vīgrahapāla II. In

<sup>1</sup> Was it due to the fact that Prahasitarāja was born of a concubine of king Vīgrahapāla III?

<sup>2</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 174; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1632.

<sup>4</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 36 f., 239 f.; *History of Bengal*, loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Ganesh Datta College Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 1-16; *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXXVII, parts 3-4, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Ray (*D. H. N. I.*, Vol. 1, p. 385) assigns Vīgrahapāla II to circa 992 A.C. and Vīgrahapāla III to circa 1055-61 A.C.

<sup>8</sup> Majumdar (*Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., p. 177) assigns Vīgrahapāla II to circa 960-88 A.C. and Vīgrahapāla III to circa 1055-70 A.C.

the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vighrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vighrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vighrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vighrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

The rule of Vighrahapāla III in Tirabhukti or North Bihār about the third quarter of the eleventh century has now to be reconciled with Kalachuri expansion in that area. Such facts as that the city of 'Banāras' 'belonged to the territory of Gang' about 1034 A.C. when, according to Baihaqī, Ahmad Niyāltigīn, a general of Ma'sūd I (circa 1030-40 A.C.) invaded it,<sup>1</sup> and that the Benares plate (Kalachuri year 793=1042 A.C.) of Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-72 A.C.) records the grant of a village in the Kāśī district<sup>2</sup> point to the inclusion of the eastern U. P. in the dominions of Karṇa and his father Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya. The Karanbel inscription<sup>3</sup> assigns to Karṇa a victory over Gauḍa and the Bheraghat inscription<sup>3</sup> speaks of his hostility with Vaṅga, while his Paikore pillar inscription<sup>4</sup> points to his advance as far east as the Bīrbhūm District of West Bengal. Under these circumstances, the Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, completed in [Vikrama] Samvat 1076 (1019 A.C.) when Tirabhukti was under the rule of Gāṅgēyadēva,<sup>5</sup> may be regarded as proving Kalachuri occupation of North Bihār in the first half of the eleventh century. It should, however, be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) from Sārnāth near Banaras (dated Vikrama Samvat 1083=1026 A.C.) in the eastern U.P., from Nālandā, Bodhgayā and Tetrawan (dated in the regnal years 11 and 31 or 21) in South Bihār and from Imādpur (dated in the regnal year 48) in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār, while two inscriptions (dated in the regnal year 15) of Nayapāla (circa 1038-55 A.C.) come from Gayā in South Bihār.<sup>6</sup> The Tibetan life<sup>7</sup> of the Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa Dīpaṅkara Śrī-Jñāna refers to an invasion of Magadha or South Bihār under Nayapāla, father of Vighrahapāla III, led by 'king Karṇya of the west', i. e., Kalachuri Karṇa. According to this tradition, Nayapāla ultimately succeeded in defeating the invader, while, according to the *Rāmācharita*,<sup>8</sup> Vighrahapāla III defeated Karṇa and married the latter's daughter Yauvanaśrī. It has been supposed that this refers to a second invasion led by Karṇa against the Pāla empire. In any case, the present inscription shows that North Bihār was reconquered by the Pālas from the Kalachuris at least before the 17th year of Vighrahapāla's reign. Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa (circa 1072-1125 A. C.), however, claims to have devastated Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in North Bihār) according to the Bheraghat inscription.<sup>9</sup> It seems, therefore, that the Pālas were struggling with the Kalachuris in Bihār, both North and South, for a considerable period of time.

Another interesting fact revealed by the Bangāon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihār to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha. Ghaṇṭīśa, a Brāhmaṇa of Tirabhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇa named Kāchchha through the granddaughter of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāñcha is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his own land in favour of

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 773.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 738; Bhandarkar, *List*, 1223; cf. the Sārnāth inscription (Kalachuri year 810=1059 A.C.; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1225) of the same king.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 784.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 774; *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 392, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> See *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

<sup>7</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 326.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

<sup>9</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 787.



another Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇa. That Kōlāñcha, together with Tarkārī, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place.<sup>1</sup> The identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śrāvastī country, i. e., the district round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the U. P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal.<sup>2</sup> The suggestion of the former group of scholars appears to be more reasonable. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāñcha, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihār and Bengal.

According to the *Kulajīs* or *Kula-pañjikās*<sup>3</sup> of Bengal, the Rādhīya and Vārēndra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha (Kānyakubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Ādisūra because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vēdas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Ādisūra are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Karṇāṭa, Kērala, Kāmarūpa, Saurāshṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara. His capital is placed by some at Gauḍa in West Bengal and by others at Vikramapura in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Śaka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A.C.<sup>4</sup> There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śūra dynasty in Bengal.<sup>5</sup> But no genuine ruler named Ādisūra is known from the Bengal sources. The only Ādisūra known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihār or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A.C. Maithila Vāchaspatimīśra refers to this person in his *Nyāyakanikā*,<sup>6</sup> a commentary on Maṇḍanamīśra's *Vidhivivēka*, in the passage : *nija-bhujā-vīryam=āsthāya sūrān=Ādisūrō jayati*. Vāchaspatimīśra composed his *Nyāyasūchi* in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 898 (*vasv-aṅka-vasu-vatsarē*), i. e., in 841 A.C.<sup>7</sup> Thus Ādisūra, contemporary of Vāchaspatimīśra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Ādisūra was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihār cannot be determined ; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this

<sup>1</sup> See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 479-80. Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha is also called Kōlañcha, Krōḍañchi and Krōḍaṅja.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, pp. 625-26.

<sup>4</sup> See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. Śridhara who wrote his *Nyāyakandali* in Śaka 913-991 A.C. was an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha ; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author's patron Pāṇḍuśa seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, p. 588n). The case of Udayana who composed his *Lakṣhaṇāvalī* in Śaka 906-985 A. C., is more dubious (cf. *ibid.*, p. 313n).

<sup>5</sup> *Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

<sup>6</sup> Benares ed., p. 290 ; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, p. 68.

<sup>7</sup> See S. C. Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 133. Recent attempts to refer the year 898 to the Śaka era (*J.G.J.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 349-53 ; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, op. cit., pp. 69-70) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Mithilā and the neighbouring areas in the tenth century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as 'the year' as in the *Nyāyasūchi*, etc.

Brahmanical king, probably parts of Mithilā and North Bengal, became important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vāchaspatimiśra. It is possible to think that this Ādisūra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. If this suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to think that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihār. This is further suggested by the possible identity of Maithila Brāhmaṇa families of the Gaṅgaulī *mūla-grāma* (the same as the *gāi* of the *kula-pañjikās* of Bengal) and the Rāḍhīya Kulīna family styled Gaṅgōpādhyāya (Gāṅgulī).<sup>1</sup> There is a strong Maithila element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Maithila families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Kōlāñcha or Krōdāñcha has been indicated above. *Tirabhukti* is the ancient form of modern Tirhut in North Bihār. The district of Hōdrēya and the village of Vasukāvartta in it are difficult to identify. I have not succeeded in locating Kāñchanapura and the village called Iṭṭhāka or Iṭṭhōka.

### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 8 *Sragdharā*; verses 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasanta-tālakā*; verses 5, 22 *Āryā*; verse 9 *Indravajrā*; verse 11 *Mālinī*; verse 12 *Śikhariṇī*; verse 14 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 15-19, 23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 20 *Śūlinī*; verse 21 *Pushpitūgrā*.]

### Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> Maittrīm kārūnya-ratna-pramudita-h[ri]dayaḥ prēyasīm sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō(mbō)dhi-
- 2 vidyā-sarid-amala-jala-kshālit-ājñāna-pankaḥ | jivvā yaḥ kāmākūri-pra-
- 3 bhavam=abhibhavam śāsvatī[m] prāpa śānti[m] sa śrīmān<sup>4</sup>=Lōkanāthō ja-
- 4 yati Daśava(ba)lō=nyaś=cha Gōpāladēvaḥ || [1\*] Lakshṇī-janma-ni-
- 5 kētanam samakarō vōdhu[m] kshamaḥ kshamā-bhara[m] pa[ksha\*]-chchhēda-
- 6 bhayād=upasthitavatām=ēk-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām(tām) | maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ |<sup>5</sup> sau-(sau)ry-ālayō=smād=abhūd=dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmapālō nripaḥ || [2\*] Rāma-
- 7 sy=ēva grīhīta-satya-tapasas=tasy=ānur[ū]pō guṇaiḥ Saumittrēr=udapādi tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām=ānujaḥ | yaḥ śrīmān=naya-vikram-aika-vasati[r]=bhrātuh sthitaḥ śāsanē śū-
- 8 nyāḥ śatru-patākinībhir=akarōd=ēk-ātapattrā diśaḥ || [3\*] Tasmād=upēndra-charitai[r]=jagatī[m] punānaḥ [pu\*]trō va(ba)bhūva vijayī Jayapāla-nāmā | dharmā-dvishā[m] samayitā yudhi Dē-
- 9 vapālē yaḥ pūrvajō(jē) bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny=avai(nai)shīt || [4\*] Śrīmān=Vigrahapālas=tat-sūnur=Ajātasatru=iva jātaḥ | śatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilōpi-vimal-āsi-jala-dhāraḥ || [5\*]

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 89. Cf. Risley, *People of India*, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plate as well as its impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> According to rules of Sandhi the *n* here should change to the nasal *l*.

<sup>5</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III: REGNAL YEAR 17

Obverse

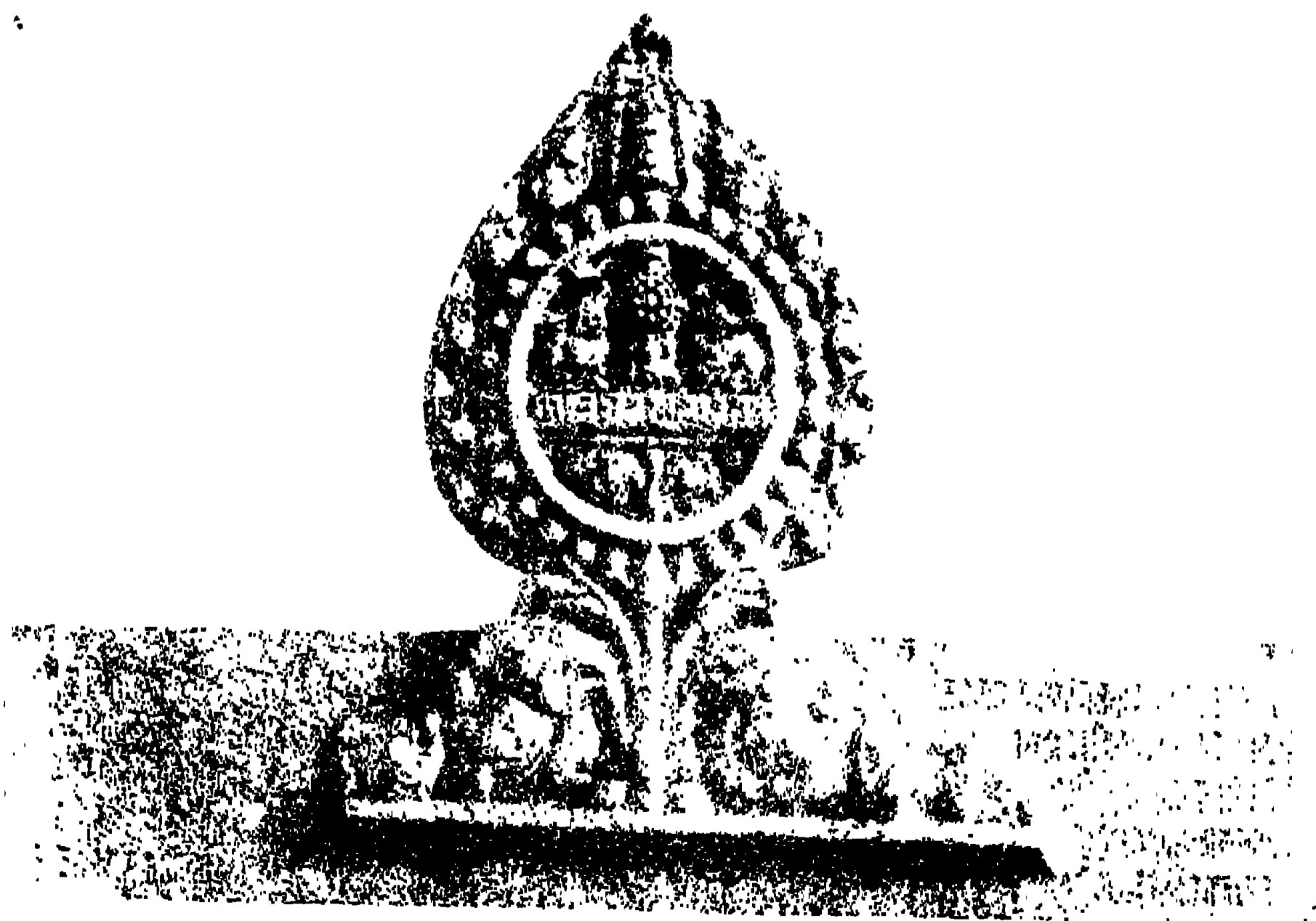
2	विश्वामित्रोऽपि तत्रासीत्	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	2
4	दत्तमिदं यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	4
6	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	6
8	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	8
10	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	10
12	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	12
14	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	14
16	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	16
18	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	18
20	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	20
22	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	22
24	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	24
26	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	26
28	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	28
30	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	30
32	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	यत्किञ्चिदपि यत्किञ्चिदपि	32

Reverse

34 34  
 36 36  
 38 38  
 40 40  
 42 42  
 44 44  
 46 46  
 48 48  
 50 50

34 34  
 36 36  
 38 38  
 40 40  
 42 42  
 44 44  
 46 46  
 48 48  
 50 50

SEAL



From a Photograph

- 10 Dikpālaih kshiti-pālanāya dadhataṁ dēh[ē] vibhaktān=guṇān śrīmantam janayāmvā(mba)-bhūva tanayam Nārāyaṇam sa prabhūm(bhum) | yaḥ kshōṇīpatibhiḥ śirō-maṇi-ruchā śliṣṭ-āṁghri-
- 11 pīṭh-ōpala[m\*] nyāy-ōpāttam=alamchakāra charitaiḥ svair=ēva dharm-āsanam(nam) || [6\*] Tōyāśay[air]=jaladhi-mūla-gabhīra-ga[r]bhāi[r]=dēvālayaiś=cha kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kakshaiḥ | vikhyā-
- 12 ta-kirttir=abhavat=tanayaś=cha tasya śrī-Rājyapāla iti madhyamalōkapālah || [7\*] Tasmāt=pūrva-kshidhrān=nidhir=iva mahasām Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvay-ēndōs=Tuṅgasy=ōttuṅga-maul-
- 13 lē[r]=duhitari tanayō Bhāgyadēvyām prasūtaḥ [|\*] śrīmān=Gōpāladēvaś=chirataram=avanēr=ēka-patnyā iv=aikō bhartt-ābhūn= naika-ratna-[dyu]ti-khachita-chatuḥ-sindhu-chitr-āmśu-
- 14 kāyāḥ || [8\*] Yam svāminam rāja-guṇair=anūnam=āsēvatē chārutay=ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-prabhū-śakti-lakshmīḥ pṛithvī[m\*] sapatnīm=iva śīlayantī || [9\*] Tasmād=va(d=ba)bhūva śa(sa)-
- 15 vitu[r]=vasu-kōṭi-varshī |<sup>1</sup> kālēna chandra iva Vighrahapāladēvaḥ | nētra-priyēṇa vimalēna kalāmayēna yēn=ōditēna dalitō bhuvanasya tāpaḥ || [10\*] Ha-
- 16 ta-sakala-vipakshaḥ saṅgarē vā(bā)hu-darpād=anadhikṛita-viluptam rājyam=āsādyā pitryam-(tryam) | nihita-charaṇa-padmō bhūbhū(bhūbhū)jā[m\*] mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālah śrī-Mahī-
- 17 pāladēvaḥ || [11\*] Tyajan=dōsh-āsaṅga[m\*] śirasi kṛita-pādaḥ kshitibhṛitām vitan[v]an sarvv-āsāḥ prasabham=uday-[ā]drē[r]=iva raviḥ [|\*] hata-dh[v]āntaḥ snigdha-prakṛitir=anurāgau-(g-ai)ka-va-
- 18 sati[h\*] sutō dhanyaḥ puṇyair=ajani Nayapālō narapatiḥ || [12\*] Pītaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ smararipōḥ pūjāsu raktaḥ sadā |<sup>2</sup> saṅgrāmē dhavalō='dhikaś=cha Haritaḥ
- 19 kalam(laḥ) kulē vidvishām(shām) | chāturvarṇa(rṇya)-samāśrayaḥ śi(si)ta-yasa(śa)ḥ-pūrai[r]=jjagad-rañjayan |<sup>2</sup> śrīmad-Vighrahapāladēva-nṛipatiḥ puṇyai[r]=jjanānām=abhūta(bhūt) || [13\*] Dēśē prāchi pra-
- 20 chura-payasi svachchham=āpīya tōyam svairam bhrāntā(ntvā) tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu | kṛitvā sāndhair=Marushu jaḍatā[m\*] śīkarair=abhra-tulyāḥ Prālēyādrēḥ kaṭakam-abha-
- 21 jan=yasya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14\*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nauvāṭaka-saṁpādita-sētuvā(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhramāt |<sup>2</sup> nirati-
- 22 śaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghana-ghatā-śyānāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmi-samāravdha(bdha)-santatajalada-samaya-sandēhāt |<sup>2</sup> udichin-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛitikṛit-āpramēya-haya-
- 23 vāhinī-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūlī-dhūsarita-dig-antarālāt |<sup>2</sup> paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-ja[mvū](bmū)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ā[na\*]nta-pādāta<sup>3</sup>-bhara-namad-avanēḥ |<sup>2</sup>
- 24 Kāñchanapura-samāvāsi[tā\*]t śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrīman-Nayapāladēva-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō
- 25 mahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-Vighrahapāladēvaḥ kuśalī | Tīrabhuk[t]au Hōd rēya-vaishayika-Vasukāvarttāt | yath-ōtpatyā(ttyā) pañcha-śatik-ā[m]śē ||<sup>4</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The *danḍa* is unnecessary. Similarly the *danḍas* further on, mostly in lines 25-41, are superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> A letter has been cancelled between *ta* and *bha*.

<sup>4</sup> There is a conventional floral design between the first two pairs of *danḍas*, while the space between the second and third pairs is left vacant.

- 26 <sup>1</sup> samupagat-āsēsha-rājapurushān | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra-rājāmātya- | mahāsāndhi-  
vighrahi-
- 27 ka- | mahākshapaṭalika- | mahāsāmanta- | mahāsēnāpati- | mahāpratihāra- | dauḥśādha-  
sāadhanika- | mahādaṇḍanāyaka- | mahākumārāmātya- | rājas[th]ān-ōpari-
- 28 ka- | dāsā(śā)parādhika- | chaurōddharaṇika- | dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka- | sau(śau)lkika- |  
gaulmika- kshētrapa- | prā[m\*]tapāla- | kōṭa(ṭṭa)pāla- | aṅgaraksha- | tadūyukta-  
viniyukta-
- 29 ka- | hasty-aśv-ōshṭa(shṭra)-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka- | kiśōra-vaḥlavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvika-  
ādhyaksha- | dūta-prēshanika- | gamāgamika- | abhitvaramāṇa- | vishayapati- |  
gā(grā)mapati- |
- 30 tarika- | Gauḍa- Mālava- | Khasa- | Hu(Hū)ṇa- | Kulika- | Karṇṇāṭa- | Lāṭa- |  
chāṭa- | bhāṭa- | sēvak-ādīn | anyā[m\*]ś=ch=ākirttitān | rāja-pād-ōpajivinaḥ prati-  
vāsīnō
- 31 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān | mahattam-ōttama- | kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga- | Mēd-Āndhra-Chāṇ-  
ḍāla-paryanta(ntā)n | yath-āha(rhaṇ) mānayaṭi | v[ō](bō)dhyati | samādisati cha |  
viditam=astu bhavatām
- 32 yath=ōparilikhitō=ya<sup>2</sup> grām-ārddha-bhūḥ sva-sīmā-triṇa-pūti-gōchāra-paryanta[h](ntā) sa-talaḥ-  
(lā) s-ōddēsaḥ(śā) s-āmra-madhukaḥ(kā) sa-jala-sthalaḥ(lū) sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ(rā) sa-  
daś-āpachāraḥ(rā)

## Reverse

- 33 <sup>3</sup> sa-chaurōddharaṇaḥ(ṇā) | pariḥṛita-sarva-pīḍaḥ(dā) | a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēsaḥ(śā) | a-ki-
- 34 nīchit-pragrāhaḥ(hyā) | samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāya-sa-
- 35 mētaḥ(tā) | bhūmi-chohhidra-nyāyēna ā-chandr-ūrka-kshiti-sama-kāla-
- 36 m mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē bhagavantam
- 37 Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭāarakam=uddiśya | Śāṇḍilya-sagōtrāya | <sup>4</sup> |
- 38 Śāṇḍily-Āsita-Dēvala-pravarāya | Narasiṇha-savra(bra)hmachāriṇē | Chohha(Chha)udōga-  
śākh-ādhyāyinē | mīmāṃsā-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidyā-vidē |
- 39 Kōlāṅcha-vini[r]ggatāya | Iṭṭāhāka<sup>5</sup>-vāstavyāya | Yōgasū(svā)mi-pauttrāya | Tu(Tu)ṅga-  
puttrāya | śrī-Ghāṇṭukaśarmmaṇē | vimi(shu)vat-saṅkrāntiyām vidhivat | Ga-
- 40 ṅgāyām<sup>6</sup> snātvā śāsanikṛitya pradattō=(tt=’ā)smābhīḥ | atō bhavadbhīḥ sarvair-ēv=  
ānumantavyam bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhīḥ bhūmē[r]=dāna-phala-gauravūt | apaharaṇ[ō]-
- 41 na cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayā[t] | dānam=idam=ānumōdy-ānumōdy-ānupālaniyam prati-  
vāsibhīś=cha kshētrakaraḥ | ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kālām samu-
- 42 [ch]ita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kūrya iti || o || Sam 17 Avayau  
dinē<sup>7</sup>. 28 [\*] bhavanti ch=ātra dharm-ānuśa[m\*]sinaḥ ślōkūḥ || Vu(Bu)hubhi[r]-vasudhā  
dattā rā-

<sup>1</sup> A space of about four inches is left blank at the beginning of this line.

<sup>2</sup> Read °likhit=ēyam.

<sup>3</sup> A little above the left and right margins of this line are respectively ni | and ni ||. The akshara ni is written to resemble na within a circle. Ni is a contraction of nibaddha, ‘registered’ or ‘approved’.

<sup>4</sup> A little space is left blank between the two daṇḍas.

<sup>5</sup> The reading may possibly also be Iṭṭhōka.

<sup>6</sup> The expression Gaṅgāyām had been originally omitted and was later inserted. For want of space after y the medial ā sign of this letter is indicated above the top mātrā as in older inscriptions.

<sup>7</sup> The medial i in di had been originally omitted and was later only imperfectly made above the top mātrā. For Avayau, Aśvayau (Sanskrit Aśvayujī) seems to be the reading intended.

- 19 सिरोहीशं वश्यं चक्रेऽग्रहीद्भुव । तोगाख्यबालीसाभूपादखैराजेन खंडितात् ॥२५॥ प्रासादं स्वगृहे चक्रे मेरु-
- 20 मंदिरनामकं । पीछोलाख्यतटाकस्य तटे मोहनमंदिर(रं) ॥२६॥ जगत्सिंहा(ह)नृपाज्ञातो वां(बां)सवालापुरे गतः । प्रधानो भागचुं(चं)-
- 21 बाख्यो रावलः सावलो गिरौ ॥२७॥ गतः समरसीनामा ततो लक्षद्वयं ददौ । वंडं रजतमुद्राणां भृत्यभावं सदा दधे ॥२८॥ बू-
- 22 वीशशत्रुशल्यस्य भार्वासहाख्यसूनवे । स्वकन्यां विधिना भूपो दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)त्रैव ददौ पुनः ॥२९॥ सप्तविंशतिसंख्यास्तु राजन्येभ्योन्यकन्य-
- 23 काः । एकालिगालये चक्रे हेमकुंभध्वजादिकान् ॥३०॥ वत्सरेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके गते । दीपावत्युत्सवे बाई<sup>1</sup> राजजां-
- 24 बुवती व्यधात् ॥३१॥ द्वारकातीर्थयात्रां श्रीरणछोडस्य सेवनं । तथा रूप्यतुलां चक्रे दानान्यन्यानि सादरं ॥३२॥ गोस्वामिधन्य-
- 25 यदुनाथसुतासुवेप्यै भूमिं हलद्वयमितां पुर आहडाल्ये । तद्भूतुंघोरमधुसूदनभट्टनाम्ना पत्रं विधाय च ददौ जगतीशमाता ॥
- 26 ३३॥ राज्यप्राप्तेः समारभ्य तुलां रूप्यमयीं व्यधात् । प्रतिवर्षं जगत्सिंहो दानान्यन्यानि वातनोत् ॥३४॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुराख्येब्दके शु-
- 27 चो । सूर्यग्रहे जगत्सिंहः संपूज्यामरकंटके ॥३५॥ ज्योतिर्लिंगं तु मांघातृसेव्यमोंकार-मीश्वरं । सुवर्णस्य तुलां चक्रे<sup>2</sup> अथ प्रत्यब्दमातनो-
- 28 त् ॥३६॥ स्वजन्मदिवसे मोदान्महादानं पु[रा] व्यधात् । कल्पवृक्षं स्वर्णपृथ्वीं सप्त-सागरनामकं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रं क्रमां(मा)दस्मिन्वर्षे माता
- 29 जगत्पतेः । श्रीमज्जांबुवतीबाई<sup>1</sup> प्रतस्थे तीर्थदृष्टये ॥३८॥ कार्तिके मथुरायात्रां चक्रे गोकुलं(ल)दर्शनं । श्रीगोवर्द्धननाथस्य दीपावत्यसूकू-
- 30 टयोः ॥३९॥ अपश्यदुत्सवं तूर्जपौर्णमां(मा)स्यां तु शौकरे । क्षेत्रे गंगातटे चक्रे तुलां रूप्यस्य वातनोत्<sup>3</sup> ॥४०॥ बीकानेरीशकणं[स्य\*] सुता रां(रा)मपुरप्र-

<sup>1</sup> This dialectal word is used here *avibhaktika*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> Here one of the two verbs *chakrē* and *atanōt* seems redundant.

- 31 भोः । हठीसिंहस्य सत्यत्नी<sup>1</sup> उदारानंदकुंवरिः ॥४१॥ मातामह्या जांबुवत्याः संगे  
रूप्या(प्य)तुलां व्यधात् । पूर्ववर्षे जांबुवत्या आज्ञयानंदकू-
- 32 वरिः ॥४२॥ श्रीजांबुवं(व)त्या अग्रे मां स्थापयित्वा मुदा ददौ । रणछोडाय मह्यं  
सा दानं सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४३॥ प्रयागे राजततुलां
- 33 काश्ययोध्यादिदर्शनं । कृत्वा गृहे सा(स)मायाता चक्रे रूप्यतुलागणं ॥४४॥ वेणीमाकायं  
गोस्वामितनयां मधुसूदनं । तत्पर्ति श्रीज-
- 34 गत्सिंहस्त्रिया सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४५॥ अदापयत्कृतं दानं श्रीमज्जांबुवती यथा [1\*] राणा<sup>1</sup>  
अमरसिंहस्य राज्ञीभिदत्तमादितः ॥४६॥
- 35 इदं दानं यथैवाभ्यामद्यावधि मिति(तिं) वदे । त्रिशत्संमितदानानि<sup>1</sup> आभ्यां लब्धानि  
तत्स्फुटं ॥४७॥ अस्मिन्वर्षे पूर्णिमायां वैशाखे
- 36 श्रीजगत्पतिः । श्रीजगन्नाथे(थ)रायं सत्प्रासादे स्थापयन्बभौ ॥४८॥ गोसहस्रं महादानं दानं  
कल्पलताभिधं । हिरण्याश्वमहादा-
- 37 नं ग्रामपंचकमप्यदात् ॥४९॥ मधुसूदनभट्टाय महागोदानमप्यदात् । कृष्णभटा(ट्टा)य सुप्राप्तं  
भैसडारत्नधेनुदं<sup>3</sup> [1५०॥\*] श्रीराणोदयसि-
- 38 हसूनुरभवत् श्रीमत्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री<sup>1</sup>अमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो  
रानजगत्पतिः(तिं)श्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य
- 39 वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्सत्प्रस्ताराऽऽलेखितं ॥५०(५१)॥ वीरांकं रणछोडभट्टरचितं  
द्वात्रिंशदाख्येब्दके पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा
- 40 सत्पूर्णिमायां तिथौ । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः श्रीराजसिंहेन वा सृष्टोत्सर्गविधेः सुवर्ण-  
नमयं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५१(५२)॥ इति पंचमस्व(स्स)र्गः[ः]
- 41 गजधर उरजण गजधर सुष(स्स)देव सूत्रधार केसालाडा सूदर[अण]ज सालाजा[त]  
सोमपुरा चूतरा पुर[व्य] — संवत् १७

## Slab VII; Canto VI

[Metres : vv. 1-24, 26-31, 33, 34, 42, 43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 25 *Āryā* ; v. 32 *Gīti* ; vv. 35, 36, 44 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 37-41, 45, 46 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे नवाख्येब्देकरोत्तुलां ॥(1) रूप्यस्य [मासे]  
चक्रेथा(थ) फाल्गुने कृष्णपक्षके ॥१॥ द्वितीया-

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *bha* first *bhi* was written and later the sign for medial *i* was scored out.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Bhainsadām Ratnadhēnudāb*.

<sup>4</sup> With this list of masons compare the one given above, Slab III, lines 36-37.



- 2 दिवसे राज्यं राजसिंहो नरेश्वरः । राज्ञो भुवटियाकर्णनाम्नो ज्येष्ठाय सुनवे ॥२॥  
अनूपसिंहाय ददौ स्वसारं विधि-
- 3 ना नृपः । क्षत्रेभ्योऽवाहं(हं)धुकन्या एकसप्ततिसंमिताः ॥३॥ कुलकं । शते सप्तदशे  
पूर्णे दशाख्येन्दे [तु] पौषके । कृष्णैकाद-
- 4 शिकायां तु राजसिंहनरेश्वरात् ॥४॥ पंवारइंद्रमानाख्यरावस्य तनया तु या । सदा-  
कूवरिनाम्नी तत्कुक्षेर्जातो
- 5 जगत्प्रियः ॥५॥ जयसिंहाभिधः पुत्रः पवित्रश्चित्रकेलिकृत् ॥(१) संजातो जगदाह्लादचंद्रमाः  
कीर्त्तिचंद्रवान् ॥६॥
- 6 भीमसिंहः पुत्र आस्ते गजसिंहः सुतस्तथा [१\*] सूर्जसिंहाभिधः पुत्र इंद्रसिंहः सुतस्तथा  
॥७॥ स बाहादुरसिंहः
- 7 श्रीराजसिंहात्मजास्तथा [१\*] स न(ना)रायणदासो वाऽपरिणीताप्रियाभव[ः\*] ॥८॥ आरभ्य  
कौमारपदात्सव(र्व)त्तुसुखलब्ध(ब्ध)ये । श्रीसर्व-
- 8 तुंविलासाख्यं स्वारामं कृतवाभूपः ॥९॥ वाप्यां क्षीरनिधौ धन्यो लक्ष्मीयुक्तो विराजते ।  
नारायणगुणो राणा नौका-
- 9 से(शे)षफणाश्रयः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे एकादशे त्विषे । अजमेरौ साहि-  
जंहा(जहां)दिल्लीशं तं समागतं ॥११॥ श्रुत्वाथ
- 10 राजसिंहो(सिंहें)द्रश्चित्रकूटे समागतं । तं सादुल्लहखानाख्यं दिल्लीशवरमंत्रिणं ॥१२॥ प्रेषया-  
मास तत्पाद्वे भट्टं तु मधुसूद[नं] । कं(का)ठोंडीवंश-
- 11 तेलंगे(गः) स <sup>१</sup>गतः खानसंनिधौ ॥१३॥ खानः पंडितसंबु(बु)द्ध्या भट्टं प्रत्युक्तवान्कथं ।  
गरीबदासो राणेन कथमाकारित<sup>२</sup>स्तथा ॥१४॥
- 12 भालाख्यरायसिंहश्च भट्टेनोक्तं सदादितः । जातम(मे)वं प्रतापाख्यरानाभ्राता रणोत्कटः  
॥१५॥ शक्तसिंहो मेघनामा रावतो मेघ-
- 13 पाटतः । आयातौ स्थापितौ दिल्लीनाथेन किल तौ पुनः ॥१६॥ <sup>३</sup>मेदपाटे समायातौ  
चकार परमेश्वरः । इति स्वामिप्रमुक्तानां
- 14 राजन्यानां स्थलद्वयं ॥१७॥ खानेनोक्तं सत्यमेतत्पुन[ः\*] खान<sup>४</sup>स्ततीवदत् । रा<sup>५</sup>नेश-  
स्याद्ववाराणां संख्यां [कथ]य<sup>६</sup> पंडित ॥१८॥\*

<sup>१</sup> There is a scored-out sign for medial *ē* over *ga*.

<sup>२</sup> First *lō* was engraved which was later corrected as *tas=*.

<sup>३</sup> This letter is *mō* corrected into *mē*.

<sup>४</sup> This is *stē* corrected into *sta*.

<sup>५</sup> There is a scored-out *na* between *rā* and *nē*.

<sup>६</sup> There is a scored-out sign for superscript *r* over *ya*.

- 15 सद्द्विंशतिसहस्राणि भट्टेनोक्तं स उक्तवान् । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षसंख्यास्ति तत्कथं  
॥१६॥ कार्यं स[मा]न(नं) भट्टेन प्रोक्तं
- 16 खान शृणु स्फुटं । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षं राणामहीपतेः ॥२०॥ सद्द्विंशतिसहस्राणि  
साम्यं सृष्टिकृता कृतं । खानो-
- 17 तः कोपवान् खानो जयसिहस्तदोचतुः ॥२१॥ खानसंगे साहिजंहा(जहाँ)दर्शनं चेत्करोत्यहो ।  
राणाकुमारस्तु तदा चतुर्वश-
- 18 मिता मया ॥१२२॥\*] देशा दिल्लीश्वराद्याप्या विद्वरे मधुसूदनः । राणसेवां व्यधादेवं  
स्वामिधर्मी महोक्तिकृत् ॥२३॥ दिल्लीश्वर-
- 19 कुमारस्य संगेऽस्मत्पूर्वजन्मनां । कुमारा मिलन<sup>1</sup> चक्रू राजसिहो विचार्यं तत् ॥२४॥  
सुलतानसिहनामकमहाकुमारं तु ठक्कु-
- 20 रैः सहितं । साहिजंहा<sup>2</sup>सुतदारासकोहसंगेथ संप्रेष्य ॥२५॥ एवं साहिजहांनेन<sup>3</sup> मिलन<sup>1</sup>  
कृतवान्पुः । राजसिहो भाग्य-
- 21 दानविक्रमैर्विक्रमार्कवत् ॥२६॥ जनादेनामजननीं चक्रे रुप्यं(प्य)तुलास्थितां । तथां(था)  
कारितवान्[न्य]त्र गजदानस्य निष्क्रयं ॥२७॥
- 22 ब्र[व्यं] संकल्पितं रूप्यं(रूप्यं) मुवा पंचशतैर्मितं । मधुसूदनभट्टाय दाने(ने)व्रस्तद्द्वौ धनं  
॥२८॥ युग्मं । राठोररूपसिहाख्यं स्वमंड-
- 23 लगढाद्व(द्व)लं । वैश्यं राघवदासाख्यं प्रेषयन्विद्रुतं व्यधात् ॥२९॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे  
त्रयोदशमितेब्दके । हेम्नः सा-
- 24 द्विंशतक[प]लेर्ब्रह्मांडकं कृतं ॥३०॥ कार्तिक्यां पूर्णिमायां श्री'एकलिगशिवांतिके ।  
दत्त्वा(त्वा) वेदोक्तविधिना राजसिहो
- 25 विराजते ॥३१॥ पंचमहाभूतमयं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडं मृज्जली(ला)ढयलधु(धु)मूल्यं । मत्वा सुवर्णपूर्णं  
कृत्वा ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडकं त्वया दत्तं ॥३२॥ हे-
- 26 मब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडदानेन ब्रह्मांडस्थाः क्षितीश्वर । ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणास्तोषिता दानं त्वया ब्र(ब्र)ह्मार्पणी-  
कृतं ॥३३॥ हेमब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडदानेन ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांड-
- 27 स्थां श्रियं भवान् ॥(1) स्थापयन्ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणगृहे दारिद्र्यं हृतवास्तत[:\*] ॥३४॥ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मांडे  
जसिह प्रभुवर भवता दत्त एव द्विजेभ्यस्तद्देवास्त-

<sup>1</sup> The correct form is *mēlana*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Sāhijahā*.

<sup>3</sup> The usual form is *Sāhijahā*, but its variant *Sāhijahāma* is here used obviously for the sake of ease in inflection.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhi* is not regarded here.

- 28 द्गृहे वा परनिजतनुभिर्भुजते भावुकं यत् । शंभूर्भूतैर्विहीनो विधिरपि व(ब)हुधा सृष्टि-  
कार्यानधीनो भानुर्वाशीतभानुधरणि-
- 29 धरमणे<sup>1</sup> भ्रांतिदुःखाद्विमुक्तः ।[1\*] ३५ ।[1\*] व(ब)ह्मांडे राजसिंह प्रभुवर भवता दत्त एव  
द्विजेभ्यः [क्री]डार्थं तत्सुतानां भवत इतिविधु कंदु-
- 30 कैलोलगोलौ । आरोहार्थं च नंदिद्रुहिणसितमहाहंसकौ पंचवक्त्रश्चिन्नायानेकनेत्रो भ[वति]  
सुरपतिस्तर्जनार्थं गजास्थः ।[1\*]३६।[1\*]
- 31 श्रीराजसिंहनृपतिः कलिक(का)लमध्ये कर्तुं न योग्यमतुलं ह्यमेधकर्म प्राप्तुं समस्त-  
मधुना ह्यमेधकर्म पूर्णं तु सप्तदशके शतके सुव-
- 32 र्षे ॥३७॥ एकोनविंशतिसुनाग्नि च पौषमासे ।<sup>2</sup> एकादशीशुभदिने किल शुक्लपक्षे ।  
मन्वादिदिव्यदिवसे मधुसूदनाय तेलंगसद्गुरुकु-
- 33 लस्थकठोडिकाय ॥३८॥ श्वेताश्वमुच्चतममुच्चगुणातिगोयमुच्चै[ः\*]श्रवःसममहो विधिनैव दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)  
। पल्याणहेम[गु]णमेरु[सम] च
- 34 भाति प्रायो हरिर्गुरुगुरोर्गुरर्चनेन ॥३९॥ संस्थाप्य तत्र नवलादितुरंगधन्यस्कंधे सदुक्तिमधुरं  
मधु[सू]दनाख्यं । सत्सप्तविंशतिपदा-
- 35 नि ह्यस्य गच्छ(च्छ)क्षत्रे[स्थ]<sup>3</sup> एव धृतवान्ह्यमेच(ध)धर्मं ॥४०॥ सिंहासने स्फुरितचामर-  
बीज्यमाता(नश्)छत्रोपशोभितशिरा रचिताश्वमेध[ः\*] श्रीरामचं-
- 36 द्र इव(व) भाति सुलक्ष्मणाढ्यः श्रीराजसिंहनृपतिनृपसिंह एषः ।[1\*] ४१ ।[1\*] नवलाख्य-  
तुरंगस्य हेमपल्याणमेरुगं । कृतवानुचितं भूपो विवु(बु)धं म-
- 37 धुसूदन(नं) ॥४२॥ [मणजी]राजसिंहाद(वि)सुखापाठकमुख्यकै[ः\*] । अप्रेसरैर्जनैर्युक्तो विभाति  
मधुसूदनः ॥४३॥ श्वेताश्वे दत्तम(मा)त्रे स्वति<sup>4</sup> ह्यमखसत्पु-
- 38 प्यतो भास्वरोद्यत्लोक<sup>5</sup>श्रीमेदपाटोभवदतिललिता ते सभासौ सुधर्मा । जिष्णुस्त्वं सत्सहस्रेक्षण  
इह विवु(बु)धव्रातकारण्यदृष्टौ तु-
- 39 ष्टौ जेतासुराणां गुरुगुणगुरुतास्थापको युक्तमेतत् ॥४४॥ दानस्य चास्य नवदि[व्य]सहस्र-  
[सं]ख्या दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) गुणज्ञगुरुरेष सु-

<sup>1</sup> This *ṇē* is a correction from *ṇi*.

<sup>2</sup> This *danda* is not necessary.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *th* here looks more like *chh* ; compare *sth* in lines 33, 34 above.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *trayā*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *-lōkah*.

40 रूप्यमुद्राः । काशीनिवासमथ कारितवाङ्मरेंद्रः स्वस्यापि पुणा(ण्य)कृतये मधुसूदनस्य ॥४५॥

विश्वेशदर्शनविधौ म[णिक\*]णिंकाया[स्ती ?]-

41 — — — <sup>1</sup>र्थकृति[मु?]त्तमदेवतानां [। पूजां?] सदाशिषमहो नृपराजराजसिंह-  
वीरोलुभाय स ददौ मधुसूदनाय ॥४६॥ इति श्रीषष्ठः [सर्गः ।]

### Slab VIII ; Canto VII

[Metres : vv. 1, 3, 4, 12, 20, 22, 25-28, 30, 31, 34-38, 42, 43 *Anushūbh* ; vv. 2, 14-18, 24, 29, 32 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 21, 33, 39, 41 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6-11, 19, 23 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* ; v. 13 *Vasantatīlakā* ; vv. 40, 44 *Upajāti* ; v. 45 *Prithvī*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नम[:\*] । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुर्दशमितेब्दके । राधे<sup>2</sup> शुक्लदश-  
म्या(म्यां) तु जैत्रयात्रा(त्रां) नृपो व्यधात् ॥१॥ मध्योद्यद्भ्रानुविवा(विवा) द्विजपतिविनु-
- 2 ता मंगलाद्या बुधातिस्तुत्या जीवातितं(वं)द्याः कविकृतनुतयोऽमंदरूपप्रकाशाः । विस्फूर्जत्सैहिकेया  
विदधति चल[नं] केतवः किं ग्रहास्ते
- 3 <sup>3</sup>[अ]ग्रे सोमप्रतापास्तव विजयकृते राजसिंहेति जाने ॥२॥ पाश्व(श्व)स्थगोलकच्छ(च्छ)-  
ममुंडमाला अन(व)स्थिताः । भांति स्वच्छा(च्छा)ः शत्रुभक्षाः कालिका[:]
- 4 [कि]ल नालि[काः] ॥३॥ किं मृत्युदंष्ट्रा(ष्ट्रा)ः किं शत्रुप्राणसंस्थानकंदराः । किं वारि-  
लोकभुप्रक्तव(र)क्तास्यानीह नालिकाः ॥४॥ किं वा वीररसा[ब्धे](ब्धि)रेव विलसत्क-
- 5 ल्लोलमालो — किं वा दिक्तरणीकटाक्षपटलेनालंवि(व)तः सीक(स्वीकृत)तः । किं  
वारैः स्फुटमेकलिंगमतितो नीलाब्जपत्रान्वितो<sup>4</sup> रानेंद्रः कवचं दधत्सुरुचिरं लो-
- 6 कैरिति प्रोच्यते ॥५॥ ततो दुंदुभीनां निनादप्रतानैर्महाकाहलानां च कोलाहलैश्च । तथा  
संधवैश्चापि वादित्रशब्दैर्हयानां च [ची]त्कारवारैर<sup>5</sup>पारैः ॥६॥
- 7 त्रिलोकीमहामंडल(लं) यत्खंडं जनाः खंडखंडं च(व)भूवेत्यथोचुः । धरित्री विचित्रीः<sup>6</sup>  
भवत्कंपनार्त्ता स्फुरद्दिगा(ग)जा[:\*] ।<sup>7</sup> कंदुकीभावमापु[:\*] ॥७॥ सभूलोकमु-
- 8 ख्याखिला ऊर्ध्वलोकास्तलाद्यास्तथा सप्त लोका अधःस्थाः । सकंपाः समुद्रा[:\*] प्रसंपाः  
सशंपास्तदाऽभ्रे वभु(वभू)वुस्तथाभा अशुभ्राः ॥८॥ जवेनोछ(च्छ)लंति

<sup>1</sup> The lettering of this line is not clear on the impressions ; consequently the reading is very uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> That is *Vaiśākhē*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the intended reading is *patr-ūrchitō*. There is a superfluous *anusvara* over *rā*, if that was meant to be placed over *trā* then the reading would be *patr-ūrchitō*.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of *vārair*= read *rāvair*.

<sup>6</sup> *Visarga* is superfluous here : read *vichitrībhavat*.

<sup>7</sup> This *danḍu* is not needed.

- 9 स्म सर्वे समुद्रास्तथाऽक्षुद्ररूपाश्च भद्रास्तद्विन्यः । महीध्रास्तथा<sup>1</sup>[उ]च्छि(च्छि)लीध्रानुकाराः पत-  
(तं)ति स्म वृ(वृ)क्षाः सदृक्षाः क्षतांगैः ॥९॥ अलं म्लेच्छ(च्छ)सौमस्थिता[:\*]
- 10 सर्ववीरास्तथा मानुषा मंक्ष(क्षु) दिक्षु स्थिताश्च । विदीर्णोक्तोद्वक्षसोऽनच्छ(च्छ)कर्णा वसन्ति  
स्म रक्तं सुरक्तं मुखेभ्यः ॥१०॥ ह्यालीखुरोद्धूतधूलीमधूली गजा-
- 11 ल्प(ली)मदाद्रां(द्रां) च कर्णाशुगोत्थं(त्थां) । पिवं(वं)ति स्फ(स्फु)टं शत्रुपक्षाव(ब)लानां  
गुडारूपलोलालकालिद्विरेफा[:\*] ॥११॥ महोदयपुरादग्रे भांति नाखर्वपर्वताः । त-
- 12 म्मन्ये त्वत्तुर(रं)गालीखुरैश्चूर्णोक्तोद्वक्षसोऽनच्छ(च्छ)कर्णा वसन्ति  
स्थलभावमापुः । दृष्ट्वा जगद्गतजलं सभ-
- 13 यो महेंदा(द्रो) ज्येष्ठेपि वर्षणमहो सहसा चकार ॥१३॥ युष्मज्जेत्रप्रयाणश्रवणविगलितत्राण-  
निःप्रा(निष्प्रा)णकानां म्लेच्छा(च्छ)नां छादनार्थं भवति ह्यखुरोत्खति(त्खात)धू-
- 14 लीसमूहः । माद्यन्मातंगगल्लस्थलगलदतुलोद्दामदानावु(नांबु)वृद(दं) हिंदूकानां निवापांजलिसलि-  
लकृते म्लेच्छ(च्छ)पक्षस्थितानां ॥१४॥ रिंभदंतावला[नां] ष(प)दभरवि-
- 15 गलद्भूमिसंभ(भू)तगर्त्ताः प्रोल्लोलत्कर्णवातैः प्रचलितविलसत्पर्वतानामखर्वाः । प्रावाणः प्राणहीन-  
प्रतिभटकुठि(टि)लम्लेच्छ(च्छ)कानां तनूनां प्रक्षेपाच्छा(च्छा)-
- 16 दनार्थं स्वत इह नृप ते जैत्रयात्रासु जाता[:\*] ॥१५॥ अंगो जातप्रभंगो भवति भयभू-  
तोत्संगरंगः कलिंगो वंगः पूर्णात्ति(र्त्ति)संगः कलकलकलितोप्युत्कलो
- 17 निःक(निष्क)लश्च । शैथिल्यं मैथिलेपि स्फुरति भयमयक्रोडको गौडलौ(लो)को देशः पूर्वो  
विगर्ब(वं)स्तव विजयक्र(कृ)ते प्रासपाणे प्रयाणे ॥१६॥ लंकार्तकाकुलाभू-
- 18 त्करगलदव(ब)लाक(कं)कणा कुंकणाशा कर्णाटः सत्कपाटश्चल इह मलयो द्राविडो द्रावि-  
तेशः देशश्चोलश्च लोलश्चपल इह भयात्केतुवत्सेतुवं(वं)-
- 19 धः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतो जैत्रयात्रोत्स(त्स)वेषु ॥१७॥ सौराष्ट्रो हा(हो)नराष्ट्रः  
प्रभवति सकलः वाछ(कच्छ)देशोप्यनच्छ(च्छ)ष्ठ(ष्ट)ट्टा हट्टातिहीना वि-
- 20 गलति बलको रोमधर्त्ता ◡ — — <sup>2</sup>। खंधारः सांधकारो धनददिगधुना निर्धना  
धावतेद्वा श्रीरानाराजसिंह क्षितिधव भवतो जै[त्र\*]यात्रोत्सवेस्मिन् ॥१८॥ दरी-
- 21 बाजनास्ते दरीबा(वा<sup>3</sup>)सभाजो जना मांडिलस्थास्तथा स्थंडिलस्थाः [1\*] जनाः फूलियायाः<sup>4</sup>  
शिरोधूर्ला[या]सास्त्वदोयप्रयाणे खुमानेशरत्न ॥१९॥ राहेला-

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> These three syllables are missing.

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of the rhetoric embellishment Yamaka, we may, as in the original, read this syllable as *ba*.

<sup>4</sup> There is a superfluous sign of *anusvāra* over this letter.

- 22 याश्चिवहेलाश्चीनच(चे)लाः सुयोषितः । सववेलासुत्रीरवेला भर्तृहनाकृतोभवत्<sup>1</sup> ॥२०॥ एषा  
साहिपुरा प्रवाहितसुखा सा केकरी किंकरीभावं वा
- 23 विदधाति [मं]क्षु सभयाऽकुक्षिंभरिः सांभरिः । भ्राजज्जाजपुराधिवासनमहो दुःखावरः सावरः  
श्रीरानामणिराजसिंह भवति तज्जैत्रयात्रै(त्रो)त्सवे
- 24 ॥२१॥ गौडजातीयभूपानां देशः क्लेशविशेषवान् । अनच्छ(च्छ): कच्छ(च्छ)वाहानां जैत्रया-  
त्रासु तेभवत् ॥२२॥ रणस्तंभसंस्थाः रणस्तंभयुक्ताः प्रमत्तेत-
- 25 रास्तेपि फत्तेपुरस्थाः । व(ब)यानाजना दूरसंसृष्टया<sup>2</sup>ना जयार्थं प्रयाणे खुमानेश ते स्युः  
॥२३॥ मेरौ लक्ष्म्याजमेरौ विषय उरुभय(यं) जायते स्फीतफेरी
- 26 ओडाद्या भं(भां)ति तोडाद्यवनिषु गलितत्राणमाना व(ब)याना । धत्ते फत्तेपुरं न क्षणमपि  
न सुखं दक्षयुद्धे तवाद्ध(द्धा) श्रीराणाराजसिंह क्षितिप जयक्र(कृ)तेऽमानमानो(ने)  
प्रया-
- 27 ने ॥२४॥ पर्वमेवाखवर्गवैर्लु(वर्गवैर्लु)दितं भवतो भटैः । वरीवा(बा)नगरं । शून्यदरीभावं  
समादधो(धौ) ॥२५॥ मंडपास्ते मांडिलस्य(लेभ्य)श्चिता योधैस्तु तद्भटाः । द्वावि-  
(विं)-
- 28 शतिसहस्राणि रूप्यमुद्रावलेर्ददु [ः\*] ॥२६॥ वनहेडास्थिता वीरा राने(ने)द्र भवत(ते)  
ददुः । सद्वि(द्विं)शतिसं(स)हस्तो(स्त्रो)द्यद्रूप्यमुद्राः करं परं ॥२७॥ धीराः साहिपु-
- 29 रावीरा रानेद्र भवते ददुः । द्वाविंशतिसहस्व(स्त्रो)द्यद्रूप्यमुद्रा[ः\*] करे(रं) वरं ॥२८॥  
तोडाया(यां) प्रेषयित्वा भटपटलभृतौ रायसिंहस्य राज्ञः फत्तेवं(चं)दं सहस्त्र(स्त्र)-
- 30 त्रयमितसुभटभ्राजमानं प्रधानं । षष्टि(ष्टि)स्फूर्जत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतसन्मुद्रिकासंख्यदंडं तन्मात्रा  
संप्रणीतं प्रहरदशकतस्त्वं गृहीत्वा वि-
- 31 भासि ॥२९॥ ग्रहो वीरमदेवस्य पुरं महिरवं परं । राजन्वह्नौ जुहोति स्म कोपि कोपो-  
द्भटो भटः ॥३०॥ भवान्मालपुरे रानलक्ष्मीमालातिलुट-
- 32 न । शौर्याऽऽलोकै रचितवान्लो(वाँल्लो)कैर्नवदिनावधि ॥३१॥ युष्मदि(द्विं)गतु(त्तु)रंगप्रचु-  
रखुरपुटैश्चूर्णितानं(नां) पुरेस्मिन्पूर्णां शर्कराणां पटुकरदिघ-
- 33 टाकर्णतालप्रवातैः । उड्डीना[नां] समूहैर्जलनिघय इमे पूरिताः क्षारभावं मुक्ता मिष्टत्वभाजः  
क(क)त्त<sup>3</sup> इति भ[वता] भूप विखो(श्चो)पकारः ॥३२॥ जाते माल-

<sup>1</sup> The sense as well as the reading of this verse is obscure. Compare the printed text.

<sup>2</sup> There is a superfluous sign of *anusvara* over this letter.

<sup>3</sup> This *krīlāḥ* goes with *upakārah*.

- 34 पुरस्य लुंठनविधौ सद्य(च्छ)कराणां पुरः कर्पूरप्रकरस्य या हयखुरप्रोद्धूतशुद्धं रजः । उड्डीनं गगने विभाति भवतो भूयो मया तर्कितं श्रीरानामणि-
- 35 राजसिंहनृपतेः कीर्त्त[ः\*] प्रकाशः परः ॥३३॥ गुच्छ(च्छ)वद्गुच्छ(च्छ)हारास्ते कनकं कन-  
कोपमं । प्रवालवत्प्रवालाश्च प्राचुर्पाल्लुंठनेभवत् । ॥३४॥ सुकर्बुराः
- 36 सुदुर्वर्णाः<sup>1</sup> सद्वरिष्ठाः प्रवालकाः । हृदये(भ्य)श्च गृहेभ्यश्च संप्राप्ता लुंठने जनैः ॥३५॥  
सुजातरूपकं तीक्ष्णं श्वेतशोभं जनैर्मुहुः । नानाम्लेच्छ(च्छ)-
- 37 मुखं दृष्टं पतितं पथि लुंठने ॥३६॥ लुंठने लुंठनकरैर्लुंठितं येन यस्त्वया । तस्मै प्रदत्तं  
तद्दृष्टा तवोदारं(र)चरित्रता ॥३७॥ प्राप्ता भूपालतां रं-
- 38 का निःशंका धनलाभतः । लुंठने पुरभूपास्तु ति(नि)र्धना रंकतां गताः ॥३८॥ लक्ष्मी-  
सन्मणिकल्पवृक्षसुरभीहालाधनुर्वाजिनः शंखा-
- 39 श्चंद्रसुधागर्जेद्रसुमनःस्त्रीवैद्यविद्याया(ध)राः । लोकैर्मालपुरोल्लसज्जलनिधेमथेषु रत्नान्यलं लब्धा-  
नीति विचित्रमंत्र न विष(ष)क(के)नापि ल-
- 40 ब्दं(ब्धं) तथा के(क्व)चित् ॥३९॥ सुवर्णमूल्यस्य तु रूप्यमुद्रिका सद्वस्तुनो मूल्यमभूद्विलुंठने ।  
सद्रूप्यमुद्रामितवस्तुनः पुनः कर्षोपि कर्षस्य(स्य) वरा-
- 41 टकं तथा ॥४०॥ स्वीयव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमंडलीकृतमहाहोमाग्निहोत्रोष्टभिर्धनैर्भूरिधृताद्विस्तुरचिताजीर्णस्य  
शांत्यौ(त्यै) मुखे । वहे(ह्ये)र्मालपुरं
- 42 [शुभौ]प(ष)धमयं होमीकृतं सृष्टवान्मन्ये खांडवमेष पांडव इव श्रीराजसिंहो नृपः ॥४१॥  
टोकं च सांभरिं ग्रामान्ला(माल्ला)लसोटिं च चाटसू । रानेद्रसुभटा जिं(जि)-  
त्वा वंडयि-
- 43 [त्वा] व(ब)भुर्भृशं ॥४२॥ राना<sup>2</sup>श्रमरसिंहोत्र व(ब)ली यामद्वयं स्थितः । राजसिंहः  
स्थितस्तत्र चित्रं नवदिनावधि ॥४३॥ घनांबु(बु)युक्छाइननिम्नगाऽगता नदी भव-
- 44 त्येव हि नीचगामिनी । विघ्न(घनी)कृतो नीचतया तथा तत[ः\*] श्रीराजसिंह[ः\*] स्वपुरे  
समागतः ॥४४॥ मनोज्ञतरुणीगणश्रितगवाक्षपक्षद्वये विचित्रपटघट्ट-
- 45 नाबिलसदृहृष्टे पुनः । समुद्भूतभटैर्युते करटिसद्वटाटोपके महोदयपुरे तपः प्रविशति स्म  
वीरोन्नतः ॥४५॥ इति राजप्रशस्तिमहाकाव्ये सप्तम[ः\*] सर्ग[ः]

<sup>1</sup> Meaning 'indescribable'

<sup>2</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

46 [गज]वर कल्याणसत(त्)पुत्र र(रं)गन(ना)थ भ्रात्र उरजण तत(त्)पुत्रलालालषाः जसा-  
हरजीजातसोमपुरागोत्र . . . . .<sup>1</sup>

## Slab IX ; Canto VIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 9, 12-16, 18-43, 46-52 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 5, 6, 44, 45 *Upajāti* ; v. 7 *Indravajrā* ;  
vv. 8, 53, 54 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 10, 11, 17 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [1\*] शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुर्दशमितेब्दके । शिविरे छाइनिनदी-  
तीरस्थे ज्येष्ठ(ष्ठ)मासके ॥१॥ आ(अरौ)र(रं)गजेव(बं) दिल्लीश(शं) जात(तं) श्रुत्वाथ  
त-
- 2 न्मुदे । अरिसिंहं प्रपि(हि)तवान् भ्रातर(रं) नृपतिस्ततः ॥२॥ अरिसिंह[1\*] सिंहनदप-  
यत(यंतं) गतवान्ददौ । अरिसि(सिं)हाय दिल्लीशः स डू(डू)गरपुरादिकान् ॥३॥
- 3 देशान्गाजादि तत्सर्वं अरिसिंहः सम(मा)र्पयत् । श्रीराजसिंहचरणे सोस्मै योग्यं ददौ मुदा  
॥४॥ गते शते सप्तदे(द)शे तु वर्षे चतुर्दशाख्ये व(ब)हुवा-
- 4 णवर्षं । सूजाख्यसोदर्यवर(रे)ण युद्ध(द्वं) औरंगजेव(ब)स्य वितन्वतोस्य ॥५॥ मुदे कुमारं  
सिरदारसिंहं स प्रेषयामास नृपः पुरैव । औरंगजेव(ब)स्य पुरः
- 5 स्थितोसौ रणे कुमारो जयवान्स जान(त): ॥६॥ औरंगजेव(ब): सिरदारसि(सिं)हवीराय  
देशाश्चगजाद्यदात्सः । रां(रा)णां द्विपद्मोर्पय<sup>2</sup>द(दे)व सव(बं) योग्य(ग्यं) स चास्मै
- 6 प्रददे नृपद्रः ॥७॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते नरपतिः सत्षोडशाख्येब्दके<sup>3</sup> आकार्योत्तमठक्कुरैर्गिरिधरं  
तं डूगराद्ये पुरे । सद्राज्यं किल रावलं विदधता
- 7 कृत्वात्मनः सेवकं<sup>4</sup> प्रेम्णास्मै प्रददौ सुयोग्यमखिलं सेवां व्यधाद्रावलः ॥८॥ शते सप्तदशे  
पूर्णे वर्षे(र्षे) षा(षो)डशनामके । श्रावणे तु वसाडाख्यदेशं द्र-
- 8 ष्टुं नृपो ययौ ॥९॥ भट्टहड्डटे रावलाद्यैर्व(बं)लाढ्यैः प्रच(चं)ड(डं)श्च वेत(तं)डवर्यैरुपेता-  
(तां) । गृहीत्वा महावाहिनीं राजसिंहः प्रतस्थे वसाडप्रव(दे)शेक्षणाय ॥
- 9 ॥१०॥ ततो दुंबुभिप्रोच्चशब्दैर्जिताब्दारवैः पार्श्वदेशस्थितानां जनानां । विदीर्णानि वक्षसि  
वक्षो विभिभं(बं) महाराव(ल)स्यापि नश्यद्व(द्व)लस्य ॥११॥ भा-

<sup>1</sup> Reading of this line is not certain ; its language is not Sanskrit. The list of masons given here may be compared with that occurring towards the end of Slabs III, VI, IX and XXV.

<sup>2</sup> The correct form should be *ārpayad*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sanāhi* is not observed here.

<sup>4</sup> This *danḍa* is superfluous.



- 10 लोद्यत्सुलतानाख्यं चोहाणं तं महाबलं । रावं सबलसिंहाख्यं रघुनाथाख्यरावतं ॥१२॥  
चोडापत(तं) मुहकमसिंह(सिंहं) शक्तावतोत्तमं [१\*] एतान्पुरा(रो)ग-
- 11 तान्कृत्वा<sup>1</sup> एतेषां वा(बा)हुमाश्रयन् ॥१३॥ स रावतो हरासिंहो ययौ देवलिय(या)-  
पुरात् । आगत्य राजसिंहस्य राजेंद्रस्य पदेऽपतत् ॥१४॥ रूप्यमुद्रासुपंचाशत्स-
- 12 हस्त्राणि न्यवेदयत् । मनरावतनामानं करिणं करिणीमपि ॥१५॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे  
वर्षे प(पं)चदशाभिधे । वैशाखे(खे) कृष्णनवमीदिवसे भौमवासरे ॥१६॥
- 13 महाराजसिंहाज्ञया वांसवालेक्षणार्थं फतेचंदमन्त्री प्रतस्थे । चमूं प(पं)चराजत्सहस्राश्ववारैर्महाठ-  
क्कुरैर्गुठितां ता(तां) गृहीत्वा ॥१७॥ ततः समरास(रसिं)-
- 14 हस्य रावलस्याव(ब)लस्य वै । लक्षस(सं)ख्या रूप्यमुद्रा देशदानं च हस्तिनीं ॥१८॥ गजं  
दंडं दशग्रामान्कृत्वाऽपातयद(दं)ह्लिषु । राणेंद्रस्य फतेचंदो भू-
- 15 त्य(त्यं) कृत्वैव रावल(लं) ॥१९॥ दश ग्रामान्देशदानं रूप्यमुद्रावलेर्नृपः । सद्द्विंशतिसहस्राणि  
रावलाय ददौ मुद्रा ॥२०॥ श्रीराजसिंहवचनात्फ-
- 16 तेचंदः स ठक्कुरः । चक्रे देवलियाभंग(गं) हरीसि(सिं)हः पलायितं(तः) ॥२१॥ हरिसिंहस्य  
माता तु गृहीत्वा पौत्रमागता । प्रतापसिंहं विदधे प्रसन्नं
- 17 राणमंत्रिणं ॥२२॥ रूप्यमुद्रासहस्राणि विंशत्याख्यानं हस्तिनी(नीं) । दंड(डं) प्रकल्प्य स्वल्पं  
स फतेचंदो दयामय[ः] ॥२३॥ राणे(णें)द्रचरणाभ्यर्णे <sup>1</sup>आन(ना)यामा-
- 18 स तं व(ब)लात् । प्रतापसिंहं जातस्तत्फतेचंदः प्रभोः प्रिय[ः\*] ॥२४॥ अषे(खे)राजं  
[सि]रोही(शं) रावं भक्ततम(मं) स्फुटं । प्रेम्णैव वश्य(श्यं) कृतवान्राजसिंहो महीप-
- 19 तिः ॥२५॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे षोडशेब्देथ फाल्गुने । दंभबारीमहाघट्टे शैलश्लिष्टे नृपो  
व्यधात् ॥२६॥ द्विट्चक्रकरपत्राभ(भं) ला(लो)हपत्रोच्चकील-
- 20 युक् । वैरिधीपाटन(नं) प्रोच्चकपाटयुगलं दधत् ॥२७॥ अनर्गलद्विषच्चितार्गलरूपार्गलायुता(तां)  
सिंहप्रकोष्ठः(ष्ठं) सत्कोष्ठं द्वारं द्विद्वारवारणं ॥२८॥
- 21 कुलकं । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे सप्तदशे ततः । गत्वा [कृ]ष्णगढे दिव्य(व्ये) म[ह]त्या  
स(से)नया युतः ॥२९॥ दिल्लीशार्थं रक्षिताया राजसिंहनरे<sup>2</sup>श्व-
- 22 रः । राठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः पाणिग्रहं व्यधात् ॥३०॥ एकानावशात(एकोनविंशति) स्वब्दे गते  
सप्तदशे शते । मेवलं देशमतनां(नो)स्वकायत(त्तं) बल(बलान्)नृपः ।

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> First *re* was ongraved, but later on it was corrected into *re* by scoring out the right hand vertical stroke.

- 23 ॥३१॥ मीनाग्निर्जलमीनाभान् रुध्वा(द्धा) वध्वा(द्धुः)तिवःक(हु-क)रात् [।\*] ख(खं)डयामासुर-  
धिकं मीनासे(सै)न्यं महाभटाः ॥३२॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहेंद्रो मेवलं
- 24 त्वखिलं ददौ । स्वीयराजन्यधन्येभ्यो वासोहयधनानि [च\*] ॥३३॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते  
विंशत्याह्वयवत्सरे । श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातः सा(सि)रोही-
- 25 नगरे गतः ॥३४॥ रानीवतो रामसिंहः ससैन्यो रावभाकुल(लं) । पुत्रेणोदयभानेन रुद्ध-  
कऽमायचद्वलात्<sup>1</sup> ॥३५॥ अखेराजं तस्य राज्ये स्था-
- 26 पयामास तत्स्फुटं । राणा मित्रारिराज्यानां स्थापकोत्थापका इति ॥३६॥ शते सप्तदशे  
पूर्णे<sup>2</sup> एकविंशतिनामके । वर्षे मार्गेऽसिताष्ट-
- 27 म्यां राजसिंहा(हो) महीपति[:] ॥३७॥ अनूपसिंहभूपस्य वा(बा)घेलाबांधवप्रभोः । भावसिंह-  
कुमाराय कन्यामजवकूवार(वरिं) ॥३८॥ संकल्प्य विधि-
- 28 ना दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) महाराजन्यपक्तये । गोत्रजाद्यन्यकन्यानामष्टाग्रां नवतिं ददौ ॥३९॥ अथायं  
पां(पा)कशालायां राजसिंहो नरं(रे)श्वरः । भावसिंह-
- 29 कुमारार्द्यैर्बांधवीयैस्तु वा(बा)हुजैः<sup>3</sup> ॥४०॥ अस्पर्शभोजिभिः साकमुपविष्टो विशिष्टभाः । कु-  
र्वाणो भोजनं भाति बांधवीयैस्तदेरित(तं) ।
- 30 ॥४१॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य यदन्नमतिपावनं । तज्जगन्नाथरायस्य प्रसादान्नं न स(सं)शयः  
॥४२॥ तदन्नभोजिन्ये(नो) ह्यद्य वय(यं) प्राप्ताः प-
- 31 वित्रतां । हय(या)न्गजात्सू(न्भू)षणानि वरेभ्योवात्म(न्म)हीपति[:\*] ॥४३॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशे  
सुवर्षे तथैकविंशता(त्य)भिधे तु माघे । सुरुप्यमुद्राद्विसहस्र-
- 32 हेमकृतां शुभोपस्करपूरिता(तां) च ॥४४॥ सूर्योपरागे तु हिरण्यकामधेनुं महादानमदात्स-  
रूप्यां । व्याघात्त(त्तु)लां वा गजमौक्तिकाख्य(ख्यं)
- 33 गजं ददौ वीरव[रो] नरं(रें)[द्रः] ॥४५॥ शत(ते) सप्तदशे पूर्णे पंचविंशतिनामके । वर्ष-  
(र्षे) माघे राजसिंहो दशभ्यो(म्यां) [शुक्लपक्षके ॥४६॥ ब ?]डीग्रामे
- 34 तडागस्योत्सर्गं रूप्यतुलां व्यधात् । नामाकरोत्तड[र]गस्य जनासागर इत्ययं ॥४७॥ ददौ  
गरीबदासाख्यपुरोहितवराय सः । अ(ग्रा)मं
- 35 तु गुणहंडाख्यं तथा देवपुराभिधं ॥४८॥ षट्(ड्) लक्षाणि सहस्राणि<sup>2</sup> अष्टाशीतिमितान्यहो ।  
लग्नानि रूप्यमुद्राणां तडागे भद्रदाय-

<sup>1</sup> The sign for *avagraha* after *ka* is not required. The intended reading seems to be *ruddham = amūch ya*  
*balat*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> *Bāhuja* means *Kshatriya*.

- 36 के ॥४६॥ जनादेनामयुक्तायाः स्वजातुः<sup>1</sup> स्वर्गसंस्थितेः १ अर्पय[र]मास सुकृतं राजसिंह  
इदं नृपः<sup>2</sup> [॥५०] ॥ तथोदयपुरे त्वस्मिन्दि-
- 37 ने राणनृपोक्तितः । महाराजकुमारश्रीजयसिंहो महाश्रिया ॥५१॥ उत्सर्गं रंगसरसस्तडागस्था-  
करोन्मुदा । महादानानि
- 38 कृतवान्वीरो वा(बा)ल्येतिपुण्यकृत् ॥५२॥ श्रीराणोदयसि(सिंह)सूनुरभवत्<sup>1</sup> श्रीमत्प्रतापः<sup>2</sup> सुत-  
स्तस्य श्र(श्री)<sup>1</sup>अमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्ण-
- 39 सिंहो[स्य] वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः<sup>3</sup> श्रीज[य\*]-  
सि(सिंह) एष(ष) कृतवान्वीरः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥५३॥ पूर्णे स-
- 40 ष्तदशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूणि(र्ण)भाख्ये दिने द्वाविंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः  
॥(1) काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टज-
- 41 लधेरुत्सर्गसद्वर्णनासंपूर्णं रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५४॥ इति श्रीअष्टमः सर्गः ।  
संवत्(त्) १७१८
- 42 १<sup>2</sup>अषरे संवत् सतरेसेअठारहो<sup>3</sup>तरावरषे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तमीदीवसे बुधवारे श्रीराजसमु-  
द्रो आ-
- 43 रंभरो मोहूरत कीधोजी । संवत् १७३२ अषरे संवत् सतरेसेवतीसाविरषे माघमासे  
सुकलपक्षे पुरणमा-
- 44 सीदिवसे बृहस्पतिवारे श्रीराजसमुद्ररी<sup>4</sup> प्रतीष्टा कीधोजी श्रीजीराजसमुद्रमो[डो]रोदीन ६ माहे  
मो[डो]रोफेरेने
- 45 पा[छा]पधारेणेतुला सोनारीवेसेने<sup>5</sup> समस्त ब्राह्मणभाटचारणने दान दीधोजी । भट्टरणछोडजीपुत्रसु-
- 46 तलषमीनाथ ॥ <sup>6</sup>गजधरकल्याणजी गजधरमोहनजी उरजणजी सुषजी केसोजी सुदरजी  
लालाजी जातसोमपुरावास उदैपु[र] [॥\*]

## Slab X ; Canto IX

[Metres : vv. 1, 14, 15, 34, 46 *Sārdūlanīkrīḍita* ; vv. 2-13, 16, 18-32, 36, 38-40, 42, 43, 45, 48  
*Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 17, 37 *Uṣajāti* ; v. 33 *Gīti* ; v. 41 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 44, 47 *Sragdharā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [१\*] वृत्तास्योडुपशोभितः प्रविलसल्लावण्यकल्लोलवान्प्रोल्लोलन्मकराङ्ग(च्छ)-  
कुंडलधरो राजीवराजाक्षणः । माणि-

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> From here to the end the language is the local dialect.

<sup>3</sup> This phonetic change of Hindi *sō* into *hō* in Rājasthānī may be noted.

<sup>4</sup> *Rī* is the indicative of the genitive same as Hindi *kī*.

<sup>5</sup> The sense is that it took 6 days to go round the lake, and when Rājasiṃha returned, he performed the *tulā* ceremony.

<sup>6</sup> The names of the masons are also given above, towards the close of Slabs III, VI and VIII as well as below at the end of Slab XXV

- 2 क्योज्व(ज्ज्व)लहीरकोत्तममहाभूषः प्रवालैलंसन्(न्) शृ(शृं)गारामृतसागरस्तव मुदे गोवर्द्धनोद्वारकः  
॥१॥ महाराजाधिराज-
- 3 श्रीजगत्सिंहे विराजति । वत्सरेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके गते ॥२॥ श्रीकुमारपदे पूवे(र्वे)  
राजसिंहो ययौ प्रति । दुर्गं जैसल-
- 4 मेराख्यं पाणिग्रहकृते तदा ॥३॥ द्वादशाब्दवया एव प्रवया इव वु(बु)द्धिमान् । द्वादशा-  
त्मस्फुरत्तेजा इ(ई)दृशीं मतिमादधे ॥४॥ धोधु(धुं)दा स-
- 5 नवाडश्च सिवाली च भिगाव<sup>1</sup>दा । मोर्चना च पसो[द\*]श्च खेडी छापरख(खे)डिका  
॥५॥ तासोल मेडावरको भानो ग्रामो लुहानकः । वांसोल गु-
- 6 ढली<sup>2</sup> एषां<sup>3</sup> कांकरोली मठा<sup>2</sup> इति ॥६॥ ग्रामाणां सीम्नि दृष्ट्वा क्षमां तडागकरणोचितां ।  
स्वमनः स्थापयामास व(ब)द्धुमत्र जलाशयं ॥७॥ धर्म-
- 7 कार्ये मतेर्धर्त्ता शत्रोर्हर्त्ता सदा रणे । यदा राज्यस्य कर्त्तार्यं भुवो भर्त्ताभवत्तवा ॥८॥  
शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे<sup>2</sup> अष्टादशमितेब्दके । मासे मा-
- 8 र्णे ययौ द्रष्टुं रूपनारायणं हरिं ॥९॥ तदनां वीक्ष्य वसुधां तडागं व(ब)द्धुमुद्यतः<sup>4</sup> ।  
पुरोधसाकरोन्मंत्रं कार्यं स्यादिति सोवदत् ॥१०॥ श्र-
- 9 द्वा पूर्णाऽविरोधित्व(त्वं) दिल्लीशेन व्ययो व(ब)हुः । द्रव्यस्येति भवेच्चेत्स्याद्र[र]ज्ञोक्तं स्या-  
त्त्रयं ततः ॥११॥ पुरो हितकर[\*] श्रीमत्पुरोहितपुरः-
- 10 सरः । पुरोहितजयी राजा कार्यं कर्तुमथोद्यतः ॥१२॥ अखर्वयोः पर्वतयोर(रं)तरे गोमर्ती  
नदी(दीं) । रोद्धुं ज(ब)द्धुं महासेतुं रानेंद्रो यत्नमाद-
- 11 धे ॥१३॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशाभिधे तु शतके स्वष्टादशाख्येब्दके माघे कृष्णसुपक्षके किल बुधे  
सत्सप्तमीवासरे । इ(ई)दृक्संख्य इहेदृ-
- 12 शाह्वययुते कलि(काले) तु कार्ये कृते स(सं)ख्यातः खलु नामतोपि च समो मे वाञ्छि-  
तार्थो भवेत् ॥१४॥ पूणो(र्णे)त्रेति च सप्तसागरदशाशाष्टादश-
- 13 द्वीपक्षेण्या(ण्यां) स्वीययशःप्रकाशकृतये माऽधो मम स्यात्क्वचित् । कृष्णः पक्षकरो बुधाः  
स्तुतिकराः सत्सप्तमीदिग्ध्रुव(वं)
- 14 ध्रौव्यार्थं तु जलाशयस्य कृतवान्भूपो मुहूर्तग्रहं<sup>4</sup> ॥१५॥ सेतुं व(ब)द्धुं व(ब)द्धपणैर्धृतचित्रखनि-  
त्रकैः । जनैः खननमारब्धं लुब्धैश्च ध-

<sup>1</sup> The sign of *anunāsika* over *va* is meant to be over *gā*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> Syntactically the word *ēshām* should come after *iti* at the end of this verse.

<sup>4</sup> In this verse there is obviously a play on the numerals of the date the details of which are contained in the foregoing stanza.

- 15 नलब्धये ॥१६॥ तदोद्भूतैः षष्टिसहस्रसंमितैः समुद्रसर्गै<sup>1</sup> सगरात्मजैर्यथा [।\*] अकारि भूमेः  
खत(न)नं तथांबुधिं कर्तुं द्वितीयं<sup>2</sup> रचितं नृ-
- 16 कोटिभिः] ॥१७॥ असंख्ये खनने तत्र जायमाने जनैः कृते । पृथिव्यां पृथवो जाता  
म(मृ)त्तिकौघेन पर्वताः ॥१८॥ महत्कार्यं महाराणा
- 17 मत्वा साधारणैर्जनैः । न भवेत्तत्सुयं स्थित्वा कारयन्भाति युक्तता ॥१९॥ मत्वा<sup>3</sup> रानो  
महा(ह)त्कार्यं सेतुबंध(बंधं) नृव(बं)धहृत् । स्वस्याग्रे<sup>4</sup> का-
- 18 रयामास तथैव कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥२०॥ कार्यस्य महतो ह्यस्य कृत्वा भागाननेकशः । राज-  
न्यादिकधन्येभ्यो वत्तवांस्तान्धरा-
- 19 पतिः ॥२१॥ सेतोर्दार्ढ्यकृते पृथ्व्याः पृष्ठे स्थापयितुं शिलाः । जलनिःसारणं कर्तुं प्रयत्नं  
कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥२२॥ शक्रं पराक्रमैः क(का)लमा-
- 20 युष[।] धनवं धनैः । जित्वांबु(बु)कर्षणे राणा वरुण(णं) जेतुमुद्यतः ॥२३॥ तदा चक्रभृता  
तत्र घटीयंत्र(त्रे)ण यकृ(त्कृ)तं । वृषयुक्तेन कार्यस्य
- 21 साह(हा)य्यमुच्चितं हि तत् ॥२४॥ क्रियमाणे घटीयंत्रैर्जलनिःसारणे जनैः । तेषां तत्को(त्का)-  
र्यकरणे सार्थकः स घटीगणः ॥२५॥ स्वतंत्रैश्च
- 22 घटीयंत्रैरस्वतंत्रैः स्फुरद्वृषैः । घटीमात्रेण घटितैर्भूरि निःसारितं जलं ॥२६॥ जलयंत्रैर्व(बं)-  
हुविधैरुपर्युपरि कल्पितैः । लोकैर्भू-
- 23 पृष्ठगं नीरं सर्वं डू(डू)रीकृतं द्रुतं ॥२७॥ अस्मिन्भरतखंडे तु यावतः संति सांप्रतं ।  
जलनिःसारणोपायास्तावतः कल्पिता इह ॥२८॥
- 24 गुणिभिः सूत्रधारैश्च पामरैरपि ये पुनः । जलनिःसारणोपायाः प्रोक्तास्ते निर्मिता इह  
॥२९॥ इतो निःसारितं नीरं सारणीप्रस-
- 25 रैः परैः । ग्रामे ग्रामे जनैर्नीनं(तं) ग्रामा नगरतां गताः ॥३०॥ यथा ज्योतिषसारण्या  
वास[रः\*] श्रेष्ठस(सा)धनं । कृतं तथांबु(बु)सारण्यावस-
- 26 रः श्रेष्ठसाधन(नं) ॥३१॥ एवं नानाप्रकारेण जलं निःसार्य सर्वतः । सेतुवं(बं)धकृते  
लोकैर्भू(भू)पृष्ठं प्रकटीकृत(कृतं) ॥३२॥ प्रत्यस(क्ष)-

<sup>1</sup> The way of writing the syllable *rggē* is peculiar ; one would read it rather *rgrē*.

<sup>2</sup> The *anusvāra* sign meant to be placed over *ya* appears on the following letter, i.e., *ra*.

<sup>3</sup> There is a superfluous *anusvāra* sign over *tvā*.

<sup>4</sup> The expression *svasy-āgrē* is a literal rendering of the Hindi or Hindustāni idiom *apne sāmne* denoting 'in one's own presence', which, however, literally means 'in front of one's own self'.

- 27 नीरवर्षो जित इन्द्रो गिरिधरेण कृष्णेन । बरुणः परीक्षपूरितजलो जितो राण तत्त्व-  
यो(या) चित्रं ॥३३॥ पु(पू)र्णे सप्तदशे शतेब्द उदिते दि-
- 28 व्यैकविंशत्यभिव्याप्ताख्ये दिवसे त्रयोदशिकया शस्याख्यया[शते] शुभे । वैशाखे सितपक्षके  
खलु विधोवारे किलैतादृशे काले भा-
- 29 विसुकार्यसूचकसमानार्थव्रजाख्यायुते ॥३४॥ जंबूद्वीपवदन्यसप्तदशसु द्वीपेषु कीर्त्याप्तये नि(निं)द्यो-  
द्यनि(नि)रयैकविंशतिमहा-
- 30 दुःखस्थलादृष्टये । घस्त्रेश<sup>1</sup>द्युतिलब्धये कुलमह(हा)शाखाविवृद्धा सदा लाभार्थं सितपक्षकस्य  
व(च) विधुस्वाह्लादकत्वाप्तये<sup>2</sup> ॥३५॥ श्रीराणा-
- 31 राजसिंहोयं सेतोः सत्पदपूरणं । कर्तुं मुहूर्त्तं कृतवाधवग्रहव(ब)लान्वितः ॥३६॥ कुलकं ।  
गरीव(ब)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो
- 32 रणछोडरायः महाशिलां <sup>3</sup>पंचसुरत्नपूर्णामादौ दधे तत्र पदस्य पूत्यै(त्यै) ॥३७॥ वृद्धोपलप्र-  
दानेन सुधापानेन यत(त्)तः । सतोः पदस्या-
- 33 जरत्वममरत्वं कृत(तं) जनैः ॥३८॥ महासेतोः प्रवं(वं)धेस्मिन्महाकार्ये महागजैः । सुधा-  
चूर्णं समानीतं परिपूर्णं न चाद्भुतं ॥३९॥ सर्वतो
- 34 मुखरूपस्य जलस्य मुखमुद्रणं । धीरादरकृता युक्तं राजसिंह त्वया कृत(तं) ॥४०॥  
छिद्रान्वेषी जलगण इह क्षमाप सर्वं सहोद्यन्मूर्द्धिन
- 35 स्वीयं दधदतिपदं दृष्टमात्रं त्वया तु । यत्रैवात्रोचितमिति शिलाश्रेणिभिः क्षारचूर्णाऽऽपूर्णा-  
भिर्द्राक्तदतुलमुखोन्मुद्रणं सृष्टमेव
- 36 ॥४१॥ नूनं कामोसि राणेन्द्र यत्र तत्रोदितछ(च्छ)लात् । शंबरं<sup>4</sup> मुद्रितं तन्वन् युक्तं  
सेतुप्रवं(वं)धकृत् ॥४२॥ कवं(वं)<sup>5</sup>धविक्रमजयी वा<sup>6</sup>नरव्रजपो-
- 37 षकः । रामक्रमाभिरामोसि सेतुं बध्सा(बध्ना)सि युक्तता ॥४३॥ गोत्रेणैकेन चक्रे  
हरिरमितजलं दूरतः शक्रमुक्तं सप्ताहं श्रीम[ता] तद्वरुण-
- 38 समुद्रिन्नं वारि दूरीक(कृ)त्तं हि । 'आसप्ताब्दं सुगोत्रातुलितभरभृता ता(स्या ?)त्त्रिलो[क\*]-  
प्रपु(पू)र्तिस्त्वत्कीर्तिः कृष्णकीर्त्तैरपि भवति परा कृष्णभक्तस्य वी-

<sup>1</sup> *Ghasrēśa is sūrya.*

<sup>2</sup> *Again a play on the date mentioned in the preceding verse.*

<sup>3</sup> *The five conventional gems are : nīlaka, vajraka, padmarāga, mauktika and prasāla.*

<sup>4</sup> *Note the double meaning here, śambara= water and Śambara= the name of the demon who was slain by Prad-  
vumna.*

<sup>5</sup> *Kabandha 'a demon slain by Rāma'; ka-bandha 'damming of water'.*

<sup>6</sup> *Vānara 'monkey'; vā nara 'and man'.*

- 39 र ॥४४॥ श्रीराजसिंहः प्रथमं शरीवं(वं)धमकारयत् । महासेतोस्ततः पश्चात्सेभरो  
वं(वं)धन(नं) दृढं ॥४५॥ मत्स्याः पांडररक्तपीतरुचयः सेतो-
- 40 स्त(स्तु) भा[गे परे पातालात्किल निर्गताः शुभतरं गर्भोदकं निःसृतं । तेनोक्तं त्विह  
सूत्रधारनिपुणैरंभोत्य]<sup>1</sup>गाधं भवेद्भूपालाय निवेदितं नरपतिः श्रुत्वा स्मितास्योभवत्  
॥४६॥ रामो नांभोपसार्य क्षितिशिरसि न वा कारयामास सेतुं गोत्रै-
- 41 ब्राह्मणैर्वैवा(र्वा)ऽदृढ इति धनुष(षा ?) वानरामु(रोमुं ?) व(ब)भंज [।\*] दूरीकृत्यांशु(शु)-  
पृष्ठे भुव इह सुनरैः सृष्टवान्सूपलैस्त्वं सच्चूर्णं रामवंश्याधिकदृढ
- 42 इति ते तत्कृपातोस्ति सेतुः ॥४७॥ स्थले जलाशयः सृष्टो जले सेतो[ः] स्थलं त्वया ।  
कांतारे नग[रं] सृष्टं वीर ते दैवपूर्णता ॥४८॥ इति भट्टरि(ट्टर)-
- 43 णछोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्तिकाव्ये नवमः सर्गः ।

## Slab XI ; Canto X

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 10-12, 16-19, 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37-39 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5-7, 9, 13-15, 20, 21, 33-36, 40-43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 8 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 26, 29, 32 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सुवर्णशत्पुरमात्यमान<sup>2</sup> श्रीद्वारकायां धनभासमानः । चतुर्भुजो  
राजसमुद्रतीरे श्रीद्वारकानाथ-
- 2 हरिः सुतीरे ॥१॥ आनीतमंभः किल राजमंदिरोद्भव(वं) बृ(वृ)षाद्यंमहिषैर्जनद्रजैः । सत्कार्यवयं  
व(ब)हुशस्तदौवि(चि)ती व्याघ्रे-
- 3 ण वाना(नी)तमिदं तद(द्भु)तं ॥१२॥\*] सुवर्णशैले किल जिष्णुरूपः श्रीराजसिंह[ः] कृत-  
वान्मनस्वी । जेतु(तुं) जगत्यामसुरान्स दुर्गं स्वाम(स्वमं)[दि\*]-
- 4 रं सुंदरमद्वितीयं ॥३॥ पूर्ण(र्णं) शत(ते) सप्तदशे तु मार्गे वर्षेत्र शवि(षड्)शतिनाम्नि  
भूपः । पडो<sup>3</sup>दशम्या(म्यां) क्षितिमंदिरे(रें)द्रः प्रासादमध्ये कृ-
- 5 तवान्प्रवेशं ॥४॥ शते सप्तदशेतीते ष[ड्]/(ड्)शतिमि[ते]द्व(द्व)के । ऊर्जष्ण<sup>4</sup>द्वितीयायो(यां)  
राजसि(सि)हो महीपति[ः\*] ॥५॥ हेम्नः पलशतै[ः\*] सृष्टै[ः\*] पंच(च)-

<sup>1</sup> The portion within the square brackets, i.e., from *gē* to *tya* was first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who afterwards added it at the end in the last line, indicating the addition by the *kūkapada* signs.

<sup>2</sup> This *pāda* is short of one syllable. The letter *śa* appears more like *rā*. Perhaps the intended reading is *Suvarṇaśailāt-purī bhāty-amānaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Paḍō-daśamī* here is only the form in local dialect of *Pāṇḍu-daśamī* in 1. 39, p. 51, and means the tenth day of the yellow month, i.e., Māgha. Mr. Shaktidhar Guleri informs me that *paḍu-pañchamī* and *paḍu-daśamī* are observed as festivals in Kūngrū on the 5th and 10th days respectively of the bright-half of Māgha.—N.P.C.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Ūrjuh-kriṣṇu-* ; the first word meaning *Kārttika*.

- 6 कल्पद्रुमैर्युतं । हेम्नः पलशतैः स(सृष्टं) महाभूतघटाभिधं ॥६॥ हिरण्याश्वरथं रूप्य-  
मुद्रादशशतैः कृतं । दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) महादानयुग-
- 7 मेतद्विप्रानतोषयत् ॥७॥ विप्रेभ्यो राजसिंह प्रभुमुकुट घटः श्रीमहाभूतपूर्वा(र्वी) व[त्तो]  
देवद्रुमावतः सकलसुरमयो
- 8 मेरुरेव त्वया य[त्\*] । तद्देवाः स्थानहीनाः कृतमतय इतो ब्राह्मं(ब्राह्म)णेषु प्रविष्टास्ते  
जाता भूमिदेवा [द]धति गृहगणे मेरुभोगं त(त्व)-
- 9 दीये ॥८॥ एकादश सहस्ता(स्त्रा)णि षट् शतानि च सप्ततिः । लग्नानि लग्ना<sup>1</sup> रूप्यस्य  
मुद्राणां दानयोरिह ॥९॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तद-
- 10 [शे]थ वर्षे चकार षड्(षड्)शतिनाम्नि राघे । सितत्रयोदशभिधेहि सेतोर्नृपो मुहूर्त्तं पुरि  
का(कां)करा(रो)ल्यां ॥१०॥ ततोत्र खातो र-
- 11 चितः पृथिव्यां जनैर्विचित्रैः पृथुभिः खनित्रैः । महाशिलाभिः समुथा(धा)भराभिः सेतोः  
पदं पूरितमेव तु(तुं)गं ॥११॥ पणै(पूर्णै)
- 12 शते सप्तदशेथ वर्षे<sup>2</sup> आ[षा]ढमासादिक एव जाता । ज्येष्ठेत्र षड्(षड्)शतिन्म(ना)म्नि नव्या  
जलस्थितिर्वृष्टिभवा तडागे ॥१२॥ [वर्षे]त्रा-
- 13 षाढबहुलपक्षस्म<sup>3</sup>रतियो(थौ) रवौ । व[र्षा]ष्टकेन वा पंचमासैः षड्(षड्)शतिभिः कृतं ॥१३॥  
मुखसेतोस्तु भूपृष्ठं शि<sup>4</sup>सुधापूर्णशिला-
- 14 गणैः [1\*] पूरितभित्तिरूपोच्चं सूत्रधारैर्ध्रुवं कृतं ॥१४॥ ईदृक्कालकृतस्यास्य दृष्ट्या  
सिध्य(द्ध)ष्टकं नृणां । पंचेन्द्रियाणां पापांतः
- 15 षड्(षड्)मिहरण(णं) भव(वे)त्<sup>5</sup> ॥१५॥ अस्मिन्न(न्म)हावत्सर एव नव्य(व्यं) संस्थापितं ज(य)त्तु  
जल(लं) तडागे । दु(द्व)रीकृतं तत्तु समस्तमेवं जनैश्च-
- 16 तुष्कीकरणे प्रवीणैः ॥१६॥ आशाचतुष्कागतमानवैर्नवैर्नानाचतुष्करः खनिता जलाशये [1\*]  
दि(द्व)ष्ट्या चतुष्कीयुत एतसो-<sup>6</sup>
- 17 द्रुत नृणा(णां) पुमर्थोच्चचतुष्कदो<sup>7</sup>भव(वे)त् ॥१७॥ ततश्चतुष्कीगणनिःसृ(सृ)ताना(नां) मूर्धा  
समूहा मनुजैर्पृ(र्ष)षाद्यैः । सहस्त(स्त्र)संख्यैः सु-

<sup>1</sup> *Lagnāni* goes with *sahasrāni* and *śatāni*, while *lagnā* qualifies *saptatiḥ*. It may further be observed that the word *lagna* is used here in the sense of *vyayita* 'spent', which is more common in Hindi than in Sanskrit.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the word *smara* here seems to be five from the conventional number of five assigned to the arrows of *Kāma*.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *śi* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> There is a play upon the numbers mentioned in this stanza with reference to those of the date occurring in verse 13 above. The six *ūrmis* are enumerated as *śōka-mōhan jarū-mṛityū kshul-pipāsā śhad-ūrmayāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps we have to read *ēsha sō-dbhūtō*, referring to *taḍḍaga* or *jalāśaya*.

<sup>7</sup> Again a play on the number four, *pumarik-ōchcha-chalushka* means *purushārtha-chalushṭaya : dharmā, artha, kama, and mōksha*.



- 18 खतः प्रभीता मध्यस्य सेतोः परिपूरणाय ॥१८॥ मृदां शणैः कल्पितपर्दतौघाः सेतो  
[वि]लीनाः क्व व(च) नैव दृश्याः । यथा पुरा रा-
- 19 घवसेतुबंधे याता विलीनत्वमहो गिरीन्द्राः ॥१९॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तविंशतिनामके ।  
वर्षे स्वजन्मदि-
- 20 वसे हेमहस्तिरथ(थं) शुभं ॥२०॥ हेम्नो विश्वत्यग्रदशशततोलकनिर्दिष्टं । महादानविधानेन  
राजसिंहनृपो
- 21 ददौ ॥२१॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशे सुवर्षे सप्तविंशत्यभिधे जुहूर्त्तः । आथाढमासेऽमि-  
तसच्चतुर्था(थ्या) नृपेणे(ण) नोः(नौ)[स्था]-
- 22 पनकस्य सृष्टः ॥२२॥ जनैस्तृतीयादिवसे तु नौकायोग्यं जलं नेति कृते विचारे ।  
आगामिवर्ष(र्षे) तु वृ(वृ)हस्पतिः स्यात्सि-
- 23 हस्थितस्तत्सुमुहूर्त्त\*] एषः ॥२३॥ नान्योत्र वर्षेस्ति तडागक(कार्ये) मुख्यस्तु री(रा)णा  
वत रामसिंहः । तदा<sup>१</sup>कृतवानस्ति हि चोक-
- 24 डीन(नां)<sup>२</sup> मध्य(ध्ये) जलं क्षेप्यमिहान्यद(दं)भः ॥२४॥ नौकाम(मु)हूर्त्तो(र्त्त)स्तु महापुरोश्वा गरीब-  
दासाभिध उक्तवान(न्वै ?) । अग्रे प्रभोरेष जना
- 25 विचार(रं) कुर्व(वं)ति राजश्रिति वा महा(हां)त(तः) ॥२५॥ आश्चर्यमेषा(षां) नम भाति  
चित्ते स्यात्कार्यमासीत्सुखवाभ्रपस्तत् । श्रुत्वा द्विजा-
- 26 न्वाहणसूक्तमंत्र(त्रा)न्<sup>३</sup> जप्तुं स विद्वानदिशत्पुरोधः[\*] ॥२६॥ शृंगारपूर्णा प्रविधाय नौकां  
मुहूर्त्तमागामिसुवासरे तु । नौकाधि-
- 27 रोहस्य मुदा विधातुं कृतप्रतिज्ञं नृपरार्जसिंहं ॥२७॥ समीक्ष्य शक्रोपि संचित एवा-  
भवत्तदस्मिन्सय(म)ये मया चेत् ।
- 28 क्रियते वृष्टिर्न तदा ममेव दोषं वदिष्यति जनाः समस्ताः ॥२८॥ इन्द्रात्प्रभुत्वं त्विति  
पद्यपाठ(ठं) चित्तेवधार्येति ममांश ए-
- 29 षः । पूर्णास्य कार्येति मया प्रतिज्ञा रक्ष्या द्विजानान(म)पि सुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) ॥२९॥  
ततस्तृतीयादिवसे द्वितीये यामे ववर्षुर्जल-
- 30 दा मुहूर्त्तां(र्त्तं) । नौकाधिरोहस्य चकार भूपो मंदाकिनीनौः(नौ)स्थितशक्रतुल्यः ॥३०॥  
उक्तं जनैः कर्तुमयं यदेव समुद्यतस्तत्पर-
- 31 मेश्वरोत्र । करोति चाग्रे सफलं सुकार्यं भविष्यतीत्यस्य तथो(था)भवत्तत् ॥३१॥ पूर्णे शते  
सप्तदशे सुवर्षेऽष्टाविंशतिभ्राजि-

<sup>१</sup> Read tad=ōktanīm=.

<sup>२</sup> The word chōkaḍī is Marwari chokri, Sanskrit chatushkī, meaning here 'excavated square'.

<sup>३</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here. For the Vārūṇa sūktu, see Rīgvēda, I, 25, 19.

- 32 तनामधेये । राक(का)तिथौ नालविमुद्रणं द्राक्<sup>1</sup> ज्येष्ठे(ष्ठे) कृतं सूत्रधरैर्नृपोक्त्या ॥३२॥  
शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे<sup>1</sup> एकोनत्रिंशदाह्वये ।
- 33 वर्षे विधुग्रहे माघे दानं कल्पलतात्मकं ॥३३॥ हेम्नः सार्द्धशतद्वंद्वपं(प)लैः सृष्ट(ष्टं) ददौ  
तथा । हेम्नस्त्वशीत्यग्रशततोलकः
- 34 परिकल्पितैः ॥३४॥ हलैस्तु पंचभिर्युक्तं पंचलांगलनामकं । भावलीग्रामसंयुक्त(क्तं) महादानं  
ददौ नृपः ॥३५॥ अष्टाविं-
- 35 शत्यग्रदशशततोलकसंमितिः । हेम्नः समभवद्विद्व्यदानयोरनयोरिह ॥३६॥ पूण(णं) शते  
सप्तदशे सदेकोनत्रिंश-
- 36 दास्याब्दमुफाल्गुनेत्र [1\*] कृष्ण(कृष्णो)त्तम(मं)कादशिकादिने वा शुभे भवानीगिरिपाह्वंदेश(शे)  
॥३७॥ सत्संगिकार्यस्य तु मुख्य-
- 37 सेतौ नृपो मुहूर्तं कृतवान्कृतींद्रः । इलक्षणीकृतैः पांडरवर्ण[युक्तैः\*] सुधाधिसिक्तैर्दुडसंधिबंधैः ॥३८॥  
महोपलैः पेशलसूत्रधारै-
- 38 विस्त्यमान(विस्तार्यमाणे) किल संगिकार्ये । धृते(तो)दये स(सं)गिति कार्यवर्ये नृपस्य चित्तं  
सुखसंगि जातं ॥३९॥ शते सप्तदशेतीते<sup>1</sup> एको-
- 39 नत्रि(त्रिं)शदाह्वये । ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठस्य शुक्लसप्तमया(भ्यां) राजसिंहो महीपतिः ॥४०॥ एकर्जि-  
(लि)गालये त्विद(त्विद्र)सर आस्थे जलाशये ।
- 40 ससोपाने जीर्णसेतौ प्रतोलीनां चतुष्टय(यं) ॥४१॥ व्यधात्सुवप्रं सत्काय(यं) सुशिला-  
गणरां(रं)जितं । अष्टादशसहस्रा-
- 41 णि रूप्यमुद्रावलेरिह ॥४२॥ लग्नानि राणवीरोक्त्या प्रशस्तिर्निर्मिता मया । श्रुत्वा तां  
स ददावाज्ञा(ज्ञां) शिलायां
- 42 लिखनाय<sup>2</sup> म(मे) ॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्तिनाममहाकाव्ये रणछोडभद्रविरचिते दस(श)म[\*]  
सर्गः ॥

## Slab XII : Canto XI

[Metres : vv. 1, 13, 14 *Upajāti* ; vv. 2-12, 15-48, 51-57 *Anushtubh*, vv 49, 50 *Gāthā*.]

- 1 [॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सेतोर्मितिः पंच शतानि वैर्धे मुख्यस्य वै पंचदशोत्तराणि ।  
तले गजानां च शतानि पंच से(सै)कान्यशीति-

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.<sup>2</sup> Better read *lēkhanāya*.

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- 43 jabhiḥ Sagar-ā[di\*]bhiḥ [[\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[ni](lam) || [15\*]  
Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmi[ni\*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmānau  
niyataṁ svarga-gāmi-
- 44 nau || [16\*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇam=ēkañ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulam(lam) | haran=  
narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhu(hū)ta-saṁplavam || [17\*] Shash[ṭ]i-va[r]sha-sahasrāṇi sva[r]gē  
mōdati bhūmidah | ākshēptā ch=ānu-
- 45 mantā cha tāny=ēva narakō vasēt || [18\*] Sva-dattām paradattām vā yō harō[ta\*] vasundharām  
| sa visā(shṭhā)yā[ni\*] kṛimi[r]-bhūt[v]ā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatō || [19\*] Sarvān=ētān=  
bhāvinaḥ pā[r]thivēndrā[ni\*]
- 46 bhūyō bhūyaḥ prā[r]thayaty-ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=yan-dha[r]ma-sēturu[ni]=nripānā[ni]  
kālē kālē pālanīyaḥ kramēṇa || [20\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[ni\*] śriyam=  
anuchintya manushya-
- 47 jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhyā(ddhvā) nahi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō  
vilōpyā iti<sup>1</sup> Śrīmān Vighrahapālah<sup>2</sup> kshitipatir=akarōt<sup>2</sup> sva-dēhajanmā-
- 48 nam(nam | ) sa śrī-Prahasitarājāni<sup>3</sup> mantriṇam=iha śāsanē dūtāni(tam) || [22\*] ||<sup>3</sup> Pōshali-  
grāma-niryāta-śrīmān-Hrīdēva<sup>4</sup>-su(sū)nunā | ida[ni\*] śāsanam=utkīrṇa[ni\*] śrī-Śāsīdēvōna<sup>5</sup>  
śilpi-
- 49 nā ||<sup>6</sup> [23\*] || Krōḍāñchān-niriyāya Kāchehha iti yaḥ sad-Vā(d-Brā)hmaṇānāni sthitis=tasmād=  
Gōhaṇakō dvij-ōttama-gṛiham<sup>7</sup>=viśrāma-bhūr=yajvanāni(nām) | asmād=Iddhahal-ṛti  
yatra Viva-
- 50 dau(dō) Yōgēśvarō yat-sutaḥ khyātas=Tuṅga itō=pi nirmmala-yaśū Ghaṇṭīsa-nūm=ātmajaḥ  
|| [24\*] Yō Gauḍ-ādhipatēr-asīma-guṇa-bhū rājñō<sup>8</sup> vidhēyō diśām=bhūpālēshu vidhāya
- 51 maitryam=asamāni sant[u]shṭa-chitt-āchitaḥ [[\*] kṛitvā śūsanatma(m=ē)tad=ātma-dbha(ha)-  
lataḥ kām=apy=avanya(ndhya)-sthitim viśrāmāya cha dīna-duḥkhita-janasy=ābhūd=ih-  
aiv=āśra[ma\*]m || [25\*]

No. 8—KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

(2 Plates)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, MADRAS

The set of copper-plates which is edited below<sup>9</sup> was discovered at Kalidindi, a village in the Kaikalur taluk of the Krishna District, by a farmer while digging for earth in 1938. It was handed over to me by the late Sri G. Ramabrahmam Chaudary, the editor of the *Prajāmītra*, who had obtained it from the discoverer, for decipherment and publication. The set consists of five copper-plates of which the last is a broken fragment. The copper-plates measure

<sup>1</sup> Better read *vilōpyāḥ* || [21\*] *iti* |

<sup>2</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> There is a small vacant space between the two double *danḍas*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śrīmad-Hrīdēva*.<sup>9</sup> As already noticed, the Āngāchhī plate has the same verse reading, however, in the corresponding passage, *Mahādharaḍēva*. If the reading intended in our record is *śrī-Mahīdēva*, it may be suggested that this Mahīdēva is the same as Mahādharaḍēva of the Āngāchhī plate.

<sup>5</sup> Read either *śrī-Śāsīdēva-śilpinū* or *Śāsīdēvāna śilpinū* to suit the metre.

<sup>6</sup> There is a floral design between the double *danḍas*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *griham vi*.

<sup>8</sup> Originally *jñāḥ* was incised.

<sup>9</sup> This is C. P. No. 5 of the *An. Rep. S. I. E.* for the year, 1937-38.

5" by 10" each, while the length of the broken portion of the fifth plate varies from 2" to 3½". They are all strung on a circular ring about ½" in thickness and 5" in diameter, the ends of which are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal about 3" in diameter with the rim raised all round. The set of plates with the ring weighs 292 *tolas*; and the plates alone weigh 200 *tolas*.<sup>1</sup> The ring had been cut before the plates came to my hands.

**The seal:** This is a very fine specimen of the seal of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The surface of the seal is countersunk on either side. The base of the seal is moulded into the shape of a four-petalled flower. On the upper face, it bears the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanānkuṣam* in relief across the middle. Above the legend are represented in relief the crest of the Eastern Chālukya royal family, viz., the boar in a running posture facing the proper left, and other symbols of royalty: the elephant goad, the *ḍamāru* or the double drum, the *śaikha* or the couch shell, two *chaurīs* or flywhisks and the royal parasol. The figures of the crescent moon and the sun are found at the top. Below the legend are seen three objects, a four-legged stool in the proper right, a four-petalled flower in the centre, and a lotus bud with a stalk in the proper left.

**The alphabet** is old Telugu, commonly met with in the inscriptions of the period to which the record belongs. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank; the other plates are written on both the sides. A peculiarity which is common to the copper-plate charters of Rājarāja I, the donor of the present grant, may be noticed here. Including the present grant there are three sets of copper-plate records of the king that have come to light so far; and they are all partially palimpsests.

Of the present grant the latter part is a palimpsest. Beginning with line 75 (10th line on the second side of the third plate), traces of earlier writing are distinctly visible up to the very end of the inscription; but the characters have been so thoroughly beaten in that it is almost impossible to make out any letter. The reasons which prompted the adherence to this practice by the secretariat of Rājarāja I are not quite obvious. The first two plates have perhaps been engraved by a different hand; but the form of the characters throughout the inscription is so much alike that it is not possible to lay any emphasis on this point.

**The language** of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, both verse and prose, 41 stanzas in different metres and 8 prose passages of varying length interspersed among them. However, a few Telugu words have crept into the text of the inscription, while describing the topography of the village granted, e.g., line 75, *Pallapu-Gudravāra-vishayam*; lines 108-9, *Tāmarakolani-Krovviṅḍlētāni-bāsina-Tallikroyya-nāma nadī*. Several errors, mostly scribal, are found in the text and they have been noticed in the footnotes. The date of the record is either not given or lost in the missing portion. If the date were given,<sup>2</sup> as in the Nandampūṇḍi grant of the same king, at the end of the record, it must have been lost with the major part of the fifth plate.

The text of the genealogy including the *praśasti* embodied in the inscription under consideration presents close textual affinities, with slight variations here and there with the other Chālukya charters of the period especially the Kōrumelli plates<sup>3</sup> and the Nandampūṇḍi grant<sup>4</sup> of Rājarāja I himself and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant<sup>5</sup> of his father, Vimalāditya.

<sup>1</sup> The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly furnished me, at my request, with the necessary details pertaining to the measurement, weight, etc., of the plates.

<sup>2</sup> The Superintendent for Epigraphy believes that the Kalidiṅḍi Plates were 'issued shortly after the king's (Rājarāja's) accession in Śaka 944 (A. D. 1022).' See *An. Rep. on S. I. H.*, 1937-38, part ii, para 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and plates.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 300 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 347 ff. and plates.

The text of the present inscription falls into four divisions: I. the genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukyas up to Rājarāja I; II. the narration of the circumstances in which the grant was made; III. the description of the boundaries of the village which is the subject of the present grant, and IV. the imprecatory verses together perhaps with the names of the author of the *prāsasti* and the scribe.

I. This part further divides itself into two sub-sections:—(a) legendary, and (b) historical.

(a) The legendary genealogy opens with Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Atri, Chandra, etc., and proceeds without a break up to Udayana, the son of Śatānīka. Then comes a hiatus which the composer of the genealogy bridges up with fifty-nine nameless kings who are said to have ruled at Ayōdhyā. The sixtieth, Vijayāditya by name, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha, where, in an encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava, he perished. His posthumous son, Viṣṇuvardhana, however, restored the fortunes of his family and established his authority over the country between the Narmadā and the Sētū.

The first point that has to be considered here is the origin of the legendary genealogy. No traces of it are to be found in the numerous records of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs till we come to the time of Vimalāditya's accession. Certain features of this legendary genealogy are found in some contemporary records of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi.<sup>1</sup> The reign of Vimalāditya marks an important stage in the development of the *prāsasti* of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The records of the early monarchs of the dynasty from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana to Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III embody, with some small variations, the *prāsasti* found in the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, and mention generally the immediate ancestors of the donor without giving any particulars about them. With the accession of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III there sets in a change; while the preamble retains its original form, the part relating to the donor and his parentage undergoes a change. The names of his immediate ancestors yield place to an elaborate list of all the past kings of the dynasty, in which are set forth the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reigns. With the passing of each generation, the list increases in length and the *prāsasti* is soon transformed into a family chronicle. This form was adhered to for a long time; and no further change is perceptible in the charters of the subsequent period until the accession of Vimalāditya, when, as pointed out already, a further change was introduced in the form of a long Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodying their lineage and *gotra*. The circumstances under which this change was introduced are not known. It is not, however, unlikely that it was due to the Chōḷa influence on the Eastern Chālukya kings since the restoration to power of the main line in 999-1000 A. C. The latter had political as well as matrimonial relations with the Chōḷas.

Another point that deserves consideration is the historicity of Vijayāditya, the ancestor from whom the Chālukyas are said to have descended in the later Eastern Chālukya records. It is believed by some scholars that this Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōḷa;<sup>2</sup> but the evidence on which the belief is based is quite late and untrustworthy. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the parent stock from which the other families branched off, do not refer to Vijayāditya as the progenitor of their race. They trace, on the contrary, their origin to Jayasinhavallabha of whom very little is known. Similarly the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi make no mention of Vijayāditya in this context. The Kauṭhēm grant, no doubt, mentions Vijayāditya, not, however, as the founder of the family, but as one of the two additional names or epithets

<sup>1</sup> The Kauṭhēm grant of Vikramāditya V, dated 1009 A. C. mentions for instance the rule of fifty-nine nameless kings at Ayōdhyā and the subsequent migration of the family to Dakṣiṇāpāṭha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21)

<sup>2</sup> The present writer who had subscribed to this view formerly finds it untenable on further investigation. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Chōḷa Studies*, pp. 57-61.

especially peculiar to the Chālukyas, the other name being Vishṇuwardhana.<sup>1</sup> And even among the Eastern Chālukyas the name of Vijayāditya as the founder of the dynasty was altogether unknown until the time of Vimalāditya. In view of these facts, it is not possible to accept Vijayāditya as a historical person and regard him as the founder of the Chālukya family.

(b) The historical section of the genealogy constitutes a family chronicle in which are embodied the most outstanding events of the Eastern Chālukya history. The history of the Eastern Chālukyas is traced from Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana to Rājarāja I. It is practically identical with similar accounts found elsewhere. There is, however, a small variation with regard to a minor detail which may be noted here. In this as well as in the Kōrumelli grant, in the description of the succession of early kings from Kubja-Vishṇuwardhana and Jayasinha, we have *tad-anuj-Ēndra-rāja-nandanas=sapta dināni* (line 33)<sup>2</sup> instead of the usual *tad-anuj-Ēndrarājas=sapta dināni*.

The genealogical account, as embodied in the present charter, discloses certain facts about Rājarāja's reign, unknown from other sources. It refers, no doubt, like the Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants to Vimalāditya's marriage with Kundavvai and the birth of a son to them called Rājarāja as well as the coronation of the latter in Śaka 944 (expired) on Thursday, *ba. di.* 2, Uttarābhādra, when the sun was in the sign of the lion (lines 50-51, 53-55). The new information found is that Rājarāja, when still a boy, was invested with the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*), the insignia of the office of *yuvārāja* (lines 52-53); and that his uncle, the Chōḷa emperor Rājendra-Chōḷa Madhurāntaka, having heard of his great qualities, bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter, the princess Ammaṅgā, who became his chief queen (lines 62-64). In this connection occurs an elaborate description of the greatness of the Chōḷa emperor, his supremacy over the kings on the earth, and the extent of the dominion subject to his authority (lines 56-62). The stanzas beginning with the words, *Ēkasy=āsīd=api sa Himavān* and *Sa-dvīpām chatur-amburāśi-parikhām* (lines 58-62), probably allude to Rājendra-Chōḷa's Gangetic expedition and his transmarine conquests respectively.

Thus, four important events of Rājarāja's life are mentioned here : (i) his birth, (ii) investiture as *yuvārāja*, (iii) coronation, and (iv) marriage.

(i) The date of his birth is not known.

(ii) The investiture of Rājarāja as *yuvārāja* must have taken place duly without any obstacle.

(iii) His coronation, however, does not seem to have been performed without obstruction. For the date of this event which is stated to have taken place according to the present inscription in Śaka 944, Bhādrapada, *ba. di.* 2, Guruvāra, corresponding to 16th August, 1022 A.C.,<sup>3</sup> is nearly four years later than the last date, i.e., 1018 A.C., August, of his father and predecessor Vimalāditya.<sup>4</sup> This reveals a gap of four years in the Eastern Chālukya chronology between the close of Vimalāditya's reign and the coronation of Rājarāja I, and the events of this interval are by no means clear. Several scholars who have attempted to bridge up the gap have been at great pains to

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21. *Samastabhuvanāśraya-Sarvalōkāśraya-Vishṇuwardhana-Vijayādityādi-viśēshanāmnām-rāja-ratnānām=udbhava-bhūmih*. It may be noted that these two names are alternately assumed by the Eastern Chālukya kings and it may be suggested that these names were assumed at the time of coronation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 52, l. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The date is corroborated by his Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 53; above, Vol. IV, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 358, 361. According to the Raṅastipūṇḍi grant, Vimalāditya, the father of Rājarāja I, was crowned on 10th May, 1011 A.C., and as this inscription is dated in the Simha month of his 8th regnal year, corresponding to August, 1018 A.C., he must have been ruling until this date. How long his rule lasted subsequent to this date it is difficult to discover; but since in all the records of his successors a period of seven years (reckoned in round numbers) is invariably assigned to his reign, he must have died before the end of his 8th regnal year.

extend the reign of Vimalāditya up to the date of the coronation of Rājarāja, taking it for granted that Rājarāja's accession to the throne did not take place earlier than the actual date of his coronation as recorded in his grants.

However, there is good reason to believe that the reign of Rājarāja I began a few years earlier than the date of his coronation in 1022 A. C. Śaktivarman II, the nephew and immediate successor of Rājarāja I, ascended the throne of Vēngī on Thursday, 18th October 1061 A. C.<sup>1</sup> Rājarāja is said to have ruled, according to the charters of his descendants, for a period of 41 years and this is corroborated by an inscription dated in his 41st regnal year.<sup>2</sup> This yields 18th October, 1020 as the starting point of his reign. The following inscriptions of Rājarāja I, which give both the regnal and the Śaka years, point to the same date.

<i>Ins. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Starting point</i>
183 of 1893 ( <i>S.I.I.</i> , Vol. IV, No. 1008)	Śaka 969—regnal year 26	Ś. 943
663 of 1920	Śaka 980—regnal year 37	Ś. 943
671 of 1920	Śaka 983—regnal year 41	Ś. 942

These records seem to suggest two different starting points for the reign of Rājarāja. The apparent discrepancy has perhaps to be attributed to the practice of quoting the Śaka dates, either in the expired or in the current year, rather than to any fault in the chronological data given in these records. Of the three, the last one is surely dated in Śaka 983 expired, as shown by the cyclic year *Plava* corresponding to it. The dates of the other two are not capable of verification, as the corresponding cyclic years are not given. If, however, the Śaka year cited in them be taken to be current, all these three dates would yield Śaka 942 (expired) as the starting point of the reign of Rājarāja I and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II which terminate Rājarāja's reign with Śaka 983.<sup>3</sup> There is, however, one inscription which gives a different and an earlier date as the starting point. In the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII, it is said that after Mummādi-Bhīma (i.e., Vimalāditya), his son Rājarāja ruled for a period of twelve years: then, Vijayāditya, Mummādi-Bhīma's second son by a different mother, expelled Rājarāja, and having seized the kingdom crowned himself king on Aditisutadina, śu. di. 5, Karkaṭaka, Kanyā, Sūryyabhā (Uttara-Phalgunī or Pūrva-Phalgunī) in the Śaka year 952, corresponding to Sunday, 27th June 1031 A. C.<sup>4</sup> If Rājarāja I, as stated in this inscrip-

<sup>1</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> No. 671 of 1920 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.

<sup>3</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 284. According to the calculation of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the date of Vijayāditya's coronation given in the record corresponds to Thursday, 9th July, 1030 A.C. (*JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38); but he does not explain how *Aditisutadina* can be taken to denote Thursday and how the *nakshatra* denotes Hastā. The date has been calculated afresh, at my request, by Mr. K. G. Sankar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the details of his calculation as communicated to me in a letter dated 11-11-1941 are given below:

Śākē drig-ishu-nidhi-mitē = Ś. 952 = 1030-31 A. C.

Karkigē Karkaś-āmsau = Sun in Karka (June-July).

śuddha-pañchamī = śu. 5.

Aditisuta-dinā = Sunday.

Sūryyabhē = Uttara-Phalgunī (Āryamāna) or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Bhaga).

Kanyā-lagnē = Kanyā-lagna = 10 A.M. to 12 noon.

These details correspond regularly to Sunday, 27th June, 1031 A.C.: on that day śu. 5 ended at .87 of the day and Uttara-Phalgunī began at .48 of the day after the Pūrva-Phalgunī ended. At 10-12 A.M. the *lithi* and the *nakshatra* current were śukla 5 and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

tion, did rule actually for 12 years before Vijayāditya's coronation in June 1031 A. C., he must have begun to reign in June 1019 A. C. As Vimalāditya was still ruling at the time of the Raṇa-stipūṇḍi grant in August 1018 A. C., Rājarāja I appears to have succeeded his father almost immediately. As the available evidence regarding the exact starting point of Rājarāja's reign gives two different dates, viz., 1019 and 1020 A. C., it can be safely stated that his rule must have commenced some years before the date of his coronation which took place, as stated in his own records including the present one, on the 16th August, 1022 A. C.

If Rājarāja began to rule either in 1019 or in 1020 A. C., as shown above, there must have been some cause for the postponement of his coronation until 1022 A. C. Although no such reason is disclosed by the Eastern Chālukya records, the contemporary Chōla inscriptions distinctly indicate the existence of political disturbance in Vēṅgī at this time.<sup>1</sup>

(iv) The last point of interest to be noted in this section is the marriage of Rājarāja I with Ammaṅgā (lines 64-65), the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rājēndra Chōladēva, a fact known hitherto only from the records of his descendants. The marriage was not merely the renewal of an old alliance between the Chōla and Eastern Chālukya royal families. It was also intended to serve a political purpose. Rājēndra-Chōla aimed at providing a permanent bond by which Vēṅgī might be attached to his kingdom; therefore, he bestowed the hand of his daughter Ammaṅgā on his nephew.

II. The most important part of the present inscription is the passage which narrates the circumstances in which the gift was made. It states (lines 77-85) that the general Rājarāja Brahma-Mahārāja rose to eminence by the grace of the king Rājēndra-Chōla Madhurāntaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasure. No sooner did he receive the orders of his sovereign than he marched into the Āndhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama-Chōḍa Chōḍakōṇ and Uttama-Chōḍa Milāḍuḍaiyān. The three Tamil commanders, who were like the three fires bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karṇāṭa army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karṇāṭa. The battle between the two armies is described vividly (lines 85-93). The engagement, however, seems to have ended indecisively or at any rate not in a victory for the Chōla forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides who participated in the fight perished with their forces (lines 93-96). It was in these circumstances that the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I set up, in memory of Rājarāja Brahma-Mahārāja, a temple dedicated to God Śiva called Rājarājēśvaram in the village of Kalidiṇḍi. Two other Śiva temples were also built in memory of Uttama-Chōḍa Chōḍakōṇ and Uttama-Chōḍa Milāḍuḍaiyān respectively. For conducting worship in these temples, and for the maintenance of a choultry for feeding fifty students, etc., the village of Kalidiṇḍi renamed Madhurāntakānallūr, together with two other villages called Kaḍapaṛru and Āvakūru, was granted by the king (lines 96-103).

The **place and date of the battle** are not stated in the record. It would, however, be possible to fix them with some precision. It may be noted that the record states that memorial temples for the deceased Chōla generals were founded. Such temples are sometimes founded on the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917 of the Mad. Epi. Coll. These epigraphs of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōladēva from the Madakasira taluk of the Anantapur District, all studied together, allude to an expedition sent by the Chōla emperor Rājēndra I against Vēṅgī about the 10th year (1021 A.C.) of his reign to overcome some trouble there, under the leadership of one of his generals, named Areyan Rājarājan *alias* Vikrama-Chōḍa Chōḷiyavaraiyan. Of them No. 31 of 1917 refers probably to a battle which he fought with the Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Telugas, while another (751 of 1917) expressly declares that 'the king of Vēṅgī ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Śōḷiyavarasan to conquer that country'. These records which, as pointed out by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'obviously belong to the same time' (*Colas*, I, p. 279), allude to a military expedition sent by Rājēndra-Chōla about the 10th year of his reign (1021 A. C.) to conquer Vēṅgī.



site, where the persons, to perpetuate whose memory they are built, are interred or cremated. As the memorial temples of the Chōla generals were erected in the village of Kalidindi, they must have been buried or cremated in the place; and consequently the battle in which they were killed might have been fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

The difficulty of fixing the **date of the battle** is great. However, certain facts mentioned in the record would help us in arriving at a probable date. The inscription contains the date of Rājarāja's coronation, i.e., 1022 A. C.;<sup>1</sup> and alludes perhaps to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangetic expedition and transmarine conquests (vv. 19 and 20). Moreover, at the time when the battle was fought, Rājendra-Chōla (1012 to 1044 A. C.) was still ruling at Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōlapuram. These would indicate that the battle should have taken place between 1022 and 1044 A. C., the last date of Rājendra-Chōla. But no evidence is available from the Chōla records during this period of 22 years about any war between the Chōlas and the contemporary Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, of which the battle at Kalidindi might have been a major event. The last we hear of the fights between them is in 1021 A. C., when Rājendra Chōla I's attack on Raṭṭapāḍi took place.<sup>2</sup> However, there is one Western Chālukya record at Hoṭṭūr in the Bombay Karnāṭak,<sup>3</sup> dated 1037 A. C., which mentions a *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Jayasimha II, Chāvaṇarasa by name who bears the title, "destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi". If this Bijavādi is taken to be identical with Bezwada<sup>4</sup> in the Vēṅgī country, it would appear that sometime before this date, i.e., 1037 A. C., the Western Chālukya general invaded Vēṅgī and captured the city of Bezwada. The Karnāṭaka invasion of Āndhra (i.e., Vēṅgī) and the battle described in the present record may have taken place during the same Western Chālukya expedition under Chāvaṇarasa, especially as the distance between Bezwada and Kalidindi is less than 50 miles. As victory was not secured by the Chōla allies of Rājarāja, even as indicated by the record, it is not unlikely that the event may be connected with the disaster which overtook Rājarāja I in **1031 A. C.**, when he was deprived of his throne by his step-brother and rival Vijayāditya VII.<sup>5</sup> Although evidence is lacking as to whether the *coup d'état* effected by Vijayāditya was with or without Karnāṭa help, a suggestion may be made that as Rājarāja was supported by the powerful Chōla emperor, his rival, Vijayāditya, secured the help of the Karnāṭa king. Such an alignment is consistent with the political background of this period, as the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas were always arrayed against each other in support of rival claimants in disputed successions.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Karnāṭādhiśa may be Jayasimha II, as the date of the battle is about 1031 A. C. As explained before, the Dramiḷādhiśa is, doubtless, Rājendra-Chōla I who is mentioned by name at another place (line 59) in the record.

Much is not known of the Chōla generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Uttama-Chōla Milāḷudaiyān, figures as the ruler of the hilly tracts in the present South Arcot District in a record of the 4th year (1016 A.C.) of Rājendra-Chōla, where he is spoken of as Yādava-Bhīma of the Bhārgava *gōtra*;<sup>6</sup> but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Neither of the other two finds mention in contemporary Chōla inscriptions. A *Sēnāpati* called Uttamaśōla Brahma-Mārāyaṇ is mentioned in an epigraph at Kōlār, dated about 1033 A. C.;<sup>7</sup> he, however, seems to be a nobleman quite distinct from *Sēnāpati* Rājarāja Brahma-Mahārāja of the charter under consideration.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 58, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Cōlas*, I, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Barnett identifies it with Bijawāḍgi near Hungund, *ibid.*, p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Pāmulavāka plates: *JAHES*, Vol. II, p. 284

<sup>6</sup> No. 29 of 1905 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.

<sup>7</sup> No. 480 of 1911; *EC*, Vol. X, Pt. 1, 109-a.

III. *The details of the donation* : For the maintenance of daily worship, celebration of festivals, etc., in the temples built in honour of the three deceased Chōla generals, three villages all situated in the Lower (*Pallapu*) *Gudravāra vishaya*, were granted by Rājarāja I. Though Kalidiṇḍi and Kaḍapaṛṛu are clubbed together and renamed Madhurāntakamallūr, their boundaries as well as those of the third village are separately described. The boundaries of Kalidiṇḍi are given at first in lines 103-6; then follow from *Pallapu-Gudravārē* in line 106 to *sīmū* at the beginning of line 110 the boundaries of the village of Kaḍapaṛṛu; and finally with *Pallapu-Gudravārē* in line 110 commences the description of the boundaries of the third village Āvakūru], which is unfortunately lost with the broken fragment of the fifth plate. The three memorial temples were perhaps given one village each for their upkeep, maintenance of daily service, etc. Of the three, Kalidiṇḍi was situated in the east; it is said to have been bounded by Pōtumbaṛṛu in the north and the north-east, Konneki in the east, . . . lidorru in the south-east, Koṇṭhama in the south, Vēvāka in the south-west, Kaḍapaṛṛu in the west, and D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-west. The second village, Kaḍapaṛṛu, was situated to the west of Kalidiṇḍi. Its boundaries, as described in the inscription, are : Kalvasaṇḍa in the north, D(Tā)ḍināḍu in the north-east, Kalidiṇḍi in the east and south-east, Vēvāka in the south and the south-west, Āvakūru in the west, and the streamlet Tallikroyya (a branch of Tāmarakolani-Krovviṇḍlōru) in the north-west. The boundaries of the third village, Āvakūru, are not definitely known : of the villages that surrounded it, the names of only two, viz., Kaḍapaṛṛu and Koṇḍika-Muñjalūru, are found in the extant fragment of the fifth plate. In addition to these, another village called [Du]ḡgiya]pū]ḍi is also mentioned with Kaḍapaṛṛu; but the connection between these two villages is not quite clear.

Two of the three villages which form the object of the present grant, Kalidiṇḍi and Āvakūru, retain their names to the present day and are situated on the eastern fringe of the Colair Lake in the Kaikalur *taluk* of the Krishna District. The third village, Kaḍapaṛṛu, cannot be traced in the available maps and records, but must, however, be looked for in the same locality, as it is said to have been situated between Kalidiṇḍi and Āvakūru.

Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, Tāḍināḍu is identical with Tāḍināḍu which is situated, even as stated in the inscription, to the north-west of Kalidiṇḍi. Pōtumbaṛṛi is not, strictly speaking, the correct name of the village. The suffix 'ti' with which the name of the village ends is the inflexion of the genitive case meaning 'of'. Pōtumbaṛṛi therefore means 'of Pōtumbaṛṛu'. This must be identical with the modern Pōtumaṛṛu in the same *taluk*. Similarly Vēvāka must be taken to represent the present Vaivāka. Neither the streamlet Tallikroyya nor the other villages mentioned among the boundaries can be traced at present.

IV. The names of the executor, the composer and the scribe are unfortunately lost; but the last line in the broken fragment of the 5th plate, which begins with *śō Rāchiya-Peddēri-[Bhā]...* is found to form part of the following verse that occurs in the Kōrumelli grant of Rārarāja.<sup>1</sup>

*Ājñaptiḥ Kaṭakēśō Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhāma-nāma-tanūjau |*  
*karttā Bētana-bhaṭṭaḥ kōvyānām lēkhakō-'sya Gaṇḍāchāryau ||*

It may reasonably be assumed that the present grant ended with this same verse and that the remaining part of it was lost with the missing portion of the plate. If so, it may be inferred that the *ājñapti* of the charter was Kaṭakēśa, the composer Bētana-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhāma, and the scribe, Gaṇḍāchārya. Kaṭakēśa, who is spoken of as the *ājñapti* in several Eastern Chālukya copper-plate charters, is not the name of an individual but that of an office. The term *kaṭaka* denotes an army, a camp, a town, etc. *Kaṭakēśa* may therefore be taken to mean either the commander of an army or the governor of a cantonment. The verse cited above refers

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 55.

to four generations of the family of Bētana-bhaṭṭa,<sup>1</sup> the composer of the inscription. Though nothing is known of the first two members of the family, Bhīma or Bhīmana-bhaṭṭa was a scholar and poet who flourished under Vimalāditya. He was the composer of the new Eastern Chālukya *prasaṣti* embodied in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant.<sup>2</sup> On his death his son, Bētana-bhaṭṭa, appears to have succeeded him in his office. In point of style and excellence of diction, the present record is superior to the Kōrumelli plates. The passage in which the author describes the greatness of Rājendra Chōḷa is majestic and dignified; and his description of the battle of Kalidimḍi also is vivid.

In the preparation of this article, I have received considerable help from the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharu, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. V. Raghavan. I have also great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao and Mr. M. Venkataramayya for their valuable help in this connection.

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

[Metres : Vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 28 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 27, 31, 32 and 33 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 4 *Udgīti*; vv. 8 and 18 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9 and 19 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 12 *Upajūti*; v. 13 *Mālinī*; v. 15, *Āryā*; v. 22 *Gīti*; vv. 26, 29 30 and 36 *Āryāgīti*; vv. 34 and 35 *Svāgatā*; v. 37 *Vamśastha*; v. 38 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

### First Plate

- 1 4Śrīdhāmanah Purushōttamasya mahatō Narāyaṇasya prabhōr=nnābhī=paṅkaruhād=babhū[va jagata]s=sraṣṭā [Svayaṁ]-
- 2 bhūs-tata[h] [[\*] jajñē mā[na]sa-sūnur=Atrir=iti yas=tasmān=munēr=Atritas=Sōmō vam[śa]-karas Sudhā[mśur=uditaś=Śrīka]ṅṭha-chū-
- 3 (dāmaṅiḥ [[1|\*] Tasmād=abhūt Sudhāsūtēr=bBudhō budha-nutas=tataḥ [[\*] jātaḥ Purī-ravā nāma chakra[varttī] sa-vikra-
- 4 maḥ [[2|\*] Tasmād=Āyus tatō Nahushah<sup>4</sup> tatō Yayātiḥ chakravarttī vamśa-karttā tataḥ Purur=iti chakra[va]rttī tatō Ja-
- 5 namējayō śvamēdha-tritayasya karttā tataḥ Prāchīśah tasmāt Sainyayātiḥ tatō Hayapatih tatas Śārvabhau-
- 6 maḥ tatō Jayasēnah tatō Mahābhaumah tasmād=Aisānakah tataḥ Krōdhānanah tatō Dēvakih tasmād Rībhū(chu)-
- 7 kaḥ tasmād Rīkshakah tatō Mativarah satra-yūga-yūjī Sarasvatī-nadī-nāthah tataḥ Kātyā-yanah
- 8 tatō Nīlah tatō Dushyantah tat-sutah | Chakravarttī mahātējā Bharatō yūpa-kānanam | kṛity=śvamēdhā-
- 9 n=akarōd=Gaṅgā-Yamunayōs=tatē || [3|\*] Tatō Bharatād=Bhūmanyuh | tatas=Suhōtrah | tatō Hastī | tatō Virōchanah [[\*]
- 10 tasmād=Ajamīlah | tatas=Sanivarānah | Sanivarāṇasya Tapana-sutāyās=Tapatyās=cha Sudhanvū | tataḥ Pari(rī)kshit |
- 11 tatō Bhīmasēnah | tataḥ Pradīpanah | tataḥ Śantanuh | tatō Vichitravīryyah | tataḥ Pāṇḍa-(ṇḍu)rājah | Putrās tasya Yu-

<sup>1</sup> Rā-ḥiya, Peddēri, Bhīma, Bētana-bhaṭṭa.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> [The symbol in the beginning, possibly a lotus, stands for *siddham*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Here as well as in several other places further on *sandhi* has not been observed.

- 12 dhasthi(dhishṭhi)ra-Bhīm-Ārjuna-Nakula-Sahadēvāḥ | pañchēndriyavat=pañcha-sūrvvi-  
sa(sha)ya-grāhīṇas=tatra<sup>1</sup> || [4|\*] Jitvā yēna Pura-
- 13 m̄daram hutana(va)hē havyīkṛitam kā(khā)ṇḍavam Yaś=Śambhōr=llabhatē sma saṇiyati  
bahūny=astrāṇi divyāni cha | yēn=ādhyāsita-
- 14 m=āsanam Maghavataś=ch=ārddham sura<sup>2</sup>-dvēshīṇaḥ saṇipishy-āgamayat=Kṛitānta-nagarīm  
yaḥ Kauravān=vidvishah[[5|\*] tatō=rjunā-
- 15 d=Abhimanyuḥ | tataḥ Parikshit | tatō Janamējayaḥ | tataḥ Kshēmukaḥ | tatō Naravā-  
hanaḥ | tataḥ Śatānikah | tasmā-
- 16 d=Udayanaḥ | tataḥ param tat-prabhṛitishv=avichchhinna-santānēshv=Ayōdhyā-simhāsana-  
āsīnēshv=ēkānnashashṭi-chakravartti-

*Second Plate ; First Side*

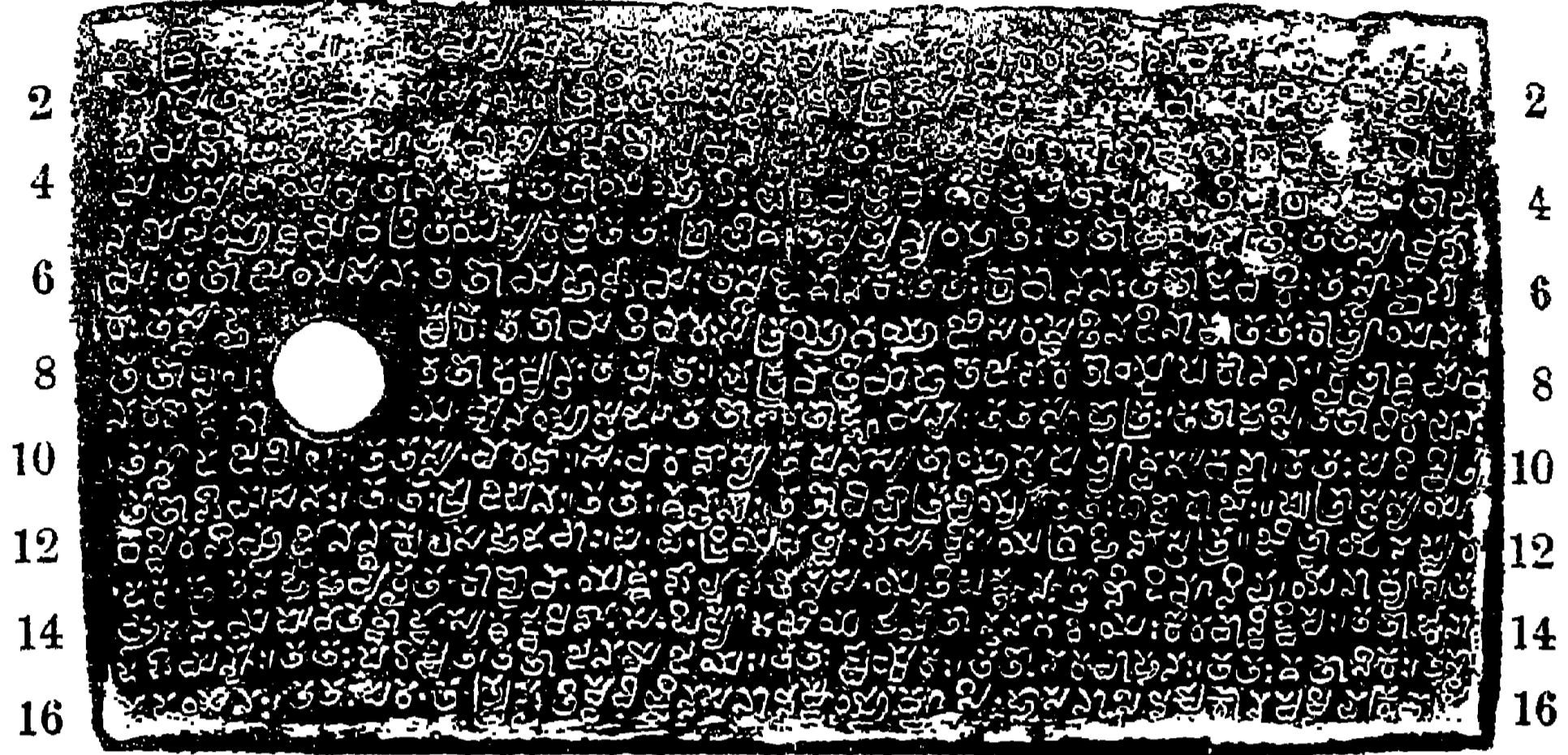
- 17 shu gatēsu(shu) tad=vamśyō Vijayādityō nāma rājā vijigīshayā Dakṣiṇāpatham gatvā  
Trilōchana-Palla-
- 18 vam=adha(dhi)kshipya kālavaśāl=lōkāntaram=agamat | tasmin=samkulē tasya Mahādēvī  
garbha-bhār-ālas=āntaḥpur-ādihikṛi-
- 19 ta-vanitā-kamchukibhis=sārddham vṛiddh-āmātyaiḥ purōhitēna ch=ānīyamānā katharichin=  
[Mu]divēmu-nām-āgrahāram=upaga-
- 20 mya tad-vāstavyēna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sōmayājīnā duhitṛi-nirvi(rvvi)śēsham-abhiga(ra)kshitā  
satī nandanam Vishṇuvarddhanam=a[sū]ṭa
- 21 sā tasya cha kumārasya Mānavya-sagōtra-Hārīti-putr-ādi-sva-kshatra-gōtra-kram-ōchitāni  
karmmani(ṇi) kārayitvā ta-
- 22 m=avarddhayat || sa cha mātrā vidita-vṛittāntas=san=nirggatya Chālukya-girau Namdām  
Bhagavatīm Gaurīm=ārādhyā Kumāra-Nārāya-
- 23 ṇa-Mātrigaṇāmś=cha samtarpya śvēt-ātapatr-aika-ga(śa)rikha-pañcha-mahāsabda-pālikētana-  
pratiḥakkā-varāhalāmchchha(chha)na-pim-
- 24 chchha-kumta-simhāsana-makarātōraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṅgā-Yamun-ādīni sva-kula-kram-  
āgatāni nikshiptān=i-
- 25 va sāmrajya-chihnāni sās(sa)māsādya Trilōchana-Pallavam jivvā tat-sutām-Uttamadānīm=  
upaya-
- 26 mya Kadaṁba-Gaṅg-ādi-bhūmipān=nirjjitya Sētu-Narmmadā-madhyam s-ārddha-sapta-lak-  
sham Dakṣiṇāpatham pāla-
- 27 yāmāsa || Tasy=āsīd=Vijayādityō Vishṇuvarddhana-bhūpatēḥ | Pallav-ānvaya-jūtāyā Mahā-  
dēvyās=cha namdanaḥ [[6|\*] Ta-
- 28 t-sūnuḥ Pulakēśi Vallabhaḥ | tat-putrah Kīrttivarmmā | tasya tanayaḥ | Śrīmatām sakala-  
bhuvana-samstū[ya]māna-Mā-
- 29 navya-sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām Mātrīm(tri)-  
gaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Ma-
- 30 hāsēna-pādānuddhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalām[chchha]-  
(chha) n-ēkshāṇa-kshāṇa-[va\*]śī[kṛi]-
- 31 t-ārāti-maṇḍalānām=āsvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushāḥ(shūrṇ) Chālukyā-  
nām ku[lam=alamkarishṇōs=Satyā]-

<sup>1</sup> [The intended reading seems to be *pañch-ēndriya-vat=pañcha svar-vishaya-grāhīṇas=tatra*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The letter *ra* in *sura* has a horizontal stroke inside, which is to be ignored.

KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.



iii,a

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iii,b

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iv,a

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- 32 śraya-vallabhēndrasya bhrātā Kujja(bja)vishṇa(shṇu)varddhanō=shtādaśa varshāṇi Vēngi-  
dōśam=apālayat=tat-sū(nuḥ) Jaya[sim]-
- 33 ha-[vallabhas=trayas]trimśatam | tad-anuj=Ēndrarāja-namdanahs(nas)=sapta dināni tat-putrō [Vishṇuvarddhanō] nava va-

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 34 rshāṇi | tat-sūnur=mMaṅgi-Yuvarājah pañchaviṁśatiṁ | tat-tanayō Jayasi[m]has=trayōdaśa | tad-a[nuja]ḥ Kō-
- 35 kiliḥ shaṇ=māsān | tasya jyēshthō bhrātā Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchāṭya sapta-trimśatam=abdān | tat-sutō [Vijayā]di-
- 36 tya-bhaṭṭarakō -shtādaśa | tat-putrō Vishṇuvarddhanah shaṭ-trimśatam | tat-sūnur=nNārēndra-mṛigarājō=[shtā(shṭa)chatvārimśatam]
- 37 tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanō=dhy-arddha-varsham | tat-tanayō Guṇaga-Vijayādi[tya\*]ś=chatuschatvā[rinśatam] | tad-bhrātu-
- 38 r-vikramāditya-bhūpatēs=sutaś=Chālukya-Bhīmas=trimśatam | tat-putrō Vijayādityash=shaṇ=māsā[n] | tat-s[ūnur=A]-
- 39 mmarājas=sapta varshāṇi | tat-sutam Vijayādityam bālam=uchchāṭya Tāḍaparājō māsam=ēkaṁ | [tam jivā]
- 40 Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō Vikramāditya ēkādaśa māsān | tat-Tāḍaparāja-sutō Yuddhamallas=sapta va[rshāṇi] | ta]-
- 41 taḥ || Ammarāj-ānujō Rāja(jā)Bhīmō Bhīma-parākramah | vijitya Yuddhamallaṁ tam dvādaś-ābdān-dha . . . . [7]\*<sup>1</sup>
- 42 Sat-putrayōr=dDaśaratha-pratimasya tasya Bhīmasya Rāma-Bharat-ōpamayōh=kanīyān | Dānārṇav[-Āmma]-
- 43 nripayōḥ khalu pañchaviṁśaty abdān-arakshad=avanītalām=Ammarājah || [8]\* Tasya jyēshthō nripatishu chatu[sh-sha]-
- 44 shtī-vidyā-praviṇō yah Karṇ-ādīn sura-taru-nibhō bhūri-dānēna jivā | lōkē=nvarttham suchiram-[adadhān] -nāma Dānār[ṇva]-
- 45 v-ākhyas sa trīn abdān avahad=avanīm arṇava-kshauma-kāntām || [9]\* Tataḥ [pa]rarh patim labdhum anurūpam anū[yi]kā [\*] [sa]-
- 46 ptaviṁśati-varshāṇi va(cha)chār-ēva tapaḥ kshamā || [10]\* Atha Dānārṇava(vā)j=jātaḥ kalāvān dviṭ-tamō-harah | rāja(jā) Chālu[kya]-Cha[m]-
- 47 drō yah kshamā-tāpam-apākarōt || [11]\* Balād-grihītvā Balitō dhariśriḥ(trim) girvvāṇa-sātrōr iva śatru-vargg[āt] śrī-
- 48 Śakti(kti)varmmā sa samās=Chalukya-nārāyaṇō dvādaśa rakshati sma || [12]\* Tad=anuatad-anujanmā Rājamārttaṇḍa-bhū-
- 49 pō viśada-ruchir arāti-dhvānta-vidhvanīsa-dakshah | sma vahati bhuvam=abdān=sapta Sapt-āśva-tējās-sa[kala]-va-

*Third Plate ; First Side*

- 50 sumati-bhrin-mastaka-nyasta-pādaḥ || [13]\* Lakshmī-bhartri<sup>2</sup>-nibhasya tasya Vimalādityasya Bhō(Chō)ḍ-ānvaya-kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-
- 51 janmanah śriya iva śrī-Rājarājādhipah | dēvyās=ch-āba(ja)ni Rājarāja-dubituḥ Kūi-dāmbikāyās-sutō ya-

<sup>1</sup> [The missing letters may have been *rām=asūt*.—Ed.]<sup>2</sup> One letter between *bha* and *rti* was written and erased.

- 52 ḥ Kamdarppa iv=āparaḥ prativasan lōka-trayē stri-hṛidi || [14|\*] Bālyē bhūshaṇam=abhavad-  
ratnamayī yasya ka-
- 53 mṭhikā kamṭhē | guṇa-lubdhay=ēva mālā dharayā dattā patihva[rayā] || [15|\*] Vēd-ām-  
bhōdhi-nidhi-pramāṇa-gani(ṇi)tē Śā-
- 54 k-ābda-samghē Ravau Simhasthē bahula-dvitiya-divasē vārē Gurōs-sītagau | yuktē bh-  
ōttarabhadrayādy(=py=a)ti-vaṇi-
- 55 j-yāmē tu [sarvva\*]-kshamām trātum paṭtam-adhatta yō guṇa-nidhiḥ śrī-Rājarājō-uripah  
|| [16|\*] Yasy=ōttamāṅgam=ābaddha-
- 56 m=ābhāt=paṭṭēna bhūyasā || ( | ) | bharttum viśvam̄bharā-bhāraṇ janaśā(r-ā)rōpitam  
yatā(thā) || [17|\*] Api cha || Khyātas=samasta-nara-
- 57 nātha-kiriṭa-kōṭi-ratna-prabhā-pa[ṭala-pāṭala-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | ]<sup>1</sup> yas-tyāga-varsha-pariharshita-  
sat-samājō Rājēm-
- 58 dra-Chōḍa iti Chōḍa-kul-aika-ratnam || [18|\*] Ēkasy-āsīd-api sa Himavān Iśvasa(ra)sy=  
āpatadbhir=mmūrdhnō Gaṅgā-
- 59 vimala-salilais=sichyamānaḥ pavitraḥ | Rājēndrō-yah(yam) kim-uta namatām Iśvarāṇām  
bahū[nā]-
- 60 m ratn-ālōka-prakaṭita-jagat-prāmgaṇō(ṇē)bhyas-śirōbhyah || [19|\*] Sa-dvīpām chatur-  
am̄busā(rā)śi-parikhām viśvam̄bharām [li]-
- 61 layā daṇḍēn=aiva vijitya yō di(da)śa-diśi prātishṭhipat=sarvvataḥ | svair-ōdbhrānti-nivāra-  
ṇāya vijaya-sta-
- 62 mbhān=sva-nām-ānkitān=ālānān=iva baddhum-a[ni\*]dha-manasō darppēṇa dig-dantiuah  
|| [20|\*] Sa śra(śru)tvā paritushyā(shya) vaiśa-vinaya-
- 63 tyāg-ābhimān-ōnnati[m] prajñā-vikrama-satya-śau[cha]-paṭutā-śauryya-ksham-ādīu-ḡuṇā[n] |  
Chōḍēsō Madhurā[nta]-
- 64 kaḥ sva-tanayām=Ammāṅga-nāmām satīm Chāḷuky-ābharāṇasya ch=āgramahishūm snēhēna  
yasy=ākarōt || [21|\*]
- 65 Yasmin=rājani rakshati bhūchakram=avakram=uchita-mā[r\*]ggēṇa | abhavad=abūdhm=  
akalmasham=a[dūshi]tam=a-

*Third Plate ; Second Side*

- 66 matsaram [prajābharitam]<sup>2</sup> || [22|\*] Rājūō rāja-Chalukya-vaiśa-latik-ālambasya yasya  
svayam śasvat=kirtti[r=alamka]-
- 67 rōti nitarā[m] lōka-trayī-ka(kā)minīm | ] hāra(rā)l=īva sugandhi-chandana-mayī -- ◡  
[lālāmaki]-māl=ēv=āmala-[jā]-
- 68 ti-ja(jā)la-kalitā daukūla-Lakshmī=iva || [23|\*] Yasya śrī-Paragaṇḍabhairava-vibhōr=ddōr-  
ddaṇḍa-[kaukshēya]ka-prōdbhinn-āhita-ha-
- 69 sti-masti(sta)ka-galan-mastishka-[khād]-āsāyā ḡṛidhrāḥ paksha-putān=visāryya viyati vyā-  
baddha-chakrās=chalat-pichchhā-pa-
- 70 tra-chaya-śriyam vidadhatē vira-śriyas=sam̄yati || [24|\*] Ēkēn=aiva hayi hayēna bahuśō  
vāhā-sahasran=ta-
- 71 thā kō vā vira-bhaṭō jayēt pratibhaṭam ch=āstr-ābhivarshais=tathā | kas-simchōd=iti vidrutā  
raṇa-mukhāsv=āścha<sup>3</sup>-

<sup>1</sup> The letters within brackets are engraved over an erasure.

<sup>2</sup> [The intended reading seems to be *prajā-charitam*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [The sense requires *raṇa-mukhād-āścharyya*.—Ed.]



- 72 ryya-paryyākulā yasy-ārātaya ēva śauryyam=anīśam stuvanti tanvanti [cha] || [25|\*]  
Svasti [lSa\*]rvalōkā-
- 73 śraya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka[h] Paramamāhē-
- 74 śvaraḥ Paramabrahma[nyā]ḥ mātō(tā)pitri-pād-ānudhyātaḥ Tyāga-siṃha(hā)san-[āsīnaḥ]  
Gāḍevalu-[nā]-
- 75 ma-vishaya-sahitāni Pallapu-Guadravāra-vishayam adhivasataḥ rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhā-  
[n-kuṭu]pibinaḥ sarvvān sa-
- 76 mähūya mantri-purōhita sēnāpatī-yuvarāja-dauvārika-pravā(dhū)n-ādi-samaksham-i[ttha]m=  
ājñā-
- 77 pahayati<sup>1</sup> | yadhā(thā) | Khyātō sī Rājarāja-Brahma-mahārāja iti mahādaṇḍapatiḥ [|\*]  
yō Madhurā-
- 78 ntaka-bhūbhrit-karuṇā rasa śikta varddhita-yaśō-latikah || [26|\*] Rājēndra-Chōḍa-bhūpāla-  
rājyalakshmi-mahā-
- 79 nidhēḥ [|\*] rakshaṇa-kshama-daksh-ōgra-mahābhūja-bhujāṅgamaḥ [|27|\*] Diktō  
dakshinataḥ puraskṛita bhīhad daṇḍaḥ praचाण्डा-
- 80 s=sa yō vidvī[ṭ-ehhō]pīta pāna-śūdhimur-aparaḥ kālō na v-ēt-īkshitaḥ [1\*] Rājēndra-  
kshītipālakasya mahatō man mātu-

*Fourth Plate : First Side*

- 81 lasy-ā[ta\*]lasy-ādēśa[m\*] pratipadya tat kshaṇata ēv Āndhra-kshamīm prāgamat || [28|\*]  
Anyō pi daṇḍanāthō bhakti klēśa praru(hi)-
- 82 shṭa-nija-nādha(thā)ḥ [|\*] amam aiv āgatavān Uttama-Śōḍa-ehChōḍagōn-iti vye(vya)-  
padishṭaḥ [|29\*] Uttama Chōḍa Milād uḍa[yā]-
- 83 n=ity any-ōpi ch-ō(ch-ā)gataḥ purushaḥ [|\*] yah patir-atha sēnāyāḥ pativratāyāḥ parē-  
kshaṇ-āsahanāyāḥ [|30\*] Ka
- 84 rnnāṭika-bal-āraṇyām(tyām) vā(dā)gdhukāmam aśēshataḥ | daṇḍanātha-traye(ya)m dṛi-  
shṭam agni-trayam iv-ōjvalam [31\*] Karmā-
- 85 ṭa-Dramil-ādhi-a-daṇḍē-am-abhayaḥ raṇam [|\*] paraspara-chatur-ddanta-pratighaṭṭana-  
bhīkarām [32\*] Mu bhāmū bhī kvachid dṛi-
- 86 shṭam kōśākē y-abhayaḥ k-ḥaṇam [|\*] daṇḍādaṇḍi kvachit-prōktaṃ kuntākunti  
nirantara[m] (m) [33\*] Jaḥmīrē nija śarair-āpi [kē]chid dhanvīnō
- 87 yudhi samarddhita śauryvāḥ [|\*] śayōr-āpi paraspara-bāṇ-āpāta-[jāta]-java-vāta-vivrie  
[ttaiḥ] [|34\*] Khaḍḍi Khaḍḍa dṛi-
- 88 ḍha-ghaṭṭana jātē vi-phulīnaga-nīvalō su(śa)labhū[h\*] syuh | sad-bhata(tā) bhaya-bhṛitaḥ(tāś=  
cha)la-chittaḥ paricha-cha-
- 89 ○ ○ ○ - ○ padātyōḥ [35\*] Nityam'(nti) va<sup>2</sup> gaja-kabaṇ(n)dhās=turaga-kabandh-  
āś cha nara kabandha pramukhāḥ [|\*] [ri]
- 90 ṇam=ady aiva vivu(mu)krām'ni<sup>3</sup> nija nāth-āvanūdhyā-pōshāṇasy-ōti mudā || [36|\*] Gajair=  
ggajā vājibhīr ēva vājīnō nara-
- 91 r=nnarās-tatra samam vinākṛitāḥ [|\*] dvi pakshayōḥ kāla-vaśēna samyugē samāna-yuddham  
samam ēva

<sup>1</sup> Read *ājñāpatati*.

<sup>2</sup> [The latter half of this verse is in the *trygītī* metre.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [This *va* is superfluous.—Ed.]

- 92 naśyati || [37||\*] Bhṛīsam=avasara ēsha naḥ pragantum divam anuchintya padāti-yugma-  
mukhyāḥ [|\*] divija-
- 93 yu[va]ti-saṅga-kāmkshay=ēyuh ssa(sa)mam=atha daiva-durīhayā [cha bhū]mēḥ [||38||\*]  
Ētad-Dramila-daṇḍanāthānā-
- 94 nī Rā[ja]rāja-Rāja<sup>1</sup>-Brahma-Mahārāja-nāmadhōyō sva-mātulasya Madhurāntakadēvasy=ā-  
95 tulā(la)sy=ādēśaḥ(m) prāpya Karvnā(rnnā)ṭaka-daṇḍanādhai(thai)r-yyuddhvā t[ai]r=ōva  
sārdham divam gatavān=āsvi[kē]-
- 96 [na] hastikēna cha balēna [bā]hā-balēna cha sam-balatvāch-cha | tam=uddiśya [Ka]lidiṇḍi-  
grā[mē]

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side*

- 97 Rājarājēśvara[m=iti Śi]vāyatanam=akaravaṁ | Uttama-Śōḷa-chChōḷagōn . ity =Uttama-Chōḷa-  
[Mi]-
- 98 lād-udaiyān=iti prasiddhāv=anyāv=api ch=ōddiśya Śivāyatana-dvayam [karōmi] . . . . .  
mam[ga]-
- 99 l-ōttumga-saṅgītaka-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navakarma-baly-upahār-ādy-arttham pa[mchāsach=  
chhātrāṇām]
- 100 sāstrasya śrōtri(trī)ṇām satr-ārttham cha dvay-ādika-paṁchāsad-vēśyābhil | Brāh-  
maṇa-śatēna brahma-[vē]-
- 101 dinā huta-jātavēdasa(sā) vaiśya-śatēna cha Dhanad-ōpamēna śūdra-śatēna Br[ahma-  
pāda-kamala]-
- 102 saṁbhūtē[na\*] cha sārddham Madhurāntaka-Nallūri-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ [Ka]lidiṇḍi-  
nāma-grāma[h] Māgaḍa[vaṇu]-
- 103 grāmaṭikayā dattaḥ tasy=āvadhayaḥ [|\*] Pūrvvataḥ Konnekī sīm-aiva sīmā āgnēya-  
[taḥ] . . . . . lidorru<sup>2</sup>-sī-
- 104 m=aiva sīmā | dakshinātaḥ Koṅthama-sīmā | nairityataḥ Vēvūka-sīm-aiva sīmā | paśchi-  
mataḥ Kaḍa . . . . .
- 105 sīm=aiva sīmā | vā[yav]yata[h] . Dāḍināṅṭi sīm=aiva sīmā | uttarataḥ | Pōtu[mbar]ti-  
sīm=ai]va sīmā | [īśānata]-
- 106 ḥ Pōtūmbar]ti-sīm=aiva sīmā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Kaḍapaṅṅru-nāma-grāmaḥ [Du]ggiya-  
[pū]ṇḍi . . . . . [grāma]-
- 107 sya pūrvvataḥ | Kaludiṇḍi-sīm=aiva sīmā | āgnēyataḥ | ēsh=aiva dakshi[ṇa]taḥ | Vē[vāka-  
sī]m=aiva sīmā | na(nai)rri-
- 108 tyataḥ ēsh=aiva | paśchimataḥ | Āvakūru-sīm=aiva sīmā | vāyavyataḥ Tāmara-kolani-  
Krovviṇḍlētām=bāsi-
- 109 na-Tallicroyya-nāma nadī | uttarataḥ | Kalvasaṇḍa-sīm=aiva sīmā | īśānataḥ | Tāḍināṅṭi-  
sīm=aiva

*Fifth Plate*

- 110 sīmā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Āvakū- . . . . .
- 111 ta[h] Kaḍapaṅṅti-[sī]m=aiva sīmā | āgnē . . . . .
- 112 mataḥ Koṅḍika-Mumjalūra-sīm=ai(va) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> The final *Rāja* in *Rājarāja-Rāja* appears to be superfluous.

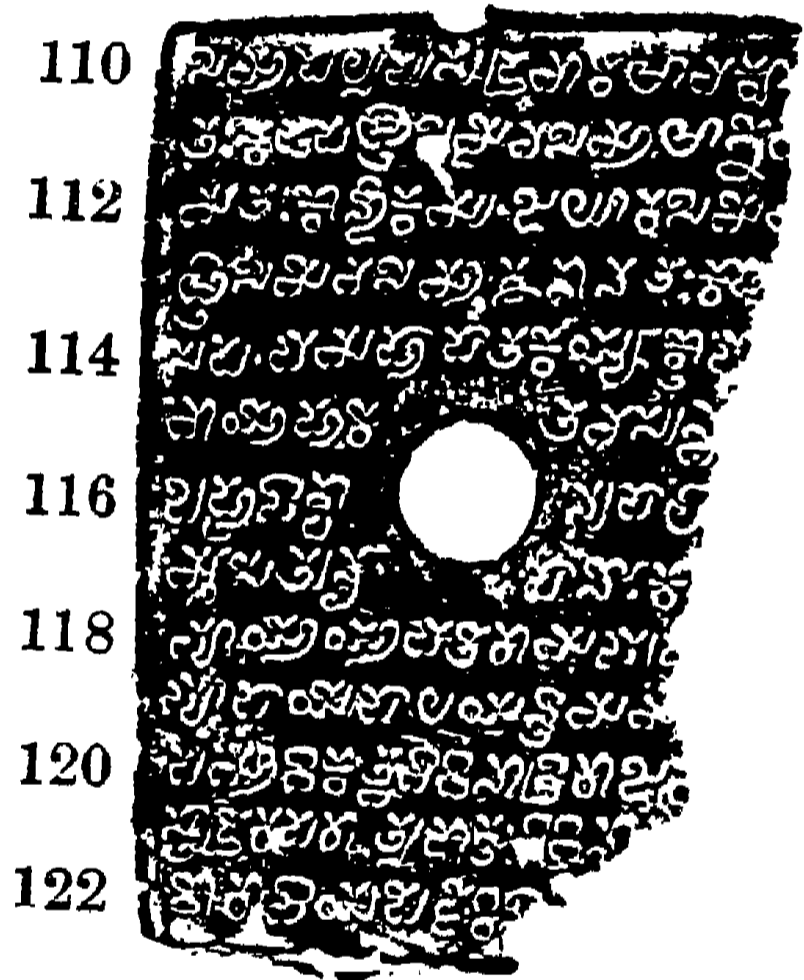
<sup>2</sup> The name of the village may be Alidorru or Pulidorru.

KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

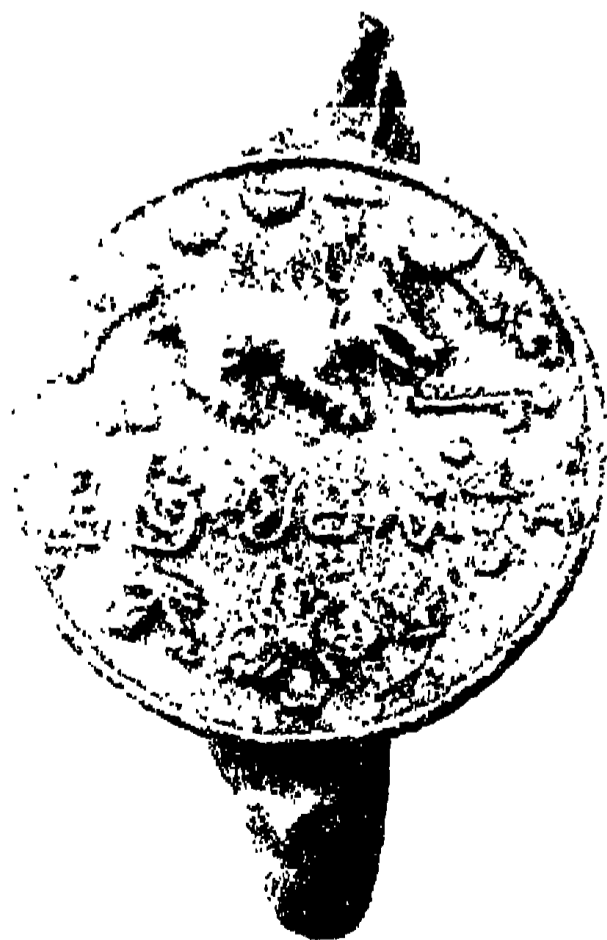
iv.b.



v.



Seal



(From a photograph)



- 113 ṛti-sīnu=ē(m=ai)va sīmā | īśānataḥ Kaḍa . . . . .
- 114 sa pañcha-mahāpātakair=yyuktō bha . . . . .
- 115 vā yō harēta vasu[ndha] . . . . .
- 116 bahubhiś=ch=ānupā[li] . . . . .
- 117 rmma-sētur=nṛipānām kā . . . . .
- 118 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[dra] . . . . .
- 119 bhūpā yē pālayanti mama . . . . .
- 120 pām-ādhiakatva-vidhinā śrī-Rāja[rā] . . . . .
- 121 st-ādrēr-aparāt sad-āsta-vidhinā . . . . .
- 122 śō Rāchiya-Peddēri-[Bhī] . . . . .

### No. 9—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF SADASIVARAYA ; SAKA 1467

K. G. KRISHNAN, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the inner wall of the north side of the third *prākāra*, to the proper right of *Svargavāsāl* in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple, **Śrīraṅgam**, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. It is **dated** Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Phālguna, śu. 7, Monday. The English equivalent of this date is A. C. 1546, February 8, Monday.

The **importance** of the record lies in that it contains a reference to a distinguished person known as **Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar** who had for a long time been associated with the administration of the Śrīraṅgam temple and also mentions a descendant of **Śrīśailapūrṇa**, who was a preceptor of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The **scripts** used are Grantha and Tamil and the **language** provides a good example of the typical *Vaiṣṇava* style with a fair admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words, better known as the *maṇipravāla* style employed by the great Tamil commentators. In fact, the expression *Indappāvam adikkaḷaṅṅu poṅ peṇum* (i.e.; this sin is highly valued) in line 7 conveys the same idea as contained in the Sanskrit quotation [*sa*]n-nimitta-kṛitām pūpam-*api dharmmāya kalpatē*, cited immediately above and this Tamil expression is also found in the great commentary known as *Idu*<sup>2</sup>. This is a clear testimony also to the fact that Vaiṣṇavaite commentators of the mediaeval period had achieved proficiency in rendering Sanskrit expressions into good Tamil.

The **orthography** of the inscription presents the following features. The *rēpha* is represented by a vertical stroke above the consonant to which it is prefixed as in *pūrṇa*, *āchārya*, *samarpitta* (lines 3 and 10). But if the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *sauhārddā* (line 6), *dharmma* (lines 7 and 10) the sign for the *rēpha* is inserted in between the doubled consonants. In line 3 the Grantha letter *pa* is used in the purely Tamil word *peṇya*. This is only an exception since the Grantha alphabet is uniformly employed to indicate Sanskrit words or letters.

The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections are indicated in the foot-notes accompanying it.

<sup>1</sup> *ARSIE*, No. 13 of 1936-37.

<sup>2</sup> *Idu* 1, 4, 1. This commentary was written by Vaḍakku-tiruvīdippillai in the name of his teacher Nambiyai.

The use of the ancient form *yāru* of the word *āru* in line 5, meaning river, is peculiar for a record of the 16th century and a similar example can be found in the word *yāṇḍu* used for *āṇḍu* meaning year. The word *kēḷka* is a dialectal variation of the original word *kēḷka* (*kēḷ+ka=kēḷka*). The word *paṇḍāravāḍai* in line 8 is used in the sense that the income from the lands of this village had for sometime been enjoyed by the cultivators. There is a village today in Tanjore District named Paṇḍāravāḍai. The word *kattalai* has been used with two meanings, viz., 'order' in line 6 and 'arrangement' in lines 10 and 11. The use of the honorific plural pronoun is not uniformly applied in the latter part of the sentence in lines 9 and 10 as both *namakku* and *nāṅ* are used to denote the same person.

The donor of the grant is Śrīśailapūrṇa Tātāchārya *alias* Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayyaṅgār. He received a gift of the village **Chintāmaṇi** from **Rāmarāja** and Sōmakulatilaka **Sadāśiva Mahārāja** and in turn granted the same, for the merit of both the *Rāya* and the *Rāja*,<sup>1</sup> to the temple for the expenses of offering four dishes of food to the god as was once arranged by Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, allotting a share of the offerings for himself and his descendants. The village is stated to have been in former times given to the temple by a local Chōḷa king after settling a dispute over a stream cut from the main river. Then after a long time the village passed on to the ownership of the cultivators. Again the village was left uncultivated after a short period. Hence Tiruvēṅgaḍayyaṅgār, the present donor who had himself received the village as gift, renovated the same and in his turn granted it to the temple.

The role that the members of this Śrīśailapūrṇa family played in the spread of Vaishṇavism since the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna, as also in the conversion of the royal family itself to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* faith, has been already discussed<sup>2</sup> in this journal and elsewhere. Two records at Hampi make mention of this Tātāchārya. One of them<sup>3</sup> is dated Śaka 1465, i.e., about two years prior to the date of the present record. There he is stated to have granted a village, some fields and a garden to the god Viṭṭhaladēva. He is described as the son of Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Since no specific mention is made of this teacher as a *guru* of the king, it is probable that he became the royal preceptor only two years later, i.e., about the time of the present record. The other record,<sup>4</sup> of Śaka 1478 at the same place, states that Aubaḷarāja, son of Rāmarāja Kōṇṭṭayyarāja, raised a shrine for Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, granted a few villages for various services to be conducted for the Ālvār, and placed the endowment in the hands of Tirumaṅjanakālam Rāmānujayyaṅgār<sup>5</sup> and his disciples who were required to conduct the services for the merit of Aubaḷarāja's preceptor Tirumala Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍāchārya. The latter is evidently the donor of the present record. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa<sup>6</sup> *alias* Periya Tirumalainambi, the maternal uncle of the great Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher, Śrī Rāmānuja. In the records about the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa that are available from the various places to the north and south of Tirupati, the names of the places where they settled are prefixed to their names, as in *Ēḷḷūr* Siṅgarūchārya, *Śottai* Tōḷappayyaṅgār, etc. Here the name *Avuku* or *Auk* indicates likewise the place where the donor had settled. His father is also called Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Hence it is clear that

<sup>1</sup> There are a number of inscriptions where both the *Rāya* and the *Rāja* are mentioned together though in a different manner; e. g., *ARE*, 246 of 1904; *Tirupati Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 161 ff; Vol. XIII, p. 3; *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> 707 of 1922, *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 607.

<sup>4</sup> *ARE*, No. 51 of 1889, *SII*, Vol. IV., No. 280.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

<sup>6</sup> The earliest reference to Śrīśailapūrṇa in the traditional Vaishṇava hagiologies occurs in the history of Rāmānuja in the *Guruparamparūprabhāva*. Under the directions of his *guru*, Ālavandār, Śrīśailapūrṇa (Periya Tirumalainambi) migrated from Śrīraṅgam to Tirupati.

a branch of the Śrīśailapūrṇa family had already settled there one or two generations earlier.<sup>1</sup> Avuku is a village in the Kōlikuntla *taluk* of the Kurnool District. About the period of this record, Avuku was the seat of a powerful line of chiefs<sup>2</sup> under Sadāśivarāya and this Avuku Tiruvēṅga-dayyaṅgār seems to have wielded great influence over these chiefs and the members of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The interesting history of the village Chintāmaṇi is narrated in the inscription. It is in this part that the name of the eminent administrator of the Śrīraṅgam temple, Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar occurs. He is well known from other sources. He was first known as Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar and began his life as a devotee at Śrīraṅgam and rendered many services<sup>3</sup> to the temple, one of which may be noted here. When a member of the group called *viṇṇappam śeyvār*<sup>4</sup> became impure and consequently unfit for the service in the temple, Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar was called upon to purify him and the Jiyar composed a work known as *Sudarśanaśatakam*<sup>5</sup> and chanted it to purify the person and make him fit for service. In recognition of this and many other services including the one mentioned in the present record, he seems to have been given the name Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar,<sup>6</sup> i.e., Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who was eminent in doing good (*nalam+tiḡal*), and some of the devotees raised him to a new pontifical seat with the designation of Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jiyar and it continued to be held in regular succession by devotees chosen from time to time.

The present record deals with another but more benevolent act done by this same Jiyar. The frequent floods of the river Kāvērī south of Śrīraṅgam proved to be almost a permanent problem baffling solution. They were encroaching into the soil of Śrīraṅgam towards the direction of the temple. Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar took some steps to prevent the erosion. Some of the measures he took as detailed in our record were spiritual and the rest were methods pertaining to flood control.

The Jiyar fixed a *gantra*, i.e., a disc or plate with the powers of a *mantra* at Āṇaikāttāṅ Karai facing west and also consecrated the deity called Śāstā.<sup>7</sup> A stream was newly cut out, branching

<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Siṅgarāchārya (Narasimhāchārya) and Raṅgāchārya, of this line migrated from Tirupati to Ēṭṭūr in search of better fortunes by engaging in skillful exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Yet dissatisfied with their position the family went to Vijayanagara where they converted the royal family to the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. Doḍḍayāchārya, a descendant of Siṅgarāchārya settled at Sholinghur, N. Arcot District, and Tātāchārya Ayyāvayyaṅgār of this family lived at Ēṭṭūr, Tirumalai (i.e., Tirupati) and also at Kumbakōṇam. Again mention is made of one Soṭṭai Tōḷappayaṅgār in a record at Conjeevaram. In the record under study the family is stated to hail from Auk. In some later records at Kōvilaḍi in Tanjore District, Śrīraṅgam Tātāchārya and Śrīraṅgam Tirumalai Tiruvēṅgaḍa Tātṭayyaṅgār figure as donors. Lakshmīkumāra Tātāchārya is well known for his activities at Conjeevaram and Tirumālirūṅḷaimalai (i.e., Alagarkoil, Madura District). Thus it may be seen that this great family spread itself to preach and propagate the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. (*Prapannāṃṣitam*, Chapter 126.)

<sup>2</sup> *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, pp. 358-359.

<sup>3</sup> *Kōyiloḷugu* (1909, Ananda Press), pp. 108-115. In these pages, there is a confused account of the services done by the various *jīyars* of this line, services to distinguish which one has to proceed with caution. For example it is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Chāndu Nāchchiyār was undertaken by Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. Chāndu is identified with the Muslim princess of Delhi who pined away for the Raṅganātha idol carried away by the Muslim hordes in 1311 A.C. from Śrīraṅgam and later on recovered by the Vaiṣṇavaitees from the Delhi Sultan. It is highly improbable that Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar lived till 1311 A.C. the lower limit of his life being 1157 A.C., the year up to which his teacher Kūrattālvār lived. Hence only a successor's action is meant here.

<sup>4</sup> This class of servants at Śrīraṅgam are engaged in the recital of the hymns before the deities on specific occasions, with music, dance and drama. Their duties are well defined in *Kōyiloḷugu*, vide p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Published in the *Kāvyaṃālā Series*, part VIII, Nirnayasaḡara Press.

<sup>6</sup> *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> This deity is considered to be the son of Viṣṇu in the form of Mōhinī and Śiva, on the occasion of Amṛita-mathana. He is called Aiyāṅār and Śāstā. This deity is believed to control all the evil spirits. See also *SI*, Vol. II, p. 40, f.n.3.

off the right bank of the southern branch of the Kāvērī<sup>1</sup> so that a large volume of water might flow out and the effect of erosion into the soil of Śrīraṅgam, i.e., on the north bank of the Kāvērī, would be minimised. A coarse grass of the penreed type was planted on the left bank. The grass served as a good protection to the boundary on that side. The waters of the Kāvērī were partially dried up along the south bank. Owing to the cutting of the stream<sup>2</sup> to the right of the Kāvērī, water encroached upon the cultivated fields belonging to the Mahājanas of the village, Chintāmaṇi. They seemed to have raised objection to this step. The Jiyar gave them lands in the Koḷakuṭṭai village in exchange for the lands flooded on account of the cutting of the stream. But the *Brāhmaṇas* were dissatisfied and appealed to the Chōḷa king. The case was taken up and when questioned by the Chōḷa king about the injustice done to the *Brāhmaṇas*, the Jiyar, in the course of his arguments justifying his action, is stated to have quoted the Lord's own words... *nnimittakṛitam-pāpam(pam)=api dharmmāya kalpatē* as occurring in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.<sup>3</sup> The Chōḷa was much pleased with this representation and exclaimed that if that was the motive the sin was as valuable as pure gold and approved of his action.<sup>4</sup>

The *Kōyilolugu*, a chronicle of the Śrīraṅgam temple, gives with a few differences the details of the same events recorded in the inscription regarding Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, a free translation of which is given below :

'Every year when the Kāvērī is in spate, the *Tirukkuraḷappaṇ-sannidhi* used to be submerged under the waters flooding into the temple. In order to avoid this the Jiyar having informed the lord of the regions consulted Śrī *Sēnāpati* Dhurandharar Kandāḍai Tōḷappār and excavated a channel to the south of the Kāvērī at the end of the street leading to Punnāga-Tīrtha. The *Brāhmaṇas* of the village Chintāmaṇi obstructed the operations by lying down across the boundary. The Jiyar told them that it was a sacred service to the Perumāḷ and hence they should not obstruct. But they did not listen to him. The Jiyar looked down upon them. He went on with his work and raised embankments to the channel on both sides after erecting an avenue called *aṇi-araṅgaṇ-vāśal*. He made his follower Karuṇākaradāsa stand guard at a point of the breach at the south east of Punnāga-Tīrtha and sacrificed him.<sup>5</sup> To the north he consecrated the Kshudradēvatā (i.e., Śāstā) and the village goddess known as Tiruvaraṅgachhelvi and took similar steps in

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted here that the undivided (*akhaṇḍa*) Kāvērī divides itself into two, just above the town of Śrīraṅgam. The north branch is called Koḷḷiḍam and the south Kāvērī. The present record calls the southern branch 'Teṅtirikāvērī'.

<sup>2</sup> A *Chintāmaṇi-ōḍai* is spoken of in the Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, p. 148. But the stream of our record cannot be identified with it because the *ōḍai* is said to fall into the Koḷḷiḍam and this stream flows to the right of the Kāvērī.

<sup>3</sup> This is only one half of the verse of which the first letter is missing as the stone is peeled off here ; and the verse is not found in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Evidently the missing letter may be *sa* or *ma* yielding the meaning benevolent or done in my (God's) cause. The following instance of another irregular quotation may be noted : Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār raised several structures around the shrine at Śrīraṅgam with the help of many architects. They demanded payments of their dues. Luring them with the prospects of treasure trove on the opposite bank, he took them in a boat across the Kāvērī. He had given secret instruction to the ferrymen to capsize the boats in the middle of the river in justification of which the following stanzas were said to have been quoted by him as the lord's own words ; "Ētat-kāryyam mahāpāpa-hētukam n=āvamanyatha | Purū Bhagavat=aiv=ōktaṁ sūkshma-dharmam=anuttamam || Man=nimittam=idam pāpam=api puṇyāya kalpatē | Mām=anāḍṛitya puṇyam vā api pāpāya kalpatē. ||" Vide, *Prapannāmṛitam*, p. 375.

<sup>4</sup> *Iduvē niṇaiṇ=āṇṇai inḍap-pāvam aḍik-kaḷaṅṇu poṇ perum*. The idea of value is conveyed by the word *kaḷaṅṇu* a standard measure in gold and the word *aḍi* adds the idea of the fineness of the material and thus the *ślāghyatā* of the action is indicated.

<sup>5</sup> The corresponding expression *baliy=āga arap-pārttu* as it occurs in *Kōyilolugu*, is not quite clear. In the other context it indicates that Karuṇākaradāsa was sacrificed. It is highly improbable that the *Brāhmaṇas* of Chintāmaṇi were sacrificed. And our record too tells a different tale.



the east end and thus saw that there was no room for Kshudra elements to interfere and mounted a *yantra* so that nobody could live within the temple.<sup>7</sup>

This account has omitted to mention the important act of compensation arranged by the Jiyar and other technical measures adopted by him. Otherwise it corroborates some of the details given in our record.

About the date of this Jiyar our inscription does not give any indication except that he was a contemporary of a Chōla king. However, the following facts may be stated here. We know of one Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who flourished in the 13th century A.C. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.<sup>1</sup> This Jiyar was first known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the early years of his career when he composed the *Sudarśanaśatakam*. He was also known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Kavi. His original name was Nārāyaṇa. He is stated to have received his initiation from Kūrattālvār<sup>2</sup> at Tirumāliruñjōlai-malai. Hence he was called Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. The *Kōyilolugu* places the date of this *Sudarśanaśatakam* in about the same period as that of Nañjīyar.<sup>3</sup> The facts stated about this Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the *Kōyilolugu* and those mentioned in our inscription concerning Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar would render it quite possible that the two persons are identical. The date of the events recorded about Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must lie during the period of Kandāḍai Tōlappār,<sup>4</sup> called Sēnāpati Dhuraṇḍharar, who was a contemporary of Nambiḷḷai, the successor of Nañjīyar. Hence Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar *alias* Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must have lived as a contemporary of both Nañjīyar and Nambiḷḷai who were great *āchāryas* in the line of Rāmānuja, and even lived further on. His long association with the administration of the temple had made him very popular and his admirers and friends ventured to establish a new pontifical seat named after him in rivalry with the established line of Rāmānuja and succeeded in making him the first Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar with special honours. Though the dates of these religious heads have not been settled accurately, it can be safely asserted that Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of our record lived from the middle of the 12th century up to the middle of the 13th. This inscription does not unfortunately give us any clue about the identity of the Chōla king who is stated to have settled the dispute.

The technical expressions in which the ideas about the methods to prevent erosion are couched deserve special mention. The words *kīḷi-gāru* and *maladaṅ-āru* and the cognate verbs from which these nouns are derived are very aptly expressive of the operations involved. The word *kīḷittu* embodies the sense of force conveyed by the action. The expression *maladu śeyvittu* is both literary and technical. The use of the word *maladu* is quite in keeping with the literary tradition of personifying rivers as women. At the same time the ineffectiveness of that section of the river and barrenness of that part of the land are precisely indicated. The names *kīḷi-gāru* and *maladaṅ-āru*<sup>5</sup> remind us of the small rivulets and channels in the vast distributary system of the Kāvērī and also of their names like *koṟaiyāru* (*koṟaiyāru*), *petṭāru* (*petṭāru*) and *valappāru* (*valarppāru*). Perhaps *Kīḷpalāru* is the name of one such kind of water course. *Palāru* in this name may be a corrupted form of *pillaiyāru*, just a variant of *petṭāru*. The divisions named after this *āru* came to be known as *Kīḷpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru* according to their directions from this *āru*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Kōyilolugu*, p. 108. Kūrattālvār was a junior contemporary of the great Rāmānuja and lived till about 1157 A.C.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108 *et. seq.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> There is one *maladaṅ* in the island of Śrīraṅgam. This flows out from the Kāvērī and runs to the left of and parallel to the main river; *Śrīraṅgam Town Topographical Map*, Reg. No. 25 (1946).

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV., No. 424. In line 5 of this inscription, both *Kīḷpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru*, i.e., *Mēḷpalāru* are mentioned as belonging to Paḍchir-kūṟṟam in Rājarāja-valanāḍu, while Dēvadānam of our record belongs to *Kīḷpalāru* of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam.

The expression *aḍikkalañju poṇ perum* is found in the commentary of Nambillai, a contemporary of this Jiyar. Most of the expressions in the *Vaiṣṇava* parlance have been frequently used by the *āchāryas* in their discussions and then incorporated into their commentaries.

The village Chintāmaṇi is situated on the southern bank of Kāvērī opposite to and facing Śrīraṅgam on the other bank. Regarding the other **geographical names** in this record, Dēva-dāṇam which is said to belong to *Kīlpālāru* (division) is evidently the village still bearing the same name. The mud fort of Tiruchchirāppalli referred to as the southern boundary of Chintāmaṇi must have been once raised around the main rock before the date of this record and the lines of these outer defences are marked by scattered remains of the works and the ditch (now filled up).<sup>1</sup>

The western boundary of Chintāmaṇi is said to be the road (*veṭṭi*) from Kṛishṇarāya Alavandapuram to Uṇaiyūr. This road can be traced on the map as leading to the south through Uṇaiyūr from the small ferry station of Ammamandapuram on the Kāvērī. Ammamandapuram is probably the Alavandapuram of our record and Kṛishṇarāya may be an addition to the name probably due to some association with Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagar, which cannot be traced in the present state of our knowledge. Kolakuttai may be the modern Kulakattai a village due south of Chintāmaṇi on the bank of a tank near Koṇaiyār river.<sup>2</sup> Lands in this village which is more than twelve miles from the river might not have been so fertile as those that were encroached by the stream and hence the Mahājānas of Chintāmaṇi had raised serious objection necessitating the interference of the king.

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

- 1 Sētuvandyē Sakasy=ābdē Śrīman-Vēṅkaṭadēsīkah | Chintāmaṇi-mahāgrāma[m\*] Śrī-Raṅgēsāyi(ya) dattavān ||
- 2 Śubham=astu [||\*] Svasti [||\*] Śrīman-Mahā-irā...irāja-Irāja[pa]ramēsvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrīmat-Sadāsīva-Irāja-Mahā-irāyar pṛithuvi-irājyam-panṇi arulāniṇṇa Śakābdam 1467 idan mēl śellāniṇṇa Viśvāvasu-samvatsarattu Phālguna-māsattu śukla-pakshattu saptami yum Sōma-
- 3 vāramum peṇṇa Rōhiṇi-nakshatrattu nāl teṇ<sup>4</sup>karai Pāṇḍikulāsani-valanāṭṭu Vilāvarā-vidivīdi<sup>5</sup>-valanāṭṭu Tiruvaraṅgantiruppadi-Śrī-Raṅganāthadēvar-Śrī-baṇḍārattukku Śrīśailapūrṇāchārya-Tātāchāryar-āṇa Auvukku=tTiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār śilāsāsanam paṇṇi samarpitta-
- 4 paḍi [||\*] Teṇkarai Irājagambhīra-valanāṭṭu Tañjāūr-usāvaḍi Uṇaiyūr-kūṇṇattu Kīlpālāru-Dēvadānattukku mēṅku Tiruchchirāppalli maṅkōṭṭaikku vaḍakku Kirushṇarāya<sup>6</sup>-Alavandapuram Uṇaiyūr-veṭṭikku kilakku tiruk-Kāvērīkku teṅku inṇāṅ-ellaikk-ulpaṭṭu muṇṇāl Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadi piḍāgai-
- 5 y-ākki piṇbu Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadiyai yāru koḷḷugiṇadu kaṇḍu mēlmugam Āṇaikāttāṅ-karaikku yantra-sthāpanamum paṇṇi Śāstāvaiyum pratishṭhitu Kīliyāruṅ-gilittu teṇ-tiruk-Kāvērī malaḍu-śeyvittu malaḍaṅ-āru keḍa vaḍakarai nāṇal naḍavum Kīliyāruṅkku teṇkarai nāṇal<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Trichinopoly District Gazetteer*, p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> Vide No. 139 of *Madras Survey Map*.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> After *n* a *n* seems to be written, but this is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> The second *vīdi* is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Kṛishṇa*.

<sup>7</sup> The letter *n* is a mistake for *n*.

- 6 naḍāmal Chintāma[ṇiyil\*] iḍaṅḍoḍukka[vum] kaṭṭalai iṭṭu Chintāmaṇi-mahājanaṅgaḷukku-Koḷa[k]uṭṭai grāmam parivartanai paṇṇikkoḍuk-kaiyil Śōḷaṅ alaippittu sanniyāśiy-āṇavaṅ sarvabhūta-sauhārddam=unḍ[āy] irukkavēṇḍi irukka ippaḍi brāhmaṇa-himsai paṇṇalāmō<sup>1</sup> eṅṅu kēḷka<sup>2</sup> brāhmaṇa-himsaikku ā-
- 7 jñai iḍugira paradēvatai tāṇē...<sup>3</sup>nnimitta-kṛitam pāpamm(pam)=api dharmmāya<sup>4</sup> kalpatē eṅṅu Śrī-Bhagavad-Gītaiyilē sonṇadu kaṇḍu śeydōṅgāṇum=eṅṅa adu kēṭṭu śōḷaṅ santōshittu iduvē niṇaiiv=ānāl inda-ppāvam aḍikkalaṅju poṅ perum=eṅṅu Śrī-Iraṅganāda<sup>5</sup>-dēvarku dārai- vāttu ko-
- 8 ḍuttadukku piṅbu neḍu-nāḷaikku mēl-āga=chch[i]kālam<sup>6</sup> paṇḍāra-vāḍaiyāy tiṇandu-pōṇa Chintāmaṇi-grāmam 1 kku<sup>7</sup> dāna-māṇiyam nilam<sup>7</sup> naṅje nilam<sup>7</sup> 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ -1/10 puṅje nilam [7]<sup>8</sup> āga nilam 14<sup>8</sup> 1/10 idukku poṅ<sup>7</sup> 146 Chintā[maṇi\*] nattam śey-ttalai-ttiḍar vāstu vāstu-sēsham āru-pr[ā]pti vākkāḷil-prāpti Vellāṅḍuḍi-iruppu
- 9 [ ]<sup>9</sup> maṅṅum eppērpaṭṭa sakala-samudāya-prāptiyum uṭpaḍa nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṅ-ādi ashta-bhōka(ga)-tēja-svāmyaṅgaḷum ulpaḍa namakku nammudaiya priya-śishyanāya svasti [ ]<sup>\*</sup> śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sōmakulatilakāyamāṇan=āna Irāma-IrājarSadāśi-varāya-Mahā-irāyar
- 10 kaiyil ēkabhōgyamāy dhārai vāṇpittu<sup>10</sup> tarugaiyil nāṅ pūrvan=Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar iṭṭa kaṭṭalaippaḍiyilē perumālukkē poliūṭṭāga Irāyaṅkum<sup>10</sup> Irājavukkum dharmmam=āga samarpittu inda khilōddhāraṇam paṇṇiṇa grāmattil udaiyaṅ-gōṇḍu
- 11 perumāl dinam nālu taḷigai amudu śeydaruḷi idil nibaddhik-kaṭṭalai aṅṅa-paḍi viṭṭavaṅ viḷukkāḍu chaturthāmsam nālu taḷigaiyilē oru taḷigaiyum [Aukku Tiruveṅgaḍayaṅgār santāna-paramparai āga chandr-āditya-varaiyum aṅubavittu]<sup>11</sup>=
- 12 kkoṇḍu Śrī-Vaiśṇavargaḷ amudu śeydaruḷumbadiḍukku naḍakka-kkaḍavad=āgavum ippaḍiḍukku inda śilāsūsana[m=e]ḷuḍiṇa<sup>\*</sup>maikku kōyil-kkaṅakku Śrī-Raṅganārāyaṇa-priyaṅ eḷuttu [ ]<sup>\*</sup> Dāna-pālanayō[r=mma]dhyē danāt=chhśrē(ch=chhrē)yō=nupālanam dānāt svargam=avā[ṇō]-<sup>12</sup>
- 13 ti pālanāt (nūd=)achyutam padam [ ]<sup>\*</sup>
- 14 A[u]kku Tūttai-Ayyaṅgārē santāna-param[pa]rai=āga anubavittu=kkōḷa=kkaḍavar=āgavum [ ]<sup>13</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1) In the Śaka year (indicated by) sētuvandya<sup>14</sup> Śrīman Veṅkaṭadēsika gave the village, Chintāmaṇi, to Śrī-Raṅgēśa.

<sup>1</sup> The syllable *ṇa* is written with one *ṇ* below the other.

<sup>2</sup> A corrupt form of *kēḷka*.

<sup>3</sup> The stone is mutilated here. *Sa* or *ma* may be the intended letter.

<sup>4</sup> The sign for *rēpha* is inserted in between the two consonants.

<sup>5</sup> The usual prothetic vowel *a* has been replaced here by *i* in *Iraṅganāda*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *chchilakālam*.

<sup>7</sup> Represented by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Either 7 is a mistake for 6 or 14 is a mistake for 15.

<sup>9</sup> The figure 1 seems to have been written later at the beginning of the line.

<sup>10</sup> The letter *ṛ* is a mistake for the ordinary trill.

<sup>11</sup> This portion is written over an erasure and hence indistinct; nevertheless it can be read on the impression. This erasure and the last line of the inscription rouse some suspicion about the genuineness of this portion. Usually this share is given to a nominee of the donor. Hence it is called *viṭṭavaṅ viḷukkāḍu*. It is highly improbable that a royal preceptor would have thought of nominating himself or his descendants to receive the share. This portion may be a later interpolation.

<sup>12</sup> The length of the *o* medial sign is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>13</sup> Line 14 seems to have been written later after the engraving of the main inscription was completed.

<sup>14</sup> This chronogram yields the number 1467.

(lines 2-3) Be it well ! Hail, Prosperity !

In the **Śaka year 1467**, corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year, **Viśvāvasu**, in the month of Phālguna, on Monday which was a day of the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight, with Rōhiṇi-*nakshatra*, when Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-Śrī-Vīrapratāpa-Śrīmat-Sadāśivadēva-Mahārāyar was ruling the earth, **Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** *alias* Śrīśailapūrṇa-Tātāchārya respectfully conveyed the following deed of endowment (*śilāśāsanam*) to the treasury of (*the temple of*) Śrī-Raṅganātha at Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi (*situated in*) Viḷāvaṅḍi-vaḷanāḍu in Pāṇḍikulāśani-vaḷanāḍu on the southern bank (*of the Kāvērī*) (*to wit*)

(lines 4-7) (*whereas*) the village, **Chintāmaṇi** (*lying*) to the west of Kīḷpalāru-Dēvadāṇam in Uṟaiyūr-kūrṅam in Tañjāūr-uśāvaḍi in Irājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu on the southern bank (*of the Kāvērī*) to the north of the mud-fort of Tiruchchirāppalli, to the east of Kṛishṇarāya-Alavandapuram, on the Uṟaiyūr road and to the south of the Kāvērī, had been, in former days, made into a hamlet of Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi (*and*),

(*whereas*) later, **Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar** seeing the river encroaching (*on the land up to*) Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi, fixed a *yantra* on the bank at (*a spot called*) Āṇaikāttāṅ-karai facing west, consecrated (*the deity*) Śāstā there, cut out a stream (*called*) Kīḷiyāru (*thereby*) drying up the southern (*branch of the*) Kāvērī and in order to permanently dry it up planted *nāṇal* (*grass*) on the northern bank (*of the southern Kāvērī*) while not doing so on the southern bank of the Kīḷiyāru, (*thereby*) causing (*some*) land in Chintāmaṇi (*to be*) inundated (*by the flow of the water*), and issued a decree (*granting*) the village of Koḷakuṭṭai to the Mahājanas of Chintāmaṇi as exchange (*and*)

(*whereas*) the Chōla (*king*) invited the Jīyar and questioned whether a *sanjāsīn* (*like him*), who should have compassion on all living beings, could thus do harm to the *Brāhmaṇas*, and (*who*) on the (*Jīyar replying*) that he had done the deed, since the same God who had (*the authority*) to give such an order causing suffering to *Brāhmaṇas* had Himself stated in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*thus*), "Anything done for the sake of good (or in devotion to my cause) though sinful, is ordained as proper (*in the interest*) of dharma" was pleased (*with the answer*) and said that, if this was the motive, the deed though sinful was as valuable as fine gold and granted the village (*Chintāmaṇi*) to God Raṅganātha, (*and*)

(lines 8-9) (*whereas*) a long time after (*this grant*) the village came under the *paṇḍāravāḍai* (*tenure*) for a short while and then was left uncultivated,

(*whereas*) our loving disciples, Hail! Prosperity! Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sōmakulatilaka-Rāmarāja and Sadāśiva-Mahārāyar were pleased to grant to me on *ēkabhōgya* (*tenure*) this village (*of the extent of*) *nañjai* (*land*) 7½ (*vēli*) and 2 *mā*, *puñjai* (*land*) 7½ (*vēli*), (i.e. *in all*) 14 (*vēli*) and 2 *mā* (*yielding an income of*) 146 *poṇ*, inclusive of settlement, fields, mounds, buildings, building-sites, river-(*inundated*) areas, canal-(*occupied*) areas, *vēḷḷāṅḍi-iruppu* and all rights over the incomes of the village, as well as over treasure-trove, waters, etc.,

(lines 10-13) I, (**Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** *alias* Śrīśailapūrṇa-Tātāchārya) do hereby grant this renovated village in the same way as was endowed formerly by Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar, to the God (*Perumāḷ*) as interest-bearing endowment for the daily offering of four dishes (*of food*) out of the produce of the village for the merit of both the *Rāya* and the *Rāja*; (*and do hereby stipulate that*) of the four dishes of food, one-fourth share is to be given to Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār and his descendants as long as the sun and moon endure, the rest of the offered food being distributed among the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*;

in attestation (*of the above deed*), this is the signature of the temple accountant Śrīraṅganārāyaṇapriyaṅ.

(Imprecatory verse)

(line 14) May Avukku Tātayaṅgār and his descendants enjoy this !

## No. 10 SANTIRAGRAMA GRANT OF DANDIMAHADEVI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In May 1949, I received for examination a copper-plate grant from Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. It was originally in the possession of a gentleman of a village in the Angul Sub-division of the Cuttack District. Mr. Rādhāmōhana Gaṇanāyaka of Angul received the plate from him and sent it to the Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum. The inscribed plate, which was covered with a coating of greenish verdigris, was properly cleaned at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several sets of excellent impressions were prepared.<sup>1</sup> The plate was then returned to the Orissa Provincial Museum where it now lies. I thank Mr. Panigrahi for his kindness in allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.<sup>2</sup>

This is a **single copper plate** measuring 13·8" by 10" with a circular projection at the centre of the proper right end, to which the **seal**, 4·3" in diameter, is soldered. The seal is designed in the form of an expanded lotus, on the circular pericarpial portion of which are carved, on counter-sunk surface, the emblems of the sun, the moon and a conch-shell and a seated bull facing proper right. In the lower part of this circular space there is also an emblem of an expanded lotus. In the space between the bull and the lotus is the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvyāḥ*. The plate is written on both sides, the obverse containing nineteen lines of writing and the reverse eighteen lines. The average size of the *aksharas* is ·4" in height and ·3" in breadth. The *aksharas* of the concluding two lines are, however, smaller in size. The incision is deep and the letters are carefully and beautifully cut. The state of preservation of the writing is exceptionally satisfactory. The plate weighs 325½ *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet and closely resemble those of other records of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa, especially the Gañjām<sup>3</sup> and Bānpur<sup>4</sup> plates of the same queen who issued the charter under discussion. While editing the Gañjām plates, Kielhorn opined about half a century ago that the writing "could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D".<sup>5</sup> With the progress of our knowledge in the ancient history of Orissa, this view has now rightly been discarded. There is hardly any doubt that the imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa flourished earlier than the Sōmavarāṣī king Uddyōtakēsarin (c. 1060-85 A.C.)<sup>6</sup> and the Greater Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.C.).<sup>7</sup> This is not only suggested by the known facts of Orissan history but also by the use of numerical symbols instead of figures in writing the date of the charter in question. This old system of writing numbers is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century.<sup>8</sup> On palaeographical grounds, the present inscription may be assigned to a period about the tenth century A.C. The most interesting point in regard to its palaeography is the confusion between the medial signs of *u* and *ū* which is characteristic not only of the epigraph under notice (cf. more than twenty cases of medial *ū* wrongly

<sup>1</sup> This is C. P. No. 63 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1949-50.

<sup>2</sup> About the beginning of 1951, I received for examination another plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi lying in the possession of a goldsmith of Ambapuā near Russelkonda in the Ganjam District. The text of lines 1-24 of this inscription is the same as that of lines 1-26 of the record edited here. The rest of the writing on the Ambapuā plate is damaged and cannot be deciphered. This plate is registered as C. P. No. 22 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 137 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 571 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was crowned on the 17th of February, 1078 A.C. (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1099) and ruled for a period of 70 years.

<sup>8</sup> G. H. Ojha, *Indian Palaeography* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.

written for medial *u* in lines 3, 8-9, 11-16, 22-23, 26, 35-36), but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of about the same age. The form of medial *u* in *tku* in line 11 is different from the one usually found here. As usual, *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. *N* has two different forms; see *nivāsi* in line 3 and *manasi* in line 4. Final *m* occurs in line 16 and final *t* in line 19. *Ta* for final *t* occurs in lines 3 and 18 and *nah<sup>1</sup>* for final *n* in line 28. Initial *u* has been employed in line 22 while the sign for *avagraha* is found thrice in lines 32 and 37. Medial *ri* has different forms. Its sign in *kṛita* and *sad-dṛiṣṭi* (line 4) and *hṛidaya* (line 6) is not the same as in *kṛitāḥ* (line 7). Note also the sign of the same vowel in *°bhṛitāḥ* (lines 6 and 9). The symbols for 200 and 80 are employed in writing the date in line 37.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The introductory portion of the inscription (lines 1-25 containing fifteen stanzas) is in verse with the only exception of a small prose passage in line 3. These verses are also found in the Bāṅpur plate, although there are a few omissions in the two Gañjām plates. It is interesting to note that the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found at the end of charters are conspicuous by their absence in the record under notice. In point of orthography, the present inscription closely resembles the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates. There are some errors such as *svē* for *śvē* and *tī* for *ti* (line 1), *vi* for *bhi* (line 7), *ṛṭha* for *ṛṭa* (line 14), *śri* for *śri* (line 16), *vi* for *vī* (line 17), *ṭṭi* for *ṭi* (line 23), *nī* for *ni* (line 34), *ni* for *nī* (line 37), etc. In some cases, *anusvāra* has been written for final *m* (see lines 4 and 19). In line 9, it substitutes final *n*.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 280 of an unspecified era. The symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and we know from Nepalese and Bengali manuscripts that, while *lu* indicates the figure 100, *lū* signifies 200.<sup>2</sup> But the difficulty in regard to the date of the present record is that, in the Gañjām plate (A), as rightly pointed out by Kielhorn,<sup>3</sup> "the symbol for 100 is something between *lva* and *lu* just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghāṭi plate (of Raṇabhañja) is *lū*." The case is the same with the first symbol in the date of the Bāṅpur plate. Now the problem is while the first symbol in the dates of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates have to be read as 100 and while the second symbol indicating 80 is the same in those records as well as in the present charter, the first symbol in the date of the record under discussion is clearly to be read as 200. It can hardly be normal to read the date of one record of a person as 180 and that of another record of the same person as 280, as one is not expected to date one's different records in two different eras with epochs separated exactly by one century. The first symbol in the date of the Gañjām and Bāṅpur plates as well as of the present record thus seems to have the same value, either 100 or 200. There seems, however, to be strong evidence in favour of the reading 100 instead of 200. It has to be remembered that all the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family used the same era in dating their documents and that there is no doubt about the reading of many of the dates. The Dhauli inscription<sup>4</sup> of Śāntikara I is undoubtedly dated in the year 93. The date of the Hindol plate<sup>5</sup> of his son Śubhākara III is also clearly 103. This king was succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvī I, the date of whose Bhīmnaḡarigaḡh plate<sup>6</sup> is probably the year 120. The first symbol in the dates of the records of Śubhākara III and Tribhuvanamahādēvī I is a quite clear *lu*. Now, as will be clear

<sup>1</sup> In this case, the *visarga* may have also been intended to be a part of the mark of interpunctuation that follows.

<sup>2</sup> Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (translation), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 135. Bhandarkar seems to be wrong in interpreting the symbol as 200 (cf. *List*, No. 1413).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, p. 77. The recently discovered Teruṅḡiā plate of Śubhākara II, cousin and predecessor of Śubhākara III, is dated in the year 100. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff. This plate has been registered as C. P. No. 19 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 421. The second symbol in the date of this record looks like *chum* which would ordinarily be interpreted as 60 (cf. Ojha, op. cit., Plate LXXIII). But dates in the later records of the family and the possible confusion between the *ch* and *th* symbols suggest 20 in this case.

from the following discussion on the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas, Śubhākara III who ruled in the year 103 and probably died before the year 120 was the great-great-grandfather of the issuer of the record under discussion ; that is to say, only three generations intervened between Śubhākara III and the issuer of the present charter. As is usual, we may count three quarters of a century for these three generations. This will show that we have to read 180 as the year of the issue of the present charter and certainly not 280, because in that case more than one century and a half for the three intervening generations would be preposterously abnormal. Thus the symbol *lū* in the date of our record actually stands for *lu* indicating 100 and this mistake may be due to the confusion between the medial signs for *u* and *ū* in the present record as well as in others, to which attention has already been invited above. It has been suggested that the Buddhist dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas was accorded a feudatory position in Orissa by Harsha Śīlāditya during his Kōngōda expedition about 643 A.C. and that the Bhauma-Karas used the Harsha era of 606 A.C. The present record would thus be dated in the year 180 of the Harsha era corresponding to 786 A.C. Attention may be drawn to the mention of a solar eclipse as the occasion of the grant in line 36 of the charter. There were actually two solar eclipses in the year 786 A. C., one on Monday, the 3rd April, and the other on Wednesday, the 27th September.<sup>1</sup> But as will be seen from further discussions on the Bhauma-Kara chronology below, the above date of the charter under discussion is not free from doubt. It has also to be admitted that the palaeography of the record seems to suggest a much later date.

The charter begins with a verse containing the description of the city of Guhōśvarapāṭaka, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following. This verse as well as most of those which describe the Bhauma-Kara genealogy is also found in some inscriptions of other members of the family.<sup>2</sup> The city, otherwise known as Guhadēvapāṭaka, was the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious *skandhāvāra* of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word *skandhāvāra* originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital.'<sup>3</sup> Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king named Unmaṭṭasimha. From other inscriptions of this family, which is called Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in later epigraphs, we know that its progenitor was a *paramōpāsaka* (i.e., Buddhist) named Kshēmaṅkara or Lakshmīkara.<sup>4</sup> His son and successor was a *paramatāthāgata* (i.e., devout worshipper of the Tathāgata or Buddha), *Mahārāja Śivakara I*, also called Unmaṭṭasimha (or. °kēsarin) and Bharasaha. This king is said to have married, according to the Rākshasa form of wedding, the lady Jayāvalī who was the daughter of a ruler of Rādha in the valley of the river Ajay in the Burdwan region of South-West Bengal. Verse 3 of our record speaks of the illustrious king Gayāḍa and others who were born in the family of Unmaṭṭasimha. Other records of the family represent king Gayāḍa I as the grandson of Unmaṭṭasimha. We know that Śivakara I-Unmaṭṭasimha-Bharasaha was succeeded by his son, the *paramasugata* (devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) Śubhākara I, who is called *Mahārāja* in his own Neulpur plate,<sup>5</sup> but is endowed with full imperial titles in the record of his successor. He is represented as the lord of the Utkala country, as the subduer of the Kaliṅga people and as a grantor of land in Uttara-Tōsali. He married Mādhadēvī who gave birth to *Mahārājūthirājas Śivakara II* and Śāntikara I. King Śāntikara I was also known as Gayāḍa I and Lalitabhāra (or °hāra) I and was probably the founder of Gayāḍapura mentioned

<sup>1</sup> L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 174-75.

<sup>2</sup> See, e. g., the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādēvī, which has all the verses with slight changes in few of them (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20).

<sup>3</sup> *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 47.

<sup>4</sup> Some scholars are inclined to take Kshēmaṅkara and Lakshmīkara as two different members of the family

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1 ff. The date of this record written in one symbol is uncertain, but may be the year 70. Śubhākara I seems to have been the first imperial ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.

in a later record of the family. We have referred above to his Dhauli inscription dated in the year 93 and to his queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who is described as a *paramavaishnavī* and as the daughter of a Nāga chief of the southern country, named Rājamalla. Verse 4 of our record mentions a king named Lōṇabhāra as born in the family of Śāntikara I. It is known, however, from other records that Lōṇabhāra (or Lavaṇa°) was actually the grandson of Śāntikara I. The son of Śāntikara I, surnamed Gayāḍa and Lalitahāra (or °bhāra), was Śubhākara III otherwise called Kusumahāra (or °bhāra) and Śimhadhvaja (or °kētu).<sup>1</sup> This king is known to have granted lands in both northern and southern Tōsalī in the year 103.<sup>2</sup> The grant of land in Uttara-Tōsalī was made at the request of his feudatory, Pulindarāja (either indicating a personal name or less probably signifying 'the king of the Pulindas') in favour of the god Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) enshrined in the Pulindēsvara temple. The land granted in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī was actually situated in the Kōṅgōdamaṇḍala *vishaya*. This king was probably succeeded first by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I *alias* Sindagaurī I and then by his young son Śāntikara II.<sup>3</sup> Tribhuvanamahādēvi is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in the same way as an ancient queen named Gōsvāminī had done.<sup>4</sup> As noticed above, a date in Tribhuvanamahādēvi's reign probably falls in the year 120. Śāntikara II, who succeeded his grandmother, was also known as Lōṇabhāra (or Lavaṇa°) I and Gayāḍa II. We know that Śāntikara II (*alias* Lavaṇabhāra *alias* Gayāḍa) married Hīramahādēvi, daughter of Śimhamāna, and begot on her two sons, viz., Śubhākara IV (surnamed Kusumahāra or °bhāra II) and Śivakara III (surnamed Lalitahāra or °bhāra II) both of whom became kings and are mentioned in our record in verses 5 and 6. By this time the Bhauma-Karas were no longer adherents of the Buddhist religion. *Mahārājādhirāja* Śubhākara IV (Kusumahāra II) is called a *paramamāhēśvara* in his Talcher plate<sup>5</sup> of the year 145. His younger brother and successor Śivakara III is known from his records dated in the year 149.<sup>6</sup> The sons of Śivakara III (Lalitabhāra II) were kings Śāntikara III (surnamed Lavaṇabhāra or Lōṇa° II) and Śubhākara V, both of whom are mentioned in our record in verses 7 and 8.<sup>7</sup> Śāntikara III married Dharmamahādēvi, while Śubhākara V had two queens, viz., Gaurī and Vakulamahādēvi. Both of these kings apparently died without leaving any male issue and, after the death of Śubhākara V, the throne passed to his queen Gaurī who is mentioned in our record in verse 9. Queen Gaurī was succeeded by her daughter, the *paramamāhēśvarī* *Paramabhāṭṭārikā* *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī* Daṇḍimahādēvi who issued the charter under discussion in the year 180. One of the two Gañjām plates was issued by the same queen in the same year, but the Bānpur plate was issued by her in the year 187. We know that this queen was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādēvi who was the daughter of a Bhañja king.<sup>8</sup> The throne next passed to Dharmamahādēvi, queen of Daṇḍimahādēvi's paternal uncle Śāntikara III (Lavaṇabhāra II). We offer below the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas in a tabular form for easy reference.

<sup>1</sup> We have now the Terunḍiā plate of Śubhākara II, son of Śivakara II, who ruled between Śāntikara I and his son Śubhākara III in the year 100.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 77 ff.; B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 14 ff., 22, and line 25 of plate F.

<sup>3</sup> According to the recently discovered Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II *alias* Sindagaurī II, Gōsvāminī (i.e., Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) ascended the throne because her son Śubhākara III had died without leaving a son. This fact suggests that Śāntikara II was adopted as son by the chief queen of Śubhākara III some time after the death of her husband. The Baud plates have been registered as C. P. Nos. 20-21 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

<sup>4</sup> The Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II suggest that Tribhuvanamahādēvi I called herself Gōsvāminī II.

<sup>5</sup> B. Misra, *op. cit.*, Plate H, line 42. Misra reads the date as 141.

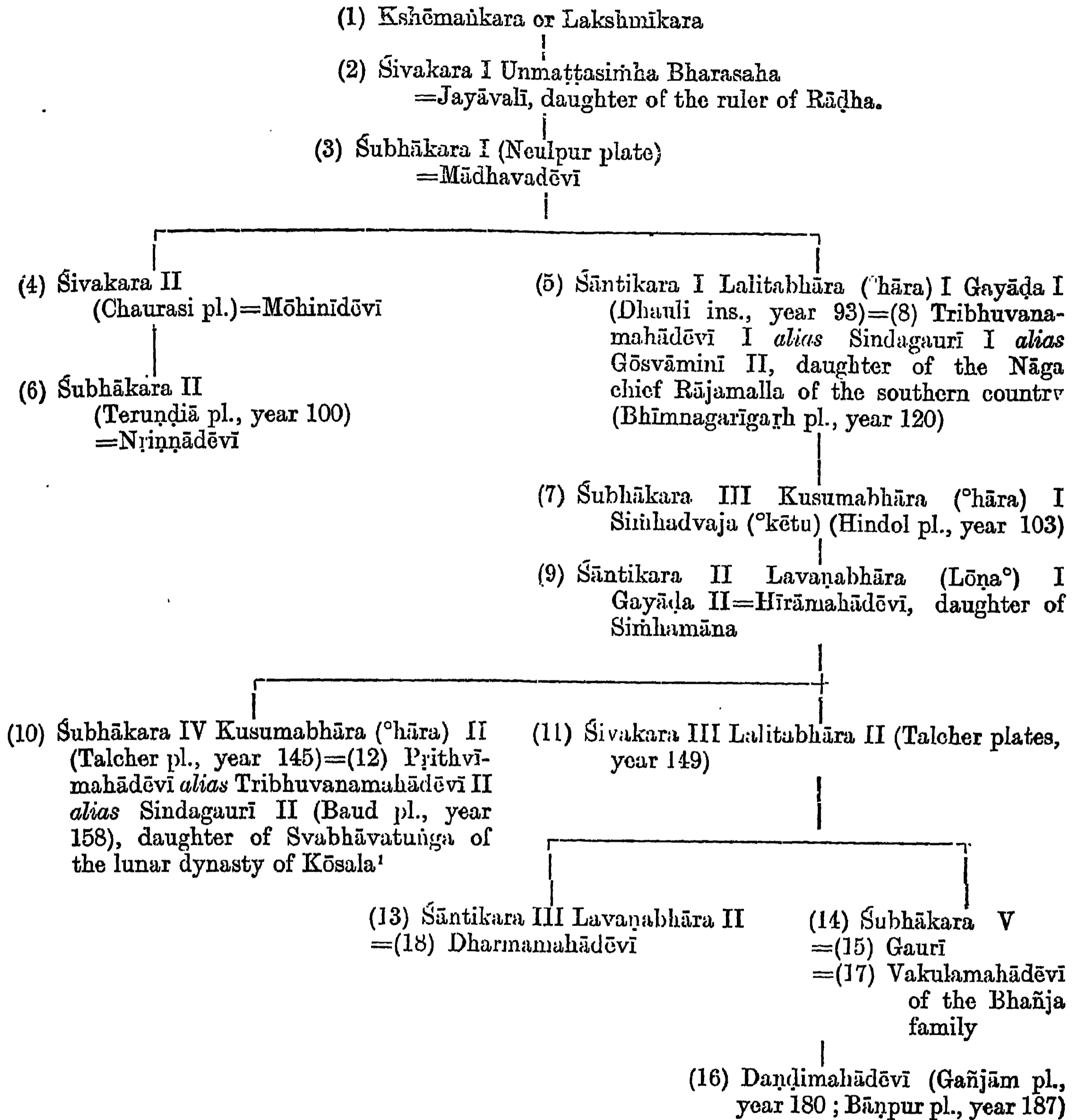
<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate I, line 30, and Plate J (reverse), line 6. The figure read here as 9 has a rather peculiar form.

<sup>7</sup> The Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II, dated in the year 158, say that her husband, Śubhākara IV, and the latter's younger brother and successor, Śivakara III, both died without leaving sons and therefore she herself ascended the throne. This shows that this queen and her supporters did not recognise Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V as sons of Śivakara III. It seems that there was a struggle for the throne after the death of Śivakara III between his sons and the queen of his elder brother and that queen Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was ultimately overthrown in favour of Śāntikara III.

<sup>8</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20.



## GENEALOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS



Before entering into the details of the grant made by means of the present charter, it is necessary to refer to an important point in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings. The dates of the Bhauma-Kara records would suggest that the family ruled for about two centuries.

<sup>1</sup> The recently discovered Baud plates of the queen say that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga, who belonged to the race of the moon and was the lord of Kōsala (apparently South Kōsala), from queen Nṛittāmahādēvi, daughter of Yaśōvṛiddhi. The grants were made at the request of Śaśilēkhā (wife of *Mahūmandalādhipati* Maṅgalakalaśa), who was born in the Virāṭa family and was married into the Vrāgaḍi family, for the merit of the deceased father of the lady, in favour of the Nānnēsvara temple (named after the dead man). The gift land was situated in the Tamālakhṇḍa *vishaya* within the Daṅḍabhukti *maṅḍala* (about the present Danton in the Midnapur District of West Bengal). The temple in question, which was a Śaiva institution, seems to have been situated in the same area which was probably being ruled by the husband of Śaśilēkhā.

Elsewhere<sup>1</sup> it was suggested that Śivakara I-Unmaṭṭasiṃha-Bharasaha, the second ruler of the family, was probably installed by Harsha during his Kōngōda expedition about 643 A. C. as his feudatory in Orissa. This date for Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasiṃha was taken to be supported by the Gañjām inscription<sup>2</sup> which may suggest that Unmaṭṭakēsarin (°siṃha), stationed at Virajas, conquered parts of Kōngōdamāṇḍala from Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvētaka with the help of his feudatory *Rāṇaka* Vishavārṇava sometime after the Gaṅga year which may possibly be read as 120 falling in 616-18 A. C.<sup>3</sup> Virajas is no doubt the same as Viraja or Virajā, identified with modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. One of the Parlakimedi plates<sup>4</sup> of Gaṅga Jayavarman was taken to be a copy of a genuine record of the sixth or seventh century, to which period the original records of the Gaṅga king are palaeographically assigned.<sup>5</sup> Now the Parlakimedi record referred to above is dated in the year 100 of the Gaṅga era, which falls in 596-98 A.C. Thus the reign of Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasiṃha was assigned to a date about the second quarter of the seventh century, the end of the dynasty to the early years of the ninth century and the rule of queen Daṇḍimahādēvī to the close of the eighth century. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this chronology of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa especially in view of the late date suggested by the palaeography of their records.

In 795 A.C. the Chinese emperor Te-tsong received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by the king of Wu-cha (i.e., Ōdra, Orissa) in Southern India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion."<sup>6</sup> This piece of evidence cannot be easily reconciled with the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas indicated above. The original of the name is supposed to be *śrī-Śubhakaradēva Kēsari (Siṃha)* who is often identified with king Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. If this identification is to be accepted, we have to assign Daṇḍimahādēvī's reign to the middle of the tenth century and to suggest that the era used by the Bhauma-Karas started from the regnal reckoning of the founder of the dynasty. As however the names *Śubhākara* and *Śubhakara* are quite different in meaning, it is difficult to be definite on this point. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested to me that the king of Orissa mentioned in the Chinese record should be identified with Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasiṃha (or °kēsari), father of Śubhākara I. It has to be admitted that this is the only known king of early-medieval Orissa who was a Buddhist and at the same time had a name with the word "lion" as one of its component parts. But the word *śiva* does not mean "pure" and *unmaṭṭa-siṃha* means a "furious lion," *unmaṭṭa* being a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *unmatta*, and none of these words can be traced in the Chinese translation of the Indian name. The chronology of the Bhauma-Karas based on the above identification therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. It may not be impossible that the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records belonged to a different dynasty of rulers, who flourished in the last decade of the eighth century but had nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It must be admitted that the identification is a mere conjecture and we shall have to wait for further evidence to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

<sup>2</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

<sup>3</sup> See *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21; Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 268-69.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64. Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes to me: "A more literal translation of the king's name and title would be 'the auspicious lord pure-doing-lion king.' The literal Sanskrit restoration looks more sensible: *śrī-īśvara-Śubhakarasiṃha-rāja*. The name was evidently understood in Chinese as *Śubhākara*."

<sup>7</sup> For new evidence regarding the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era about 820-25 A. C., see our article entitled "Two Grants from Daspalla" to be published in this journal.

- 2 प्रमितानि मूर्द्धिन ॥१॥ विस्तरे पंचपंचाशन्मिता निम्नक्षितौ गजाः [1\*] दशोपर्युदये संति  
द्वाविंशतिमिताः क्षितौ ॥२॥ निम्नाया(यां)
- 3 [पं]चयुक्त्रिंशद्दूर्द्धं तत्र क्रमं वदे । भूम्यूर्द्धमाष्टगजकं पीठं(ठ)मेकोर्द्धयुग्गजः ॥३॥ मेख-  
लात्रयमानं त्वासाद्धद्वादशसद्ग-
- 4 ज(जाः) ॥(1) तिलकत्रयमग्रथ त्रयोदशगजविधि ॥४॥ चत्वारः संगिकार्यस्य स्थरा<sup>1</sup> एकस्थरं  
प्रति । सोपाननवकं त्वेवं षट्त्रि-
- 5 शो(श)त्प्रमितिः स्फुटा ॥५॥ सोपानानामित्युदये पंचत्रिंशद्गजैर्मितिः । सप्तपंचाशदित्येवं गजाः  
सर्वोदयस्थितौ ॥६॥ त्रयं
- 6 बुरिज<sup>2</sup>कोष्ठानां कोष्ठे प्रासाददिकस्थिते । दैर्घ्ये गजास्तु पंचाशन्निर्गमे पंचविंशतिः<sup>3</sup> [1\*] ७॥  
सत्पंचसप्ततिर्वृत्ते त्रिंशदेवोदये
- 7 गजाः । गर्भकोष्ठं लंब(ब)तायां पंचसप्ततिका गजाः ॥८॥ सार्द्धसप्ताप्रकत्रिंशन्निर्गमे  
वृत्तरूपके । शतं सार्द्धद्वादशकं ग-
- 8 जानां च तथोदये ॥९॥ पंचत्रिंशद्गजाः कोष्ठं तृतीयं पूर्वकोष्ठवत् । पंचचत्वारिंशद-  
ग्रशतमानं गजा मृदः [1\*] १०[1\*] भू-
- 9 तौ सेतोस्तु पाश्चात्यभागे प्रोक्तास्ति लंब(ब)ता । गजसप्तशतीमाना विस्तरे निम्नभूतले  
॥११॥ गजा अष्टादशैवोर्द्धं(द्धं) पंचवमु-
- 10 दये तथा । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यास्तु सर्वा सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥१२॥ षट्त्रिंशदुद्यन्मिति-  
शोभमाना सोपानमाला महतो हि सेतोः । वि-
- 11 भाति कोष्ठत्रितयं तदेतद्भूपालपालंब(ब)नकारि नूनं ॥१३॥ धर्माबुधा(धौ) तत्र महास्मृती-  
नामुपस्मृता(ती)नां विदधत्सुसंगं । वेद-
- 12 त्रयं वात्र करोति वासं कलिप्लुतां म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भुवं विमुच्य ॥१४॥ राजमंदि[रदि]-  
श्यस्ति स्थानं तु चतुरस्रकं । सेतौ तत्रार्थवर्णाख्यो
- 13 वेदस्तिष्ट(ष्ठ)ति मंत्रवान् ॥१५॥ जलहृदमयं तत्र शोभतेत्रारहृदकं । तत्राजमंदिरा[ख्ये]-  
स्मिन्दुर्गे वाप्यां जलार्थकं ॥१६॥<sup>4</sup>
- 14 आस्ते नवचतुष्कीयुड्मंडपं त्वत्र सुंदरं । जलदर्शिगि(ग)वाक्षाक्षतमतिचित्रकरं नृणां ॥१७॥  
महासेतौ संगिकार्यवर्ये विजय-

<sup>1</sup> Meaning 'layer'.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning 'bastion'; Hindustāni *burj*.

<sup>3</sup> *Visarga* is engraved above the line.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of *avagraha* is not required.

- 15 ते परं । युक्तं नवचतुष्कीभी राजमंडपं(प)युग्मकं ॥१८॥ नवखंडस्थलोकानां दर्शनाच्चित्रकारकं ।  
षट्चतु<sup>१</sup>ष्कीविलसितमेकं वा
- 16 भाति मंडपं ॥१९॥ पश्चाद्भागो महासेतोर्मंडपत्रितयं तथा । सभामंडपमेकं हि महा-  
सेतोरियं स्थितिः [॥\*] २०॥ निबसेतुप्रमा-
- 17 णं तु वक्ष्यामि क्षितिपाल ते । दैर्घ्ये गजानां द्वात्रिंशदग्रं शतचतुष्टयं ॥२१॥ विस्तारे  
पंचदश वै निम्नभूमौ गजास्तथा । पंचोद्धु<sup>२</sup>मुद-
- 18 ये चैवं दशाथो भद्रसेतुके ॥२२॥ चतुश्चत्वारिंशदग्रं गजानां दैर्घ्यतः शतं । विस्तारे  
द्वादश गजास्तले पंचैव मस्तके ॥२३॥ त्रयोदशोद-
- 19 ये भद्रं सुभद्रं चतुरस्रकं । कोष्ठकं विंशतिगजा मृद्भूताविति संस्थितिः ॥२४॥ कांक-  
रोलाग्रामसेतौ दैर्घ्ये निम्नधरातले । पंचाशद्युक् पंच-
- 20 शती गजानां सूद्धिन सप्त वै ॥२५॥ शतानि षट्पंचाशच्च पंचत्रिंशच्च विस्तरे ।  
निम्नभूमौ सप्त गजा मस्तके तूदये तथा ॥
- 21 ॥२६॥ निम्नभूमौ सप्तदश गजा उपरि वा भुवः । गजा अष्टत्रिंशदेव कोष्ठ(ष्ठ)कत्रितयं  
त्वह ॥२७॥ सभामंडपदिवसंस्थको-
- 22 ष्टेऽष्टाविंशतिर्गजाः । विस्तारे निर्गमे माने चतुर्दश तथोदये ॥२८॥ सार्द्धेऽष्टत्रिंश-  
देवाथ सुभद्रे मध्यकोष्ठके । ष[ट्त्रि]-
- 23 शद्विस्तरे पंचदशा(श) निर्गमने गजाः ॥२९॥ उदयेऽष्टत्रिंशदेव तृतीये पूर्वदिक्स्थिते ।  
कोष्ठेऽष्टाविंशतिर्माने विस्तारे निर्ग[मे]
- 24 गजाः [॥३०॥\*] द्वादशैवोदये सप्तत्रिंशदेव मृदो भूतौ । पंचचत्वारिंशदग्रं गजानां शतक  
ततः ।[१\*] ३०(३१) ।[१\*] पाश्चात्यभागे सेतोस्तु गजानां तु [स]-
- 25 हस्रकं । दैर्घ्ये विस्तारतः पंचदश निम्नक्षितौ गजाः ॥३१(३२)॥ दशमूर्द्धन्यदये त्वद्य  
द्वाविंशतिमिता गजाः ॥(१) अत्रोदयस्तु(स्तु) भवित<sup>३</sup>
- 26 <sup>३</sup>अष्टत्रिंशद्गजावधि ॥३२(३३)॥ अयोध्यारेणुकाक्षेत्रजभ्यो म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भीतितः । भात्याग-  
त्याघ्यात्मरूपैस्त्रिरामी कोष्ठकत्रय ॥
- 27 ३३(३४)॥ भूतौ जीर्णेशनिलयमागतं स्थापितं हि तत् । मार्गोस्य स्थापितस्तस्य दर्शनं  
जायते सदा ॥३४(३५)॥ रामसेतौ यथा भाति [श्री\*]-

<sup>१</sup> This *tu* is written in smaller character below the line

<sup>२</sup> The intended reading is *bhavati*.

<sup>३</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here *metricansu*.

- 28 रामेश्वरमंदिरं । तत्तत्त्वं कांकरोलीस्थसेतौ भाति शिवालयं(यः) ॥३५(३६)॥ कांकरोलीस्थ-  
सेत्वग्रभागे वा मंडपास्त्रयः । चतुःस्तंभा वि-
- 29 शोभंते सभामंडप एककः ॥३६(३७)॥ कांकरोलीस्फुरत्सेतोरग्रे तूपरि भूभृतः । शिलाकार्यं  
कृतं तत्र दैर्घ्ये गजशतत्रयं ॥३७(३८)॥ विस्तारोद-
- 30 ययोः पंच गजाः पंचोथ(घ)नाशकः<sup>1</sup> । गोघट्टपाश्वे दैर्घ्ये चतुःपंचाशदुत्तमाः<sup>2</sup> ॥३८(३९)॥  
गजा दशैव विस्तारे<sup>3</sup> उदये तु त्रयो गजा । गो[घ]-
- 31 [दृस्य] गजा दैर्घ्ये चतुःपंचाशदेव तु ॥१४०॥\* चतुःपंचाशदेवात्र विस्तारे घट्टभूतले ।  
उदये तु गजाः पंच भा[त्ये]कमिह [मं]ड[पं] ॥३९(४१)॥ [आसा]-
- 32 टियाग्रामपाश्वे सेतोदैर्घ्ये गजावलेः । द्वे सहस्रेऽष्टषष्टिश्च विस्तारेष्टादश स्फुटं ॥४०(४२)॥  
तले मूर्द्धन गजाः सप्त चतुर्विंशतिसद्गजाः । उ-
- 33 दये कोष्ठकद्वंद्वमत्राष्टास(स्र)मथैककं ॥४१(४३)॥ गजा अष्टाविंशतिस्तु तत्र दैर्घ्ये  
निर्गमे । चतुर्दशोदये संति चतुर्विंशतिसद्गजाः ॥४२(४४)॥
- 34 सप्तांगस्यापि राज्यस्य धर्मस्यात्रास्ति सुस्थितिः । राणराज्ये ज्ञापकाष्टरेखाक्तं किमु कोष्ठकं  
॥४३(४५)॥ द्वितीयमर्द्धचंद्राख्यं दैर्घ्ये विंशति-
- 35 सद्गजाः । विस्तारे दश संत्यत्र द्वादशैवोदये गजाः ॥४३(४६)॥ अर्द्धचंद्रधरश्रीमद्रु-  
द्रक्रीडास्थलं हि तत् । पंचचता(त्वा)रिंशदग्रश-
- 36 तमाना मृदो भृतौ ॥४७॥\* गजाः पाश्चात्यभागे तु सेतोदैर्घ्ये त्रयोदश । शतान्येव  
ग[जा]ना(तां)<sup>5</sup>
- 37 तु निम्नभूमो(मौ) तथोपरि ॥४४(४८)॥ गजा दशैव विस्तारे उदये पंच वा गजाः ।  
वांसोलग्रामपाश्वस्थसेतौ दैर्घ्ये गजावलेः । चतुर्विंशतिसंयु-
- 38 क्तसुद्वादशशतानि हि ॥४५(४९)॥<sup>6</sup> विस्तारेऽष्टादश गजास्तले पंचैव मस्तके । त्रयोदशोदये  
कोष्ठत्रयमाद्येत्र कोणगे ॥४६(५०)॥ गजा विंशत(ति)रेवात्र [दे]-

<sup>1</sup>The *visarga* and the *danḍa* appear above the line.

<sup>2</sup> *Visarga* is engraved above the line.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>4</sup> This *sandhi* is wrong ; it ought to be *sahasrē ashṭa-*, which would militate against the metre. Better read *sūshṭashashṭi sahasrē dvē*.

<sup>5</sup> After this was first inscribed *Āsāṭiyā-stha-sṭva-agra-bhāgē san-maṇḍapa-* [*trayam*] which was later scored out, as indicated by a horizontal line running across this portion of the text. This has, however, been re-engraved at the end in line 44 below.

<sup>6</sup> There is an inverted *kākapada* sign over the last *danḍa*, which shows that the portion engraved in l. 44 is perhaps to be inserted here, forming a part of the verse 46 (50).

- 39 ध्यविस्तारयोः समाः । द्वादशैवोदये त्वेतच्चतुरस्रं सुभद्रक(कं) ॥४७(५१)॥ सुभद्रं साऽरहृदं  
सारहृदतदौचित्ये । मध्यकोष्ठे द्वादशैव दै[र्घ्य]निर्गम[यो]-
- 40 गंजाः ॥४८(५२)॥ उदये सप्तदश वा अर्द्धचंद्राकृति त्वदं यद्दर्शनादर्द्धचंद्रप्राप्तदुः[खं]  
द्वि[षां]<sup>1</sup> गले ॥४९(५३)॥ अष्टालकोष्ठं(ष्ठं) कमलबुरिजाह्वयम-
- 41 त्र तु । दैर्घ्यविस्तारयोस्त्रिंशद्गजा नव त<sup>2</sup>[त्रो]दय(ये) ॥५०(५४)॥ अत्राज्व(त्रोज्ज्व)लोप-  
लसन्मंडपं सेतुमंडनं [1\*] इष्टाष्टपुत्रिकासृष्टक्रीडादृष्टिमनोहरं ॥५[१](५५)
- 42 [एता<sup>3</sup>?] राज[स\*]मुदं(द्रं) हि रत्ता(त्ता)करमिहांबुनि । स्थित्वाष्ट पट्टराज्ञीस्ताः पश्यन्  
किं र[म]ते हरिः ॥५२(५६)॥ अत्र सेतोरग्रभागे राजते मंडपत्रयं ॥(1)
- 43 [इ]ति राजसमुद्रस्य वीरेंद्रोक्त(क्ति)मया स्थितिः ॥५३(५७)॥ इत(ति) श्रीराजप्रशस्तौ  
भट्टरी(र)णछोडविरचिते<sup>4</sup> ऐ(ए)कादशः सर्ग[:\*] ॥११॥
- 44 आसाटियास्थसेत्वग्रभागे सन्मंडपत्रयं<sup>5</sup> ॥ जछ

## Slab XIII ; Canto XII

[Metres : vv. 1-17, 19-23, 29-31, 37, 38 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 18, 32, 33, 39, 41 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ;  
vv. 24, 25, 28 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 26, 27, 35, 36 *Upajūti* ; vv. 34, 40 *Sragdharā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओटा<sup>6</sup> त्वेकात्र लंबत्वे सार्द्धद्विशतसंमिताः । गजा दश च  
विस्तारे सार्द्धैकसुगजोदया ॥१॥ ओटा द्विती-
- 2 या विस्तारे दैर्घ्ये पूर्वसमोदये । सार्द्धद्विगजमानास्ति तृ(तृ)तीयो(यौ)टा तु दैर्घ्यतः ॥२॥  
गजत्रिशतमानास्ति विस्तरेत्र गजा दश । उदये
- 3 सगजद्वंदा मंडपत्रयमत्र हि ॥३॥ ओटात्र<sup>7</sup>यमिदं भाति यावद्गजसुविस्तरं । तावद्प्रा-  
मगणं नीरेः(रैः) पूर्णं वितनुते ध्रुवं ॥४॥ मोर्चना-
- 4 ग्रामसीम्नद्यस्ति तदाकतलर्घुगिरिः । श्रृंगेस्य मंडपो दृष्ट्या पश्चिमेर्यदमपपतेः<sup>8</sup> ॥५॥  
षदस्थं(स्तं)भो मंडपोस्त्यत्र गोष्ठौ पत्यंक-

<sup>1</sup> This syllable has apparently not at all been engraved, but the space for it is left blank on the stone.  
<sup>2</sup> Being followed by a conjunct consonant, this syllable is long, while metrically a short one is required in its  
stead. Therefore better read *gajās=tatra nav=odayē*.  
<sup>3</sup> This reading is extremely doubtful.  
<sup>4</sup> Read : *virachitāyām*.  
<sup>5</sup> See notes 5 and 6 on p. 43 above.  
<sup>6</sup> *Ōṭā* is a Rājasthānī word meaning 'a dam'.  
<sup>7</sup> There is a cancelled sign of superscript *r* over *tra*.  
<sup>8</sup> The form *arthadam*, being an adjective of *māṇḍapāḥ*, ought to be *arthadāḥ*. The following word is *Appati*  
meaning perhaps 'Varuṇa' and not 'ocean'. We may read *paśchimē=rihapradō=ppatīḥ*.

- 5 सेवकाः । कुर्वन्ति मंडपास्तत्रेत्येकविंशतिमंडपाः ॥६॥ ग्रामास्तडागेत्रायाताः सिवाली च भिंगावदो । भाणो लुहाणो वां-
- 6 सोल्ल गुढलीत्यखिला इमे ॥७॥ मोर्चना च पसोंदश्च खेडी छापरखेडिका । तासोल एषां ग्रामाणां सीमा मंडोवर-
- 7 स्य च ॥८॥ तडागेत्रागता नद्यो गोमती तालनामयुक् । कैलवास्थनदी सिधौ गंगाद्या विविशुर्यथा ॥९॥ कां-
- 8 करोली लोहाणाख्या सिवालीनां जलाशयाः । निपानवापीकूपाश्च त्रिंशं(त्रिंश)त्संख्या इहागता- [ः\*] ॥१०॥ सर्वसे-
- 9 तुमितिदैर्घ्ये चतुःषष्टि(षट्)शतानि च । त्रयोदशाग्राणि तथा गजानामपरं वदे ॥११॥ श्रीराजसिंहनृप-
- 10 तेरग्रे गजधरैः कृता । गालायोगेन दैर्घ्येष्ट सहस्राणि गजावलेः ॥१२॥ विश्वकर्मावतवानेवं तडा-
- 11 गानां तु लंबता । कर्तव्या षट्सहस्रोद्यद्गजमानावधिः परा ॥१३॥ तावत्संख्यामितं कोपि तडागं कृत-
- 12 वास्रवा । त्वया सप्तसहस्रोद्यद्गजलंबो(बो) जलाशयः ॥१४॥ सेतुं कृत्वा विरचितो धर्मसेतुर्धरापते । श्रीरा-
- 13 मसेतुप्रतिमः कीर्त्तिसेतुः प्रभाति ते ॥१५॥ कोष्ठानि द्वादशात्रैतद्दृष्ट्या नृणां फलं भवेत् । पाठस्य द्वादशस्कं-
- 14 ध्युक्तभागवतस्य सत् ॥१६॥ एकविंशतिसंख्यानि मंडपानि तदीक्षणात् । एकविंशतिदुःखाना- मभावो भविनां
- 15 भवेत् ॥१७॥ चत्वारिंशदथाष्टयुक् समभवन्सेतौ महामंडपास्तेष्वदौ व(ब)हुमूल्यवस्त्ररचिताः सद्दरुसृष्टास्ततः । पाषा-
- 16 णैः ससुधाभरैर्विरचिताः केचित्तु तेषु स्थितः स्वाज्ञां कार्यकृते दिशन्विजयते श्रीराजसिंहो नृपः ॥१८॥ वस्त्रकाष्ठाश्म-
- 17 सूष्टाष्टचत्वारिंशन्मितेषु हि । मंडपष्ववशिष्टौ द्वौ शिलाकल्पितमंडपौ ॥१९॥ तद्दर्शनकराणां स्याद्धनधान्य-
- 18 मखं ध्रवं । इति राजसमुद्रस्य प्राक्ता सर्वा स्थितिर्मया ॥२०॥ श्रीराणोदर्यासिंहेंद्रः स्थानेस्मिन्कृतवाप्पुरा । से-

- 19 तुं व(ब)द्धं महायन्तं(त्तं) निःफ(निष्फ)लं तदभूदिह ॥२१॥ ततो जलाशयं चक्रे श्रीमानुदय-  
सागरं । तत्राकरोत्सेतुवं(वं)घं संवं(वं)घं घ-
- 20 मंपद्धतेः ॥२२॥ अस्मिन्स्थले राजसिंहो राणे[द्रो] राजराजवत् । घनव्ययं वितन्वानः सेतुं  
चक्रे तदद्भुतं ॥२३॥
- 21 सेतोस्तु कर्त्ता रघुवंशकेतू रामश्च राणोदयसिंहदेवः । श्रीराजसिंहो नृपतिस्तथैवमन्यो न  
भूतो भविता न
- 22 नास्ति ॥२४॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशे सुवर्षे त्रिंशन्मिते भाड<sup>1</sup> इहागता द्राक् । वेताल-  
सूत्तालजवाथ तालना-
- 23 म्नी नदी तालगभीरनीरा ॥२५॥ संप्लावितं नीरभरैः पुरं द्राक् तथा गृहान्य(ण्य)त्र  
विनाशितानि । चकार वं(वं)घं नृ-
- 24 पतिस्तदस्या न्यायेन युक्तं भुवि नीचगेयं ॥२६॥ तथात्र वर्षे त्विष<sup>2</sup> आगता द्राक्<sup>3</sup>  
निशीथकालेभिनवे तडागे
- 25 श्रीगोमतीघन्यनदीजलं वा व(ब)भूव हस्ताष्टकमात्रमुच्चं ॥२७॥ तद्रक्षितं राणनृपेन(ण) गंगा  
स्पर्द्धाकरीयं भुवि
- 26 वर्द्धमाना । श्रीगंगया सार्द्धमहो तुलार्थं भंपायग्रहाब्धौ(ब्धौ) न्यपतत्तडागे ॥२८॥ शते सप्त-  
दशेतीते त्रिंशदाख्याब्दमा-
- 27 घके । पूर्णिमाया(यां) हिरण्यस्य पलपंचशतैः कृतां ॥२९॥ ददौ सुवर्णपृथिवीं महादान-  
विधानतः । श्रीरा-
- 28 णाराजसिंहाख्यः पृथ्वीनाथो महामनाः ॥३०॥ अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यानि रूप्यमुद्रावलेरिह । सहस्रा-  
णि विलग्नानि महादानस्य भूपतेः ॥३१॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य  
एषां(षां) गृहे रुद्रं सि(भि)क्षु-
- 30 मवेक्ष्य भिक्षुकगणो दिग्दंतिनामष्टकं । हिल्लो ज(जं)तुचयश्च विष्णगरुडं नागव्रजो वेषसं  
भूतौघो म-
- 31 घवान(वन्त)मेवमहितो दूरं प्रयाति व्रुतं ॥३२॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य  
एषां गृहे श्रीराणामणिरा-

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāḍa* appears to be the local term for 'flood'; Hindi *bāḍ* from Sanskrit *bāḍ* to 'overflow'. The word is here used in the feminine gender as it is in Hindi.

<sup>2</sup> *Isha* is *Āsvina*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.



- 32 जसिंह सकल(लं) दुःखं प्रनष्टं ध्रुवं । वल्लेः शीतभवं तत्रोभवमिनाम्नालिन्यज चाप्यते<sup>1</sup>श्चं-  
द्राद्ग्रीष्मभवं रजोजम-
- 33 निलाच्चेंद्राच्च दुर्भिक्षजं ॥३३॥ दत्तायां हेमपृथ्व्यां प्रभ(भु)वर भवताराद्द्विजेभ्यस्तु सर्वं कार्यं  
कुर्वत्यगर्वं निखि-
- 34 लसुखकृते तद्गृहे राजसिंह । गोविंदो दुग्धदोग्धा पशुपतिरपि वा रक्षकः सत्पशूनां  
जीवो<sup>2</sup> वा(बा)लप्रपाठी रिपुग-
- 35 णविजये षण्मुखः संमुखोभूत् ॥३४॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशेब्द एकत्रिंशन्मिते श्रावणशुक्लपक्षे ।  
सुपंचमी
- 36 दिव्यदिने तडागे जहाजसंज्ञा विदधुः सुनौकाः ॥३५॥ लाहोरसद्गूर्जरसूरतिस्थाः सत्सूत्रधारा  
वर-
- 37 णस्य मन्ये । स[त्त्वा]द्वितीये जलधौ तु सेतुं द्रष्टु(ष्टुं) सुहार्देन समागतस्य ॥३६॥ शते  
सप्तदशेतीत एक-
- 38 त्रिंशन्मितेब्दके । स्वजन्मदिवसे हेमपलपंचशतैः कृतं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रं(क्रं) महाद(दा)नं  
विधिनादाच्च श-
- 39 ऋवत् । भूचक्रे राजसिंहोस्ति विश्वचक्रेस्य(स्ति) तद्यशः ॥३८॥ दत्ते हाटकविश्वचक्र  
उचितं विप्रेभ्य ए-
- 40 षां गृहे<sup>3</sup> उच्चै[र्यां]ति तदर्भका निशि रविं धृत्वा विधुं वा दिने । तद्रात्रौ दिनमह्नि  
रात्रिरधुना कर्माणि कुर्युः कुतो
- 41 विप्रा धर्मकृता त्वया कथमथ स्थाप्योत्र धर्मः प्रभोः ॥३९॥ सौवर्णे विश्वचक्रे क्षितिधर  
भवता दत्त एषां
- 42 द्विजेभ्या(भ्यो) गेहेष्वेकत्र वासं विदधति विबु(बु)धास्तत्स्थिता वाहनानि देवानां त-  
त्स्थितानि स्फुटमिभवदनो धे-
- 43 नवो राहुरिंदुः सूर्यो वा शेष आखुः सुरगज इति वा शंभुनंदी विचित्र ॥४०॥ दत्ते  
हाटकविश्वचक्र उचितं विप्रे-
- 44 भ्य एषां गृहे दारिद्र्यं खलु सर्वथैव विगतं श्रीराणवीर त्वया । यत्लक्ष्मीः किल  
कल्पवृक्षधनदौ चिंतामणिः

<sup>1</sup> As regards the meaning of *Appati*, see above p. 44, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> That is Brihaspati.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

45 कामगौमेदः स्पर्शमणिः खनिश्च निधयो रत्नाकरो[यं] ततः ॥४१॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्ति-  
काव्ये द्वाश(द)शः रा(स)र्गः ॥

## Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, 8-13, 15-21, 24, 26, 31-35, 37, 38 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5, 14 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 7, 25 *Indravajrā* ; v. 22 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 23, 30, 36, 39 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila* and *Indravamśā* ; vv. 27-29, 40-42 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ एवं प्रतिष्ठाविधियोग्यरूपे कृते तडागे क्रियमाणकार्ये । उत्साहपूर्णां  
नृपरा[ज\*]सिंहो निमंत्रणं
- 2 ये(प्रे)षितवाङ्मूषेभ्यः ॥१॥ पूर्णादरं दुर्ग[ग\*]णेश्वरेभ्यः स्वगोत्रभूषेभ्य उतापरेभ्यः । अथो  
यथायोग्यमहो महाश्वान्<sup>1</sup>
- 3 रथास्तथा सारथिवर्ययुक्तान् ॥२॥ शिवोपधानाः ।<sup>2</sup> शिविकावलीस्ताः संप्रेषयामास त<sup>3</sup>  
सुहस्तिनीश्च । विश्वासयोग्यान्मनु-
- 4 जान्द्विजादीन्विशषवेत्तानयनाय तेषाम् ॥३॥ कुलकम् ।<sup>4</sup> अथो विशालेषु महागृहेषु राणामणेः  
कार्यकरनरैस्तैः । पट्टां(ब)रा-
- 5 णां च पटाव्रजी(जा)नां<sup>5</sup> सुवर्णसूत्रोत्तमवाससां च ॥४॥ अलंकृतानां बिलसत्कृतीनां प्रयत्न-  
नीतातुलरत्नकानाम् । मनो-
- 6 [ज्ञ]मुक्तावलिपुष्परागप्रवालगाहत्मतहीरकानां(णां) ॥५॥ गोमेदवेदूर्यकनीलकानां रूप्यस्य हेम्न-  
श्रा(श्च) महासमू-
- 7 हः । सुवर्णमुद्रा रजता[च्छ]मुद्रा गिरिर्गुरुश्चित्रसुपात्रसंघः [॥६॥\*] कस्तूरिकाशस्तचयो  
गुरुणां कर्पूरपूरश्च गणोऽगुरु-
- 8 णां । काश्मीरजानां निकरः सुगंधद्रव्यस्य नव्यो वि[वि\*]धः प्रबं(बं)धः ।[७॥\*] संस्था-  
पितः स्थापितपुण्यकीर्त्तैर्युपर्येव धनप्रपूर्त्तैः
- 9 ॥(1) sss<sup>6</sup>धान्यादिहृद्वाः शिवि(बि)राणि शालाः कृताः पुनस्तेर्विंविधा विशालाः ॥८॥ कुलकं  
॥ अमुष्य वस्तुप्रसरस्य लोकैः पू-

<sup>1</sup> After this occurs the sign of *avagraha* six times repeated, possibly only to fill up the blank space and other-wise meaningless.

<sup>2</sup> *Danda* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> This letter was wrongly engraved and is scored off.

<sup>4</sup> This *danda* appears above the line.

<sup>5</sup> The word *paṭ-āvrāja* perhaps means 'tent'.

<sup>6</sup> The three *avagraha* signs are superfluous.

- 10 वं कदाप्यानयनं न दृष्टं । पृथक्तया तेन वितर्कं एष प्रकल्पितः कर्कशताकि(किं)कौघैः  
॥६॥ रघोः सकाशात्किल कौ-
- 11 त्सनाम्ना प्रदातुमद्धा गुरुदक्षिणां तां । द्रव्यं सुभव्यं व(ब)हु याचितं तन्निभालितं सद्यन्ति  
भूभृता न ॥१०॥ लब्ध(ब्धं) विजेतुं
- 12 धनदं प्रतस्थे त[त]: स शीघ्रं धनदस्तदेव । रात्रौ धनं भूरि रघोर्गृहौघे संस्थापयामास  
महाभयाद्यः ॥१२(११)॥ युग्मं । तथा रघोरु-
- 13 त्तमवंशजस्य श्रीराजसिंहस्य वसु प्रदातुं । कृतप्रतिज्ञस्य गृहे कुबेरः संस्थापयामास धनं तु  
युक्तं ॥१३(१२)॥ गोधूमगोत्राश्चणको(कौ)-
- 14 घशैलाः सत्तंडु(डु)लानां पृथुपर्वताश्च । क्षमाभृतो मुद्गगणस्य तुंगा गोधूमपिष्टस्य विशिष्ट-  
शैलाः ॥१४(१३)॥ घृतस्य तैलस्य तु वापि-
- 15 कास्तु महाद्रयो वा गुडमंडलस्य । अखंडखंडस्य महामहीध्रा धराधराः प्रोज्व(ज्ज्व)लशर्क-  
राणाम् ॥१५(१४)॥ घृतौघपक्वान्नमहागि-
- 16 रींद्राः शिलोच्चया मौक्तिकमोदकानां <sup>1</sup> दुग्धोल्लसन्मोदकभूधराश्च फलावलेर्वीटकतुंगसंधाः  
॥१६(१५)॥ कृता मुदा कार्य-
- 17 करैर्नरेर्द्राक्(ग्) जयंति चैते नृप राजा(ज)सिंह <sup>1</sup> पाप्माणशैलान्व(न्व)हवोद्रयस्त(स्ते) देशे  
श्रुतं दृष्टमिहाद्य चित्रम् ॥१७(१६)॥ रसं<sup>2</sup>रमी-
- 18 भिः पटशैबलेश्च रत्नस्तुरंगैः करिभिश्च गोभिः । युक्तश्च दानाय घृतप्रवाहं राजस्तवायं  
नगरः समुद्रः ॥१८(१७)॥ अ-
- 19 श्वा जनैः श्वासजितः स्वगत्या प्रचंडवे[तं]डगणाः सुशुंडाः । रथास्तथा धन्यवृषैः सं(स)-  
नाथाः संस्थापिता दानकृते नृ-
- 20 पस्य ॥१९(१८)॥ हेला[रु]केणापि<sup>3</sup> गजा महांतो महामदा विंशतिसंख्ययाप्ताः । आनीय  
राज्ञे विनिवेदितास्तान् गृ-
- 21 हीतवान्सप्तदश क्षितीशः ॥२०(१९)॥ तथापरेणापि गजद्वयं सदानीतमीशेन गृहीतमेतत् ।  
जलाशयोत्सर्गवि-
- 22 धौ मय(या) ते देया विचार्येति गजाः स युक्तम् ॥२१(२०)॥ निमंत्रितास्ते नरनाथसंधाः  
समागताः सर्वकुटुंबयुक्ताः । अश्वै-

<sup>1</sup> This *danda* appears above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Between *sai* and *ra* appears a cancelled *la*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word is perhaps *hēlavukka*.

- 23 स्तथैषां करिभिर्गजे(जै)र्वा रथैः पुरै(रे) दुर्गम एव मार्गः ॥२२(२१)॥ तपे(थै)व सर्वे  
मनुजा द्विजातयः प्रचंडविद्याः खल पं-
- 24 डितोत्तमाः । कवीश्वराणा(णां) नि[व\*]हास्तु चारणाः सुवर्दिनोऽमंदगुणाः समाययुः  
॥२३(२२)॥ पुरं तदा मर्त्यमयं च गोमयं
- 25 स्वनोमयं वापि ह्यावलीमयं । करेणपूर्णं करिसद्घटामयं दृष्टं महाश्वय(हंश्वर्य)मयं जन-  
व्रजैः ॥३४(२३)॥ अन्नस्य पका(क्वा)न्नगण-
- 26 स्य भूयः समस्तभोज्यस्य समागतेभ्यः ।<sup>1</sup> अनंतसंख्येभ्य इहादरेण कृत(तं) प्रदानं प्रभुणा  
समानं ॥३५(२४)॥ स्वायः पर(स्वीयैः परै)र्वापि
- 27 निम(मं)त्रणार्थमश्वदि हस्त्यादि विभूषणा[दि] । वस्त्राद्यमानीतमथो गृहीत्वा योग्यं परावृत्य  
ददौ तदन्यत् ॥३६(२५)॥ एवं व(ब)हु-
- 28 ष्वेव दिन(ने)षु लोकैर्निवेद्यमाने हि निमंत्रणं(ण)स्य । वस्तुव्रज(जं) योग्यमहो गृहीत्वा  
अन्यत्परावृत्य ददौ वदान्यः ॥३७(२६)॥ श-
- 29 ते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे द्वात्रि(त्रिं)शदाह्वये । माघशुक्लद्वितीयायां ।ऽऽऽ<sup>2</sup>राजसिंहस्य भूपतेः  
।[१२७।\*] परमारकुलोत्पन्ना श्रीरामरस-
- 30 दे वधूः ॥(१) राजसिंहनृपाज्ञातो वाप्या उत्सर्गमातनोत् ॥३९(२८)॥ दहबारीघट्टमध्ये लग्ना  
रजतमुद्रिकाः । चतुर्विंशतिसं-
- 31 ख्यायुक्सहस्रप्रमिता इह ॥४०(२९)॥ ततस्तु सेतौ धरणीधरोत्तमो जलाशयोत्सर्गकृते तुलाकृते  
हेम्नस्तथा हाट-
- 32 कसप्तसागरत्यागाय वै त्रीणि सुमंडपान्ययं ॥४१(३०)॥ कर्तुं समाज्ञापयदत्र राणा श्रीराज  
सिंहो बुधसूत्रधारान् । कृतानि कुंडी(डा)-
- 33 नि नवैव तत्र वेदी चतुर्हस्तमिता कृता वा ॥४२(३१)॥ सु[मं]डपः षा(षो)डशहस्तमानः<sup>3</sup>  
इ(ई)द्वक्सुसंख्यामितकायसिद्ध(कार्यसिद्धै) । वदाम्यहं तन्नवर्ष-
- 34 उ(खंड)युकु(क्तं) क्षितौ प्रसिद्धै नृपतेः सुनाम्नः ॥४३(३२)॥ अस्यासु(स्तु) दृष्ट्यैव  
चतुःपुमर्थप्राप्तिस्तु योग्ये समये नराणां । यशोस्तु वै षोडशसत्कलेदुप्र-
- 35 भं प्रभोर्वेति कृतः प्रकारः ॥४४(३३)॥ स्तंभाः कृताः पो(षी)डशसंमितास्ते बानानि किं  
षोडश वा महान्ति । कृतानि कर्तुं च कृताः प्रतिज्ञालेषा(खा) हि दि-

<sup>1</sup> This *danda* is engraved below the line.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> This *danda* and three *avagraha* signs are unnecessary.

- 36 गिम(ग्भि)त्तिषु भूमिभर्त्रा ॥४५(३४)॥ द्वाराणि चत्वारि कृतानि तेषां संदर्शानाम्भुक्तिचतुष्टयं  
स्यात् । एतादृशे मंडपराज एवं कृतः सुयूपोपि च [सू]-
- 37 त्रधारैः ॥४६(३५)॥ तुलानिधानस्य च सप्तसागरदानस्य वा मंडपयुग्ममुत्तमं । तुलाक्रमो-  
द्भासितमेवमद्भुतं श्रीराजसिंहेन कृतं
- 38 मनोहर(रं) [॥\*] ४७<sup>1</sup>(३६) [॥\*] एवं त्रयं मंडितमंडपानां त्वया कृतं हेतुरयं  
महींद्र । तापत्रयं दर्शनतोस्य नृणां हर्तुं त्रिनेत्रप्रियतां न(च) लब्धुं ॥४८(३७)॥
- 39 गते शते सप्तदशे सुवर्षे द्वात्रिंशदाख्ये तपसीति राज्ञा । पांडौ दशम्यां च शनौ  
गहा(गृही)तो जलाशयोत्सर्गविधेर्मुहूर्तः ॥
- 40 ॥४९(३८)॥ आदौ तु माघ(घे) सितपंचमीतिथौ महीमहेंद्रण पुरोधसा सह । जलाशयो-  
त्सर्गकृतेधिवासन(नं) तदृत्वि-
- 41 जां सद्वरं(र)ण(णं) कृतं मुदा ॥५०(३९)॥ होतारौ जापकौ द्वारपालावेकां श्रुतिं प्रति  
षट् चतुर्विंशतिः संख्या ऋत्विजामिति का-
- 42 त्तिता ॥५१(४०)॥ एको ब्रह्मा तथाचार्यः षड्विंशतिरतोऽखिलाः । तेमी मत्स्यपुराणोक्ता-  
स्तत्रप्रोक्तफलप्रदा[\*] ॥५२(४१)॥
- 43 च[तु]र्विंशतितत्त्वा(त्त्वा)नां पुंसः स्या[द्ज्ञा(ज्ज्ञा)न]मात्मनः । तद्व्यधाद्वरणं वीरः षड्विंशतिसदृत्विजां  
॥[४२॥\*] इति त्रयोदशः [सर्गः]

## Slab XV ; Canto XIV

[Metres : vv. 1, 5, 13-16, 20-23, 25, 27-29, 31-37, 39, 40 *Upajāti* ; v. 2 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 26, 38 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila* and *Indravamśū* ; vv. 4, 7 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 10, 30 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 11, 12, 24 *Anushtubh* ; v. 18 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila*, *Indravajrā* and *Indravamśū* ; v. 19 *Indravamśū*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥\*] श्रीपट्टराज्ञा परमारवंश्यश्री<sup>2</sup>इ(इं)ब्रह्मनाभिधरावपुत्रा<sup>3</sup> । आज्ञा  
सदाकुंवरिनामभाजा कृता मुदा रु-
- 2 प्यतुलाकृते द्राक् ॥१॥ अकारि रात्राविह मंडपं जनैरखंडकुंडैरभिमंडितं जवात् । नृणां  
महाश्चर्यमहोभवत्ततोधिवासं(स)नं

<sup>1</sup> The figure 47 is written above the line.

<sup>2</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> First was written *tryō*, then the superfluous vowel mark scored off.

- 3 तत्र कृतं विधानतः ॥२॥ गरीव(ब)दासाख्यपुरोहितेन वै पुत्रप्रयुक्तेन तु हेमरूप्ययोः ।<sup>1</sup>  
कर्त्तुं तुलामंडपयुग्मकं कृतं पुरोरा<sup>2</sup>ध-
- 4 साकारि ततोधिवासनम् ॥३॥ राणामणिश्री<sup>3</sup>श्रमरेशसूनोर्भूमस्य राजस्तु वधूः पवित्रा ।  
तोडास्थितेर्भूपतिरायसिंहमाता
- 5 तुलां रूप्यमयीं विधातुम् ॥४॥ अज्ञापयामास तदेव सृष्टं रानेंद्रलोकैर्निशि मंडपं सत्  
समस्तवस्तुस्फुरितं कृतं वा-
- 6 धिवासनं तत्र तयोक्तरीत्या ॥५॥ चोहानवंशोत्तमवेदलापुरस्थितेर्बलूराववरस्य सत्सुतः । स  
रामचंद्रः किल तस्य चात्मजः स
- 7 केसरीसिंह इति द्वितीयकः ॥६॥ रावो द्वितीयः कृत एष राणाश्रीराजसिंहेन  
लंवरिस्थः । कर्त्तुं तुलां रूप्यमयीं
- 8 विचारं भ्रात्राकरोद्धै स बलदिसिंहः ॥७॥ उवाच रावोथ महान्महामतिः रावो भवाने[ष  
कृ]तोसि(स्ति) भूभुजा । तुलां करोत्वेव
- 9 तदा तुलाकृते स केसरीसिंह इहोद्यतोभवत् ॥८॥ स केसरीसिंहमहामना मुदा निधाय  
वस्तुप्रसरं सविस्तरं । सकुंडस-
- 10 न्मंडलवेदिमंडपं कृत्वाकरोद्वागधिवासनं ततः ॥९॥ सुमंडपं चारणवार्हटोना[सत्के]सरीसिंह इतीह  
सेतोः ।<sup>1</sup> तदेतनोद्रूप्यतुलां वि-
- 11 धातुं त्रयांतिके खाद(दि)रवाटिकायाः ॥१०॥ माघेन शुक्लसप्तम्यां राजसिंहनृपप्रिया ।  
रठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्री जोधपुरी व्यधात् ॥
- 12 ॥११॥ त्रिंशत्सह[स्र]रजतमुद्रासृष्टां प्रतिष्ठितां । वापिकां राजनगरे राजसिंहनृपाज्ञया ॥१२॥  
ततो नवम्यां नवबुंदुभीनां नानाविधानां
- 13 नवकाहलानां । विचित्रवावि(दि)त्रवरत्रजानां सुरंजिताः सर्वजना निनादैः ॥१३॥ ततो  
महामंडपमध्य ऊर्द्ध(द्धं)स्तंभेषु वेद्या विदधे वितानं [।\*]
- 14 नृपो महासत्व(त्व)मयः सुयुक्तं रजोनिवृत्त्यै तदिहार्थसु(य)ग्मं ॥१४॥ पट्टां(ब)राणां रचिताः  
पताका विचित्ररूपाः शुभमंडपस्य ।<sup>1</sup> सर्वासु
- 15 दि[क्ष्वर्द्ध]महो नृपेण जगज्जयस्येति कृतस्य नूनं ॥१५॥ सुगंधिभिर्माल्यगणैः<sup>5</sup> प्रसूनैः सत्पल्ल-  
त्रै(वै)वदनमालिकाभिः । माघेप्यघ-

<sup>1</sup> This *danḍa* is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> This *rā* is redundant. Read *purōdhasā*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>4</sup> This *sa* is superfluous. Read *Kēsarisīṃha*.

<sup>5</sup> The sign of *visarga* is engraved above the line.

- 16 [द्रा]वणमंडपेषु वं(व)संत एव प्रविभाति चिं(चि)त्रं ॥१६॥ प्रकल्पितं तत्र च रंगवल्लिभिः  
सत्पद्मगर्भं भृतसप्तमंड-
- 17 लं । सषोडशारं शुभवृत्तमद्भुतं च[क्रं] चतुर्वक्त्रविराजितं पुनः<sup>1</sup> ॥१७॥ समंततो वा  
चतुरस्रमद्भुतं सद्धार-
- 18 णं मंडलमंत्रकारणं । श्रीपद्मनाभस्य सुखाय सप्तद्वीपप्रभौः(भोः) षोडशसत्प्रमाणकैः ॥१८॥  
ज्ञेयस्य भूपेन सु-
- 19 वृत्तलब्धये चक्रश्रिये [वा] चतुरास्यतुष्टये । वीरेण सृष्टं(ष्टा) चतुरस्रवेदिका सद्रंगवल्लिनि[भ]-  
रत्नपूर्त्तये ॥१९॥
- 20 राजाधिराजः स्वपुरोहितेन युक्तः समेतो गुरुणा यथेन्द्रः । यथा वशिष्टे(ष्ठे)न च रामचंद्रो  
विराजते मंडपमध्यदेशे
- 21 ॥२०॥ सहोदराद्यैस्तनयैश्च(श्च) पौत्रैर्नानाक्षितीशैरपि दुर्गनाथैः [१\*] निमंत्रणायाननरेशसंघं  
वि(विं)शोमि(भि)तो देवगणैर्यथेन्द्रः ॥२१॥[१\*]
- 22 महीमहेंद्रो नृपराजसिंहो धर्मैकमूर्त्तिध(धं)रणीधवेन्द्रः [१\*] कृतैकभक्तः प्रथमे दिनेद्य कृतोप-  
वासो नियमी नवम्यां ॥२२॥
- 23 देहस्य शुद्धिं प्रविधाय प्रायश्चित्तं च कृत्वातिविशु[द्ध\*]चित्तः । श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रेरितकर्मवृद्धे  
श्रद्धामयो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणमानदानः ॥२३॥
- 24 श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवान्प्रायश्चित्तं यदा तदा । प्रायश्चित्तं शुद्धमस्यातिशुद्धमभव[त्\*] पुनः  
॥२४॥ ततो नृपः स्वस्तिसुवाचनं च पुरो-
- 25 धस(सा) विप्रवरैः समेतः [१\*] स्वस्तिप्रदं वै कृतवान्धरित्र्याः पूजां च पृथ्वीश्वर-  
भावदायि<sup>2</sup> ॥२५॥ गणेशपूजां पृथिवीश्वरस्कु(स्फु)रद्गणेशता-
- 26 प्राप्तिमहासुखप्रदां । श्रीगोत्रदेव्या अपि गोत्रवृद्धिदां गोवि(विं)दपूजां बहुगोधनप्रदां ॥२६॥  
कृत्वा कृतार्थं विलसत्पु-
- 27 मर्थं स्वं मन्यमानः क्षितिपेषु धन्यं । रामो वशिष्ठस्य यथाश्वमेधे चकार पूजां वरणं  
तथैव ॥२७॥ गरीव(व)दासाह्यपुरो-
- 28 हितस्य कृत्वा तु पू[र्वं] वरणं परेषां । निजाश्रितानां(ता)मखिलद्विजानां सदस्त्विजां वा  
वरणं शुचीनां ॥२८॥ मुदाकरोदत्र तु

<sup>1</sup> For details of procedure, see Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 13 (*śaṅgā-śādi-pratishṭhā*).

<sup>2</sup> Read *dhāva-dātrīm*.

- 29 पीठदानं स्वराज्यपीठाचलभावकारि । प्राग्जन्मपापाधिकधावनार्थं श्रीविप्रपंक्तेः पदधावनं वा  
[11\*] कलापकं ॥२६॥<sup>1</sup> प्ररोच-
- 30 नाकृज्जगतो हि धर्मे सुरोचनाभिस्तिलकं द्विजानां । श्रियोऽक्षतत्वाय सदक्षता(तै)र्वा प्रसून-  
पूजामपि स(सू)नुदात्रीं ॥३०॥[1\*] कृत्वार्क-
- 31 भादं मधुपर्कदानं कुसुंभसूत्रं धृतधर्मसूत्रं । आकल्पकीर्तिस्थितये त्वनल्पं स(सं)कल्पना(नी)रं<sup>2</sup>  
प्रददौ द्विजेभ्यः ॥३१॥ अनर्घ्य-
- 32 ताकारकमर्घ्यदानं कृत्वा ददौ वा द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः । सुदक्षिणाः संगरकर्मधर्मत्यागेषु वा  
दक्षिणभावदात्रीः ॥३२॥
- 33 गरीबदासाख्यपुरोहितस्य पुत्रप्रयुक्तस्य महार्चनायां । वासःसमूहं शुभवासनादं ताभ्यां ददौ  
भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥३३॥ मुक्ता-
- 34 मणिभ्राजितकुंडले च श्रीमंडलाप्त्यै मणिमुद्रिकाश्च । स्वका(की)यमुद्राचलनाय जंबूद्वीपेखिले  
स्वोत्कटकं(कां)गदाढ्यं ॥३४॥ प्राप्तुं सरत्ना-
- 35 न्कटकंगदांश्च यज्ञोपवीतानि सुवर्णवंति । जलाशयोत्सर्गसुयज्ञसिद्धय(द्वै) ददौ नरेंद्रोन्नतराज-  
सिंहः[ः] ॥३५॥ युग्मं ॥ नानाविधान्याभर-
- 36 णानि नूनं स्वस्य क्षितीशाभरणत्वसिद्धयै । जलाशयोत्सर्गविधिप्रसिद्धयै जलाछ(च्छ)पात्र(त्रा)-  
णि सुवर्णवंति ॥३६॥ श्रीभोज[कर्णा]धिकदानजात-
- 37 पुण्याप्तये भोजनपात्रपंक्तिं । निवेद्य पूज्यं तमपूजयत्सत्पुत्रप्रयुक्तं स्वपुरोहितं सः ॥३७॥  
युग्मं । ततो परेभ्यश्च सुवर्णभूषण-
- 38 संघान्सुवर्णस्थितये तदालये ददन्महीन्द्रो मणिमुद्रिकागणान्स्थित्यै मणीनां च तदीयम(मं)दिरे  
॥३८॥ सुरूपरूप्योत्तमपात्र-
- 39 पंक्तिं रूप्यातिपूर्य्यै च तदालयेषु [1\*] वासःसमूहानतिनूतनांश्च मनस्सु तेषां सुखवाससृष्टयै  
॥३९॥ एवं स सर्वार्चनमत्र कृ-
- 40 त्वा नानानूपैरर्चितपादप[द्यः] । सुभाग्यभाजं कृतकार्यवर्यं स्वं मन्यमानोन्न विभाति वीरः  
॥४०॥ कुलकं ॥ इति श्रीचतुर्दशसर्गः[ः] १४[11\*]

## Slab XVI ; Canto XV

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37 Upajāti ; vv. 5, 6, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32-34, 36, 38, 39 Upajāti of Vamśasthāvīla and Indravamśā ; vv. 8, 31, 35 Vamśasthāvīla, v. 12 Indravajrā.]

1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ततः स वादित्रविवि(चि)त्रनादं कुरंगवेगोच्चतुरंग[ग\*]संगं । उ(उ)-  
सुंगमातंगघटासमेतं नानाजनस्तोम-SS<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The figure 29 should precede the word kalāpakam.

<sup>2</sup> Samkalpa-nīra is the same as hast-ōdaka, 'libation of water' with which a gift is made.

<sup>3</sup> These marks are engraved to fill up the space.



- 2 समाकुलं च ॥१॥ चलत्पताकावलिशोभिताभ्रं संस्थाप्य विप्रान्स्फुरद्दृत्वजश्च । अलंकृतानस्य  
गजावलीनां स्कंधप्रदेशे-
- 3 षु सुबंधुरेषु ॥२॥ तान्लो(ताँल्लो)कपालानिव भूरिभूषान्पश्यन्नवश्यं वशगक्षितीशः । अग्रेसरां-  
स्तान्प्रविधाय सर्वाऽऽ<sup>1</sup>न्विचि-
- 4 अवादित्रधराश्ररा(रां)श्च ॥३॥ अखंडसौभाग्यभूतोतिभव्या नारीर्विचित्राभरणाश्च नव्याः ।<sup>2</sup>  
जलाहृतिप्रोद्धृतधन्यकुंभाः कु-
- 5 त्वा पुरस्ताज्जिता(त)दिव्यरंभाः ॥४॥ धीरं पुरस्कृत्य पुरोहितं जलयात्रां विचित्रां कृतवाप्त-  
रेश्वरः । युधिष्ठिरस्यापि च रा-
- 6 जसूयके शो<sup>3</sup>शोभा न चैताता<sup>4</sup>दृशरीतिरीरिता ॥५॥ कुलकं [॥\*] प्रोक्तं जनैर्लोकवृत्तोय-  
मुद्यतो जलार्थमर्थोप्यपरोस्ति तं वदे । दाना-
- 7 यतच्छ(च्छ)त्रगलत्सुहाटकग्रहं प्रसन्नाद्वरुणीकरिष्यति ॥६॥ तथात्र कृत्वा वरुणस्य पूजां विधान-  
पूर्वं सकलांगयुक्तं <sup>5</sup>॥(१) आना-
- 8 य्य नीरं कलशेषु कृत्वा नारीः पुरः सत्कलशाः कलोकतीः ॥७॥ महामहोत्साहमयः  
स्फुरज्जयो लसद्दयः स्पष्टनयः सविस्मयः [॥] द्वि-
- 9 जावलीमंडितमंडपे शुभेऽभवत्प(त्प्र)विष्ये(श्ये)तिविशिष्टतुष्टिमान् ॥८॥ संस्थाप्य वेद्यां कलशान्  
[प्र(ज)]लाढयान्वस्त्रावृतान्दिक्षु चतुर्मि-
- 10 तासु । म[ध्ये] जग[द्धचे]यमुखो मखेस्मिन्विराजते भुपतिराजसिंहः ॥९॥ चतुर्षु कोणेषु  
सुमंडपस्याकरोन्नृपः स्थापितदेव-
- 11 पूजाम् । सवास्तुपूजां शुभवस्तुपूर्णां वेदी स वेदीस्थितदेवतानां ॥१०॥ नवग्रहांस्तानधि-  
देवताश्च सं[स्था]पयन्प्रत्यधिदेवताश्च । न-
- 12 वग्रहं साग्रहमेष शत्रु[श्रि]यः प्रियोऽक्षणां प्रकरिष्यतीशः ॥११॥ सं[स्था]पयन्सत्कलशां च रौद्रं  
रुद्रं प्रसन्नं क्षितिपोक-
- 13 रोद्गाक् । रौद्रं भयं शत्रुकृतं न देशे स्यादस्य भद्रं भवतात्सुदेशे ॥१२॥ ततो महा-  
मंडपमध्यदेशे विप्रैः समेतो विलसत्यु-

<sup>1</sup> These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

<sup>2</sup> This *danḍa* is engraved above the line.

<sup>3</sup> This *śō* is superfluous. Read *śōbhā*.

<sup>4</sup> This *tā* is superfluous. Read *ch=aitādriśa-*.

<sup>5</sup> These *danḍas* are engraved above the line.

- 14 रोधाः । धराधवो जागरणं वितन्वन्वेदोक्तकार्य(यं) कृतवान्समस्तं ॥१३॥ ततो निशां  
प्रविधाय नित्यं स्नानादि राणाम-
- 15 गिराजसिंहः । जातः प्रविष्टः शुभमंडपे वै सहोदरादींश्च तदा कुमारान् ॥१४॥ पत्नीः  
समस्ताश्च पितृव्यजायाः स्नु-
- 16 ष(षा)श्च वंशोद्भवसर्वपुत्रीः । पुरोधसां धन्यवधून्प्राणां वधूः समाहूय मुदोपव(वे)श्य ॥१५॥  
सुकर्मणोस्याद्भूतदर्शनार्थं(थं)
- 17 श्रीपट्टराज्ञीसहितो हिताढ्यः । कृत्वा मुदा श्रीवरुणस्य पूजां समस्तदेवातुलपूजनं च  
॥१६॥ रत्नाकरं कर्तुमिह द्वितीयं
- 18 तडागमेनं <sup>1</sup>नवरत्नराजिं । निक्षिप्तवान्मध्य इहास्य शस्यं मत्स्यं पुनः कच्छ(च्छ)पमच्छ(च्छ)मेव  
॥१७॥ श्रेयस्करं वा मकरं ततोत्र नि-
- 19 धि[द्व]यं स्थापितमेव मन्ये । त(ते)नात्र सर्वे निधयो जवेन समागमिष्यन्ति ततो जलस्य  
॥१८॥ नूनं समृद्धिर्भविता सदास्मि-
- 20 न्समुद्ररूपत्वमथास्य भावि । मयास्य वै राजसमुद्रनामोत्पत्तौ तु हेतुः कथितोयमेवा(व)  
॥१९॥ क्षिप्तानि रत्नान्यपरे समु-
- 21 द्रे त्वया तडागत्र नृपेद्र जातं । रत्ना[करत्वं]<sup>2</sup> त्वथ बाडवाग्निसिद्धिं कुरु स्य(स्या)-  
दिति पुण्यपूर्तिः [॥\*] २० [॥\*] गोः पूजनं वत्सयुजो विधानपूर्व(वं) नृपालः कृ-
- 22 तवान्कृतींद्रः । हिंकृष्वतीं गां प्रसमीक्ष्य भूपः पुरोहितं प्रत्यवदत्किमेतत् ॥२१॥ शुभं  
भवेत्प्रत्यवदत्पुरोहिता(तो) वेदोक्तमेतत्
- 23 श[कु]नं यतः प्रभो <sup>3</sup> गोतारणारंभणमातनोत्पुनः सत्वि(त्वि)कसहायो ध[र]णीपुरंदरः  
॥२२॥ तडागमध्ये कृतवान्सुखेन गोत्वार-
- 24 णार(रं)भमहो महींद्रः [१\*] गोशब्दमस्मिन्स्य तु ये सर्वथास्तन्नामतुल्यार्थककर्मलब्धयं ॥२३॥  
ब्रु(ब्रु)वे तदर्थान्भुवि नाकसौख्यलाभा-
- 25 य युद्धे शरसत्यताथं [१\*] गवां च लाभाय सुवागवाप्तं करस्यबज्रेण रिपुक्षयाय ॥२४॥  
दिक्षु स्फुरत्कीर्तिकृते जनालीने-
- 26 आतितोषाय विभाप्तये च । समस्तभूराज्यकृते नृपस्य <sup>4</sup> तडागनीरस्य तु पूर्णतार्थं ॥२५॥  
लक्ष्येष्टलाभाय च वृष्टितुष्टये

<sup>1</sup> This *na* is written above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The portion within the square brackets is written below the line, two arrow-heads marking the place for insertion.

<sup>3</sup> This *danda* is engraved above the line.

<sup>4</sup> This *danda* is unnecessary.





- 27 श्रीराजसिंहाख्यमहीपतेः सदा । ऋत्विग्गणैरीदृशसत्फलाप्तये कृतं हि गोतारणकर्म शर्मदं  
॥२६॥ गोतारणादुत्त-
- 28 रमत्र कर्त्तुं तडागमुख्यस्य तु नाम नव्यं ।<sup>1</sup> प्रश्नं कृतीत्थ(त्थं) कृतवान्महीद्रः पुरोहितं  
प्रत्यथ राजसिंहः ॥२७॥ तदावदत्व-
- 29 त्र पुरोहितोयं वदत्ववश्यं त्वरिसिंहनामा । तदोक्तमेवं वदतात्पुरोधा आज्ञा कृता भूमि  
भुजात्र भूयः ॥२८॥ नामास्य वाच्यं
- 30 त्विति तत्पुरोधसा नामोक्तमेकं त्विति राजसागरः [1\*] नामापरं राजसमुद्र इत्यतो  
नृपस्तडागस्य तु जन्म नाम वै ॥२९॥ इत्यु-
- 31 क्तवानेव हि राजसागरः(र)स्तदुत्तरं राजसमुद्र इत्यपि । नामास्य चक्रं दिनप(पं)चकोत्तरं  
दिव्ये मुहूर्त्तं त्विति भूमिनायकः ॥३०॥ म-
- 32 होत्सवं द्रष्टुमिमं पुरंदरः समागतो ह्यत्र विनि[श्च]ितं बुधैः । यतस्तदग्रेसरवारिद्वजः  
प्रवर्षति स्मांबुकणं शनैः शनैः ॥३१॥[1\*]
- 33 ततो महामंडपमध्य उत्तमा होमक्रियायामभवन्परायणाः । श्रीवे[द\*]पाठेषु जपेषु तत्पराः  
क्रियासु सर्वासु तथै-
- 34 वमृत्विजः । ३१(३२)॥ नवेषुं(षु) कुंडेषु नवस्वथानयः ।<sup>2</sup> श्रीगार्हपत्याहवनीयसंनिभाः ।  
प्रजज्वलुस्तत्र वितानमंडलं धूमे-
- 35 न धूम्रं सकलं तदाभवत् ॥३२(३३)॥ धूमावलीभिर्गगने तदाभवन्महाविता[ना\*]न्यपराणि  
भूपते[:\*] । रजःसुरक्षो(क्षा)कृतये जग-
- 36 कृता कृतानि किं धूसरवर्णवाससा ॥३३(३४)॥ महावितानेष्वथ धूममालया कृतं तु  
मालिन्यमिदं तदाभवत् [1\*] अने-
- 37 कमालिन्यहरं हि मंडपस्थितस्य लोकप्रसरस्य पश्यतः ॥३४(३५)॥ अनंतधूमालिमन्त-  
संस्थितज्योतीषि बह्वैः
- 38 शुभगंधवाहकान् सुगंधवाहास्रूप कल्पयस्यहो संकल्पनीराणि सदा(दे)ष्टपूत्तये ॥३५(३६)॥ ततः  
क(कृ)तार्थः(ः) समरे समर्थः
- 39 क्षमापश्चतुःसंख्यपुमर्थकांक्षी । मनो वचे राजसमुद्रभद्रप्रदक्षिणार्थं सकलार्थसिध्यै(द्वयै) ॥३६(३७)  
यस्यं(स्यां) वितौ पूर्वमहो<sup>3</sup>भव-

<sup>1</sup> This *danda* is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> This *danda* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> This *sandhi* is wrong ; it ought to be *ahō abhava*.

- 40 निशला निम्नोन्नतत्वं पटुकंठका जनैः [1\*] साम्यं च संमार्जनमत्र निर्मितं भाग्यं  
भुवस्तक्षुपतेः समागमे ॥३७(३८)॥ अरण्यवः<sup>1</sup>
- 41 ल्या(ल्ल्या)वलिरञ्जवोभवन् यस्यां क्षितौ वीरनृपाज्ञया पुरा । क्रोशादिकज्ञानकृते जनैर्जवात्(द्)  
धृतोद्धृता दाक्(द्राक्) श-
- 42 णसूत्ररज्जव[:\*] ॥३८(३९)॥ इतिश्रीराजश(स)मुद्रस्य भट(ट्ट)रन(ण)छोरकृत्ये(कृतेः) राजप्र[श\*]स्तेः  
पंचदशमं<sup>2</sup> सर्ग[:\*] संपूर्णं(र्णो) लीषतां(लिखितो ?) राजसमुद्रे

## Slab XVII ; Canto XVI

[Metres : v. 1 *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 2, 9, 24 *Drutavilumbita* ; v. 3 *Upagiti* ; vv. 4, 30 *Udgiti* ;  
vv. 5, 34, 37, 40 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthavila* and *Indravaniśū* ; vv. 6, 7, 39 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 8,  
11, 12, 15, 27-29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38 *Upajāti* ; v. 10 *Giti* ; v. 13 *Upēndravajrā* ; v. 14 *Anuśtubh* ;  
vv. 16-21, 23, 25, 26 *Avpachchhandasika* ; v. 22 *Vaitūliya* ; v. 31 *Āryā*.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥] पूर्णे तु षोडशशते शुभकारिवर्षे द्वावि(विं)शतिप्रम(मि)तिके किल  
माघवे वा ।<sup>3</sup> पक्षे सिते<sup>4</sup> उदयसिंहनृप[स्त]-
- 2 तीया<sup>5</sup>मध्येऽकरोदुदयसागरसुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठां) ॥१॥ उदयसागरनामजलाशयोत्तमपा(प)रिकु(क)मण(ण)  
रमणीयतः [1\*] उद-
- 3 यसिंहनृपः शिविकास्थितः समतनोद्वि(दि)ति सूत्रनिवेशनो(ने) ॥२॥ जसदंतसिंहरावल इति  
जल्पितवान्प्र-
- 4 भोः पाश्वे ॥(१) एवं कार्यं भ[व\*]ता<sup>4</sup> अथवा(वा)श्वारोहणं कृवा(त्वा) ॥३॥ फार्था-  
प्तदक्षिणार्थे द्विजाय सोऽवस्ततो देयः [1\*] श्रुत्वे-
- 5 ति पक्षयुगलं तूष्णी(ष्णीं) स्थितवान्महाशयो भूपः ॥४॥ ततो नृपः सामगवेवपाठि-  
भिर्युक्तः(क्तः) पुरःस्थापितश्चत्विगा-
- 6 विकः [1\*] नानाप्रतीहारकरस्थयष्टिकाऽऽ<sup>6</sup>रवौघदूरस्थितसर्वमानुषः ॥५॥ विचित्रवादित्रमहारवश्रवाः  
पुरःसि(स्थित)प्रो-
- 7 अतदंतिपंक्तिकः । विराजिवाजिब्रजराजिताग्रकः शिवांशुकश्रीशिविका(का)पुरःसरः ॥६॥ पुरः-  
स्थपूर्णोन्नतकुंभसत्फलो

<sup>1</sup> This *avagraha* sign is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pañchadaśaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> This *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>5</sup> First *yō* was written which was later corrected into *yū*.

<sup>6</sup> *Avagraha* signs are superfluous.

- 8 महामहोत्साहमयो महोत्सवः [१\*] समस्तजीयां(जाया)वसनांचलस्वकांशुकां[च]लग्नथिविधानसुंद(द)रः  
॥७॥ वेदोदि-
- 9 तं राजसमुद्रराजत्सुसु(सू)त्रसंवेष्टनकर्म कर्तुं । स्वपाणिसंस्थापितनव्यभव्यसत्कुंमुद्यन्नवतंतुपंक्तिः  
॥८॥ सु-
- 10 खपरिक्रमणाय महीभुजो धरणिमूर्ध्नि सुचेलकतूलिकाः । अथ धृताः स्वजनेन पदा स्पृशन्स  
सुकुमारपदोऽत्यजद-
- 11 द्रुतं ॥९॥ वसनोपानद्युगलं पदयोर्धृत्वापि भूभुजा त्य[क्तं] । सुकुमारपदेनापि च  
धर्माद्भुतपद्धतिं प्रकल्पयता ॥१०॥ अया-
- 12 द्वाचारी मृदुलांघ्रिपद्मो विपादुकः संप्रति पादचारी । भवान्भश(न्भृशं) भ(भा)ति महाप्रभावी  
राजाधिराजः प्रभुराजसिंहः ॥११॥ प्रदक्षि-
- 13 णां दक्षिणतो वितन्वन्स दक्षिणो दक्षिणमार्गगामी । प्राची दिशा दक्षिणदिक्प्रतीची  
सौम्यागताश्रुन्व(न्व)हुदक्षिणाभिः ॥१२॥
- 14 द्विजादिकान्धन्यधनेश्च धान्यैरतोषयत्सर्वजनांस्तथैव । सदश्वमेधोत्तमरा[ज\*]सूयाधिकं फलं प्राप्तुनि(मि)ह  
प्रवृत्तः ॥१३॥ युगं । तडा-
- 15 गं वेष्टयन्नाना<sup>1</sup> अखंडनवतंतुभिः । नवखंडधरामध्ये कीर्त्तिं स्थापितवांश्चिरं ॥१४॥ शुक्लांबरं  
चंद्रमिव क्षिती[शं] राश्रयः
- 16 सुतारा इव तारहाराः सिंचंत एव(वे)त्युचितं हि गौर्यः सहीरमुक्ताभरणातिरम्या[:] ॥१५॥  
इममुत्सवमद्भुतं महेंद्रो रुचि[रं] द्रा(द्र)ष्टु-
- 17 मुपागतो मुदात्र [१\*] जलदास्तु पुरःसरास्तदीया इति वर्षति जलानि हर्षपूर्णा[:\*] ॥१६॥  
प्रथमं [हृ]दि शैत्यशोभितानां प्रमदानां प्रम[दा]-
- 18 ति[भू\*]षितानां [१\*] अथ वर्षणनीरपूरितानां सकलांगेष्वभवत्सुशीतल[त्वं] ॥१७॥ जल-  
धारावल(लि)षु स्थिताः स्त्रियः कृतकंपा[स्तु] तटा-
- 19 कसत्तटस्थाः [१\*] द्रुतजांबूनदकांतकांतयः<sup>2</sup> क्षणदा उत्सवदर्शनागताः किं ॥१८॥ वनिता  
अनिमेषलोचनास्ताश्चकि-
- 20 ता उत्सवदर्श[शं]नागताः [किं] । जलधारावलिमार्गंगा मनो मे सुरकन्या इति वदित  
धन्यधन्याः ॥१९॥ तनुलनार्द्रपटातिहृष्ट-

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Here a superfluous *danda* is engraved above the line.

- 21 देहघटनानां घटसंनिभस्तनीनां । घनधाराबलिपुरितांगकानामिव कौतूहलदं जलांगनानां ॥२०॥  
पदचक्रमणेषु सो-
- 22 अ[सं तं] अरि[सिंहं] स सहोदरं समीक्ष्य । सुकुमारतरं सुखिन्नचित्तः शिविकारोह-  
णमादिशन्महीद(द्र): ॥२१॥ पदचक्रमणेषु
- 23 सोद्यमां निजराज्ञीं परमारवंशजां । महतीं समवेक्ष्य सुश्रमां शिविकारोहणमादिशत्प्रभुः  
॥२२॥ अथ राजसमुद्रमंडले[स्मि]-
- 24 न्परितः सूत्रसुवेष्टनं वितन्वन् । निजभूवल्यं सुधर्मसूत्रैः सततं रक्षति राजसिंहराणा  
॥२३॥ अथ परिक्रमणेषु समा[हृता?]
- 25 विविधपुष्पबि(वि)राजितमालिकाः । सपदि राजसमुद्रवरेपिता वरुणदेवमुदे करुणाभृता ॥२४॥  
वसनग्रंथिविधान-
- 26 शोभिताभिर्युवतीभिः परिवेष्टितो नरे(रें)द्रः । भुवि नानाविधदिव्यसु(सु)दे(द)रीभिः परितो  
तेष्टत(वेष्टत) [इ]द्रा(द्र) एव नूनं ॥२५॥ वसनग्रं-
- 27 थि[वि\*]धानभूषिताभिर्वनिताभिर्न(नृ)पमावृतं समीक्ष्य [i\*] जनता विक्रि(वक्ति) हि रासमंडले  
श्रीहरिरां(रेवं) कृतवान्धुव(ध्रुवं) विहा[रं] ॥२६॥ चतुर्द-
- 28 शोद्भासितलोकवासिप्राणिस्फुरत्त(त्)पितिविबर्द्धनाय । चतुर्दशक्रोशमितस्तडागो जलेन पूर्ण(णो)-  
भवदा(दे)व तूर्णं ॥२७॥ प्रद-
- 29 क्षिणायां शिविराणि पंच श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवानिहेति । हेतुस्तु पंचे[चें]द्रियजान्विकारान्हुत्तु(त्तुं)  
प्रवृत्तोयमहो सुवृत्त[ः\*] ॥२८॥
- 30 ईषत्फलाधारधरो धरेंद्रो महाफलप्राप्तियुतो हि जातः । धृत्वा समस्तान्[\*] नियमान्यमांश्च  
त(ते)नास्य पुण्यं [य]मयातनाहत् ॥२९॥
- 31 कमलबुरिजस्य पाश्र्व(श्वे) तटाकतोये त्रयोदश्या(श्यां) । एको गजा(जो) नि[म\*]ग्नो भटिति  
प्रकटोभवद्गभीरै(रे)पि ॥३०॥ यत्तद्वरणेणाय<sup>२</sup> उ-
- 32 पायनार्ध(शं) धरेंद्रपुन्य(प्य)स्य । राज्ञोस्य प्रे[षि]त इति विशेषविद्भिस्तदा प्रोक्तं ॥३१॥  
आमःत्र(आमास)दानैर्घृतपक्वदानैः पक्वात्र(अ)दानै-
- 33 वंसनप्रदानैः । द्रव्यप्रदानैर्नृप आगतास्तानतोषयत्ता(त्तो)षयुतो मा(म)नुष्यान् ॥३२॥ एव  
फलाधारधरो धरे(रें)द्रः षट्के दिनानामभ-

<sup>१</sup> Hindi *burj* 'bastion'.

<sup>२</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.



The charter records the grant of the village called **Sāntiragrāma** together with another locality called **Kōmyōsaṅga**, situated in the **Pachhama** (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa* within the **Tamura vishaya** in the **Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā** (i.e., °Tōsalī) country. The grant was made by the *Paramamāhēsvarī* (devout worshipper of Mahēsvara or Śiva) **Daṇḍimahādēvī**, who is endowed with imperial titles, in favour of **Bhāṭṭa Mākyadēva** (possibly **Bhāṭṭa Māṇikyadēva**), who was the son of **Jālladēva** and grandson of **Purushōttama**. The donee was an inhabitant of **Dharmapāṭṭi**; but his family had originally hailed from **Ṭakārī**. He belonged to the **Bhāradvāja gōtra**, to the **Āṅgīrasa**, **Bārhaspatya** and **Bhāradvāja pravaras** and to the **Vājasanēya charaṇa** and was a student of the **Mādhyandina śākhā**. The occasion of the grant was a solar eclipse. It was made at the request of *Paramamāhēsvara Rāṇaka śrībhṛīl*-**Apsarōdēva** who was the lord of the **Yamagartā maṇḍala**. It seems that **Apsarōdēva** was a feudatory of **Daṇḍimahādēvī** and that the **Yamagartā maṇḍala** formed a part of the **Bhauma-Kara** dominions. We have seen that the kings of this family granted lands in northern and southern **Tōsalī**, the former indicating the **Balasore-Cuttack** region (sometimes with a part of the **Midnapur District** of **West Bengal**) and the latter including parts of the **Cuttack**, **Puri** and **Ganjam Districts**. **Kōṅgōda** about the border between the **Puri** and **Ganjam Districts** is said to have been included in **Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī**. The **Tuṅga** chiefs **Gayādatuṅga** and **Vinītatūṅga**, whose charters have been discovered in **Talcher** and **Bonai**, also called themselves lords of the **Yamagartā maṇḍala**.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it may also be pointed out that the **Tuṅga** ruler **Vinītatūṅga** seems to be mentioned as a feudatory of the **Bhauma-Kara** monarch **Śivakara III**, grandfather of **Daṇḍimahādēvī**, in both of his **Talcher** plates dated in the year 149.<sup>2</sup> An earlier ruler of the **Yamagartā maṇḍala** was **Jayasimha** who also used the era employed by the **Bhauma-Karas** in dating their records and was very probably one of their feudatories. The date of the **Dhenkanal** plate<sup>3</sup> of **Jayasimha** is read as the year 88, although the actual reading may be 128. It seems therefore that the **Yamagartā maṇḍala** was situated in the valley of the river **Brāhmaṇī** to the west and south-west of the territories of the **Bhañja** chiefs of **Khiñjali-maṇḍala** (in the **Baud-Keonjhar** area) and of **Khiñjīṅga-kōṭṭa** (in the **Mayurbhanj** region). It appears further that like the chiefs of **Yamagartā**, the **Bhañjas** also originally acknowledged the supremacy of the **Bhauma-Karas**. The **Tuṅgas** of **Yamagartā** were probably succeeded by the dynasty represented by **Apsarōdēva**; but, sometime afterwards, the latter seems to have been itself ousted by rulers of the **Śulkī** dynasty, whose names ended with the word *stambha*.

The record contains two lists of officials to whom the royal order was addressed. Both of these are short but contain a few interesting entries. The first list, mentioned in connection with the country of **Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā**, includes *Mahāsāmanta*, *Rājasatka*, *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Auparika* (*Uparika*), *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Dāṇḍapāsika* and *Sthānāntarika*. In place of *Rājasatka*, other records of the queen read *Antaraṅga*, probably indicating the royal physician. *Rājasatka* may also indicate the same office. *Kumārāmātya* seems to be an *Amātya* or executive officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood. *Uparika* was a viceroy and *Vishayapati* the ruler of a district. *Tadāyuktaka* was probably the ruler of a subdivision of the district, appointed by the *Vishayapati* and not by the crown. *Dāṇḍapāsika* was a police officer, its corruption *Daṇḍuāsi* still indicating a village-watchman in **Orissa**. The *Sthānāntarikas* were probably spies. The other list of officials, possibly belonging to the territorial unit called the **Pachhama** (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa* in the **Tamura vishaya**, includes *Mahāmahattara*, *Bṛihadbhōgin*, *Pustakapāla* and *Kūṭakōlasa*, to whose *adhikaraṇas* or offices the royal order is addressed. *Mahattara* means the headman of a village. *Bhōgin*

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1745-47.

<sup>2</sup> B. Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-51.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 417 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1756.

possibly means one enjoying a free holding. *Pustakapāla* was the record-keeper. The word *kūṭakōlasa* is difficult to explain.

The village is said to have been granted together with the *uddēsa* (space above the ground called *tala*), with subjects such as the weavers, *gōkūṭa* (milkmen, called *Gaūṛa* in Oṛiyā) and *śaunḍika* (vintners) and with *gulmakas* (outposts) at the *khēṭa* (village or hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and *nadītarasthāna* (ferry). Another interesting passage says that the grant was made *a-lēkhanī-pravēsatayā bhūmichchhidra-pidhāna-nyāyēna*. The expression *a-lēkhanī-pravēsatayā* seems to mean that the grant would never in future have to be the subject of another document. That is to say that the village could not be regranted to any other family and that its ownership could not be transferred by the donee to some other family. In inscriptions we usually find the expression *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya*. This *nyāya* was based on the custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.<sup>1</sup> The word *chhidra* in this case no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of *chhidra-pidhāna* or 'covering a hole' seems to have developed out of a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the *nyāya*.<sup>2</sup> The idea in *bhūmi-chchhidra-pidhāna-nyāya* was probably that the loss of lands owing to various causes was thought to be compensated for by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the charter, the location of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā (i.e., °Tōsalī) and Yamagartā-*maṇḍala* has already been discussed. Guhēśvarapāṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, was probably modern Jāipur or a locality in its suburbs. Tamura *vishaya*, Pachhama (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa*, Sāntīrāgrāma and Kōmyōsaṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. The headquarters of Tamura may, however, be located at modern Tamur (21°18" N. 85°14" E.) in the former Pal-Lahara State.<sup>3</sup> In regard to the name of the *khaṇḍa*, it may be pointed out that one of the Gañjām plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī records the grant of a village in the Pūrva *khaṇḍa* of the Varadākhaṇḍa *vishaya* in the Kōṅgōda *maṇḍala*. This seems to suggest that the Pūrva and Paśchima *khaṇḍas* were merely the eastern and western divisions of a *vishaya*. Dharmapāṭṭi, the native village of the donee, cannot be identified; but Ṭakārī, where his family originally lived, is known from numerous other records as a great seat of learned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Tarkārī, Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Ṭakkāra, Ṭakārī and Ṭakkārikā.<sup>4</sup> Sometimes<sup>5</sup> it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadēsa division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division. In one record<sup>6</sup> the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvastī. There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvastī. Some scholars favour its identification with Setmahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Bogra District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Ṭakārī is located in Oudh.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom* (trans. by B. K. Ghosh), pp. 196-97. Note that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the *Vaijayantī* explains *bhūmichchhidra* as 'uncultivable land'. The expression is used in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya exactly in the same sense. See Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śasan-ūvalī*, p. 33, note.

<sup>3</sup> See Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. III, pp. 348, 353; Vol. IX, p. 107; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118; Vol. XVI, pp. 204, 208.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 290 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 208; Vol. LX, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 579, note.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :--Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Mālinī* ; verses 10-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [||\*] Svasti vyasta<sup>3</sup>-jal-ābhra-vibhrama-dharaiḥ<sup>4</sup> svē(śvē)t-ātapatr-ōtkarair=aśvīya-śrutī(ti)-chāmaraiś=cha hasita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 ś-ōdayaiḥ || ( | ) uddāmair=mmara(da)-saurabhais=cha kariṇām=ākshipta-saptachchhad-āmō-daiḥ sannihitā[m\*] sad=aiva śarad-āra-
- 3 mbha-śriyaṁ vi(bi)bhrataḥ ||[1\*] Śrī-Gū(Gu)hēsvarapāṭaka-nivāsi<sup>5</sup>-vijaya-skandhāvārāta-(rāt) || Sarvv-āsā-paripūraṇ-ābhi(dhi)-
- 4 ka-ruchir=yas=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānanda[m\*] kṛitavāñ=janasya manasi prāpta-pratish-ṭhām(shṭham) chiram(ram) || ( | ) sad-dṛisṭi-pratirōdhi yēna
- 5 cha tamō nirmūlan-unmūlitaṁ śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanīpatir=abhūd=Unmaṭṭasimha(h-ā)-hvayaḥ || [2\*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇ[ā]
- 6 muktāmayāḥ santatāḥ<sup>6</sup> sad-vṛittā[h\*] sukha-śitalāḥ kshītibhṛitaḥ śrīmad-Gayāḍ-ādayaḥ [ | \*] yān=nītvū<sup>7</sup> hṛidaya-pra-
- 7 tāpa-śamanē dēv-āṅganābhiḥ svayaṁ karṇ-āślēpa<sup>8</sup>-sukha-sthiti-praṇayinō hār-āvi(bhi)-rāmāḥ kṛitāḥ ||[3\*] Tad-vai-
- 8 śē=bhavad=ūrjita[h\*] prati<sup>9</sup>-vū(bu)dha-prīta(ti)ḥ pratīt-ōdayō dēva[h\*] śatru-vadhū-mū(mu)-kh-ēndū(ndu)-taraṇiḥ śrī-Lōṇabhārō
- 9 nṛipaḥ || ( | ) yasy-ākramya guru-pratāpa-śikhinaḥ pṛithvībhṛitaḥ prōddhatām(tān) dūram sarvva-dig-antarēshū(shu) tarasā svai-
- 10 raṁ prasasa(sruḥ) karāḥ || [4\*] Tasy-ātmajaḥ praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-chūḍā-nivyā(rvyā)-ja-rōpita-padaś=charit-ārtha-nāmā [ | \*]
- 11 vistāri-sō(sau)rabha-gū(gu)ṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āsas=tasmād<sup>10</sup>=abhūt=Kusū(su)mabhāra iti kshītīśaḥ || [5\*] Abhṛi-
- 12 [ta] Lalitabhārah kshmām=bharan<sup>11</sup> bhūri-tējā ta(s=ta)d-anū(nu) tad-anū(nu)janmā vyūḍha-bhōg-īndra-līlaḥ || ( | ) anayad=amalimā-
- 13 nam pa(ya)d-yasāḥ-pūraṁ ū(m-u)chchair=api ripū(pu)-ramṛi(ma)ṇinām=añjan-ōnmīśram=aśru || [6\*] Tasmin=nripē divam=upēyū(yu)shi tat-tanūja[h\*]
- 14 śāst=āvanēr=ajani Śāntikara(r-ā)bhīdhānaḥ || ( | ) yēn=ōddhṛitēshv=akhila-dū(du)rmada-kaṇṭha(ṇṭa)kēshū(shu) rēmē yathā-sū(su)kham=apā-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate and impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *sta* here looks like *ista*.

<sup>4</sup> The Gañjām plate A has *haraiḥ*. The top *mātrā* of *dha* in the present inscription was inadvertently incised.

<sup>5</sup> The word *samāvāsita* found in numerous other records is better suited in this context, although the grants of the Bhauma-Karas usually have *nivāsīn*.

<sup>6</sup> The Gañjām plate A reads *sadyatāḥ* which Kielhorn corrected to *sāngatāḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> The Bānpur plate reads *yē nītvū* while both the Gañjām plates have *yē nītvū hṛiday-ōgra-tāpa*. On the whole the reading of the Gañjām plates is preferable.

<sup>8</sup> The Bānpur and Gañjām plates read *kaṇṭh-āślēsha* which is the reading intended.

<sup>9</sup> The Bānpur and Gañjām plates have the correct reading *kṛita* in place of *prati*.

<sup>10</sup> The Gañjām plates have *śrīmān* in place of *tasmāt*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *kshmā-bharan*.

- 15 sta-bhiyā janēna || [7\*] Tasya praśasta<sup>1</sup>-charit-ārjita-bhūri-kīrttir<sup>2</sup>=viśva[m]bharā-vibhū-  
(bhu)r=abhūd=akū(nu)jas=tatō=pi | śrēyōbhir=ēkapada-
- 16 m=ity=akhilaiḥ śri(śri)t-ātmā yaḥ śrī-**Sū(Su)bhākara** iti prathitō yath-ārtham || [8\*] Tasya  
trivishṭapa-jushaḥ paramēśva-
- 17 [ra\*]sya dēvi(vī) ... || ( | ) si[m\*]hāsanam śaśi-kar-āmala-kīrtti-  
**Gaurī** Gaur=īva gaurava-padam
- 18 chiram=adhyarōhata(hat) || [9\*] Tatō **Daṇḍimahādēvī** sutā tasyā mahīyasī || ( | ) mahīm=  
ahīna-sāmarthyā<sup>3</sup> chira-kālam=apā-
- 19 layat || [10\*] Avicchhinn-āyati-prāmsau<sup>4</sup> vamśē **Kā(Ka)ra**-mahībhrītām(tām) [ | \*] chihna-  
bhūtā patāk=ēva yā ya(ba)bhūva vibhūshaṇa[m\*] || [11\*] Lāvany-āmṛita-

## Reverse

- 20 nishyanda-sundaram dadhatī vana(mn)h [ | \*] yā rājach=cha[ndra\*]-lēkh=ēva vilasat-kīrtti-  
chandrivā(kā) || [12\*] Tasyāḥ ...
- 21 tra(tr-ā)mvu(mbu)-dhauta-navayāvaka-maṇḍanāni<sup>5</sup> || ( | ) pād-āmvu(mbu)ja-dya(dyutir)=  
anantaram=anvarā(ra)mji<sup>7</sup> mañjira-lagna-kura(ru)vinda-dal-ā(1-ō)ru-
- 22 [bhā\*]sā || [12\*] Udyānēshū(shu) śilimukhē(kh-ā)vali-ravō hā[rē\*]shū(shu) mūkta(muktā)-  
sthitir=dōshā-saṅga-ruchis=tushāra-kiraṇē chi(vi)[jñē\*]shū(shu) sad-vēshatā || ( | )
- 23 Rāhau tiksha(kshṇa)kara-graham(haḥ) kū(ku)-mañishu trās-ōdayaḥ kēvalam kāntā-kuntala-  
sanna(nta)tau kuṭṭi(tī)latā yasyāḥ prabhū(bhu)[tvē\*] bhuvī || [14\*] Ramy-ālō-
- 24 k-ōtsukita-nayen-ānanda-piyūsha-varttiḥ ... ||  
kātha(lē)y-ōshma-glapita-sukri-
- 25 t-ālamva(mba)na<sup>8</sup>-svarṇa-yashtir=yā niśēsha-praṇayi-sumanō-Nandan-ōdyāna-lakshmi[h\*]  
|| [15\*] Paramamāhēśvarī mātā-pitri-pād-ā-
- 26 nudhyātā paramabhaṭṭārikā mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarī śrīmad-**Daṇḍimahādēvī** kū(ku)-  
śalinī ||<sup>9</sup> **Dakṣiṇa-**
- 27 **Tōsalāyām** varatana-āna-bha-vishya-mahāsāmanā-rājasatka<sup>10</sup>-rājaputra-kumāratāy-ānpa-  
rika-vishayapati-tadā-
- 28 yuktaka-dāṇḍapāsika-sthānāntarikān-anyān-āpi rāja-prasūdinaś-chāṭa-vallaḥha-jātīyānaḥ-  
(yān) ||<sup>11</sup> **Tamura-visha-**
- 29 **yam(ya)-Pachha(śchi)makhaṇḍa**-mahāmahattara-vri(bri)hadbhōgi-pustakapāla-kūtakōlas-  
ādy-adhikaraṇam yath-ārham mā-

<sup>1</sup> The Bānpur and Gañjām plates read *praśasya*.

<sup>2</sup> The Bānpur plate has *kīrtēr*.

<sup>3</sup> Kielhorn read *ahīnasā(yā) matyā* in the Gañjām plates.

<sup>4</sup> The Gañjām plates read *prāsau*. Kielhorn suggested *prāptau vamśa-kara*. This verse and the following stanzas are wanting in the Gañjām plate B.

<sup>5</sup> The next half of the verse and the following verses are also absent in the Gañjām plate A.

<sup>6</sup> The Bānpur plate has the correct reading *maṇḍan-āpi*.

<sup>7</sup> The Bānpur plate reads *dyutir=atarkitam=anvarañji*.

<sup>8</sup> *Na* is incised below the line.

<sup>9</sup> The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> In place of *rājasatka*, the Bānpur and Gañjām plates have *mahārāja-rājaputr-āntaraṅga*. *Rājasatka* literally means 'belonging to the king'; but the meaning does not appear to suit the context.

<sup>11</sup> The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. The *visarga* sign may be a part of the mark of punctuation.





- 30 nayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati cha viditam=astu bhavata(tā)m=ētat-khaṇḍa-prativa-  
(ba)ddha-santi<sup>1</sup>
- 31 **Sāntīrāgrāmaḥ**<sup>2</sup> **Kōmyōsaṅga**-samētaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ sa-tantuvāya-gōkūṭa-śaunḍa(ṇḍi)k-  
ādi-prakṛitika[ḥ\*] sa-khē-
- 32 ṭa-ghaṭṭa-nadītarasthān-ādi-gulmakaḥ sarvva-pīḍā-varjitō='lēkhanī-pravēśatayā bha(bhū)-  
michchhidra-pidhāna-nyāyē-
- 33 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālam mātā-pitrōr=ātmanah sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāñ=cha puṇy-  
ābhi-vṛiddhayē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāy=Āṅgīrasa-
- 34 Vā(Bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-pravarāya Vājasaneyā-charaṇāya mādhyandina-śākh-ādhyāyinē  
Ṭakārī-vinī(ni)rgata-Dharmma-
- 35 pāṭṭi-vāstavya-Bhā(Bha)ṭṭa-Mākyadēvāya Jālladēva-sutāya Pū(Pu)rushottamadēva-naptrē  
salila-dhārā-pū(pu)rahsara-hast-ōda-
- 36 kēna sūrya-grahaṇam(ṇa)-vēlāyā[ni\*] **Yamarga(ga)ttā(rttā)maṇḍal**-ādhipati-paramamā-  
hēśvara-sakalamahāpū(pu)rushaguṇavad-Rāṇaka-śribhṛid-**Apsarōdēv**-ābhyartha-
- 37 nayā='smābhis=tāmrāsāsanīkrity=ākshaya-nidhi<sup>3</sup>-dharmēṇ=ākaratvēna pradattas=tad=ēshā=  
'smad-datti ddha(r=ddha)rma-gauravād=bhavadbhiḥ paripālani(nī)yā | **Samvat 200<sup>4</sup>**  
**80** [||\*]

**No. 11—REYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN ; YEAR 12**

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates deposited in the archives of the Rājā of Kālahasti in the Chittoor District, Madras State, was discovered by the late Śrī Vēṭūri Prabhākara Shastri who has edited the inscription on them in Telugu in the *Journal of Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.<sup>5</sup> In view of the importnace of the epigraph which deserves fuller study, I edit it here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.<sup>6</sup>

The set consists of five plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring had been cut, apparently by the previous editor, when the plates were received for examination. The writing is engraved on one side of the first plate and both sides of the next two plates. The remaining two plates contain no writing. This is rather unusual ; and this unusual feature may possibly be explained on the assumption that the framers of the document had originally kept these plates ready with the idea that the writing would extend over them, and that their expectation did not materialise. In the alternative, it may be surmised that the two spare plates are a later addition. It has, however, to be noted that traces of a few letters incised in late characters, forming two lines, can be detected on one of these spare sheets. Though the rims of the inscribed plates are not raised, the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 25 lines of writing and these are distributed evenly on the five surfaces engraved.

<sup>1</sup> The engraver began to incise the name of the village, but, as some mistakes crept in, gave it up leaving considerable blank space at the end of line 30. He then engraved it at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>2</sup> Read "grāmaḥ."

<sup>3</sup> The usual expression is *akshaya-nīvi*.

<sup>4</sup> The actual value of the symbol, as noted above, seems to be 100.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VIII, pp. 82-96 and Vol. IX, pp. 25-30.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to the above authority for having kindly secured the original document for my examination and study from the Director, Śrī Veṅkaṭēśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. It is registered as No. 39 of Government Epigraphist's C. P. collection for 1949-50.

The plates measure almost uniformly 8 inches in length, 2.5 inches in breadth and 1/16 inch in thickness. A circular hole about 9/16 inch in diameter is cut at the centre of the margin at a distance of 3/8 inch from the left side of each plate. The ends of the ring which is about 3 inches in diameter, are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal, 1.6 inch in diameter. The seal bears in relief the following figures. A lotus flower with five petals is carved at the bottom. Above this is a couchant bull with hump. Its head facing the front is placed towards the proper right. Two flywhisks fastened by a double chord are shown on either side of the animal. At the top of the seal and above the animal is a crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 26 *tolas*. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 80 *tolas*. Unlike the seal of the Kūram grant no legend is engraved on the present seal.

The charter belongs to a ruler of the Pallava house and the figure of the bull in the above description represents the emblem of the family. From other copper plate records and also coins we know that the bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. This emblem is not clearly visible on the seals of some early copper plate charters of the family. The figure, though somewhat crude, is recognised beyond all doubt for the first time on the seal of the Viḷavaṭṭi grant of Siṃhavarman.<sup>1</sup> We may, however, note one peculiarity. Whereas the bull of the Viḷavaṭṭi grant faces the proper left, that of the Kūram grant, the present charter and others of the later period,<sup>2</sup> faces the proper right. An interesting fact to be observed in regard to the Pallava emblem represented on the seal of the present document is that it is the best of its kind on account of its fine workmanship, surpassing all the rest discovered so far.

The characters are Kannaḍa-Telugu of the early 8th century. The letters are handsomely incised, though uniformity of size is not maintained throughout. In the aspect of their neat and elegant execution, the characters of the present inscription may be compared with those of the Uruvupalli record, though the former are removed from the latter in point of time by over two centuries. The initial *i*, *ē* and *ai* are found in lines 19, 18 and 17 respectively; and they are noteworthy. The signs for *t* and *n* are fairly distinguished, the former, which is fully curved with a loop at the top, being akin to its successor of a late period. The final *r* and *n* are used in lines 16 and 21 respectively. The medial short *i* is made up of a complete circle on the top of the letter; and this is differentiated from the long one which is shaped like a spiral with a knot towards the left above the same. The final *m* at the end of a word is changed to *anusvāra* in many cases; while in others, when it is not so transformed, it is represented by a peculiar mark which looks like a vertical stroke with a hook at the bottom towards the left. Instances of the *anusvāra* may be seen in the following words: *ayam* in line 13 and *visham* in line 22. The hooked stroke is illustrated by the following cases: *jitam* and *Pallavānām* in line 1, *brahmasvam* in line 22 and *svadattām* in line 23. The *anusvāra* is changed to the appropriate class nasal and involved into *sandhi* in the following cases: *Lōkapālānām=pa°* in line 3 and *śārīran=danḍa-* in line 20. The subscripts of the letters *dh* and *v* are not sometimes distinguished; e.g., *bdha* and *rvva* in line 5.

In regard to orthography, it may be observed that the rule regarding the reduplication of the consonant preceded by *r* is implicitly obeyed in all cases.<sup>3</sup>

The language is Sanskrit and the composition for the major part of the record (lines 1-20) is in prose. The statement relating to the executor of the document (*ājñāpti*) is in verse (lines 20-21). This is followed by the imprecation which is, as usual, in verse (lines 22-25). The text

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the seal of the Viḷavaṭṭi grant and discussion on the Pallava emblem, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97 and plate facing p. 297.

<sup>2</sup> The photographs of the seals of the Kūram and Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates are published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, plate VII. The seal of the Vēlūrpaḷaiyam plates is published, *ibid.*, Vol. II, plate facing p. 521.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that *h* in the expression *arhati* in line 20 is not doubled, since this case is not covered by the rule, *achō rahābhyām dvē* (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, VIII-4-46).



is faulty and the composition contains syntactical and other mistakes. These have been corrected either in the body of the text itself or in the footnotes.

As we shall see presently, the charter was issued by the Pallava ruler **Narasimhavarman II** of the Simhavishnu line. The records of the early rulers of this family are generally on stone, until we come to the time of Nandivarman II. Only two exceptions have come to our notice so far ; one is the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I, father of Narasimhavarman II, and the other the present inscription. It has to be noted further that the Kūram grant bears closer affinity with the Udayēndiram<sup>1</sup> or Kaśākuḍi<sup>2</sup> plates of Nandivarman II in respect of the script and treatment of the subject-matter. The script employed in both is Pallava-Grantha and Tamil. Both contain an elaborate invocation in Sanskrit verse, a legendary account of the origin of the family and a lengthy *praśasti* and poetic descriptions of kings. In all these aspects, the present record presents a marked contrast. The script employed here is the highly developed southern alphabet which has assumed the distinct shape of Kannaḍa-Telugu. The subject is treated briefly and directly. The invocation and the *praśasti* are short without the intervention of poetic passages. Thus our charter stands conspicuously as a class by itself, not only among the copper plate records, but also amidst the mass of inscriptions belonging to this Pallava house.

We may on the contrary realise that the formal part of our epigraph bears close resemblance with that of the earlier copper-plate documents of the Pallava princes, which are older by more than two centuries. Like the Pīkīra<sup>3</sup> and Viḷavaṭṭi<sup>4</sup> grants of Simhavarman, our epigraph opens with the brief invocatory expressions *svasti* and *jītaṁ Bhagavatū*.<sup>5</sup> A comparison of the specific epithets used for describing the ruling king and his ancestors, as found in the grants of Uruvupalli,<sup>6</sup> Pīkīra and Viḷavaṭṭi forming one group on one side and the present charter on the other, reveals a number of striking similarities of expression in the latter, which have been in some cases borrowed directly and in others either paraphrased or modified suitably from the former. For instance, the epithets, *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍala*, *Lōkapālānām pañchama* and *rājarshī-guṇa-sarva-sandōha-vijigīshu*, are commonly met with in all the epigraphs under reference. The expression *archita*-, *abhyuchchita*-, or *atyuchchita-śakti-siddhi-saṁpanna* of the Uruvupalli, Pīkīra and Viḷavaṭṭi grants respectively, figures in the modified form *abhyarchita-śakti-siddhi-saṁpanna* in the present inscription. While the phrase *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* of the Uruvupalli grant or its equivalent *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* of the Pīkīra and Viḷavaṭṭi grants has been amplified into *anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-jaṇita-vikrama-vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra*, the term *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-saṁbhāvita-sarva-kalyāṇa* in the earlier group has been slightly modified and abridged into *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-samarpita-sarva* in the record under study. Another case of modified contraction is the qualitative *bahu-samara-vijaya-labdha-guṣaḥ-prakāśa* of our charter, which is evidently derived from *anēka-samara-sāhas-āvamarda-labdha-vijaya-guṣaḥ-prakāśa* of the Uruvupalli category.<sup>7</sup>

The present inscription commences with a brief invocation and reference to the Pallavas who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Next are mentioned three members of this family, viz., Mahēndravikramavarman, his son Paramēśvaravarman and his son Narasimhavarman. The last of

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 301.

<sup>5</sup> In the Pīkīra grant the word *svasti* comes after *jītaṁ Bhagavatū*. In regard to the expression *Bhagavatān* occurring in line 1 of the Rēyūru grant, see below in the text portion.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51. It may further be noted that the Pallava *praśasti* of these charters bears close resemblance with that of the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II and others ; compare above Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Thus I have noticed in all thirteen expressions bearing mutual kinship. Besides the seven commented above, six others met with in the present inscription are as follows : *nīlhi-vihita-sarva-maryāda*, *sthiti-sthita*, *yathāvad-ābhīrit-āśvamēdh-ādy-anēka-kratu-gūjān*, *prajā-saṁrañjana-paripālan-ōdyōga*, *satata-satya-vraku-dikshita* and *Kali-yuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddha*.

these was the ruling king who issued the charter from his headquarters Kāñchīpura. Its object is to record the gift of a village named Rēyūru as a *brahmadēya*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kumāra-maṇḍasārman who was well-versed in two Vēdas and constantly engaged in studies, by the king for the augmentation of his life, strength, victory and fortune. The donor is described as devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. He is also called *Paramabhāgavata*, *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramabrahmaṇya*.<sup>1</sup>

Judging from the genealogical account given above and palaeographical considerations indicated before, it is easy to identify the above-mentioned three kings with Mahēndravarmān II, Paramēśvaravarmān I and Narasimhavarman II respectively, of the Siṃhavishṇu line.

Our epigraph happens to be the only dated record of Narasimhavarman II so far discovered. The date as cited herein is the twelfth year of the increasingly victorious reign of the king, Vaiśākha, full-moon, lunar eclipse. These details, however, fall short for verification. For want of necessary data, the reign-period of this king also, like those of other rulers of this family, cannot be fixed with precision. Hence we are left to make what appears to be the most reasonable assumption on the strength of circumstantial evidence. The broad limits of Narasimhavarman II's reign are indicated by two inscriptions as follows. From the Gadvāl plates<sup>2</sup> of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.C., which mention Narasimhavarman II's father Paramēśvaravarmān I, we can postulate that the former succeeded his father some time after that date. Since Vikramāditya I who ruled from 565 to 680 A.C.,<sup>3</sup> had among his contemporaries, also Mahēndravarmān II and Narasimhavarman I,<sup>4</sup> the father and grandfather of Paramēśvaravarmān I, we are justified normally in believing that Paramēśvaravarmān I was quite young by this time, i.e., 674 A.C., and that he occupied the Pallava throne at least for a decade or two after this date. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, has placed the first year of the reign of Paramēśvaravarmān II, the son and successor of Narasimhavarman II, in 728-29 A.C. with the help of a stone inscription recently discovered by him at Ulchāla, near Kurnool.<sup>5</sup> This is the outer limit. We may also observe that the Pallava ruler who exchanged embassies with the Chinese emperor in 720 A.C. has been identified with Narasimhavarman II.<sup>6</sup> With these facts in view, we may examine the phenomenon of lunar eclipse which invests the above cited date with some definiteness. According to the *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, by Robert Sewell, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.C., which fall within the approximate reign-period of Narasimhavarman II. Of these the first two yield 690 or 691 A.C. as the first year of his reign. These perhaps would be too early, though there is no absurdity about them. Considering the long-range peaceful activities of this ruler, 720 A.C. which makes 709 A.C. his first year, may appear to be rather unsuitable. So we might pitch upon 711 A.C. as the date of our charter. This would show that his reign commenced in 700 A.C.<sup>7</sup>

Of more than passing interest is the description, in our epigraph, of Paramēśvaravarmān I as the performer of *Āsvamēdha* and many other *kratus*, i.e., Vedic sacrifices. This leads us to an enquiry into the claim. Let us see how far it is justified. The Kūraṇa grant of Paramēśvaravarmān I himself contains no reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice, and the other

<sup>1</sup> We may as well connect these three epithets with Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. The joint association of the first two terms with the same person here is noteworthy.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II; genealogical statement facing p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, p. 291.

<sup>6</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 16 and 116-17.

<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao places his initial year circa 700 A.C. by approximation, *J.I.H.*, Vol. XXX, p. 291.

records of this king are also silent about it. Furthermore, it is seen that with the exception of the present charter and the Śivanvāyal inscription<sup>1</sup> of Simhavarman, no records of the Pallava rulers of the Simhavishṇu line, including Nandivarman II and his successors, attribute the performance of horse sacrifice to any of them. If this great achievement were a fact, the ruler himself or his descendants would have legitimately taken credit for it and certainly mentioned the same in their records. We may note in this connection the performance of horse sacrifice by Pulakēsin I of the Western Chālukya family, which is often alluded to in their records.<sup>2</sup> So the truth appears to be like this. In the Hirahadagalli plates,<sup>3</sup> Śivaskandavarman is stated to have celebrated the horse sacrifice. Here we are at the source. The later descendants of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their *prasasti* in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family. The claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse sacrifices performed. Thus we find that in the Chendalūr plates<sup>4</sup> of Kumāravishṇu II, Uruvupalli grant and other charters, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices. In view of these finds we are justified in making the following observation. The drafter of the Rēyūru grant, who, as shown before, was influenced by the texts of the copper plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and foisted it on the father of the ruling king, his patron, for his glorification. It would be on similar lines that we shall have to account for the characteristic attribute, 'performer of ten horse sacrifices,' ascribed to the Pallava king Simhavarman,<sup>5</sup> as noticed for the first time in the Śivanvāyal inscription.

The royal order announcing the gift was addressed to the inhabitants of Rēyūru ; and it was enjoined on pain of corporal punishment upon all the ministers along with their subordinate officials (*karaṇayuktāḥ*), all the officers of the state (*sarvaniyōgakāḥ*) and the courtiers (*rājavallabhāḥ*), that they should collect no dues whatsoever from the village, particularly while on tour (*sañcharantaḥ*). The executor of the order was Ísvara, the chief of Nandakurra, and son of Sōmāditya, who equalled Rājāditya in valour.<sup>6</sup>

The donee Kumāramaṇḍaśarman was a resident of Kuravaśrī and he is referred to as a *Sōmayājīn*. He came from a learned family. Both his father Kumāraśarman and grandfather Kūlaśarman were proficient in two Vēdas. The latter is said to have known the essence of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. He belonged to the Rāthitara *gōtra* and was a student of Āpastamba *sūtra*. We may note here the occurrence of the expression *dvēdapārāga* qualifying all the three members of the family. Evidently it is an abbreviation of *dvi-vēda-pārāga* and may be taken to be equivalent of *dvēdin*, i.e., *dvi-vēdin*.

Lastly we may consider the **geographical** information contained in the epigraph. The gift village Rēyūru is stated to have been situated in the Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra. The prefix *mēl* in this expression is Tamil, meaning 'west.' This territorial name occurs for the first time in the present record, though Muṇḍarāshṭra is already familiar to us through other inscriptions. Judging from its connotation, Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra must have been situated to the west of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 8, 39, 117, 128, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 235. In the Chendalūr record the adjective *anēka* meaning 'many' qualifies the expression *Aśvamēdha*. So also in the Viḷavaṭṭi grant. In some charters, e.g., the Uruvupalli grant, this word is omitted.

<sup>5</sup> The identity of this Simhavarman is problematic. Even assuming him to be Narasimhavarman I, the claim of his having performed ten horse sacrifices appears to be a conventional boast for reasons adduced above. But the claim as it is put forth is unique in the records of the Pallava house.

<sup>6</sup> This Rājāditya may have been the grandfather of Ísvara. I am inclined to treat the expression *Nandakurra-nriṇ-śmura* as a *Karmadhāraya* compound made up of *Nandakurra-nriṇa* and *Ísvara*.

and adjacent to Muṇḍarāshṭra.<sup>1</sup> Muṇḍarāshṭra roughly comprised the major part of Kōvūru *taluk* and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore District, Madras State.<sup>2</sup> It would, therefore, be reasonable to surmise that Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra might have comprised mainly the area of the Ātmakūr *taluk* of the district, since this *taluk* is situated to the west of the Kōvūru *taluk*. This surmise is justified by the existence, in the Ātmakūr *taluk*, of a village named Rēyūru which may aptly be identified with the Rēyūru of the inscription.<sup>3</sup> I am unable to identify the locality called Asidhārapura which was to the south of Rēyūru and presumably in its vicinity. Apparently the name has been Sanskritised and there are no means at our disposal to find out its indigenous appellation.

It is interesting to recall in this context that a village bearing the identical name Rēyūru is mentioned as the object of gift in a copper-plate record<sup>4</sup> of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishṇuvardhana II, dated 664 A.C. This Rēyūru was situated in the area of Karmarāshṭra which comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and the southern parts of the Guntur District, extending roughly over the Ongole and Bapatla *taluks*.<sup>5</sup> Two alternative views are possible under the circumstances. Firstly, Rēyūru of the Eastern Chālukya record might be different from its namesake of the present charter. Secondly, they might be identical. Since scarcely any village answering the name is traceable in the northern *taluks* of the Nellore District and the southern *taluks* of the Guntur District, I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. But in this case we shall have to explain the discrepancy in the geographical position of the same village in the two records which are removed by a period of about fifty years only. Here we might note it primarily that Karmarāshṭra formed part of the Pallava dominion and that it figures often in the records of the rulers of the line.<sup>6</sup> Subsequently, this tract, as indicated by the Kopparam plates,<sup>7</sup> appears to have been subjugated by Pulakēśin II and passed on to the sway of the Eastern Chālukyas,<sup>8</sup> some time before 630 A.C. We are, therefore, not facing an anomaly if we surmise that a part of this Karmarāshṭra, particularly the southern or the south-western part, was reconquered either by Narasimhavarman II or his father Paramēśvaravarman I, particularly taking into consideration the ineffective regime of Vishṇuvardhana II's successor, Maṅgiyuvarāja.<sup>9</sup> This newly conquered tract might have been constituted into a separate territorial unit and named Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra.

Nandakurra wherefrom the *ājñāpti* Īśvara hailed may be Nandavaram in the Udayagiri *taluk* of the Nellore District, which has yielded some inscriptions.<sup>10</sup> Kuravaśrī where the donee resided must be the same as Kuravaśrī occurring in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of the Pallava king

<sup>1</sup> Another instance of a similar nature denoting the western extension of an original territorial unit is Mēr-Pakkai nāḍu; see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Compare above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301, and also see V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Nellore, Nos. 505, 533, etc., containing references to Muṇḍanāḍu which is a later term for Muṇḍarāshṭra.

<sup>3</sup> This identification has been put forth by the late V. Prabhākara Shāstri: *Journal of Śrī Venkateśvara Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 250; *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1916, part II, para. 3, p. 113.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 234; Vol. XV, pp. 251 and 255.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-58.

<sup>8</sup> N. Venkataramanayya: *Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> It must be admitted that no specific evidence is at our disposal at present to show that territorial expansion was accomplished by these Pallava rulers. But the fact that they were brave and indulged in aggressive warfare is proved by the historical events and the titles borne by them, such as *Raṇajaya*, *Samara-Dhanuñjaya*, *Atirāṇachanḍa*, etc., which might not be altogether vainglorious; *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 144-45; Vol. XII, pp. 10-11. Compare *Eastern Chālukyas* (op. cit.), p. 69.

<sup>10</sup> *Topographical List*, etc. (op. cit.), Nellore, Nos. 738-39.

Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, which was also the home of more than one donee of the record.<sup>1</sup> The same place seems to have been alluded to as Krōvaśrī in the Sātalūru plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya,<sup>2</sup> after about a century and a half. One of the donees in this charter, who belonged to this place, was Nārāyaṇasārman of the Rāthitara *gōtra*. It would appear from this that this place was the resort of learned Brāhmaṇas for generations. It may possibly be identified with Krōsūru in the Sattenapalle *taluk* of the Guntur District.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

*First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [\*] Śrīmat<sup>5</sup> jītam(ṁ) Bhagavatām<sup>6</sup> [\*] Kāñchīpur-ādhisṭā(shṭhā)nāt=Pallavānām(ṁ)  
Bhāradvāja-  
2 sagōtra(trā)ṇān̄ sva-vīryy-ādhiḡata-rājyasya<sup>7</sup> abhyarchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya  
3 pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Madhyama-Lōkapālasya Lōkapālānām=pali<sup>8</sup>(ñcha)-  
4 masya<sup>9</sup> paramabrahmā(hma)ṇyasya Mahārājasya śrī-Mahēndravikramavarmanṇaḡ putraḡ<sup>7</sup>  
bahu-  
5 samara-vijaya-labdha-yaśaḡ-prakāśasya vidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthitasya<sup>7</sup>

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 6 amit-ātmanō yathāvad-ābhṛit-Āśvamēdh-ādy-anēka-kratu-yājīnas=satya-vratasya dharm-ā-  
7 tmanō mahimapi<sup>10</sup> Mahēndrasya Paramēśvaravarmanṇaḡ putraḡ<sup>7</sup> Bhagavad-bhakti-sad-  
bhāva-samarppi-  
8 ta-sarvva[h\*]<sup>11</sup> prajā-samram<sup>12</sup>jana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya<sup>13</sup>-vratā(ta)-dikshita[h\*]<sup>11</sup> Ka-  
9 liyuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharāṇa-nitya-sannaddhō<sup>14</sup> anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-janita-  
vikra-  
10 ma-vasudhā-tal-aiḡ(-ai)ka-vīra(rō)<sup>11</sup> rājarishi(jarshi)-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigīshu[h\*]<sup>11</sup> para-  
mabha(bhā)gavata[h\*]<sup>15</sup> pa-

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 115, lines 60-61.

<sup>3</sup> There are other possibilities also, e.g., Kōvūru in the Kōvūru and Kandukur *taluks* of the Nellore District.

<sup>4</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The consonant *t* may be read as *ṛta* also. This word should be read either as *śrīmatā* or *śrīmatām*, preferably the former. In the former case it qualifies *Bhagavatā* and in the latter *Pallavānām*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Bhagavatū*. The abbreviated invocation *jītam Bhagavatā* is met with in the Uruvupalli and other records.

<sup>7</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>8</sup> This letter is peculiar and looks like *li*. The engraver seems to have incised the wrong form of the intended *akshara* *ñcha*.

<sup>9</sup> In the Uruvupalli and Pikira grants the expression reads *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya Lōkapālasya*, whereas it is *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya* only in the Viḷavaṭṭi grant. The expressions *Madhyamalōkapāla* and *Lōkapālānām pañchama* obviously refer to god Varuṇa.

<sup>10</sup> The reading intended is perhaps *mahim-ōpama*.

<sup>11</sup> For clarity of sense it is better to separate this compound expression.

<sup>12</sup> This *anusvāra* is placed wrongly on the *akshara* *ja*.

<sup>13</sup> The word is *satra* in the Uruvupalli grant.

<sup>14</sup> *Sandhi* is not properly observed here.

<sup>15</sup> This and the following two expressions may also be taken as qualifying *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraku*, in which case we need not separate them.

## Second Plate ; Second Side

- 11 ramamāhēsvara[h\*] paramabrahmaṇya(nyō) Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakti[h\*] śrī-Narasim-  
havarmma-
- 12 ṇaḥ(varmmā) Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭrē<sup>1</sup> Asidhārapurasy=ōttarē |<sup>2</sup> Rēyūru-nāma-grāmam(masya)  
grāmēyakā-
- 13 n=ittham=ājñāpayati [|\*] ayam grāma[h\*] Kuravaśrī-vastha(vāsta)vyasya Rāthitara-  
sagōtrasya<sup>1</sup>
- 14 Āpastambha(ba)-sūtr-ādhyāyinaḥ<sup>1</sup> dvēda-pāragasya Vēda-Vēdāṅg<sup>3</sup>-Ētiḥāsa-Purāṇa-tatva-  
(ttva)-vi-
- 15 da[h\*] Kūḷasarmmaṇasya(ṇaḥ) putrāya dvi(dvē)da-pāragasya Kumārasarmmaṇa[h\*]  
putrāya dvēda-pāragāya

## Third Plate ; First Side

- 16 nitya-svādhyāya-niratāya Sōmayājīnē Kumāramaṇḍasarmmaṇē<sup>1</sup> asmāka[ni\*] āyur-
- 17 bala-vijaya<sup>1</sup>-aiśvaryy-ābhivṛiddhayē brahmadēhi(yī)kṛity=āsmābhir=ddatta[h\*] pravard-  
dhamāna-vijaya-
- 18 rājya-sarṁvatsarē dvādaśa-varshē Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyē(syām) sōma-grahaṇa-  
nimittē datta ēva(ttaḥ | ēva)-
- 19 m=avagamyē(mya)<sup>4</sup> imā(ma)[m=a\*]mātyā[h\*] sarvvāḥ(rvvē) karaṇa-yuktā[h\*] sarvva-  
niyōgakāḥ<sup>1</sup> rāja-vallabhās=cha sañcharantāḥ(ntaḥ)
- 20 sarvva-kara-parhā(rihā)raḥ(ram) pariharantu [|\*] Imām=ājñām=atikramēt sa pāpas=sārīran=  
daṇḍam=arhati [|\*] <sup>5</sup>Sōmāditya-

## Third Plate ; Second Side

- 21 suta[h\*] śrīmān=Nandakurra-nṛip-Ēsvaraḥ [|\*] ājñāptiś=sāsanasy=āsya Rājāditya-prathā-  
(tā)pavān [||1||\*] Yatrā(Yad=atra)
- 22 bha<sup>6</sup> shataḥ<sup>7</sup> ślōkaḥ(kāḥ) [|\*] Brahma-svam(m) <sup>8</sup>visham ghōraḥ(ram) na visham visham=  
uchyatē [|\*] visham=ēkākina(nam) hanti brahma-
- 23 svam(m) putra-pautri(tra)kam [||2||\*] Svadattām(m) paradattām vā |<sup>2</sup> yō harēti(ta) vasun-  
dharām [|\*] shasṭi<sup>9</sup>-va-

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> This *anusvāra* is placed wrongly on the following *akshara gē*.

<sup>4</sup> There is some confusion here. If the *akshara myē* is treated as a case of *sandhi*, then the following initial *i* should be deleted.

<sup>5</sup> This and the following verses are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

<sup>6</sup> The form of this letter is queer. It is neither *bhā* nor *ma*. It is clear that the engraver wanted to make it *bha*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *bhavanti*.

<sup>8</sup> Insert *hi* before this word to make the *pāda* metrically correct.

<sup>9</sup> The subscript *ṭ* of this *akshara* looks like the subscript *dh* or *v*. Compare, for instance, *ndhu* in line 23 and in the following line.

i.

2  
 4  
 2  
 4

ii, a.

6  
 8  
 10  
 6  
 8  
 10

ii, b.

12  
 14  
 12  
 14

iii, a.

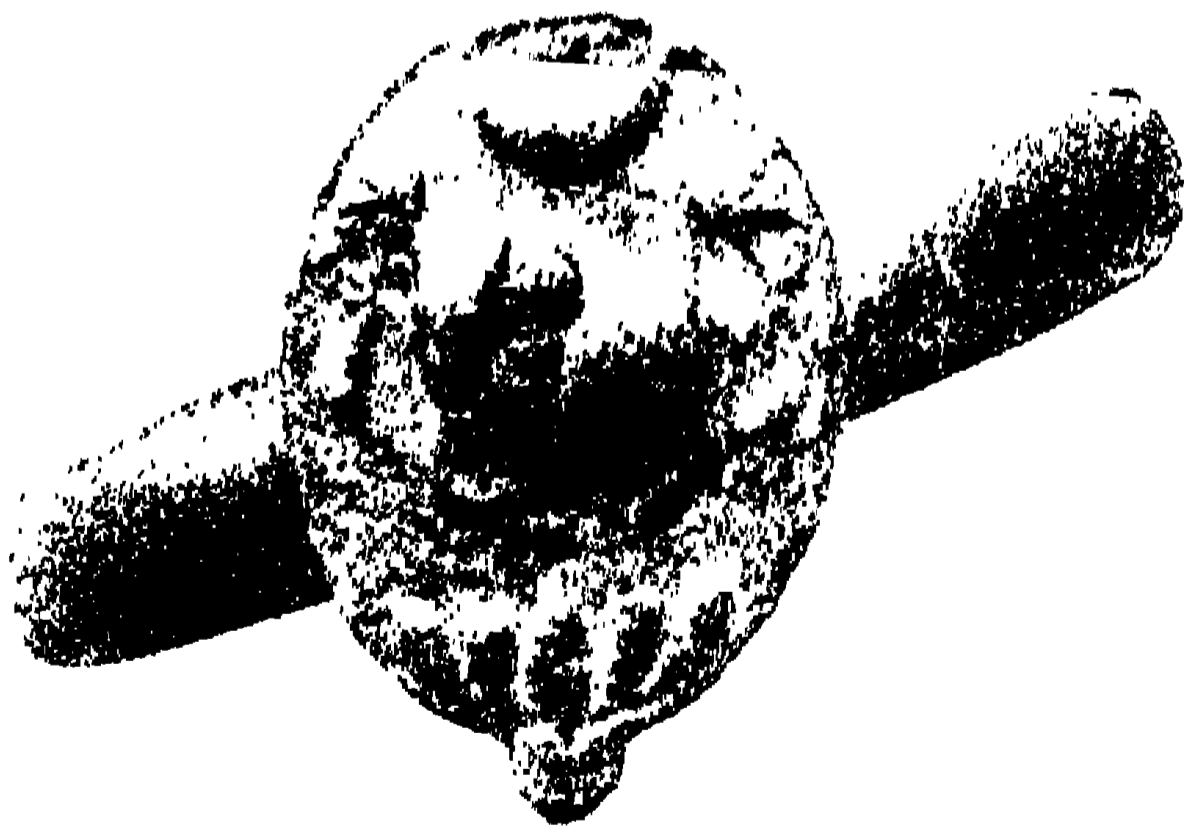
16  
 18  
 20  
 16  
 18  
 20

iii, b.

22 22  
 24 24

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

Seal



(From a photograph)



24 rsha-sahasrāṇi |<sup>1</sup> viṣṭa<sup>2</sup>(shṭhā)yaṁ(yāṁ) jāyatē krimiḥ [ || 3 ||\* ] Bahubhir=vvasudhā  
dattā |<sup>1</sup> bahubhi-

25 ś=ch=ānupālita(tā) | yasya yasya yathā<sup>3</sup> bhūmi[h] |<sup>1</sup> tasya tasya tathā<sup>3</sup> phalam ||<sup>4</sup> [4 ||\*]

No. 12—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRATAPAMALLA ; YEAR 969

(1 Plate)

L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH, AND P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

The credit of the discovery of this copper plate document, the existence of which was known as early as 1940, goes to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosala Historical Society. It was in the possession of Dewan Hardayal Singh, Zamindar of Bilaigarh<sup>5</sup> in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Through the kindness of Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, it was obtained on loan from the owner and sent to the then Government Epigraphist for India, for examination, in November 1942. Subsequently, at the advice of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who accorded his kind permission and other facilities, Mr. Desai, a member of his office, was also provided with an opportunity of studying the epigraph. Thus as a result of joint co-operation the inscription is edited here for the first time.

It is a set of two copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The plates measure roughly from 10 to 10½ inches in length and 6¾ inches in breadth. A hole with a diameter of about half an inch is bored towards the centre of the top of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and a margin of about an inch is left out towards the left. The size of the letters on the first plate is bigger than that on the second, the average being roughly ⅓ and ¼ of an inch respectively. As a result of this the first plate has accommodated 16 lines and the second 22 lines. The seal is circular measuring about 2¾ inches in diameter. It is partly damaged and obliterated towards the left. Its upper portion contains crudely carved figures of a seated goddess, viz., Lakshmi, in the middle and two elephants with jars in their upturned trunks on either side. In the lower portion is incised the figure of a dagger placed across pointing towards the right. In the intervening space is engraved in Nāgarī characters the partly damaged legend *Srī (Śrī). .Pratāpamalladēva*. In respect of this seal and many other points which will be discussed presently, the present plates bear close resemblance with the Pēṇḍrābandh plates of the same king, already published in this journal.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The subscript *t* of this *akshara* looks like the subscript *dh* or *v*. Compare, for instance, *ndha* in line 23 and *vva* in the following line.

<sup>3</sup> The words *yudā* and *tudā* are more commonly used for *yathā* and *tathā* of this verse.

<sup>4</sup> This punctuation in the original is made up of a spiral followed by a wavy line.

<sup>5</sup> This is the first set of Bilaigarh plates. According to the official sources, the plates were originally unearthed while ploughing his field by one Rāmnāth, son of Gōpi Kahra, a resident of the village Paoni, about 3 miles from Bilaigarh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilaigarh, who passed them on to his master. The information gathered by Mr. Pandeya reveals that two more sets of copper plates were discovered in the village Paoni in September 1940. One of these, which fell into the hands of a *sādhu*, was subsequently recovered by the said Zamindar. This set was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1945. This is styled the second set of Bilaigarh plates for the convenience of description. It belongs to Prithvīdēva II and is dated 896 of the Chēdi era. The second set from Bilaigarh is being published in this journal. These plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

The characters are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century being on the whole identical with those of the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. Some of the peculiarities noticed<sup>1</sup> in the case of the latter, such as non-distinction between *p* and *y* as the second members of conjunct letters, scoring off of the superfluous syllable by vertical strokes at the top, besides others, can be detected in this inscription also. The *avagraha* sign is not used in many places; for instance, *Ratnadēvō=bhavat* in line 12 and *tatō=bhūt* in line 13. It is, however, used in *vadanō='jani* in line 8 and a few other expressions. As the first member of a conjunct letter, *n* sometimes looks like *t*, e.g., *-anvayē* in line 2. The subscript *th* is not generally distinguished from *t*; e.g., *°pratiṣṭ-ō-* in line 27 and *viṣṭāyūm* in line 33. The form of cerebral *ṅ* is made up of three vertical strokes—the first being slightly curved, the second a wavy line and the third a straight line, similar to its later counterpart. This kind of *ṅ* is not met with in the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. In the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription it is represented by a symbol resembling *l* without its top joint.

In regard to orthography we may note the following. In rare cases the *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal, e.g., *°gaṅga* in line 13. *V* is substituted for *b*; e.g., *Vrahma-* in line 1 and *°amvara-* in line 2. In certain expressions *j* is used for *y* and *vice versa*; e.g., *yātaḥ* for *jātaḥ* in lines 5 and 7, *jaḥ* for *yaḥ* in line 13 and *jasas* for *yaśas* in lines 9 and 14. In a majority of instances *s* is written for *ś*; e.g., *sivam* for *śivam* in line 1, *dēsē* for *dēśē* in line 4. The reduplication of the consonant following *r* is resorted to in a large number of syllables, though the exceptions to this practice are not negligible; e.g., *pratyartha(thi)* in lines 3-4, *°sau(śau)rya* in line 6 and *°darpana* in line 10.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the usual salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is composed in verse. There are thirty verses in all. They are generally punctuated by single *danḍas* at the end of each half and double *danḍas* at their completion. The verses are numbered. An inadvertent omission has occurred in numbering the 16th verse. On account of this the following verses are all numbered less by one than the actual figure. This mistake has been corrected in the accompanying text. Some errors in marking the *danḍas* have also been rectified. The first fourteen verses describing the genealogy of the Kalachuri family down to Pratāpamalla, are identical with those in the Pēṇḍrābandh plates. The next six verses, which are new, give an account of the donee's family and the circumstances of the gift. The following nine verses constitute the familiar praise of land gift and the customary imprecation. The last verse refers to the scribe who wrote the record.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift, on the date specified below, of the village Sīralā to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Haridāsa, by king Pratāpamalla. Pratāpamalla belonged to the Kalachuri family of Ratanpur. The genealogy of the family is traced as usual from the primeval ancestor Manu of the solar descent. This account is identical with that found in the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription. Pratāpamalla was the son of Ratnarāja or Ratnadēva III and great-grandson of Pṛithvīdēva II. From the last part of the otherwise conventional eulogy (verses 13-14), it can be gathered that Pratāpamalla was quite young when he became king. Pratāpamalla is the last known ruler of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and his existence was brought to the notice of scholars for the first time by Mr. L. P. Pandeya's discovery of copper coins bearing his name on the banks of the river Mahānadī near Bālpur.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent disclosure of two copper plate charters issued by him, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh record, and the present one, have placed his reign beyond all doubt.

The date as given in lines 28 and 38 is *Samvat* 969, Āshāḍha, lunar eclipse. The *Samvat* evidently refers to the year of the Chēdi or Kalachuri era. Assuming the above year to be expired

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

and calculating with 247-48 A.C. as the starting point of the era, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in 1218 A.C., corresponding to July 9, Monday. This appears to be the date of the record. We may, however, note that the lunar eclipse took place also on the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha in 1219 A.C., corresponding to June 29, Saturday. The present charter is dated four years later than the Pēṇḍrābandh epigraph, thus extending the reign period of Pratāpamalla up to 1218 A.C.

Before we proceed to other details, it seems necessary to examine a few facts connected with the history of these Kalachuris, not adequately noticed by scholars. One is the place allotted to Pṛithvīdēva III in the genealogical account of the family. In his *Dynastic History of Northern India*<sup>1</sup> Dr. H. C. Ray postulates that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Pṛithvīdēva III. The only basis for this assumption is the Ratanpur inscription.<sup>2</sup> In this record three generations of kings are mentioned, viz., Jājalladēva, his son who might be Ratnadēva who defeated Chōḍagaṅga, and his son Pṛithvīdēva. The characteristic achievement of vanquishing Chōḍagaṅga is attributed in all the records of the family to Ratnadēva II, father of Pṛithvīdēva II. From this it becomes explicit that Pṛithvīdēva of the Ratanpur record is identical with Pṛithvīdēva II and that no grounds exist for the assumption of a Pṛithvīdēva III. The subsequent history of the family as known from other epigraphs,<sup>3</sup> reveals that Pṛithvīdēva II was followed by his younger son Jājalladēva II. After a short while the rulership passed on to Jājalladēva II's elder brother Jagaddēva. The latter was in turn succeeded by Ratnadēva III and grandson Pratāpamalla. Thus we are justified in discountenancing the existence of Pṛithvīdēva III.

Dr. Ray tries to support the above view of his by saying that the date of the Ratanpur inscription agrees with the ascription of the epigraph to Pṛithvīdēva III. This argument is fallacious ; for, the date which is taken to be Vikrama Śaṁvat 1247, as read by its editor, the late Dr. Kielhorn, is itself doubtful and his observations<sup>4</sup> on the same reveal that the record might have been originally dated in the Chēdi era, the first digit of which was 9. As a good number of inscriptions of Pṛithvīdēva II with dates ranging from the Chēdi year 900 to 915, has been discovered,<sup>5</sup> there should be no difficulty in assigning the Ratanpur epigraph to his reign. Another consideration that has obviously persuaded Dr. Ray to assign the Ratanpur record to Pṛithvīdēva III, is the chronological position of its composer. This was Dēvagaṇa<sup>6</sup>, son of Ratnasimha and grandson of Māmē. Now it might be that this same Ratnasimha was the composer of the Malhār inscription<sup>7</sup> of Jājalladēva II dated 919 of the Chēdi era. Ascription of the Ratanpur inscription to Pṛithvīdēva II would lead to the result that whereas Dēvagaṇa, the son, drafted the record of the king who was the father, Ratnasimha, his father, composed the charter of the king who was the son. This superficial anomaly can be explained away by pointing out that there exists a difference of only four years between the

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II (1936), pp. 813-14. The same view appears to have been held by other scholars also, though not without diffidence ; compare Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 421 and the genealogical statement on p. 393. It must, however, be noted that in his article on the 'History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala,' Mr. Amalananda Ghosh has shown that Pṛithvīdēva of the Ratanpur inscription was Pṛithvīdēva II, and not Pṛithvīdēva III ; *Śaurya Puspāñjali*, pp. 274-75.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 40 ; Vol. XXI, p. 762, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, p. 49, n. 41.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1234, 1236, etc.

<sup>6</sup> We may incidentally note the title *Rāyarasimha* of Dēvagaṇa's son, Jagatsimha ; above, Vol. I, p. 51. This is influenced by Kannada. A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that a good many titles of similar origin from Karnāṭaka were adopted and exhibited by distinguished persons in other parts of India.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

last known dates of Prithvidēva II and his son Jājalladēva II, viz., K. 915 and 919, and that there would be no absurdity in surmising that both Dēvagaṇa and his father Ratnasimha lived up to an advanced age and composed the two records removed by a brief interval of time.

In his recent study of the inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris or the Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka, rather inappropriately described as the Kaḷachuryas of Kalyāṇi by the late Dr. Fleet, Mr. Desai has been able to detect a large number of affinities<sup>1</sup> that go to establish closer ties among the southern and the northern branches of the Kalachuri stock. An inscription from Harasūr attributes lunar descent to the Kalachuris of Karṇāṭaka and this claim is supported by further epigraphical evidence.<sup>2</sup> Among the northern Kalachuris, those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur trace their descent from the moon.<sup>3</sup> In glaring contrast with this comes the statement<sup>4</sup> in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which commence with an invocation to the sun god who is represented as the originator of the family. It is interesting to note that solar descent is also mentioned in some inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris.<sup>5</sup> Some of their records<sup>6</sup> open with an invocation to the sun god on the analogy of the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It has to be observed further that the Śaivite traditions of the northern families, particularly those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur, such as intensive devotion to the god Śiva and adoption of his vehicle Nandi as their royal emblem,<sup>7</sup> were preserved intact in the southern family as well.<sup>8</sup> An inscription from Chadachana<sup>9</sup> in the Bijapur District, dated 1057 A.C., introduces Bijjala I, the grandfather of Jōgama, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I, and as bearing the significant title *Dahaḷa-bedāṅga* (ornament of the Dahaḷa country).

The donee Haridāsa belonged to a learned and respectable family. His father was Divōdāsa, son of Bhṛigu-Paṇḍita. These belonged to the Sāṅkṛita *gōtra*, having the *pravaras* Sāṅkṛita, Āṅgīrasa and Vāchaspatya. After the statement of the gift in verse 19, a renowned teacher of Śaivite persuasion, named Īsānaśiva, is eulogised in the next verse. The position held by this divine in the transaction is not made clear. It is likely that he was the royal preceptor and spiritual guide and introduced here at the behest of the king. Verse 30 contains a description of Pratirāja of the Gauḍa lineage, who wrote the record on the copper plates with clear letters out of natural devotion for the Brāhmanas. This Pratirāja is identical with the scribe of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates wherein he is characterised as the light of the Record Office. The gift village Sīralā may possibly be indentified with Sīroḷi in the Janjgir *Tahsil* of the Bilaspur District.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet has alluded to only two links, viz., the title *Kūlañjarapuravarūhēśvara* and reference to the Dahaḷa country in a Harihar inscription; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25, n. 3; *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> It is shown that there is no real contradiction in the divergent claims of lunar and solar descents by the two groups of the same family and that they can be easily reconciled; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448. Compare the allusion to the solar lineage of Bijjala (I) in a Śilāhāra inscription; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> Two inscriptions, one from Muttigi and another from Iṅgaḷēśvar in the Bijapur District; Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 104 of 1929-30 and No. 11 of 1930-31.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. II, p. 305; Vol. VII, p. 85; Vol. XII, p. 205; *Dynastic Hist. of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 742.

<sup>8</sup> The theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala II is now thoroughly exploded and it is shown on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence that all the members of the Southern Kalachuri family were staunchly Śaivite in their persuasion. This and other topics briefly referred to above and in the article 'Harasūr Inscription of King Sōma' (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 23 ff.), have been elaborately discussed in his lectures on the Southern Kalachuris delivered by Mr. Desai in February 1951 at the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar. These lectures are published in the *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>9</sup> B. K. coll., No. 17 of 1937-38.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-29 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 2, 5, 14 *Upajāti* ; vv. 3, 12 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 6, 30 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 8 *Mālinī* ; vv. 10, 17 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 13, 18, 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>2</sup> [ ॥\* ] ॐ ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं  
परमकारणं(णम्) । भावग्राह्य(ह्यं) परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(द्)ह्मणे  
नमः ॥ १ ॥
- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरमं व(ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा<sup>3</sup> पु[रु<sup>4</sup>]षः पुराणः । अथास्य<sup>5</sup> पुत्रो  
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्भु-
- 3 वि कार्ति(र्त्त)वीर्यः ॥२॥ तस्मात्च्छ(च्छ)क्रातिकीर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हैहया  
ने(नै)कसः(शः) कौ जाताः ।<sup>6</sup> प्रत्य-
- 4 र्थं(र्थि)पृथ्वीपतिकरिहर[यो] मार्गणे कल्पवृक्षाः । तद्वंसा(श्या)स्चे(श्चे)-  
दिदेसे(शे) कलचुरिरिति च स्या(ख्या)तिमीयुर्त्ल<sup>7</sup>(र्त्ल)रें-
- 5 द्राः(द्रा) या(जा)तः कोकल्लदेवो नृपतिररिकुलक्षमाभुजां धूमकेतुः ॥३॥  
अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुम्भ<sup>8</sup>-
- 6 विभग्न(ङ्ग)सिंघाः(हाः) पुत्रा व(ब)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यंपरास्व(श्च) तस्य ।  
तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आसीत्पास्वें(श्वे) च मंड-
- 7 लपत्ती(ती)न्स चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥४॥ तेषां(षा)मनूज<sup>9</sup>स्तु कलिगराजः  
प्रतापवह्निक्षप्ता(पिता)रिराजः । या(जा)तोन्व-
- 8 ये दुष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोरुहपावर्षेणेंदुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोज्जनि रत्त(त्त)-  
राजो विस्वो(श्वो)पका-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and inked impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> There appears to be an *anusvāra* on this letter ; but this and a few other dots elsewhere have to be ignored, as they are apparently due to the defect in the metal.

<sup>4</sup> This *ru* is not properly engraved ; it may be compared with other *rus* in the inscription, e.g., lines 8 and 11.

<sup>5</sup> There is a scored-out sign for medial *i* before the letter *śya*.

<sup>6</sup> This *danda* is superfluous. By inserting this punctuation mark, the scribe possibly meant that the first quarter of the verse ended with the word *jālakā*. This is wrong, as it ends with *kau*.

<sup>7</sup> This is clearly *lla*, compare *lla* of *Kōkalla* in l. 5. The intended *akshara* was perhaps *ṛṣṣa* which is however wrong for *rṇna*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 4, n. 2.

<sup>8</sup> The word *kumbha* is followed by the two scored-out syllables *viśha*.

<sup>9</sup> The form *anūja* is wrongly used for *anuja* for the sake of metre.

- 9 रकरणार्ज्जितपु<sup>1</sup>ण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगनिर्मितविक्रमेण <sup>2</sup> नीतं जस-  
(यश)स्त्रि[भु]वने विनिहत्य स(श)-
- 10 त्रून् ॥६॥ [पृ]थ्वीदेवोभवत्तस्मात्तृ(त्रृ)पः सा(शा)र्दूलविक्रमः । नखदर्पण-  
संक्रान्तनम[द्भू]पालमंडलः ॥७॥
- 11 अथ रुचिररुचिस्त्री(श्री)रास(श)यः<sup>3</sup> सत्कलानामनुपहितकलंकोऽनर्घमूर्तिः सुवृत्तः ।  
सकलगु-
- 12 णसमूह[:\*] [श्री]मतस्तस्य सूनुर्विधुरिव सुकृतानां धाम जाजलदेवः ॥८॥ रत्त-  
(त्त)देवो[ऽ\*]भवत्तस्मादभूतो-
- 13 पमविक्रमः । ज(य)स्वो(श्चो)डगङ्गगोकर्णौ युधि चक्रे पराङ्मुखौ ॥९॥  
ततो[ऽ\*]भूदासीमक्ष(क्षि)तिवलयवि-
- 14 क्रत्त(क्रान्त)महिमा हिमानीवत्का<sup>4</sup>त्तैर्य(न्तैर्ज)गदपि जसो(यशो)भिर्द्वैवलयन(न्) ।  
रणे क्रुद्धा(द्ध)द्वेक्षि(षि)द्विपदलनदीक्षा-
- 15 हरिसमः सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः ॥ [१०] ॥ प्रचंडाखंडभूपाल-
- 16 युध(द्ध)कंडूति[सं](खं)डनः । जगद्देवोभवत्तस्मात्तृ(त्रृ)पः [सा(शा)र्दू]लविक्रमः  
॥ ११ ॥ तत्तुत्रस्त्रि(श्चि)त्रकीर्तिः सकलकलचुरि-

*Second Plate*

- 17 क्षमाभुजां भूव(ष)णस्त्रीः(श्रीः) [स्त्री(श्री)]मानुत्फुल्लत(म)ल्लीनिकरनिभ-  
जसो(यशो)रासि(शि)भिव्याप्तविस्वः(श्वः) । आसीदासीमभू-
- 18 मी<sup>5</sup>वलयपरिवृढप्रौढदोःका(कां)डलीलानिद्ध(र्द्ध)तासे(शे)षवैरिक्षितिपतिति(नि)वहा(हो)  
[भूपती रत्नराजः] ॥१२॥
- 19 पुत्रस्तस्य यसोद्धि(शोब्धि)लोललहरीनिर्द्धूतदिग्मंडलो मूर्त्या निज्जितमन्मथ[:\*]  
समभवत् स्त्री(श्री)मत्प्रतापो नृपः । भूपा-

<sup>1</sup> This letter is not clear on the impression. The plate is slightly damaged at this spot.

<sup>2</sup> This *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *āśrayaḥ* for *āśayaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> The formation of the letter *thā* is not normal.

<sup>5</sup> The word *bhūmi* generally ends in short *i*. The long *ī* is necessitated here evidently for the sake of metre.



Seal



(From a photograph)



- 20 लाल्ल (र्ण) वसो (शो) षणे मुनिरसौ क्षमापालचूडामणि[र्दी]ने वं[दि]जने  
द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्ताव(म)णिः ॥१३॥
- 21 मत्या महत्या महतीं महीसः(शः) प्रतापमल्लो जगद्धे(दे)कमल्लः [1]  
पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(ब)लेन वा(बा)लोपि व(ब)लि-
- 22 द्वितीयः ॥१४॥ प्रवरैः सांकृताङ्गिरस[वाच]स्पत्यसंज्ञकैः [1\*] संयुते सांकृतगोत्रे  
पंडितो भृगुसा(सं)ज्ञकः ॥१५॥ व(ब)-
- 23 भूव स्रु(श्रु)तिसंपन्नः ।<sup>1</sup> पुराणस्मृतिसा(शा)स्त्रवित् [1\*] आचारमार्गनिरतः  
प्रियवाक् साधुस(सं)मतः।[१६।1\*] समुद्धूतस्तस्मा-
- 24 च्छशव<sup>2</sup>धर इव क्षीरजलधः(धेः) दिवोदासः पुत्रः श(स)कलगुणविज्ञाननिपुणः [1\*]  
सदामात्यो(न्यो) विप्रैः ज(प्रैर्ज)ननयनका-
- 25 भं(नं)दजनकः स्फुरकी(त्की)तिलो(लो)के सकलनरपैः पूज्यचरणः ॥१६(१७)॥  
तत्पुत्रो हरिदास उत्तममतिर्मन्यः सता-
- 26 प्त(म)ग्रणी[1\*] सन्मार्गै(र्गै)करतो विवेकवसतिः वि(तिर्वि)प्रेषु चूडामणिः  
[1\*] सा(शा)स्त्रार्थसु(श्रु)तिधर्मनित्यनिरतो धम्मै(म्मै)कवु(बु)धिः(द्विः)  
सदा
- 27 लोकानां प्रियदर्शनो निशितधीः प्राप्तः<sup>3</sup> प्रतिष्टो(ष्ठो)दयः ॥१७(१८)॥ तस्मै  
प्रतापदेवेत(न) राज्ञा संकल्पपूर्व(र्व)कः [1\*] प्रदत्तः
- 28 सिरलाग्राम प्रा(आ)षाथी(ढी)सोमपर्वणि ॥१८(१९)॥ शैवाचार्यसि-  
(शि)रोमणिः कलियुगे दानैकचिन्तामणिः मा(णिर्मा)णिके(क्ये)स्व(श्व)रपाद-
- 29 प[च्च]मधुपः प्राज्ञो विवेकारणिः [1\*] अज्ञानांधन्त(त)मोविनाशतरणिः नू(णिर्नू)नं  
गुणानां खनिः ।<sup>1</sup> हन्त(न्ते)शानशिवो विवेक-
- 30 वसतिवि(र्वि)द्वत्स(त्सु) चूडामणिः ॥१९(२०)॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं छत्रं  
गजास्व(श्व)वरवाहनं(नम्) [1\*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः[1\*]  
पुरंदर ॥२०(२१)॥

<sup>1</sup> This *danā* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> This *va* is redundant. Read =*ch=chhaśadhara va*.

<sup>3</sup> The *visarga* after *prāpta* is redundant. Read *prāpta-pratishṭh-ōdayah*.

- 31 व(ब)हुभिर्व्वं(र्व्वं)सुधा दत्ता राजभि[:\*] सगरादिभिः । <sup>1</sup>यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं त(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२१(२२)॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यस्तु(श्च)भू-
- 32 मीं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उता(भौ) द्वौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतौ(तं) श्व(स्व)र्ग-  
गामिनौ ॥२२(२३)॥ पू[र्णं](र्व्वं)दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्ना(त्ना)द्रक्ष पुरंदरः-  
(र ।) म[ही](हीं)
- 33 महीभृतां सेष्टः(श्रेष्ठ) दाना[च्छे]यो हि पालनम(म्) ॥२३(२४)॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां<sup>2</sup> वा यो(यो) हरे[द्व](त व)सु(सुं)धरां(राम्) [।\*] स विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां कृमिभूत्वा पितृ-
- 34 भिः सह मज्जति ।[।\*]२४(२५)॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)[ते]न च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सृ(शु)ध्यति ॥२५(२६)॥ षष्टि-
- 35 वर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गो तिष्ठति भू(भू)मिदः । आ[च्छे]ता(त्ता) वानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्) ॥२६(२७)॥ [इ]ष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव यत्किञ्चित ध(चिद्ध)-
- 36 मंसंचितं<sup>3</sup>(तम्) । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमायाः(या) हरणेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति ॥२७(२८)॥ यथाप्सु<sup>4</sup>(प्सु) पतितं स(श)क्र [तै]लविं(विं)दुवि(विं)सर्पति । प(ए)वं भूमिकृतं दानं स-
- 37 स्य(स्ये) सस्य(स्ये) प्ररोहति ॥२८(२९)॥ स्वच्छास(श)यः परहितार्थपरः कुलि-  
(ली)नो गौडान्वयोचितगुणैर्विदितो यथार्थम् । तां<sup>5</sup> द्विजा-
- 38 तिचरणेषु निसर्गभक्त्या व्यक्ताक्षरैर्लिखितवान(न्) प(प्र)तिराजस(सं)ज्ञः  
॥२९(३०)॥ संवत् ६६६ [।\*]

<sup>1</sup> This *yasya* is engraved above the line.

<sup>2</sup> This *ttām* is a correction from *tvām*.

<sup>3</sup> These four letters and the *danda* as well as the letter *dha* at the end of the foregoing line appear in the margin. Apparently they were first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who later discovered the omission and made it good.

<sup>4</sup> Or perhaps the original has correctly *psu*, the upward stroke of the medial *u* merging into the left hand downward stroke of *s*.

<sup>5</sup> This is obviously meant to be *tāmraṁ*, being the incorrect form often met with in inscriptions.

## No. 13—SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV ; ANKA YEAR 19

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, Ootacamund, and K. B. TRIPATHI, Cuttack

Amongst the tracts where the NIA dialects are spoken, Orissa offers a unique opportunity to the students of Indo-Aryan linguistics. Numerous are the epigraphic records left by the rulers of Orissa who flourished before the Muhammadan conquest of the country about the middle of the sixteenth century. Distinct traces of the influence of the Oriya language and orthography are noticed in such early inscriptions as the Madras Museum plates<sup>1</sup> of the time of Narendradhavalā,<sup>2</sup> which are written in quasi-Sanskrit and are assignable to the tenth century A.C., while epigraphs written in the Oriya language are found in fairly large numbers since the fourteenth century. Although Orissan inscriptions of the age of the imperial Gaṅgas, whether their language is Sanskrit or Oriya, were usually written in the Gauḍīya (the so-called proto-Bengali) script, which is the mother of the Oriya alphabet, we have, from the fourteenth century, epigraphs showing fairly developed characteristics of the Oriya script. Unfortunately medieval Orissan records, written in the Oriya language and alphabet, have been very rarely published with facsimiles and accurate transcripts. In the editor's preface to the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. V, 1925, H. Krishna Sastri, then Government Epigraphist for India, observes, "Of these last (i.e., the Oriya records transcribed in the volume, Nos. 1006, 1119, 1152 and 1161), the texts given have to be considered as tentative since there are no published inscriptions in this language and script to afford comparison and since scholars capable of handling them are also few." Of course, some early Oriya inscriptions were published by M. M. Chakravarti without facsimiles in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXII, Part I, 1893, pp. 90 ff.; cf. *ibid.*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 149 ff. Another Oriya inscription from Bhubaneswar was published with Plate in the same journal in 1924 (pp. 41 ff.) by G. Sircar; but the characters of this record are early Bengali. The Balasore copper axe-head inscription of the Sūryavamśī monarch Purushottama (circa 1470-96 A.C.) published by Beames in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. I, 1872, p. 355, and by E. A. Gait in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. IV, 1918, p. 363, is the only early inscription written in the Oriya language and alphabet, of which both a facsimile and an accurate transcript are available to the students of Oriya palaeography and linguistics. Krishna Sastri's remarks about the paucity of satisfactorily edited early Oriya inscriptions remain substantially true even today. The transcripts of the large number of Oriya records since published without facsimiles in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, 1928, are by no means remarkable for their accuracy. No apology is therefore needed for editing in the following pages an interesting inscription of the fourteenth century, which is written in the Oriya language and alphabet and is one of the earliest of such records so far discovered.

The village of Siddheswar lies in the vicinity of Jajpur (ancient Virajā-tīrtha) on the river Vaitaraṇī in the Cuttack District of Orissa. The name of the locality is derived from that of the deity Siddheśvara (Śiva in the Liṅga form) whose temple is the only attraction in the area. There is a stone *vrisha-stambha* standing in the courtyard of the said temple, although the figure of the bull is missing. The pillar bears an inscription, the preservation of which is unfortunately not quite satisfactory. The record is engraved around a section of the pillar, which is tapering upwards. It occupies a space about 54 inches at the top and 63 inches at the bottom in length and 7 inches at the left end and 6 inches at the right in breadth. The writing is

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> [In deference to the authors' wishes, macron over e and o is not used at all in this article, as in Oriya these vowels, say the authors, are often short.—Ed.]

divided into two parts by a vertical line, the space occupied by the portions at the left and right being respectively 37" × 7" and 17" × 6". There are five lines of inscription in both the parts, the first line of the smaller portion at the right being a continuation of the last line of the bigger part at the left. Individual *aksharas* are between  $\frac{3}{4}$ " and 1" in height. Of the two parts of the inscription, the preservation of the bigger one, which is more important, is fortunately not quite unsatisfactory; but a piece of stone has broken away from the middle of the second part together with a number of letters from all the five lines of writing. The first line of this part, with the exception of three *aksharas* at the beginning, is broken away, while the gap caused by the break in the other lines of writing is between 4" and 8" in length. This has rendered the decipherment and interpretation of the latter part of the record extremely difficult.

The inscription is written in **early Oriya characters** which may be compared with those employed in the Balasore copper axe-head inscription of a later date, referred to above. Of initial vowels, the inscription under review employs *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u*, *e* and *o*. Of these, *i* is of the Gaudīya type, while *a* (pronounced in Oriya and some other East Indian dialects as *o* in English *not* and often confused with *o*) and *ā* are of the modern Oriya type. The medial *ā*-stroke is short and joined to the top curve of the consonants. The medial signs of *i* and *ī* are sometimes not easily distinguishable. *K* is without its vertical stroke as in the modern Karaṇī variety of the Oriya alphabet.<sup>1</sup> The same is the case sometimes with *v* which is invariably pronounced as *b* in Oriya and other East Indian dialects. *T* and *t* are of the Bengali type, while *n* closely resembles the Telugu form of the letter. In some cases, there is little difference between *g* and *p* and, in a few cases, *m* also has a similar shape. *R* has more than one form. Sometimes it resembles *ch*; but often its tail, which developed out of the protuberance of the lower slanting line of Gaudīya *r*, is joined with its top curve (put at the right side in a few cases; cf. *vāre* in line 1) as in modern Oriya. The form of the *akshara ru* is interesting. *H* resembles the same letter as found in other Orissan epigraphs including the Bhubaneswar inscription (in early Bengali characters) referred to above. The *akshara hi* in *srāhi* (line 1) has, however, a cursive form noticed in some records including the said Bhubaneswar inscription. In modern Oriya, dental *l* is distinguished from retroflex *ḷ* (derived from the sign of *l* in Gaudī) by a diacritical mark. It is possible that this distinguishing diacritical mark has been used in our inscription in a few cases (cf. *l* in *mudula* in line 3); but the unsatisfactory state of the preservation of the epigraph renders it difficult to be definite on this point. The numerals 1, 2, 4, 5 and 9 have been used in the inscription. The figure for 1 shows its Telugu form, while 2, 5, etc., are of the Bengali type. A peculiar Oriya method has been followed in *pa 50 sa* in line 4 to indicate *pañchāśa 50*.

The **language** of the inscription is Oriya. An interesting **orthographical feature** is the almost universal use of the dental sibilant in accordance with the peculiarity of Oriya pronunciation. Noteworthy are also the expressions *narasiṅha* for Sanskrit *narasiṃha*, *vīje-rāje* for *viṅaya-rājye*, *samaṁthu* for *saṁvat* (*saṁvatsare*), *kīshṇa* for *krīshṇa*, *chatarudīga* for *chaturdik*, *śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭānāyaka* for *śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka*, *māhāsenāptī* for *mahāsenāpati*, *sanīmīgra* for *sandhivīgraha* (*sāndhivīgrahika*), *koṭha-kraṇa* for *koshṭha-karaṇa*, *vehorana* for *vyavaharaṇa*, *vīse* for *viśāye*, *parīdarasanā* for *paridarāsana*, *jāvata* for *yūvat*, *ūsa* for *āyus*, *sīdhesara* for *siddhesvara*, etc. Similar expressions are also noticed in numerous other early Oriya inscriptions.

The date of the record is given in line 1 as *samaṁthu 19 srāhi Kakaṭā-kīshṇa 14 Chandra-vāre*, i.e., Monday, the 14th of the dark fortnight of Karkāṭa (solar Bhādrapada) in the Aṅka year 19 of king Narasiṃha. The mention of *Śrīkaraṇa-paṭṭanāyaka Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati* as an officer of the king, as will be seen below, shows that he is none other than the imperial Gaṅga monarch Narasiṃha IV who began to rule about 1378 A.C. The expression *srāhi*, used in the date, is believed to be a corruption of Sanskrit *śaradī*=Prakrit *sarāhi* meaning "in the year"

<sup>1</sup> See *JBOES*, Vol. X, Plate XIII following p. 170.

and here refers to the peculiar Anka reckoning connected with the medieval rulers of Orissa. Omitting, according to rule, the years 1, 6 and 16, the 19th Anka year of Gaṅga Narasimha IV would indicate his 16th regnal year corresponding to *circa* 1394 A.C. The details of the date suggest **Monday, the 27th July, 1394 A.C., to be the actual date of the document.**

The inscription records the grant of part of a village called Bhaīmgrāma which was situated in the Raāṅga *viśhaya* or district. The revenue-income (*jīta*) of the land was 50 *māḍhas* probably of silver. The said district formed a part of Pūrvadik-Daṇḍapāṭa, i.e., the eastern administrative unit. The governor of this Daṇḍapāṭa (*daṇḍa-parīkshā*) was Nandikeśvara-sāndhivigrahika who was subordinate to a higher officer, *Śrīkarana-paṭṭanāyaka* (designation of the chief officer in charge of the records department) Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati. Viśvanātha was the *chaturdik-daṇḍa-parīkshā*, i.e., the governor-general of four Daṇḍapāṭas in the east, west, north and south in a particular area of the Gaṅga kingdom. The same officer is no doubt mentioned as *Puro-śrīkarana* Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati in the second set (VI A, line 24 ; VI B, lines 3-4, 12) of the two Puri plates of Narasimha IV.<sup>1</sup> A Sinhāchalam inscription of Śaka 1313 (1391 A.C.)<sup>2</sup> mentions Viśvanātha-mahāsenāpati as the *Śrīkarana-paṭṭanāyaka* of Vārāṅasī-kaṭaka, i.e., modern Cuttack, which was the capital of the later imperial Gaṅgas.

The grant is said to have been made with the consent of all the administrative officers including the *pasāita*, *mudula*, *koshṭha-kaṛana* and *bhāga-loka* of the Daṇḍapāṭa in question and was exempted from the payment of all taxes (*avadāna*) including *ohoru*, *pāukā*, *pāikā*, *bheta*, *vodā* and *paridarśanā*. The word *pasāita* is derived from Sanskrit *prasūta* which is used in the form *pasāya* or *pasā-etum* in Gujarati in the sense of "land separated for the maintenance of the village-artisans or for religious and charitable purposes". The official designations *pasāita* or *pasāita* and *mahā-pasāita* are also found in other Oriya inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> *Mudula* is the same as modern Oriya *muduli* indicating a class of servants of the god Jagannātha conceived as an emperor.<sup>4</sup> *Koshṭhakarana* seems to indicate officials of the revenue department called *Koshṭha-vyāpāra* in the Puri Plates (B) of Narasimha IV.<sup>5</sup> The expression *bhāga-loka* may be the same as *bhāga-bhuj* found in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha.<sup>6</sup> Among the taxes mentioned in the list of exemptions, *ohoru* is apparently the same as *daṇḍoūsi-ohora*, i.e., the watchman-tax, mentioned in a Jagannath temple inscription.<sup>7</sup> *Pāukā* may be modern Oriya *pāuseri* and may have been a tax on the money realised by the creditors from the debtors. *Pāikā* is apparently the same as *padātijīvya* of other inscriptions<sup>8</sup> and *pāikāli* of modern Oriya. It was probably a tax levied for the maintenance of the clubmen. *Bheta* means a periodical or occasional offering of money and *vodā* (the same as modern Oriya *vadāi*) a similar offering of uncooked food. *Paridarśanā*, as the name implies, was a supervision-tax, although its real nature is uncertain.

The purpose of the grant was apparently the long life (cf. *āsa* . . . for Sanskrit *āyushkāmā* in the line 6) of king Narasimha IV. Owing to the damaged condition of the second part of the record under review, the names of the donee and the donor are not easy to determine. But it is permissible

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 151-152; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 302 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 801.

<sup>3</sup> See *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 94, lines 4 and 5; No. 1153, line 4; cf. the Oriya family-name *Pasāyaka* or *Pasāita*.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Pūrṇachandra Bhāshākośha*, the duty of the Mudulis is to stamp a seal on the locks of the doors of the Puri temple.

<sup>5</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 306.

<sup>6</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 329, 331.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, 1893, Part I, p. 91. *Ohori* as the name of a tax or cess occurs in the *Mādalā Pāñjī* (cf. Mahanti's *Prāchīnagadya-pady-ādarśa*, p. 5, last line). On the realisation of paddy that was lent out, together with the stipulated interest in grain, the lender offers a quantity of paddy to the village deity. This offering is called *ohori* in some parts of Orissa even today.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 240-41. *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, p. 17.

to think that the grant was made in favour of the god Siddheśvara in whose temple the record is found. Line 8 of our inscription reads the name Sīdhesara (Siddheśvara) at the beginning and °ñku data (i.e., “given to....”) after a big gap. It seems therefore that the grant was made by a person named Siddheśvara. It is interesting to note in this connection that an officer of the Gaṅga monarch Narasimha IV is actually known to have been *Pātra* Siddheśvara-Jenā mentioned in the Puri plates B (Plate VI A, line 23). The extant medial *e*-mark after *Sīdhesara* in line 8 of the inscription may suggest the title of nobility or family name *Jenā* (originally meaning “a prince”). Thus it is possible to think that *Pātra* Siddheśvara-Jenā, an officer of Gaṅga Narasimha IV, installed a Śiva-liṅga named after himself<sup>1</sup> and granted part of a village in favour of the deity for the longevity of his master.

Only two geographical names are mentioned in the inscription, viz., the village of Bhaīm-grāma and the district of Raāṅga, the intended reading for which may be *Rāāṅga*. The name of the district reminds us that of the *Rāvaṅga viśhaya* mentioned in the Puri plates<sup>2</sup> of Bhānu II and the *Rāmaṅga viśhaya* mentioned in the Alagum inscription<sup>3</sup> of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga. The village of Alagum about ten miles from Sakhigopal in the Puri District was situated in the *Rāmaṅga viśhaya*. It is not impossible that *Rāvaṅga*, *Rāmaṅga* and *Raāṅga* (or *Rāāṅga*) are variant forms of the name of one and the same district.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

## Part I

- 1 [Vīra]-śrī-Narasīṅhad[e]va[ñ]ka vī[je-rā]je samānthu 19 [s]rā[hi] Kakaḍā-kīshṇa 14 Cha[ndra]-vāre
- 2 chataru-dīge(ga)-daṇḍa-parīksha śr[i]kra[ṇa\*]-paṭānāeka Vis[v]anātha-māhāsenāptī[ñ]kra daṇḍa-parīkshā [pu\*][ruva]-dīga-daṇḍa-
- 3 pā[ṭa\*]ru Nandikesvara-sanīmīgra[ñ]kra v[e]horane e-daṇḍapāṭara pasū[i\*]ta muduli koṭhakraṇa [bhā]ga-loka
- 4 samasta-vehorāṇa-anumate Raāṅga-vī[se] Bhaīmgrāma-grāma jita māḍha pa 50 sakra [bhā]-ga[ka] dāna
- 5 [o]horu pāukā pāikā bheṭā vodā parīdarasanā jāvata avadāna nāsti-kara(ri) Vīra-śrī-[Na]-rasīṅhadeva-

## Part II

- 6 ñkra āsa[kāmārthe].....
- 7 ti ṇe.....ṭī pa 1
- 8 S[idhe]sara-[Jenā].....ñk[u]<sup>5</sup> data pa 2
- 9 māḍha du [2] .....
- 10 droho [ka\*]rai .....[ra]i [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> There are numerous other cases of naming a deity after the person responsible for its installation. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 182.

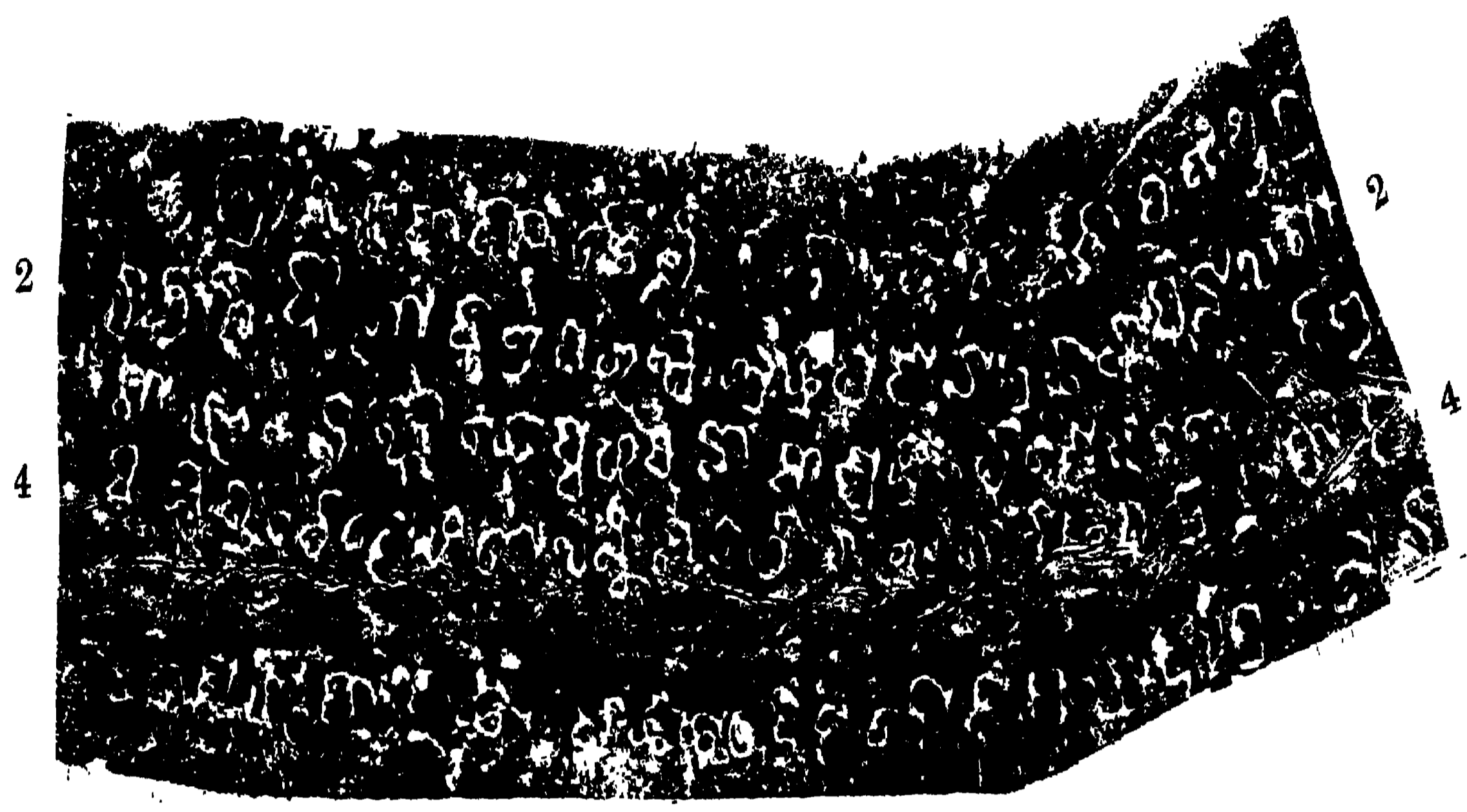
<sup>2</sup> *Journ. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVII, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Above, p. 47.

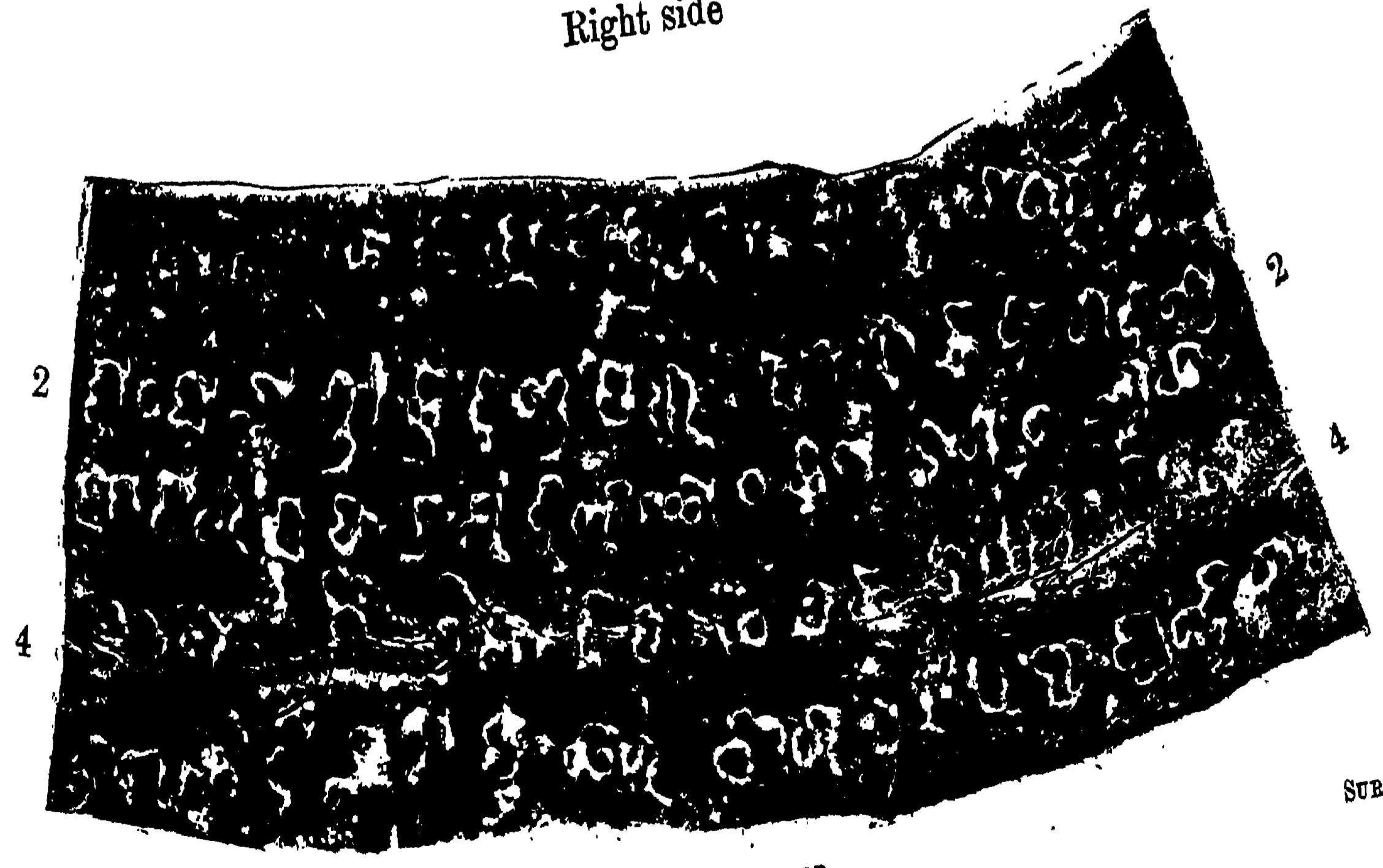
<sup>4</sup> From impressions. The inscription was copied by Sircar in January 1950.

<sup>5</sup> The name of the deity seems to have occupied the space before this dative suffix.

SIDDHESWAR INSCRIPTION OF NARASIMHA IV; ANKA YEAR 19  
Part I  
Left side



Right side



SCALE: ONE-THIRD

SURVEY OF

Part II





No. 14—SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA : SAKA 615

(I Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

These copperplates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India in 1949 from Mr. N. W. Samudra, B.A., LL.B. of Akola, Madhya Pradesh, to whom the plates have since been returned. They were reported to have been discovered at Sangalooda (Sanglud), District Akola. The charter consists of three plates held together by a ring with a seal containing the legend *Śrī-Juddhāsuraḥ* and an emblem which looks like a flying *garuḍa*. The first and the third plates are engraved on one side only, the second being written on both sides. The plates together with the ring weigh  $60\frac{3}{4}$  *tolas*. The record is registered as C. P. No. 59 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1949-50. A brief notice of the inscription has already been made by Prof. Mirashi.<sup>1</sup> I edit the record here with the kind permission accorded by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is engraved in characters belonging to the southern class of alphabets. They bear close resemblance to those in which the Añjanēri Plate of Tējavarman<sup>2</sup> and the Ellōrā Plates of Dantidurga<sup>3</sup> are written. In general appearance, style of engraving and palaeographical features, the script of our record falls in the same category as that of some Kalachuri, Chālukya and early Rāshtrakūṭa records of Mahārāshṭra and Gujarāt, viz., the Sarsavṇī Plates of Buddhārāja,<sup>4</sup> the Ābhōṇa Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa,<sup>5</sup> the Nausārī Plates of Śryāśraya-Śilāditya,<sup>6</sup> the Nirpaṇ Plates of Nāgavardhana,<sup>7</sup> the Sañjān Plates of Buddhavarasa,<sup>8</sup> the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya-Maṅgalarasa<sup>9</sup> and the Āntrōli-Chhūrōli Plates of Karka II : Śaka 679.<sup>10</sup> Some common characteristics of this group of inscriptions are the following. The characters employed in them are round in execution and show a tendency to cursive writing especially in the engraving of the letters *n*, *m*, *y*, *r* and *l*. In the marking of medial *ī* and *ū*, *ē* and *ai*, and in the invariable use of the looped *n* and the unlooped *l* they are all alike. The palaeography of our record is regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 7th century A. C.

The alphabet of the inscription calls for the following remarks. Instances of initial vowels, *ā* (line 6), *u* (lines 21 and 22) and *ē* (line 23) occur in it. *Ē*, initial, is exactly of the same form as that in the Ellōrā plates of Dantidurga.<sup>11</sup> In the marking of some medial vowels peculiarities are found. Thus, medial *ī* is indicated by a vertical stroke within the loop marking the short *i*, e.g., *sī* in line 21. Medial *ū* is indicated by two separate strokes as in *kū* in line 2. But the same sign is marked in two different ways even though attached to the same consonant : e.g. *pū* in lines 22 and 24. The *jihvāmūlīya* which is exactly like *ma* is found in *kāntah=kā* (line 8), *rahitah=kē* (line 9), *kētuh=ka* (line 9) and *patih=ka* (line 11). *Y* is written in two forms : the bipartite form occurs in *dhaya* (line 15) while the form with a loop at the left like the Grantha *y* is noticed in *vishaya* (line 14). The *daṇḍas* are marked for the full verse only and not for the halves.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 4, 7 and n.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXV, plate facing page 236.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., plate facing page 29.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, plate facing page 299.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, plate facing page 296.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. VIII, plate facing page 232.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, plate facing page 124.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, plates facing pp. 150-51.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, plates facing pp. 20-21.

<sup>10</sup> *JBBKAS*, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 106.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 30, text-line 10.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. Portions of the text are in verses of which there are only two, both in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. The rest of the inscription is in prose. The usual imprecatory verses are conspicuous by their absence but a passage in prose occurring towards the end (lines 26-28) contains the imprecation against violators of the charity.

The **phraseology** of the record deserves particular mention. The inscription opens with the usual *svasti* and the mention of the place of issue, viz., Padmanagara. In certain portions the phraseology of the record is exactly the same as that found in some early Kāṭachchuri records, viz., the Ābhōṇa Plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa : K. year 347<sup>1</sup> and the Sarsavṇī Plates of Buddharāja : K. year 361.<sup>2</sup> For instance, the passage *ātmany=āhita-śakti-siddhiḥ* describing Svāmikarāja in our charter (line 7) is found in both the records cited above where it is applied to Kāṭachchuri Kṛishṇarāja. Again the sentence *yaś=cha saṁśraya-viśeṣha-lōbhād-iva sakalair-ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ* (lines 11-12) eulogising Nannarāja-Yuddhāsura of the present charter is traceable in the above records also where again the same Kṛishṇarāja is eulogised thereby.

It is not improbable, therefore, that the composer of our inscription drew inspiration from the earlier Kāṭachchuri models much in the same way as the writers of Gurjara grants in the time of Dadda Prasāntarāga drew upon the same Kāṭachchuri records.<sup>3</sup> Whether this fact by itself could be taken to indicate some political connection between the early members of the Rāshtrakūṭa family figuring in our grant and the Kāṭachchuris is more than what can be said at present.

The **orthography** of our inscription shows some noteworthy features. *N* is used for *ṇ* in *rnna* (lines 1 and 24). The same consonant *n* takes the place of an *anusvāra* in *padavīn=vigāhya* (line 4). A redundant *ṇ* occurs in *saṁśraya* (line 11). *V* is used for *b* in *samanvōdhaya-* (line 15). Mistakes like *bhūmichhidra* (line 23) for *bhūmichchhidra*, *pañchadaśān-varshēshu* (line 29) for *pañchadaśa-varshēshu* and *paurṇṇami* (line 30) for *paurṇṇamāsyām* occur in the inscription. In some cases the consonant after the *rēpha* is duplicated.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Nannarāja who bears the surname Yuddhāsura which is engraved on the seal of the plates. It is issued by him from Padmanagara. Nannarāja's genealogy is described as follows : in the Rāshtrakūṭa family was born Durgarāja whose son was Gōvindarāja to whom was born Svāmikarāja. The son of Svāmikarāja was Nannarāja who was endowed with innumerable virtues and who was a *Paramabrahmaṇya* and a *Paramabhāgavata*.

The object of the charter is to register the gift made by Nannarāja of lands in the villages of Umbarikā-grāma and Vaṭapuraka-grāma, to the Brāhmaṇa Haragaṇa-dvivēdin, son of Bhūtagaṇa-bhaṭṭa and grandson of Varmmulaka-chaturvēdin, in order to secure religious merit for himself and his parents. The donee is further described as a resident of Tagara, as belonging to Vā(or Mā)ruḷa gōtra, Kausika pravara and Taittirīya charaṇa and as *Anivārit-ānnasattra-pradāyin*.<sup>4</sup> The boundaries of the land granted in Umbarikā are stated as follows : on the south it was bounded by the boundary of Vaivadraka, on the north by Tati- or Tiliṅgichchhi-Bhaṭṭaraka (*temple*), on the east by the boundary of Nāgayayi and on the west by Uchchhi(chhī)vāhalā.

The gift is stated to have been made with libation of water on the day of Kārttika-Pūrṇimā and the date of the record quoted at the end mentions the same day in the Śaka year 615 which is expressed in words.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 297, text-lines 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 297, text-lines 4-5 and 6-7.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>4</sup> The compound *Anivārit-ānnasattra* may be understood as 'an *annasattra* which was un-hindered ; or, the *annasattra* was named after a person who had the *biruda*, *Anivārita*. See below.

The chief Nannarāja who issued the present charter from Padmanagara is already known to us from two other inscriptions both belonging to his reign and in which the same genealogy is prefaced to his name. These are the Multai Plates<sup>1</sup> and the Tiwarkhed Plates.<sup>2</sup> The former is dated Śaka Saṁvat 631, expressed in words, and it records the gift made by Nannarāja of the village of Jalaūkuhe situated to the west of Kiṇihivaṭṭāra, to the north of Pipparikā, to the east of Jalukā and to the south of Arjunagrāma. None of these villages has been located yet. The place from which the charter was issued is not specified. But the findspot of the record is known to be Multai in the Betul District of Madhya Pradesh which lies about a hundred miles northeast of Akōla, the locality in which the Sangalooda Plates were found. The other inscription, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, discovered near Multai, records another grant by the same king Nannarāja, of some land in the village of Tivērēkhēṭa, i.e., modern Tiwarkhed, on the south bank of Anivēviaka. The date of this record is given both in words and numerals as 553 of the Śaka era and the place of issue of the charter was Achalapura, i.e. Ellichpur, 50 miles north of Akōla.

Although the chiefs mentioned in the three charters are the same and the texts of the inscriptions up to the donative portion are identical except for slight variations here and there, and some omissions in one of them, viz., the Tiwarkhed Plates, some remarkable differences do exist in other respects between our inscription and the other two. In the first place the latter two are engraved in the angular northern characters while the present Sangalooda Plates are incised in the rounded southern characters. Again, there is great difference in the dates quoted in the three records although they purport to have been issued by the same king. In the Tiwarkhed Plates the Śaka year 553 is given as the date of that charter while our grant and the Multai Plates are dated in Śaka 615 and 631 respectively. Obviously the Tiwarkhed Plates must be understood to quote a wrong date, since in other respects also, besides the disparity of over sixty to eighty years in date between that and the others, this charter is faulty and contains large omissions in the textual portion which in the other two is complete and identically worded. These and other defects in the Tiwarkhed Plates, as pointed out by Prof. Mirashi,<sup>3</sup> cast some doubts on their genuineness.

The difference in the script of our record as compared with the other two is indeed noteworthy. That in the same region two different scripts were employed and that by the same king must be considered to hold some particular significance, the nature of which it is difficult to establish although similar instances are known.<sup>4</sup> There are indications afforded by the present charter to

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff. and plates.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff. and plate.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> We have inscriptions of the Telugu Chōla chief Panyakumāra coming from the same locality, some of which are engraved in the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the Chālukya variety and some others in the Pallava-Grantha characters, e.g., his Tippalūr inscription is in the Pallava-Grantha script (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 231 and plate) while his Rāmēśvaram Pillar inscription is in the Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the Chālukya style (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 234 and plate). It is well known that this chief was a feudatory alternately of the Pallavas and the Chālukyas (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 251).

Attention may also be drawn in this connection to the enigma presented by some charters of the Śailōdbhava king Mādhavarman, the characters of each of which are so dissimilar to those of the others, thus presenting a palæographical 'incongruity'. While two of his charters, viz., the Ganjam Plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 144 and pl.) and the Cuttack Museum Plates (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 148 and pl.) are in one style, his other two records, viz., the Buguḍa Plates (above, Vol. VII, p. 100 and pl.) and the Puri Plates (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 122 and pl.) are engraved in quite a different script and style. The late Mr. N. G. Majumdar tried to give some explanation of the enigma presented by these charters (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 149).

The two records of Dantidurga, viz., the Ellōrā Plates and the Sāmangaḍ Plates may also be cited as other instances in point. The former which is in southern characters like some Chālukya records of Gujārāt were issued by the chief when he was still a feudatory of the W. Chālukyas (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 26-7) while the latter which are in northern characters were issued by him as an independent sovereign. Although the genuineness of the latter has been called in question yet one cannot set aside the inscription altogether and for our purpose we are concerned with the script of the record (see above, Vol. XXV, p. 26).

the effect that the issuer was not a paramount ruler but one enjoying only a small status. This becomes evident from the fact that no titles of independent rulership like *Mahārāja* much less those of supreme lordship like *Mahārājādhirāja* or *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* are attached to the names of any one of these Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs from the time of the first member of the line, viz., Durgarāja. The recently discovered Nagardhan Plates of Svāmirāja,<sup>1</sup> an earlier member of this line, also show that the issuer of that charter, Svāmirāja likewise does not assume any titles of independent rulership but actually describes himself as *Bhāṭṭāraka-pādānuddhyātaḥ* i.e., devoted to the feet of his lord (*Bhāṭṭāraka*). To whom then were Nannarāja and his ancestors of the present charter subordinate? Prof. Mirashi<sup>2</sup> expressed the view that they were at first vassals of the Kalachuris and later, of the Chālukyas of Bādāmī who displaced the Kalachuris, and that Svāmirāja of the Nagardhan Plates was a Kalachuri vassal to start with. He also adopted the view, subject to revision, that Gōvinda, the adversary of Pulakēśin II mentioned in the Aihole inscription (634-5 A.C.), was to be identified with Gōvindarāja, the grandfather of Nannarāja and that the Chālukya emperor reduced these Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs to vassalage after his subjugation of Kalachuri Buddharāja and his acquisition of the Three Mahārāshtrakas. In my opinion these conclusions can for the most part be sustained as shown below.

It is not improbable that Gōvindarāja was a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in or before 634-5 A.C. For, the earliest date for his grandson Nannarāja provided by the present record from Sangalooda is Śaka 615, i.e., 693 A.C. and as the latest date afforded for him by the Multai record is Śaka 631, i.e., 709 A.C. it is not unlikely that he started his reign earlier and that he succeeded his father even before 693 A.C., say about 680 A.C. Assuming further that his father Svāmikarāja had the usual reign of 25 years, i.e., from 655 to 680 A.C., the date assignable on the same reckoning of 25 years' rule to Gōvindarāja would be 630-655 A.C. Thus he could have been a contemporary of Pulakēśin II in 634-5 A.C. Besides the reference to Gōvindarāja in the Aihole *prasasti* there is another piece of evidence suggesting some Chālukya association with this Rāshtrakūṭa family. Pulakēśin II is described as *Nāgavardhana-pādānuddhyāta* in one of the records of his collaterals ruling in the Nasik District.<sup>3</sup> This Nāgavardhana is believed to have been some preceptor of Pulakēśin II. Whether it was the name of his preceptor or favourite deity, what is worthy of note in this connection is that Nāgardhan or Nāgavardhana was the findspot of the grant of Svāmirāja and this place might have been named after a deity or a person called Nāgavardhana to whom Pulakēśin II was devoted. If this surmise is proved correct by more substantial evidence, it may just be possible that Pulakēśin II, in the course of his campaign upto the Rūvā and the Vindhya,<sup>4</sup> passed through Nāgardhan, the capital of these Rāshtrakūṭa chiefs and subdued them in the time of Gōvindarāja, sometime before 634-5 A.C. Since then the family might be supposed to have continued to be Chālukya vassals upto the time of the present charter, the script of which as noticed already, bears such close resemblance to some Chālukya records of the period, particularly the Nausārī Plates of Yuvarāja Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya,<sup>5</sup> the Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa,<sup>6</sup> and the Añjanēri Plate of Tējavarman of the Hariśchandra family.<sup>7</sup> Besides, there is yet one more indication in the present grant to connect these chiefs with the Chālukyas politically. The donee of the charter is called *Anivārīta annasattra-pradāgin*. It is well known

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 1 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Nirpaṇ Plates of Nāgavardhana: *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124. Fleet doubt: the genuineness of the grant (*Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 358, n. 1). See, however, above, Vol. XXV, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, plate facing pp. 20-1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXV pp 227, 235 a & b plate.

- 34 [व]सतायं [।\*] [ष]डूर्तिनीरोगतनुः षडूर्तिर्विंबी(व)र्जितो वाच्यमतः किमन्यत् ॥३३॥ तता(तो)  
नरेद्रेण चतुर्वशीदिने सुशर्मण(णा) भर्म<sup>1</sup>तुला-
- 35 ह्यकर्मणः । प्रकल्पितं [सुं]दरप्तप(सप्त)सागरदानस्य वादावधिवासनं मुदा ॥३४॥ चित्रं  
वितान(नं) चपला[:\*] पात(पता)काः सुपल्लवाचं(श्चं)-
- 36 दनमालिकाश्च । सत्सर्वतोभद्रकरातवल्ल्यो विनिर्मिता म(मं)डपयुग्ममध्ये ॥३५॥ कृत्वाचंनं  
मंडपयुग्ममध्ये भुवो हरेर्विघ्नपते-
- 37 श्च वास्तोः । पुरोहितादेर्वरणं नरेद्र ऋत्विगणस्याप्यकरोत्क्रमेण ॥३६॥ ततश्चतुर्दिक्ष(क्षु)  
च मंडपद्वये कोणेषु पीठेषु समस्तदेव-
- 38 ताः । अभ्यर्च्य वास्तुप्रभृतीन्प्रहादिकान्वेष्टां च देवान्प्रविभाति भूपतिः ॥३७॥ ततो-  
भवत्सं(न्मं)डपयुग्ममध्ये होमे परा ऋत्विज
- 39 उत्तमास्ते । भीवेवपाठेषु जये(पे)षु सर्वक्रियासु सक्ता नृपत(तेः) सुखाय ॥३८॥ ततः  
शिवाह्यः शिविका(कां)तरस्थितः शिवप्रसादा[त्]
- 40 शिविरं प्रति प्रभुः । अकल्पये(यद्) ह्य(वाजि?)गं(ग)तिं गतक(क्ल)मः स चामर-  
छ(च्छ)त्रधरादिक(कै)वृतः ॥३९॥ श्र(श्री)राणवीरः शिविरं प्रविश्य सुख(खं)
- 41 फलाधारविधिं प्रकल्प्य च । जलाशयोत्सर्गविधेरुपस्करं कर्तुं समाज्ञापयद(दे)ष मानुषान् ॥४०॥

## Slab XVIII ; Canto XVII

[Metres : vv. 1, 5-8, 11-14, 21-23, 26, 27, 29, 33, 37, 38 *Upajāti* ; v. 2 *Indravajrā* ; v. 3 *Upajāti*  
of *Upēndravajrā*, *Indravajrā* and *Vanśasthabila* ; vv. 4, 32 *Drutavilambita* ; vv. 9, 16, 17, 20, 24,  
25 *Upajāti* of *Vanśasthabila* and *Indravamśā* ; vv. 10, 25 *Indravamśā* ; vv. 15, 18, 30, 31, 34,  
*Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 19, 41, 42 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 28 *Prithvī* ; vv. 36, 39 *Upēndravajrā* ; v. 40  
*Mālinī*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः[:\*] । सप्तदशसर्गो लिख्यते । आनंदपूर्णः किल पूर्णिमाया(यां)  
पूर्णवृक्षयो नृपराजसिंहः । राज्ञीसमेतः सपुरो-
- 2 हितो वाभवत्प्रव(वि)ष्टः शुभमंडपेस्मिन् ॥१॥ आत्रा विशोभी<sup>2</sup> अरिसिंहनाम्ना पुत्रेण युक्तो  
जयसिंहनाम्ना । सञ्जीमसिंहे-
- 3 न सुतेन सक्तः पुत्रेण राज्ञी गजसिंहनाम्ना ॥२॥ सुत(ते)न वा सूरजसिंहनाम्ना  
तर्बेद्रसिंहाभिषेकानुना च । सुतेन युक्त-

<sup>1</sup> Meaning 'gold'.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 4 इच महाबहादुरसिंहेन राजन्यगणैरुपेतः ॥३॥ अमरसिंहशुभाभिघषौत्रवानजव (ब) सिंहमुखोत्तम-  
पौत्रयुक् । प्रियम-
- 5 ना(नो)हरसिंहसमन्वितः प्रविलसद्दलसिंहविशोभितः ॥४॥ सुतेन युक्तोपि नरायणादिदासेन  
योग्यैः कुलठक्करैश्च । महा-
- 6 पुरोधोरणछोडरायादिकैश्च भीषूवरम(मं)त्रिमुख्यैः ॥५॥ विराजितो मंडपमध्यवेशे पूर्णाहुतिं  
पूर्णमनाः प्रकल्प्य । जलाशया(यो)-
- 7 स्सर्गविधिं च तूर्णं स पूर्णमेवं कृतवान्नरैः ॥६॥ समस्तजीवावलितुप्तये वै जला-  
शयोत्सर्गमयं विधाय । मत्वा जगज्जीवनमेत-
- 8 वस्य सुज(जी)वनं राणमणिर्विभाति ॥७॥ यथा दिलीपो ह्यमेषकर्ता सत्सेतुभक्ता(र्ता)  
भुवि रामभद्रः । युधिष्ठिरो वा कृतराजसूय-
- 9 स्तथैव राणामणिरेप(ष) भाति ॥८॥ ततः सुवर्णाद्भूतसप्तसागरदानोत्सवसन्ध्यां उपस्थित्य उत्सवे ।  
श्रीराजसिंहः परिवारसंयुतः प(प्र)-
- 10 विष्ट एवातिविशिष्टदिष्टयुक् ॥९॥ शास्त्रेरितं कांचनसप(प्त)रा(सा)गरदानस्य [पूर्ण]हुति-  
पूर्वकानि(णि) वै । कर्माणि कृत्वा किल निर्मलो-
- 11 त्तमस्वा(स्वां)तः सुधर्माधिपधन्यवैभवः ॥१०॥ सप्तैव कुंडानि च कांचनेन विनिर्मिता-  
न्य(न्यं)वु(बु)धिरूपकानि(णि) स(सं)स्थापितान्यग्रत एव ताऽ-<sup>1</sup>
- 12 ति सोपस्व(स्क)राणि क्रमता(तो) ववाप्ति ॥११॥ व(व)ह्यप्रयुक्तं लवणेन पु(पू)र्णं कुंडं  
तथैकं सपयः सकृष्ण(ष्णं) [1\*] परं धृताद्यं(धृताद्यं) समहेशमन्यत् तथापरं सू-
- 13 र्ययुतं ग(गु)डाद्य(द्यं) ॥१२॥ दध्नातिधन्य(न्यं) समहैद्रमन्यत्पर(रं) रमायुक्(ग्) घृतशर्करं  
च [1\*] गौरीयुतं वा परमंब(बु)युक्तं सप्तेति कुंडाति(नि) मय(ये)रितानि ॥१३॥
- 14 एतानि सर्वाणि स वस्तुकाति(नि) वत्वे(त्वं)व राशौसहितो गृहीत्वा [1\*] धन्याशिषो  
धीरपुरोहितोक्तात्सुत्विगक्ता<sup>2</sup> जयति क्षितीशः ॥१४॥
- 15 मा(म)हादान(नं) स वत्वा(त्वा)यं राजसि(सिं)हो महीपतिः [1\*] सप्तसागरपर्यटनं भाति  
कीर्त्तिं(त्तिं) प्रकाशयन् ॥१५॥ <sup>3</sup>जलाशय<sup>4</sup>त्या<sup>4</sup>गविधौ समस्तस-
- 16 ज्जलावलिन्यागविधिर्मयेत्यलं । कार्या(यो) हि मत्वा शुभसप्तसागरदानं कृत(तं) दानिवरेण  
युक्ता ॥१६॥ ग्रं(ग्रं)थेषु दृष्टं किल सप्तसा-

<sup>1</sup> This *avagraha* sign is not necessary.

<sup>2</sup> Read °s=sa ritvig-uktā.

<sup>3</sup> These two *avagraha* signs are unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over this letter.

- 17 गरदानं तदाधिक्यकृतौ स्फुरत्पणः [1\*] स्वकल्पिताढ्यन्वितसप्तसागरदान(ने)न वाष्ठांबुषिदो-  
भवस्रूपः ॥१७॥ गा(गां)भीर्याद्राजसं(सिं)होयं जि-
- 18 स्वा त्रै(वै) सप्तसागरान् [1\*] तान्महादानविधिना द्विजेभ्यः प्रददौ मुदा ॥१८॥  
जो(ज्यो)तिर्विन्मतमेकतो जलधयः षट(ड)भागकैतर्भुव[:\*] क्षाराब्धि-
- 19 र्मम वा मते जलधयः सप्तैकतो वावनेः [1\*] मध्ये राजसमुद्र एष तद(दि)वं स्पष्टीकृतं  
तत्र तद्दानोत्सर्गविधानयोर्मम मत(तं) तत्सत्यमेव ध्रुवं ॥१९॥
- 20 रत्नाकरेणैव विधिस्तु वाडवानलस्य पोषं तनुते यथा प्रभु[:\*] । तथाकरोत्कांचनसपु(प्त)-  
सागरदान(ने)न वै वाडव<sup>1</sup>वह्निपोषण(णं) ॥२०॥ ततस्तु-
- 21 लामंडपसंप्रविष्टः श्रीराजसिंहः परिवारयुक्तः । तुलाप्रयुक्तं सकल(लं) विधान(नं) प्रकल्प्य  
पु(पू)र्णाहुतिमत्र कृत्वा ॥२१॥
- 22 तुलाछ(च्छ)दंडस्थहरौ सुशालग्रामं करे दृष्टिमयं निधाय । स्पृष्टायुधः शुक्लपटः सितलक्ष्  
श्रुतस्फुरन्पौ(त्पौ)त्र <sup>2</sup> विचि-
- 23 त्रवाक्यः ॥२२॥ श्रुतश्रुतिर्व्र(र्षं)ह्यपरायणश्च तता(तो)तुलां हेमतुलामनल्पां । मुदा समारह्य  
नृपोवदद्वा दिव्याः स्वदासीः प्रति
- 24 दानशौडः ॥२३॥ सुवर्णमुद्रापरिपु(पू)रिता[:\*] शुभाः सम(मा)नयंत्वेव जवेन कोथलीः<sup>3</sup> [1\*]  
ताभिर्धृतास्ता व(व)हुशस्तुलापुटे परा[:\*] समानेतुमिमा-
- 25 स्ततो गता[:\*] ॥२४॥ अत्रांतर(रे) वाप्यवदद्धराधवो न्य(न्यू)नं सुवर्ण(र्णं) यदि वा  
भव(वे)त्तदा [1\*] सप्तस्वथो सागर एक उत्तम अनीयतामाश(शु) सुवर्ण(र्ण)नि-
- 26 मित[:] ॥२५॥ गरीय(व)दासाख्यपुरोहितेन तदोक्त(क्त)मेवं नृपतिं प्रतीति [1\*] अपेक्षितंवात्र  
हि सागरस्य युक्ता नृपेदो समता त(तु)लायाः ॥२६॥
- 27 एताव(दृ)शं काव्यमहो सुनव्य(व्यं) पुदो(रो)धनोक्तं किल भव्यभव्य(व्यं) । श्रुत्वा नृपालोभवदेव  
तुष्टः स्मेराननो दानिगणे विशिष्टः ॥२७॥ त्रियुक्(ड)-
- 28 नवसहस्त(त्र)कप्रमिततोलकप्रोल्लसत्सुवर्णपरिपूरितां [कि]ल त(तु)ला(लां) सुवर्णोद्भवां । विधाय  
पुरुह(ह)तवक्षि(त्क्षि)तितले महा-
- 29 दानसद्विधानकृतिपूर्वक(कं) जयति राजसिंहो नृपः । ॥२८॥ समस्तादेवावलिशोभ(भि)तेयं दिक्पाल-  
मालाकलित्तातिदृश्या । अ-

<sup>1</sup> The word *vāḍava* is used here in the sense of *brāhmaṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> This is perhaps a local term, meaning 'bag'.

- 30 लं सुवर्णाच्छुवर्णपूर्णा हेमी तुला मेदिनिभा विभाता(ति) ॥२६॥ सुवर्णमसुलं प्राप्य  
यस्तत्यागी स उच्चतां । धत्ते तन्नमनं सुष्ट-
- 31 सुवर्णतुलयोचितं ॥३०॥ उधै(च्वैः) स्थितं नृप(पं) वीक्ष्य जाता सर्वांसुंदरी [1\*]  
सुवर्णपूर्ण(र्णा) विनता बु(कु)लस्त्रीव तुल(लो)चितं ॥३१॥ ग्रम[रसिं]हशु-
- 32 भ(भा)भिधमद्भुतं सुभगपौत्रवरं मधुरोवि(क्ति?)कं । कनकका(कां)ततुलास्थितमादरात्समतनोऽपतिः  
प्रियतामयः ॥३२॥ एव(वं) तुला[दान]वि-
- 33 धि(धिं) प्रकल्पा(ल्प्या)भवत्कृतार्थी नृपराजसिंहः धि(क्ष?)णं तुल(सा) संबु(बु)धैः स[बु\*]क्तो  
विचित्रमत्रास्ति बु(बु)धोक्तिमध्ये ॥३३॥ न ममेति त्यागवा-
- 34 का(क्या)दाने ज्ञाने तथेरितात् [1\*] कर्मज्ञानोद्भूतमुखं राजसि(सिं)ह त्वयार्जितं ॥३४॥  
जलाशयोत्सर्गसुसप्तसागरदानस्फुरस्त्व-
- 35 णंतुलाभिधानकं । कर्मत्रय(यं) निर्मितवाग्नेरेश्वरः । पापत्रयं हतं(त्)मिहेति कारणात्स<sup>२</sup>  
॥३५॥ त्रया(यी)महात्र(त)क(कं)स[म]-
- 36 थंकत्वकृते तु लोकत्रयतुष्टिसृष्टये । गृणत्रयोद्भूतविकारशांस्थं त्रिमूर्तिमद्वयम<sup>३</sup>समर्पणाय ॥३६॥  
युग्म(ग्मं) [1]
- 37 त्रिभिर्मूर्तिरेभिरयास्य जां(जा)तं शताश्वमेधोपफलं हि मन्ये । तद्विद्वताकृद्दरणी(णी)वता तत्  
श्रीराजसिंहस्य वि-
- 38 भाति भव्या ॥३७॥ प्रामौ(क)घदान(दानं) (त)<sup>४</sup> गजराजिदानं हयालिवानं ब(काटनी)<sup>४</sup>रणी-  
प्रदान(नं) । गोवृ(वृ)ददान(नं) नृपतिः प्रक-
- 39 [ल्प्य] नानाविध(धं) दानमथातितु(काटनी)<sup>४</sup>ष्टा(ष्टः) ॥३८॥ तुलाकृते मेक(ह)रहो गृहीतस्त्वया ।<sup>१</sup>  
यदा देव तदेव जातः । स शंकरः
- 40 श्रीधर इव(एष) इ(इं)द्रो हिरण्यगर्भश्च कवि(सवार)<sup>४</sup>स्वरूपः[ ] ॥३९॥ द्विजपतिगुरु(ह)-  
भास्वन्मोददा स्वर्णपूर्णा विविधवि-
- 41 बु(बु)धसेवाम(सं)डपाडव(व)राभा । विगधिपकृतशोभामिदृगंधर्वाणांभवदत्रानु, अनुत्वा ते मे(मे)क(ह)रेव  
द्वितीयः ॥४०॥

<sup>१</sup> This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>२</sup> The last letter, i.e., *sa*, is superfluous.

<sup>३</sup> Perhaps we have to read *tri-mūrtimad-brahmā*.

<sup>४</sup> The letters in brackets are to be omitted.



द्वास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वर(श्व)रकः कठोडी(डि)कुलजो लक्ष्म्या-  
दिनाथस्तुतः ॥४१॥<sup>1</sup>

- 43 तेल(लं)गोस्व त(तु) राजचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रा(त्रो)भून्मधुसु(सु)वनस्त्रय  
हृद्ये ब्रह्मेभविष्णुपरा[ः\*] ॥४२(४१)॥ यस्य(स्या)सौन्मधु-
- 44 सुवनस(सस्तु) जनको धेपी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ऐ(ए)[ष\*] कृतवान्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ।  
काव्य(व्यं) राजभूषणवर्धन-
- 45 मयं वीरा(रां)क(क)युवकं महत्\*<sup>2</sup> पूर्णः सप्तदशोत्र सर्ग उदगाद्वागर्थसर्गस्फुटः ॥४२॥\*

Slab XIX ; Canto XVIII

[Motes : vv. 1, 2, 32, 39, 40 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 6-8, 11, 13-15, 17 *Upajāti* ; v. 4 *Indra-  
vajrū* ; vv. 5, 9, 10, 12, 19-21 *Upajāti* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthabila* ; v. 16 *Indravamśā* ; v. 18  
*Upajāti* of *Indravamśā*, *Vamśasthabila* and *Upēndravajrū* ; vv. 22-31, 33, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 34,  
35 *Sragdharā* ; v. 36 *Mālinī*.]

१८<sup>3</sup>

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(सः) । घांसो दिव्यगुढोत्थत्सि[रथल[ः\*] सालोल आसीदको मभे(जभे)रोपि  
धनेरियो धनमयो भ्रातृदिका[सा]-
- 2 दडी : श्रवे(वे)री सुभ[कृत्] सरोल उदित[ः\*] श्रीमानसानो पुनर्भावो द्वादशसंख्यया  
परिमितान्भ्रातृमानिकदा ॥१॥ श्रीमद्रा-
- 3 जसमुद्रमुंदरतरोन्मयेप्रदारीकृतान् श्रीराणागिराजसिंहनुपतिर्धन्यः पुरोधोविधिं । वि(बि)भ्राणाय  
गरीव(व)दासार्ध-
- 4 लस[षा]म्ने मुदा वत्तवान्सर्वाध्यक्षवराय सर्वविषये चित्तानु[सं]धानिने ॥२॥ गरीव(व)-  
दासाध्यय(पु)रोहिताय ग्रामानि-
- 5 मान्द्रादशसंभ्रान्तस्तु [ः\*] वत्या(त्ता) ददौ [ब्रा]ह्मणमंडलाय ग्रामान्धरां भूरिहलप्रमाणाः(गां)  
॥३॥ व(व)ह्यापणं कर्म समस्ते(स्त)मेत-
- 6 त्व(द्व)ह्यण्यदेवः परिकल्प(ल्प्य) नूनं । गृह्णन् [द्वि]जेभ्यः श्रुतिनिर्मिताशीः<sup>4</sup> [सर्वा ज]-  
यत्येष म[ही] महीन्द्रः ॥४॥ वर्षति मेघा व(व)हवो मुहुः ज-

<sup>1</sup> This numbering is wrong. We should have here a simple *danḍa*, marking the first half of the verse

<sup>2</sup> The words *guktav mahat* are supplied from v. 39 of the canto XIX.

<sup>3</sup> This figure 18 is written on the top of the slab and refers to the serial number of the canto.

<sup>4</sup> This should be corrected into "द्विषः".

- 7 नैः(नै)दिनेत्र [ते\*]नानुमितं यदप्रतः । दृष्टोत्सवं ते हरिरेष सार्थकं कर्तुं सहस्रं स्वदृशां समागतः ॥५॥ यत्पौर्णमास्यां कृत-
- 8 वाभरैः कर्मत्रयं तेन तु पूर्णि<sup>१</sup>मायां । यथैव चंद्रः परिपूर्णकांतिः(ति)स्तथा प्रपूर्णातिरचिर्भू<sup>२</sup> स्यात् ॥६॥ मनोरथः पू-
- 9 णंतमोस्य भूयात्फलं तथा स्यात्परिपूर्णमेव ।<sup>३</sup> पूर्णं प्र(प)रं व(ब)ह्य तथातितुष्टं प्रमोदसंपूर्णतमो नृपोस्तु ॥७॥ निर्वर्त्य सर्वं स्वतु-
- 10 लाविधानं पूर्णाहुतिपां(प्रां)तमनन्यचित्ता । तुलाधिरूढातुलपट्टराज्ञी जातैव सौभाग्यसुपुण्यपूर्णा ॥८॥ सुवर्णवर्ण(णं) जित-
- 11 वस्थलं रुचा यशोविशेषेण च राजतीं रुचिं । श्रीपट्टराज्ञी किल जेतुमृद्यताऽतुला- करोद्रूप्यमयीं तुलां ततः ॥९॥ तिव(निर्व)स्यं<sup>४</sup>
- 12 सांगं सकलं तुलाविधिं पूर्णाहुतिप्रांतमनंतमोदयुक् । गरीव(ब)दासाख्यपुरोहितस्तदा सुवर्णपूर्णा कृतवान्महातुलां
- 13 ॥१०॥ ततः प्रसन्नो रणछोडरायनामानमाल(त्म)प्रियमान्म(त्म)जं सः [।\*] आरूप्य रूप्या- तिलसत्रु(त्तु)लायां प्रमोदः(द)पूर्ण(णो)भवदेव तूर्णं ॥११॥
- 14 सर्वेषु वर्णेषु यतः सुवर्णवान्नु(वांस्तु)ला(लां) सुवर्णप्रचुरां ततोतनोत् । रूप्याभकीर्त्ति- स्कु(स्फु)रितेन राजत(तीं) तुलां तथाकारयदेव सूनूना
- 15 ॥१२॥ तोडास्थितेः श्रीयुतरायसिंहभूपस्य मातां(ता) रजतेन पु(पू)णं(णां) । तुलामतुल्याम- करोद्दुबारो[ल्ल]सन्मना धर्मधुरंधराभूत्
- 16 ॥१३॥ वो(चो)हानवंश्यस्तु सलूंबरिस्थः स केसरीसिंह इति प्रसिद्धः । रावस्तुलां रूप्यमयीं विधाय धन्योभवद्धर्ममयो विशु-
- 17 द्धः ॥१४॥ स चारणो वा(बा)रहटः प्रसिद्धः सत्केसरीसिंह इति प्रपु(पू)णां । रूप्येण रूप्याभयशः प्रकाशं कुर्वस्तुलां तामकरो-
- 18 दुदारः ॥१५॥ अस्पि(स्मि)न्दिने राजसमुद्रनामकः प्रोक्तस्तबागो गिरिमंदिरं महत् । प्रोक्तं नरेद्रेण च राजमंदिरं राजा-
- 19 दिश[ब्दं] नगर(रं) पुरं तथा ॥१६॥ अथात्र व(घ)स्त्रे तु सहस्रनेत्रसमानसंपत्तिविराजमानः । श्रीराजसिंहो व(ब)लिकर्णभो-

<sup>१</sup> The *avagraha* signs are superfluous.

<sup>२</sup> Before स्यात् there is again a superfluous *avagraha* sign.

<sup>३</sup> This *danda* is engraved above the line.

<sup>४</sup> This *avagraha* sign is also superfluous.

- 20 जश्रीविक्रमार्कोपमदानिवीरः ॥१७॥ पूर्वैरितान्धान्यधराधरांस्तान्पक्वाम्नशौता(शैला)नपि शर्कराद्रीन् । गु-
- 21 षादिलंङादिकपर्वतांश्च ददौ द्विजादिभ्य इहागतेभ्यः ॥१८॥ ततो गिरीणामभवत्त्व(त्त्व)लक्ष्यता  
चित्रं हि तेषां(षा)-
- 22 ऋभयज्जनुः पुनः । आनीय धान्यादि सुकार्यकृज्जनैः कृतं कृतार्थैरिह सेवया प्रभोः ॥१९॥  
नेतादृशं जन्म
- 23 नव्याप्यलक्ष्यता<sup>1</sup> ईदृग्गिरीणामभवज्जनुः पुनः । एते स्थिता एव तु याचकावलेर्गृहव्रजे मित्र  
न चित्रभ्रम
- 24 तत् ॥२०॥ अत्रोत्सवे सद्घृतवापिकाः पुनः(न)र्मुहुः कृता[:\*] कार्यकरैर्महाजनैः [।\*]  
मुहुर्मुहुस्ता रिरिचुनं चित्रता
- 25 पानीयवाप्यो रिरिचुस्तदद्भुतं ॥२१॥ अस्य श्रीप्रेक्षिलोकोक्षितविष्पालांशयुतो ह्यय(यं) ।  
इंद्रप्रचेतोघनदश्रीशानांशाधिकत्ववान् ॥२२॥
- 26 ततो व(ब)हुतरं भव्यं ब्रव्यं दत्तं पुरोधसे । ऋत्वि[ग्भ्यो] ब्र[।]ह्मणेभ्यश्च प्रभुणा सावरं  
मुदा ॥२३॥ प्रभो राजसमुद्रस्य रिंगत्तु(त्तु)गतर(रं)गकैः । तद-
- 27 स्थद्विजदारिद्र्य[द्रु]मा दूरीकृता ध्रुवं ॥२४॥ मध्ये राजसमुद्रस्य लोलैः [सलिल-\*]संचयैः [।]  
याचकालेर्दरिद्राख्यपंकप्रक्षालनं ष्ल(कृ)तं ॥२५॥ वसत्रा-
- 28 जसमुद्रस्य तटे सद्दार्वातीपुरि । द्राग्वरिद्रसुदाम्नो मे श्रीदः स्याः श्रीपते नृप ॥२६॥  
तटे राजसमुद्रस्य वसन् श्रीश नृप श्रियं । द्राग्व-
- 29 रिद्रसुदाम्नो(म्ने) मे देहि ना(वा)कूं(क्तं)डुलार्पणात् ॥२७॥ सप्तसागरदानेन तत्सप्तपुरुषाजितं ।  
द्विजानां नीर्घदारिद्र्य प्रभो दूरीकृतं त्वया ॥२७(२८)॥ सम(प्त)सा-
- 30 गरदानस्य सुवर्णो घप्रवाहतः । दूरीकृतस्त्वया राजद्विजदारिद्र्यसद्द्रुमः ॥२८(२९)॥ दत्तैर्होम-  
तुलास्वर्णैः सुवर्णगिरिसंनिभान् । कुर्वन्स-
- 31 तां गह्वैस्त्व(गृह्णैस्त्वं) तद्द(द्वा)रिद्र(द्र्य)दमनो ध्रुवं ॥२९(३०)॥ तुलामुवर्णदानेन राजसिंह  
प्रभो त्वया । दु(द्रु)रीकृतं(ता) द्राविदुषामतुला साधमर्णता ॥३०(३१)॥ खं शे-<sup>2</sup>
- 32 ते राजसमुद्ररूपमपरं रूपं दधानोवु(बु)धिः ॥३०(३२)॥ मध्ये प्रो[ल्लो]लक[ल्लो]लः(लाः)  
फेनाः स्क(स्फ)टिककूटभाः । सारसाः सरसास्तीरे भांत्यस्य
- 33 नवका वकाः ॥३१(३३)॥ मुक्ता(क्त्वा) स्वीयं कृजं(गृहं) वै वम(स)ति किल तटे यस्य  
सद्द(द्वा)रकांतां कृत्वा रम्यां पुरीं द्राग्यवनभयमयः केशवो द्वारकेशः ।

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> After this fifty-six syllables are wanting, which shows that one complete line of the inscription is missing.

- 34 गोमत्युत्तुंगसंगः [ ८ ८ ८<sup>1</sup> ? ] विगदसछ(च्छ)खचक्रोछ(च्छ)पद्यः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतः  
श्रीतडागस(स्स)मुद्रः ॥३२(३४)॥ वि(बि)भाणः सेतुवं(वं)-
- 35 धं गिरिवररुचिरः पूरितो जीवनौघैर्नानद्यात्र(त्त)संग(गः) शिवसदनयुतः पोतपंक्या(क्त्या) प्रसक्तः  
नैतावल्पास्त(त्स्यात्स)मुद्रस्तदधि-
- 36 क [इ]ति ते भूपते श्रीतडागो मर्यादां वाडवाग्निं कलयति न च वा क्षारनार(नीरं)  
कदाचित् ॥३३(३५)॥ प्रियतमम[थु]राया मंडलाच्चंड-
- 37 कालयवनकलितभीत्यागत्यगोवर्द्धनेशः । वसति तव तडागस्यांवि(ति)के त्वन्भुदे तज्जलधि-  
मपरमेनं राजसिंहेति जाने ॥३४(३६)॥
- 38 अमावास्यां विना तै(नै)व स्वृ(स्पृ)श्यः सिंधुः सगर्जनः । तडागस्ते तदधिकः सदा  
स्प(स्पृ)श्यो विगर्जनः ॥३५(३७)॥ समुद्रयातुः स्वीकारो न कलौ
- 39 यासुरत्र तु । त्वया कृत्ये(ते) यत्स्वीकारो वीरायं सिंधुतोधिकः ॥३६॥\*] श्रीराणो-  
दयसिंहसुनुरभवत्<sup>2</sup> श्रीमान्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री-
- 40 <sup>2</sup>अमेरश्वरोस्य <sup>3</sup>ततनं(न)यः श्रीकं(श्रीक)र्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्व(श्च) तनय्यै(यो)-  
स्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृ-
- 41 तता(वा)न्वीरः शिलालेखितं ॥३६(३६)॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते तपसि त्रा सत्पूर्णमाख्ये दिने  
द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराज-
- 42 सिंहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः सृष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तोत्राक्तं रणश्रोडभट्टरचितं  
राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं [॥४०॥] इति सर्ग।(ः) १८॥

## Slab XX ; Canto XIX

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2, 3 *Vasantatilakū* ; vv. 4, 42, 43 *Śārlūhacikrīṭita* ; vv. 5, 38-41 *Upajāti* ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 13 *Pramāṇikā* ; vv. 21, 31-36 *Rathōddhatū* ; v. 37 *Śikharīṇī*.]

१६

१६<sup>4</sup>

1 ॥ ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥\*] लक्ष्मीसत्कृतं(ति)चंद्रामृतं(र्षा)विक्रमं(सामय)कृतं(श्री)पुं(र्ष)पन्थप्राकट्यो-  
(दधः)<sup>5</sup>पारिजातामरयुवतिमणीस-

<sup>1</sup> These three syllables are missing.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> This *ta* is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> This figure 19 appears on the top.

<sup>5</sup> This sign of *avagraha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

- 2 त्सुराद्योदयश्च [1\*] श(शं)खाछो(च्छो)च्चैःश्रवोयुक्त्रिदशगजमहाभंगभ(सं)भूतिरद्या धन्व(न्व)तयुं-  
(र्यु)द्भवो वांबुभिरिति भवतः क्षीरसिंधु(घु)-
- 3 स्तडागः ॥१॥ कु(कुं)भोद्भवप्रकरकृष्टजलो विशुष्को जातस्ततो लवणनीरमयः समुद्रः कुंभोद्भव-  
प्रकरकृष्टजलोतिवृष्टा(द्वो)
- 4 मिष्टस्तव क्षितिप राजसमुद्र एषः ॥२॥ श्रीद्वारकोद्भवकृते परिमुक्तभूमिन्यु(न्यु)नः क्वचि-  
त्तदुदधिः किल कृ[ष्ण]या(वा)क्यात् [1\*] यत्ती-
- 5 रभिन्नधरणीपुरवासिकृष्णो नूनं सुपूर्ण इति तेऽब्धिवरस्तडागः [॥३॥\*] खाते षष्ठि(ष्टि)-  
सहस्रभूपतनयाः पूत्तौ सहस्रारयं(स्राण्य)-
- 6 युगा(गं)गाद्या लवणीकृतावपि परोऽन्यः सेतुव(व)धेनु[धेः] ॥३॥(१)<sup>1</sup> खाते पूत्तिषु मिष्टसृष्टिषु  
भवान्यत्सेतुबंधेस्य तत्सिंधो-
- 7 रेककृतेर[वि]घ्नसमयान्भन्यामहे धन्यतां ॥४॥ अल्पस्य साम्यं न ददाति कश्चित्समस्य साम्यं  
न च दृष्टमस्य । ततो महत्वे(त्वे)-
- 8 न जलाशयोय(यं) प्रोक्त[\*] समुद्रः कविभिर्न चित्रं ॥५॥ जले निमग्ना ये ग्रामा  
न ते मग्ना महीपते । ते लग्ना वरुणद्वारे भग्नास्त-
- 9 त्पापपंथतयः ॥६॥ येषा(षां) विशिष्टग्रामाणां क्षेत्राण्यत्र जलाशये । मग्नानि तीर्थक्षेत्राणि  
तानि जातानि भूपते ॥७॥ ये जन्मिनां
- 10 जीवनदाः स्थले ते जीवनप्रदाः । यादसां च नृणां ग्रामा गुणग्रामभूतौबुगाः ॥८॥  
भूस्था वृक्षा जले मग्नास्तेषां वी(वी)जांकुरे-
- 11 बुं(बुं)माः । जलेभवन्वाति(टि)कातो वरुणस्य त्वया कृता ॥९॥ वो(वो)धिदु(दु)भो जलस्थायी  
तपस्तपति दुःकरां(दुष्करं) । प्रवालमालय(या) शा-
- 12 खांगुला(ली)भिः सार्था(र्थं)काहू(ह्व)यः ॥१०॥ वट[वृ]क्षाः स्थितास्तोये तप(पं)ति प्रचुरं तपः ।  
क्षालयंति जटाजालं नूनम(मे)तेत्र
- 13 योगिनः ॥११॥ त्वत्का(त्की)र्त्तिस्वर्णदीभृद्यदु[प]तिसहितप्राप्तकालिंदिकायुग्नीलक्षा(च्छ्रा)यानुम(मा)न-  
त्स्नपनकरगजोत्कुंभ-
- 14 सि(सिं)द्वरसंगात् । भ्राजत्सारस्वतौघस्तविति नरपते ते तडागः प्रयागो न्यग्रोधा अक्षयाख्याः  
प्रविदधति पद(दं) युक्तम-

<sup>1</sup> This numbering ought to have come after स्तडागः in the previous line.

- 15 स्मिनि(स्त्रि)कामं ॥१२॥ यथा स्थले तथा जले बुधा व[सन्ति] जंतवः । विचित्रमत्र  
शाखिनस्तथा जय(यं)ति भूपते ॥[१३॥\*] वनस्थिता द्रुमाः सर्व(र्वे) व-
- 16 नस्या एव तेऽभवन् । युक्तं विशेषो धर्मोऽत्र वरुणस्योपयोगतः ॥१३(१४)॥ पूर्वं यत्र  
वने सिंहगर्जनानि जलाशये । जातेत्र जलकल्लो-
- 17 लगर्जनानि जयंत्यलं ॥१४(१५)॥ वरुण[ल]यतस्तोयानयनात्स जितस्त्वया । प्रेक्षते तन्म-  
(न्म)गाक्षयस्त्वां पद्यछ(च्छ)यकटाक्षकैः ॥१५(१६)॥ कम-
- 18 लाघ(क्ष)स्त्वयानीतस्तडागे वरुणालयात् । कमलाघ(क्ष) स्थापितोश्च कमलादानतत्पर ॥१६(१७)॥  
प्रदक्षिणास्वागता या माला भूपाल तां(ता)-
- 19 स्त्वया । तडागे वरुणप्रीत्यं प्रेषिताः करु[णानिधे] ॥१७(१८)॥ वटानां जलमग्नानां जटा  
राजंति तत्र ते [।] मीनाः गृहाणि कुर्व(र्वं)ति नीडानि प-
- 20 तगा इव ॥१८(१९)॥ निर्मलो जीवरक्षाकृद्वि(द्वि)[जरक्षण]कृत्वया । नवसूत्राप(पं)णेनोये(नायं)  
तडागो द्विजतामितः ॥१९(२०)॥ पूर्वपदिचमसु[दक्षि]-
- 21 णोत्तरदेशभूमिषु न द(दृ)ष्टिगोचरः । [— ∪ —] खलु जलायशो बुधैः सिंधु[रुक्त?] ]  
इति नात्राच(त्र चि)त्रता ॥२०<sup>1</sup>(२१)॥ श्रीराजनगरस्यास्य क ..
- 22 रद्भु(द्भु)तभूतले । विराजते राजसिंहो गाडा(?)मंडलमातनोत् ॥२१(२२)॥ तत्र द्विजा[त]यो  
नानादेशात्प्रा[प्ता\*]: सुवेषिण[:।\*] षट्(ट्)चत्वारि(रिं)शवा-
- 23 ख्यायुक्सहस्रमितयः स्थिता[:\*] ॥२२(२३)॥ एताव(वं)तो ग्रामनामसहिताः<sup>2</sup> अधिकाः पुनः ।  
व्रा(व्रा)ह्मणास्त(स्तु)<sup>2</sup> अस(सं)ख्याता आगता ना-
- 24 त्र त(सं)शयः ॥२३(२४)॥ ततो गरीव(व)वासाख्यः पुरोहितवरो हितः । तत(त्र) स्थित्वा  
स्वयं स्वाज्ञाकारिणः कार्यकारिणः ॥[२५॥\*] स्थापयित्वा
- 25 स्वहस्ताभ्या(भ्यां) तद्वस्तैर[प्य]हर्निश(शं) । सप्र(प्त)सागरदानस्य तुलादानस्य वा प्रभाः(भोः)  
॥२४(२६)॥<sup>3</sup> धन(धनं) श्रीपट्टराज्यां(स्या)श्च तुला[द्र]व्यं तथा
- 26 बहु [।\*] स्वकल्पित[स्व]र्णतुलादानस्य व(व)ट्ट हाटकं ॥[२७॥\*] रणछोडरायक(कृतं)  
तुलाद्रव्यं [त]दामितं । दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) पूर्वोक्त(क्त)[विप्रे\*]भ्यः मदापूर्वमुदान्वितः ॥२५(२८)॥  
विर्वे(वे)काद-

<sup>1</sup> The number 20 between a pair of double *danda* appears above the line, while the number 21 is placed below the *danda* after *tā*, the last letter of the verse.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> After this there are two dots and two *dandas*, which are all superfluous.

- 27 रुपूर्वे(पूर्वं) स तान्विधा(न्व्यधा)त्तुष्टमानसो(सान्) । अत(न्न)वान(नं) बहुविध(धं) कृतर्वास्तत्र  
भूपति(भूपतिः) ॥२६(२६)॥ ततः सभापं(मं)डपस्थो राजसिंहो महीपतिः । वृ(द्वि)-  
जेभ्या(भ्यो)
- 28 याचकेभ्यश्च वा(चा)रणे[भ्यो\*] त्रि(दि)वानिशं [॥३०॥\*] व(वं)दिभ्यः सर्वलोकेभ्य[ः\*]  
सुवर्णं(र्णं) दिव्यवर्णकं । रूप्यमू(मु)द्रास्तथाऽक्षुद्रा अलंकरा [८ — ८ — ]<sup>1</sup>  
॥२७(३१)॥ वासां-
- 29 सि हेमह(हृ)द्यानि वाजिनो जितवाजिनः । उत्तुंगमातंगगणान्दत्त्वा(त्वा) संभोदमादधे ॥२८(३२)॥  
हलानां बहलानां च ताम्रपत्राणि भूपतिः । प्रा-
- 30 माणां विलसद्धान्यग्रामाणां दत्त(त्त)र्वास्तथा ॥२९(३३)॥ याचकैः कनकविक्रय(यं) परं  
कर्त्त(र्त्तु)मत्र कनकं प्रसारितं । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं महाजना-
- 31 स्तत्सुवर्णय(म)यमेवमु(म्)चिरे ॥३०(३४)॥ पा(या)चकैस्तुरगविक्रयायताक्षपा(तान् स्या)[पिता]-  
न्विषण्णु(षू)न्त्रवाजिनः । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं जनोव[द]त्सिंधुदे-
- 32 शमिति सि(सिं)धुसुंवरं ॥३१(३५)॥ याभ(च)कैभ(र्भ)वत एव भूपते याचनास्त्रि[ज]ग(गु)णोपि  
[वि]स्मृतः स्थापितं(पितं) तु घनरक्षणे मनस्तैर्यतो विगु-
- 33 णतास्त्रि(स्त्रि)तेयुवतः(प्वतः) ॥३२(३६)॥ तुलाकर्त्तु(र्त्तु)र्द्रंध्यं क्षितिप भवतः प्राप्य गणि-  
नस्तुलाकत्ता(र्त्ता)रोल्पाधिकमतिकृते विक्रयविधौ । स्वविश्वासा-
- 34 र्थं त(ते) व(व)हुलकनकस्प(स्य) प्त(प्र)तिपलं तुलाकर्त्तुं -----<sup>2</sup> जयसि रचयन्त्याचकगुणान्  
॥३३(३७)॥ पंडिते<sup>3</sup> निमंत्रणायतधराधवेभ्यः स्वैभ्यः परेभ्यः
- 35 सकलद्वि(द्वि)जेभ्यः । वैश्यादिकेभ्योऽखिलमानुषेभ्यो वासांसि<sup>4</sup> गांगेय<sup>5</sup>गुणोत्तमानि ॥३४(३८)॥  
अश्वी(श्वी)स्तया(या) वातगतीनाजेंद्रानिरिप्र-
- 36 माणान्मणिभूषणानि दत्त्वा(त्वा) विवेकाद्गमनाय तेभ्य आशां ददातो(नो) जयति क्षितींश्रः  
॥३५(३९)॥ युग्मं । निमंत्रितेभ्योऽखिलभूमि-
- 37 येभ्यो दुर्गात्रियेभ्यो निजब(बां)धवेभ्यः । स्वैभ्यः परेभ्यः कनकोत्तमानि वासांसि चाश्वान्पृश-  
(ध)दशवद(वे)गान् ॥३६(४०)॥ तुगा(तुंगां)श्च मा-
- 38 तंगगणान्मदाहघान्बिभूषणालीगंतदूषणाश्च । संप्रेषयित्वा प्रविभात(ति) भूपो महामहोदारचरित्र-  
[चादः\*] ॥३७(४१)॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माध-

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading may be *alankāritā tathā bahūn*.

<sup>2</sup> Two long syllables are missing here. The intended reading seems to be *tulā-kartīrīms-tnam vai*.

<sup>3</sup> This word *pandit* is superfluous and is to be omitted.

<sup>4</sup> The sign of *anagrāha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

<sup>5</sup> The word *gāngēya* means 'gold' here.

- 39 वबुधोऽस्म(स्मा)द्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरकः कठोडिक(कु)लजो लक्ष्म्याविनाथस्तुतः । तेलंगोस्य  
तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पू(पु)त्रो-
- 40 भून्मधुसु(सु)वनस्त(स्त्र)य इमे व(ब्र)ह्मेशविष्णूपमाः [॥४२॥] यस्यास(सी)न्मधुसूवनस्तु जनको  
बेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[ष\*] कृतवान् राजप्रस(श)स्त्या-
- 41 ह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणौघवर्णनमयं वीरांकयुत्कं(कलं) महत्(व्) द्वावि(विं)शो<sup>१</sup>भयदत्र सर्ग उदितो  
वागर्थसर्गस्फुटः ।[४३॥\*]<sup>२</sup> चतुर्विं(विं)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भुवमुदे सर्गोर्थ-
- ४२ सर्गोन्नतः ॥३८॥<sup>३</sup> इति ईकानवीशतमसर्ग<sup>४</sup> १६

## Slab XXI ; Canto XX

[Metres : vv. 1, 6-9, 15, 20, 24, 27, 28, 34, 35, 38, 41, 55, *Upagīti* ; vv. 2, 10, 17, 25, 31, 43-46, 48, 52, 53 *Gīti* ; vv. 3, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51 *Udgīti* ; vv. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 42, 49 *Āryā* ; v. 54 *Anuśtubh.*]

- 1 ॥ उं(ॐ)सिष(द्धं) [॥\*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [॥\*] जसव(वं)तसिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे राठोड-  
नाथाय । सार्द्धंनवसत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतमुद्रिकामूल्य(ल्यं) ॥१॥ परमेश्वरप्रसादा<sup>५</sup>भिध-
- 2 गजं पंचविंशतिप्रमितैः । राजतमुद्राशतकैर्गृहीतमतिनत्त(त्तं)नं तुरंगवर(रं) ॥२॥ फत्तेतुरंगस(सं)क्षं  
षट(ट्)[शत]मितरजतमुद्राभिः [१\*] क्रीतं च कनककलशं
- 3 ह्यमपरं हेमपूर्णवसनानि ॥३॥ नानाविधानि व(ब)हुतरसंख्यानि महावरेण जोषपुरे ।  
राणेंद्रः प्रं(प्रे)षितवान् हस्ते रणछोडभट्टस्य ॥४॥ अथ राम-
- 4 सिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे किल कछ(च्छ)वाहभूपाय । राजतमुद्रासार्द्धं द्विशताश्रायुतरचितमूल्यं ॥५॥  
सुंदरगजानमान(नं) गजोत्तमं ।<sup>६</sup> रजतमुद्राणां । पंचदशश-
- 5 तैः कल्पितमूल्यं छविसुंदराख्यहथं ॥६॥ अथ सार्द्धं सप्तशतमितराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं । ह्यहद्-  
नामतुरंगं कनककलितव(ब)हुलवसना-
- 6 नि ॥७॥ आंबेरिनगरमध्ये प्रेषितवान् राणपुणेंद्रुः । हस्ते प्रशस्तकीर्तिः स्वपुरोहितरामचंद्रस्य  
॥८॥ वी(वी)कानेरिप्रभवे<sup>७</sup> अनूपसिंहाय रावाय [१\*]

<sup>१</sup> Instead of *dvāvimśa*, we require here *ekōnavimśa*. Apparently this line of the verse was intended for the 22nd canto and has been wrongly copied here by the engraver.

<sup>२</sup> This line of verse is redundant. It is meant for the 24th canto.

<sup>३</sup> This numbering should be omitted.

<sup>४</sup> Read *ekōnavimśah sargah*.

<sup>५</sup> The metre is defective here. Read परमेश्वरप्रसादं नाम गज etc.

<sup>६</sup> This *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>७</sup> The absence of *sandhi* is in favour of the metre.



- 7 साद्वसुसप्तसहस्रकराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं ॥६॥ मनमूर्ति(र्त्ति)नामकरिणं साद्वसहस्राद्य(च्छ)रजत-  
मुद्राभिः । कृतमूल्यं तुरं(र)गवरं
- 8 साहणसिंगारस(सं)ज्ञमन्यहयं ॥१०॥ से(स)त्साद्वसप्तशतमितराजतमुद्रारचितमूल्यं । तेजनिधाना-  
भिद्य(ध)मपि हेममयान्यं(व)राणि
- 9 बहुलानि ॥११॥ प्रेमादरपूर्वं किल वी(बी)कानेरिस्फुटाभिधे नगरे । प्रेषितक(वा)न् राणेंद्रो  
माधवजोसी [सु\*?]हस्ते हि ॥१२॥ रावाय भावसिं-
- 10 हाभिधाय हाडानृपालाय ॥१३॥<sup>1</sup> षड्(ट)सप्रात(त्तति)युक्त्रिशताग्रैः(ग्रैः) दशसहस्रैस्तु । राजत-  
मुद्राणां कृतमूल्यं द्विरद(दं) तु होणहारास्य(ख्यं) ॥१४॥ सा-<sup>2</sup>
- 11 द्द्वसहस्त(स्र)प्रतिक<sup>3</sup>राजतमुद्रारचिन(त)मूं(भू)ल्यं । तुरगं नर्त्तनव(च)तुरं तुंगतर(रं) सर्वशोभाख्यं  
॥१५॥ सत्साद्व(द्व)सप्र(प्त)शतमितराजन(त)मुद्राप्रमिं(मि)तमूल्य(ल्यं)<sup>4</sup> ।
- 12 सिरताजाभिधमपरं हय(यं) सहेमा(मां)व(व)राणि राणमणिः । बूंदीनगरे भास्करभट्ट(ट्ट)कर(रे)  
प्रेषयामास्म(स) ॥१६॥ चंद्रावतवं(चं)द्राय मुहुकमसि(सिं)हाभि-
- 13 धाय रावाय । साद्वद्विशताग्रलसत्ससहस्र(स्रा)द्य(च्छ)सू(रू)प्यमुद्राभिः ॥१७॥ कृतमूल्यं  
गजराजं फत्तेदोलतिशुभाभिधं तुरगं [1\*] साद्व(द्व)सह-
- 14 स्रप(प्र)मित<sup>5</sup>राज[त\*]मुद्रारचितमूल्यं ॥१८॥ मोह[न\*]सन्न(संज्ञं) साद्व<sup>6</sup>सप्तशतै रूप्यमुद्राणां [1\*]  
कृतमूल्य(ल्यं) हयसरसं हयमन्य(न्यं) हेमपूर्णवसनैघ(नौघं) ॥१९॥ राजा-
- 15 ज्ञया गृहीत्वा भट्टोगाद्वारकानाथः । रामपुरानगरे त्वथ सर्व(र्व)मिद(दं) ता<sup>7</sup> सोर्पयामास ॥२०॥  
भाटीभूपालाय<sup>8</sup> रावलवर<sup>9</sup>अमरसिंहाय । राज-
- 16 गु(त)मुद्रैकादशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृ(शुं)गारं ॥२१॥ करिणं राजतमुद्रासाद्वसहस्रप्रमितमूल्यं ।  
हयमुकुटाख्य(ख्यं) स(सा)द्व<sup>6</sup>सप्तशतप्रमि-
- 17 तरूप्यमुद्रया(द्रा)भिः ॥२२॥ कृतमूल्यमपरमश्वं सूरतिमूर्ति(र्त्ति)च हेमवसनोधां(नौघं) । एतत्सर्व(र्वं)  
जोसीदेवानंदस्य किल हस्ते ॥२३॥ दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) जेसलमेरौ
- 18 महापुरे प्रेमपूर्वमपि । संप्रेषितवानेतं स राणवीरो नृपतिधीरः ॥२४॥ जसवंतसि(सिं)हनाम्ने  
रायलवर्याय षट्(ट्ट)सहस्रैस्तु । पंचशताग्रै राज-

<sup>1</sup> The first half of this verse is missing.

<sup>2</sup> The second quarter of this stanza is too short by four syllabic instants. To set the metre aright we may read =शताग्रैर्विलसद्दशसहस्रैस्तु ।

<sup>3</sup> Instead of प्रतिक read प्रमितक.

<sup>4</sup> This half verse is in excess here. Compare above verse 15 and n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The metre requires this syllable to be long.

<sup>6</sup> This *lā* is unnecessary and hence must be omitted.

<sup>7</sup> The absence of *sandhi* is in favour of the metre.

- 19 तमुद्राणां रचितमूल्यमिभं(भ)हेम ॥२५॥ शुभसारधारसंज्ञं [द्वि]वेदिहरिजीकहस्ते तु । डू(डू)गरपुरे  
नरपतिः प्रेषितव(वा)न्हेमयुक्तवसती(ना)नि ।[१२६॥\*]
- 20 प्रथमं राजसमुद्रोत्सर्गोस्मै रजतमुद्राणां । तत्र सहस्रेण कृत<sup>१</sup>मूल्यं जसतुरगनामहयं ॥२६(२७)॥  
पंचशतर(रु)प्यमुद्राक्र(कृ)तमूल्य(ल्यं)
- 21 तुरगमपरं च । कनकमयां(ब)रवृंद(दं) म(स) वत्तवाञ्जासिंहनृपः ॥२७(२८)॥ राजत-  
मुद्रैकादशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृंगां(गा)रं । द्विपमं(ब)राणि
- 22 च ददौ दोसीभीषुप्रधानाय ॥२८(२९)॥ सिरनागं कृतमूल्यं सप्तसहस्रै(स्रै)स्तु स(रु)प्यमुद्राणां ।  
द्विपमं(ब)राणि स ददौ राण(वत)रां(रा)मसिंहा-
- 23 य ॥२९(३०)॥ राजसमुद्रजलाशयकार्यकृतामग्रगण्याय । राजतमुद्राणां वा कृतमूल्यान्यंचवि(विं)-  
शतिं(ति)सहस्रै(स्रै): ॥३१॥\*] एकाधिकपंचाश-
- 24 द्युतपंचशताग्रकैस्तुरगान(न्) । सुखदैकप(ष)ष्टिसंख्यान् कुर<sup>२</sup> राजन्यराजये स ददौ ॥३०(३२)[॥\*]  
कुलकं । ए[का]ग्रसप्तं(प्त)तिलसत्पंचशता-
- 25 त्रे(त्रै)स्तु सप्तविंशतिकैः । दिव्यसहस्रै राजतमुद्राणां रचितसन्मूल्यान् ॥३१(३३)॥ षडधिक-  
शतद्वयमितांस्तुरंगमांश्चारणेभ्य इह ।
- 26 दानप्रवाहमध्ये भाटेभ्यो भूपतिः प्रददौ [॥३४॥\*] सप्तसहस्रै(स्रै)वि(विं)रचित[मू]ल्यं [वा\*]  
रजतमुद्राणां । द्विरदनमनूपरूपं द्विरदवरं सार्द्धनव-
- 27 शतकै[:\*] ॥३२(३५)॥ राजतमुद्राणां व(वा) कृतमूल्यं विनयसुंदरक(कं) । हयमत्यं(न्यं)  
बिलसारं राजतमुद्राचतुःशतगृहीतं ॥३३(३६)॥ कव(न)कमयां(ब)-
- 28 र[वृ]ंदं सुलब्ध(ब्ध)राज्याय वां(वां)धवेशाय । नृपभावसिंहनाम्ने रा[ज्ञे] संप्रेषयामास ॥३३(३७)॥  
लाघुमसानि(सोनी)हस्ते लाघुकं तीर्थयात्रायं । दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)
- 29 व(ब)हुलं द्रव्यं प्रेषितवान् प्रेमकृद्भूपः ॥३४(३८)॥ राजतमू(मु)द्राणां वा त्रिशलाग्रचतुः-  
सहस्रकृतमूल्यान् । स ददेषुटादश उ(तु)रगास्त्रिसंभ्रणा-
- 30 यातनपतिभ्यः ॥३५(३९)॥ त्रिसहस्ररजतमू(मु)द्रामू(मू)ल्या(ल्यां) करिणी(णीं) सहेलीति ।  
'तोडशरायसि(सिं)हनृपस्य मात्र(त्रे) ददौ कुमारेभ्य[:\*] ॥३६(४०)॥ सा[र्द्धं]चतु[:\*]-
- 31 शतयुक्तत्रिसहस्रसु(रु)प्यमुद्रिकामूल्यान् [१\*] तुरं(र)गास्त्रयोदश ददौ निभ(सं)भ्रणायानुपतिभ्यः  
॥३७॥(४१)॥ एकाग्रषष्टि(ष्टि)संयुतपंचशतप्रमितरु-

<sup>१</sup> The metre requires this syllable to be long.

<sup>२</sup> Instead of कुर perhaps we have to read : ठाकुर .

- 32 प्यमुद्र(ब्रा)णां । सप्त ददौ भूपोश्वान् निम(मं)त्रणायातनूपतिभ्यः ॥३८(४२)॥ षट्त्रि(त्रिं)-  
शदधिकशतयुक्त्रिसहस्र(त्रं)<sup>1</sup> अयुतरूप्यमुद्राणां । द्विशततुरंगान्स
- 33 ददौ शासनयुतचारणौघभाटेभ्यः ॥३९(४३)॥ तत्र विबेफ(वेक)स्त्रिसहितवि(विं)शतितुरं(र)गान्स-  
शासनिभ्योदात् [1] पूर्वोक्तसंख्यतुरगान्नाणजगत्सिंहशास-
- 34 निभ्योपि ॥४०(४४)॥ श्रीकर्णसिंहशासनिकेभ्योश्वानां चतुष्टय(यं) स ददौ । अमरेश-  
शासनिभ्येः(भ्यः) तुरंगां(गा)न्प्रतापसिंहस्य सप्त ॥४१(४५)॥ शासनिकेभ्योष्टा-
- 35 दश हयानुवयसिंहशासनिभ्यस्सु । अष्टत्रिंशत्तुरगान्हयमेकं विक्रमार्कसाश(शास)निते(ने) ॥४२(४६)॥  
युग्म(ग्मं) । हि(ह)यमेकं तु रतनसीशासनिने राणवीरोदात् । शु-
- 36 भसप्तविंशतिहयान् संग्रामनूपस्य शासनिभ्योदात् ॥४३(४७)॥ श्रीरायमल्लशासनिकेभ्योश्वानेकवि  
(विं)शतिप्रमितान् । कुभाशासनिकायाश्वमेक-
- 37 मेकोनविंशतिप्रमितान् ॥४४(४८)॥ मोकलशासनिकेभ्यस्तुरगान्हम्मीरशासनिभ्योदात् । पंचहयान्ला-  
(यांला)षानूपशासनिकेभ्यो हयान्सप्त ॥४५(४९)॥
- 38 युग्मं । षेताञ्जेसीशासनिकाभ्रां(भ्यां) हयमेकमेकमदात् । रावलसुशालिवाहनमहासमरसीकशास-  
निभ्यां तु ॥४६(५०)॥ हि(ह)यमेकमेकमेकं रावतवाघस्य शास-
- 39 नित(ने) [1\*] मोकलसहोदरस्य दि(द्वि)शतहयाने<sup>2</sup>न्भूप एवमत्र ददौ ॥४७(५१)॥ लक्षकद्वा-  
विं(विं)शतिसहस्रशतयुग्मसाष्टषष्टिमितैः । राजतमुद्रावृदैः क्री-
- 40 ताः शतपंचकं द्विपंचाशत् ॥४८(५२)॥ तुरगा लक्ष(क्षै)कद्वि<sup>3</sup>सहस्र(स्र)शतकाष्टकैरिति क्रीताः ।  
करिणीगजास्त्रयोदश दत्ता(त्ता) वीरे(रै)द्रराज्व(ज)सिं-
- 41 हेन ॥४९(५३)॥ पंडितेभ्यः[\*] कविभ्यश्च वंदिचारणपंक्तये । अश्वान्घनानि वासा(सां)सि  
ददौ<sup>4</sup> ॥५०(५४) जलाशयोत्सर्गविधानमेवं कृत्वा महादानस-
- 42 मेतमेव । तथैव नानाविधदानराजी विराजते राजितराजवीरः ॥५१(५५)॥ इति श्रीराजसमुद्ररी  
प्रशस्त लीषत रंणभोडभट सर्ग २०

## Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

[Metres : vv. 1, 40, 42-45 ; Śārdūlanikrīḍita ; v. 2 Sragdharā ; vv. 3-21, 23-25, 28-36 Anuṣṭubh ;  
v. 22 Śālinī ; v. 26 Gīti ; v. 27 Āryā ; vv. 37, 38 Śikhariṇī ; vv. 39, 41 Vasantatilakā.]

- 1 ॥४८ सिघ(सं) [1\*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [1\*] पु(पू)र्णे सप्तदशे शते सु(शु)भकरे  
त्वष्टावशास्येदके माघे स[द्वृ]धकृष्णसप्तमतिथो(थौ) वारभ्यकाला[दितः ।]

<sup>1</sup>The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

<sup>2</sup>This *ne* is scored out. Read हयान्भूप.

<sup>3</sup>The metre requires this syllable to be long.

<sup>4</sup>This line of verse is too short by six syllables. Perhaps we have to read राजसिंहो नूपो ददौ.

- 2 पंचत्रि(त्रिं)शदभिर्यवर्षं उदिताषाढावधीत्यं वदे लग्नं राजसमुद्रनामकमहानव्ये तडाग(गे) धनं  
॥१॥ षट्चत्वारि(रिं)शदाख्या[न्य]-
- 3 थ रजतमहामुद्रिकानां(णां) शुभानां लक्षाणीत्यं सहस्राण्यपि रुचिरचतुःषष्टिसंख्यामितानि ।  
षट्संख्यायुक्शतानि प्रको(क)टित-
- 4 पदयुक्पंचविंशत्युपात्तस्वप्राण्येवं विलग्नान्युत गणनमिदं<sup>1</sup> त्वेकपक्षे मयोक्तं ॥२॥ विवेकमत्र<sup>2</sup>  
वक्ष्यामि ह्य(रूप्य)मुद्राव(व)ले[रिह] ।
- 5 सप्तविंशतिल[क्षा]णि षत्रि(दिं)शत्प्रमितानि च ॥३॥ सहस्राणि चतुःसंख्यशतानि नवतिः(ति)स्तथा ।  
सार्द्धसप्ताग्रकात्र्यट्ट(प्यत्र) राम-
- 6 सिंहस्य वै तफे<sup>3</sup> ॥४॥ प(पं)चलक्षचतुःसंख्यसहस्राष्टशतानि च । सपादाशीतिकाभाद्ग(न्याहुः)  
पितृव्यस्य तफे तथ(था) ॥५॥ प्र(पु)त्रमोहम(न)सिहो(हा)ख्यरा-
- 7 सोघासंगशोभिनः । लक्षद्वयं सहस्राणि द्वादशैव शतानि च ॥६॥ पंचाष्टत्रिंशदधिकपद(द्वै)षा  
गणनाभवत् । एषा सांवलदासस्य पं-
- 8 चोलीकुलशालिनः ॥७॥ चतुर्लक्षाण्यष्टयुक्तसप्ततिप्त(प्र)मितानि च । सहस्र(स्रा)ण्येकशतकं  
सप्ताग्रं भरणे मृदां ॥८॥ च-
- 9 तुष्कीनिःसृतानां तु लेपने गणनाभवत् ॥(१) द्वात्रिंशत्सुसहस्राणि षट् शतानि सपादकं ॥९॥  
एकमत्रान्यदायातं द्रव्य(व्यं) वा प्र-
- 10 भुपाश्वतः । तथा प्रसाददानादि तल्लेखे गणनात्त्वियं ॥१०॥ सप्त लक्षाणि सैकानि  
प्रतिष्ठाकरणे मितिः । एतद्राजसमुद्रस्य पु(पु)र्व-
- 11 संख्याप्रमेलनं ॥११॥ पु(पु)र्वोक्तद्रव्यगणनाविवेकः क्रियते पुनः । द्वात्रिंशत्संख्यलक्षानि सहस्रद्वितयं  
तथा ॥१२॥ गण[ना]-

<sup>1</sup> The total sum spent on the actual construction of the lake amounted to Rs. 46,64,025½.

<sup>2</sup> The details of the expenditure are specified as follows :

Rs. 27,36,497½ in Rāmasiṃha's account (also mentioned in verse 28-29, canto XX).

Rs. 5,04,880½ in pitṛivya's or uncle's account.

Rs. 2,12,538½ in Mōhanasiṃha's account.

Rs. 4,78,107 in carrying the earth thrown out of the quadrangular ditch in Pañchōli Śyāmaladāsa's account.

Rs. 32,601½ in plastering.

Rs. 7,00,001 in the inauguration ceremony.

Rs. 46,64,625½

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the word *taphe* is not clear. It seems to be the Sanskritised form of the similar Arabic word *taraf* which is used in the sense of side, direction, etc., and is also spelt as *tarf*. We are told in verse 21, canto IX that Rājasīṃha, finding the work of construction unmanageable by a single hand, divided it among his officials. The expenditure on items in charge of Rāmasīṃha, (the ruler's ?) uncle, and Mōhanasiṃha and Śyāmaladāsa seems to have been given in verses 4-9. The word has been used side by side with other items of expenditure. The word *taphe* may therefore be translated as 'in the account of', or 'on items in charge of'.

- 12 षटशतान्यो(न्या)सीत्सपादाशीतिरप्युत । ऐ(ए)षा राजसमुद्रस्य काया(या)र्थं च भूतेः कृते  
॥१३॥ सप्त लक्षाण्येकषष्टि(ष्टि)सहस्राणि म(च) स-
- 13 प्त वै । चतुश्चत्वारिंशदग्रयुक्तानि शतकानि च ॥१४॥ श्रीमद्राजसमुद्रस्य कार्ये ये ठक्कुराः  
स्थिताः [1\*] तेषां ग्रामोत्पत्तिरूप्यमु-
- 14 द्राणां गणनाभवत् ॥१५॥ ऐ(ए)वं पूर्वोक्तसंख्याया मेलनं भवति स्फुटं । एकपक्ष  
लग्नरूप्यमुद्रासंख्य(व्ये)यमीरिता ॥१६॥
- 15 देशग्रामभुजां मुख्यक्षत्रादीनामहो धनं । चतुष्कीखनने लग्नं वक्रं(क्तं) शक्तभ(श्च)तुर्मुखः  
॥१७॥ गृहाच्चतुर्गुणं लग्नं तडागे वा[स]-
- 16 तो घना(नं) । तद्विप(प्र)क्षत्रियादो(दी)नां श(शे)षोऽशेषं त(व)दिष्यति ॥१८॥ गोभूहिरण्यरूप्याणां  
दत्तानामन्नवाससां । वराहमिहिरश्च(श्चे)त्स्याद्गण[को]
- 17 गणना भवेत् ॥१९॥ श्वासानां गणनां कुर्याद्यद्यश्वासा<sup>1</sup>नां सदा तदा । श्वसनाऽऽवेराजयिनां  
गणनाकृद्भवेद्गुणी ॥२०॥ म[त्ता]-
- 18 ना(नां) राणदत्तानां तु(तुं)गानां गणनामुचां । मतंगानां गणेशश्चेद्गणना जो(जा)यते,  
तदा ॥२१॥ एका कोटिः पंच लक्षाणि [रूप्य]मुद्रा-
- 19 णां वा सत्सहस्राणि सप्त । लग्नान्यस्मिन्षट् शतान्यष्टकं वै कार्ये प्रोक्त(क्तं) पक्ष.  
एतद्वि(द्वि)तीये<sup>2</sup> ॥२२॥ सहस्रलक्षको[टी]-
- 20 नां संख्या ज्ञाता [तु] या व(व)हुः । तैरत्र लग्नद्रव्यस्य संख्योक्ता मंतु<sup>3</sup>रस्तु मा ॥२३॥  
लग्नं राजसमुद्रे तु य(या)वत्तावद्वरनं(ज्जनो)बुधे-
- 21 : । तरंगगणनां कुर्याद्यद्यस्यैव त<sup>4</sup> वाव(च)रेत् ॥२४॥ स्पृष्टा लक्ष्मणा सरस्तत्प(स्वत्या).  
लग्ना [ल\*]क्ष्मी तु यावती । न वक्ति तावती(तीं) यु-
- 22 क्तं तडागेत्र सरस्वती ॥२५॥ सप(प्त)द[शश\*]तेतीत(ते)प(स्थ) चतुस्त्रिंशन्मिताब्द(ब्द)जन्मदिने ।  
द्विशतपलमिताच्छहटक<sup>5</sup>कल्पद्रुमनाम-
- 23 कं महादी(दा)नं ॥२६(२६)॥ सदशीतितोलमितियुतमुहिरण्यादवाभिघ्नं महादान(नं) । श्रीराज-  
सिंहनी(ना)मा पृथ्वीनाथो रक्षितवा-


<sup>1</sup> This *sā* is redundant; read *asvānām*.

<sup>2</sup> This presents another view according to which the total expenditure on the construction of the lake, its inauguration and rewards to masons, etc., amounted to Rs. 1,05,07,608.

<sup>3</sup> *Mantu* means 'fault.'

<sup>4</sup> This sign of punctuation is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> Though the correct form of the word is *hūṭaka*, the author has contracted it into *haṭaka* for the sake of the metre, relying upon the adage: *Api māshaiṁ māshaiṁ kuryūch=chhandō-bhaṅgam na kārayēt*.

24. न्त[:\*] ॥२७॥ युग्मं । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेब्दके । श्री(श्रा)वणे राजसिंहेंद्रो  
जीलवाडावधि ब्र(व्र)जन् ॥२८॥ बैरा(वैरि)सा-
- 25 लं सिरोहीस्थं शत्रुसंघै(घे)न पीडितं । रावं सिरोहीनृपतिं चक्रे निजपराक्रमैः ॥२९॥  
एकलक्षप्रमितिका रूप्यमुद्रास्त-
- 26 तोग्रहीत् । पंच ग्रामान्कोरटादान्ज<sup>१</sup>ग्राहोप्राहवो नृपः ॥३०॥ राणा सुवर्णकलशचौर्यं तद्देश  
आगतं । तद्रूप्य-
- 27 मुद्राः प(पं)चाशत्सहस्राण्यग्रहीसतः ॥३१॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेब्दके ।  
श्रीराणेंद्रोद्यत्संख्याः राजगृहे
- 28 गजं<sup>२</sup> ॥३२॥ त्रिविक्रमाश्रयकृतो विक्रमार्कस्य दानतः । वक्तुं कः सुकमान् शक्तो राजसिंह-  
पराक्रमान् ॥३३॥ राज-
- 29 सिंह विचित्रोयं प्रतापतपनं(न)स्तव । व[नांत]स्थानपि रि[पूंस्ता]पयत्यद्भुत(तं) महत् ॥३४॥  
राजन्भवत्प्रतापान्निः शत्रुस्त्री(स्त्री)वा-
- 30 ष्यसि(से)चनैः । ज्वलत्यत्र न चित्रं तद्द्विक्कीत्तिनव—<sup>३</sup>मपः ॥३५॥ शत्रुस्त्रीनेत्रपद्मानि संतापयति  
संततं । श्रीराजसि(सि)ह भवतः
- 31 प्रतापतपनोद्भूतं ॥३६॥ प्रतापो दीपस्ते क्षिति[प] जगदासोककरणः शिक्षाभिः शत्रु-  
(त्रू)णा(णां) वदननिकुरंब(बं) मलिनयन्
- 32 । दशां दिव्यां स्नेहं कवलयति वा प्राणपटलीपतंगालीं दग्धां कलयति तनूपात्रवसतिः ॥३७॥  
यशश्चंद्रे सांद्रं किर-
- 33 ति करवृंदं रिपुगणः शिवो जातः कर्णस्फटिकविलसत्कुंडलधरः । विधुं भाले गंगां शिरसि  
भुजयोः श(शु)भ्रभुजगान्धधानो
- 34 भस्मांगो वसति धवले शै(शै)लशिखरे ॥३८॥ भूभा  भुजयोर्विदधाति पाणौ  
खड्गोरगं मुखरुचौ प्रचुरं प्रतापां(पं) । क-
- 35 णेपि मनि(?) विमलां(ला) विधुशीतला यत् [कीत्तिस्तवी(वी)श भुवन(ने) तय(व) व(बं)-  
भ्रमीति ॥३९॥ राजेंद्रो भवतादयं जयकरो व(वै)रिव्रजा-
- 36 नां जवात्(व्) गांभीर्यात्किल सिधुरेव ह्यसद्वृत्तिपत(प्र)वस्तत्किल । वं(व)क्रे सर्वविशेषजादि-  
विलसद्वर्णैर्युतं नाम ते श्रीराणामणि-

<sup>१</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>२</sup> Three syllables are missing in the latter half of this verse and the sense is not clear.

<sup>३</sup> This long syllable is obliterated beyond recognition. Traces of the medial long ī are visible.

- 37 राजसिंहनृपते वेभाः(धाः) सुमेधाधरः ॥४०॥ राष्ट्रप्रदो जलधिजाप्रद उत्तमेभ्यो भाव्य(त्ये)ष  
सिंहतुलनो हरिसेवतो यत् ।
- 38 ग्राह्यां विशेषणगवादिमवर्णयुका(क्तां) व(च)के विधिस्तदुचितं तव राणवीर ॥४१॥ श्रीरा-  
णोदयसिंहसुनुरभव-
- 39 त्<sup>1</sup> । श्रीर्म(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य ध्रा(श्री)<sup>1</sup>अमरेश्वर<sup>2</sup>रोस्य तनयः [श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो  
राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोऽस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः [श्रीजय\*]सिंह एष [कृ]तदा(वा)न्वीरः  
शि[लालेखितं] ॥४२॥ पूर्णं सप्तदशे शते
- 40 तपसि वा सत्पूणिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रिंशन्मितत(व)त्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः [1\*]  
काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः सुष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठावि-
- 41 धेः स्ता(स्तो)त्राक्त(क्तं) रणछोडभट्टरचित(तं) राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥४३॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्त  
माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सवे(र्वे)श्वरकः क-
- 42 ठोंडिकुलजा(जो) लक्ष्मणादिनाथस्(स्त)तः । तेलंगोस्य तु रामच(चं)द्रा(द्र) इति वा  
कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसु(सु)दनस्त्रय इमे ब्रह्मेशविष्णु(ष्णु)प-
- 43 मा[:\*] ॥४४॥ ज(य)स्यासीन्मधुसुदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड  
ए[ष] कृतवान्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणौघ-
- 44 वर्णनमय(यं) वीरा(रां)क[युक्तं महत्\*] सर्गोभूदधुने कविशतिशुभामि(भि)र्योर्थवर्गोत्तमः  
।[४५॥\*]

## Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

[Metres : vv. 1, 26, 30-46 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 27, 28 *Upagiti* ; v. 29 *Giti* ; vv. 47-50 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) ॥ स(श)ते सप्तदशेतीते प(पं)र्वात्रिंशन्मितेऽदके । शुक्लैकादशिकायां  
तु चैत्ते(त्रे) प्रस्थानमातनोत् ॥१॥ श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातो
- 2 जयसिंहो(हा)भिषो व(ब)ली । मा(म)हाराजकुमारोयं अ(यम)जमेरो समागत[:\*] ॥२॥  
श्रीरंगजेछं(बं) द्रष्टं(ष्टुं) स दिल्ली विल्लीपति ययौ । पश्चाज्जे(ज्जय)कुमारोयं ययौ
- 3 सेनासमापू(वृ)तः ॥३॥ दिल्लीतः क्रोशयुग्मस्थे<sup>3</sup> अर्वाक्शिविर उत्तमे । दिल्लीश्वरं ददर्शयं  
सोस्यादरमथाकरोत् ॥४॥ मुक्तामाला

<sup>1</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> This *va* is redundant. Read *Amarēśvarō=sya*.

<sup>3</sup> The absence of *sandhi* here is in favour of the metre.

- 4 उरोभूषा अस्मै हंमाव(ब)राण्यदात् । महागजेंद्रं भूषावत्तं तावृ[क]तूं(तुं)गतुरंगमान(न्) ॥१५॥  
भालाख्यचंद्रसेनाय पुरोहितवराय च । गरीबदा-
- 5 ससन्नाम्ने हंमवासांसि वा हयान् ॥१६॥ महद्भूचष्ट(ष्ठ)क्कुरेभ्योवादाने(न्ये)भ्योपि या(य)थो-  
चितं । ततोयं जयसिंहाख्यो गणयुक्तेश्वरं शिवं ॥१७॥ वृ-
- 6 ष्टा गंगातटे स्नात्वा महारूप्यतुलां ध्यधात् । करिणीं च हयं दत्त्वा(त्वा) यातो वृंदावनं  
प्रति ॥१८॥ मथुरां च ततो वृष्टा ज्य(ज्ये)ष्टे(ष्ठे) राणपुरंदरं(रः) । वद-
- 7 शं दर्शनीयोयं राणेंद्रो मोदमादधे ॥१९॥ शते सप्तवशेतीते वर्षे(षे) षट्त्रिंशदाह्वये ।  
पौ[ष]स्य कृष्णैकादश्यां मेवाडे दिल्लीकापतिः ॥१०॥ आ-
- 8 यातस्तस्य पुत्रस्त(स्तु)<sup>1</sup> आदौ<sup>2</sup> अकबरामि(भ)धः । तथा तहबरः खानः प्राप्ता(प्तः) सेनासं-  
मांवं(समावृ)[तः\*] ॥११॥ सुंदरे राज[ज]नगरे राजमंदिरमंहवः<sup>3</sup> । तल्लोकैः
- 9 कल्पितास्तत्र शकृः(क्तः) शक्तावतोत्तमः ॥१२॥ पुत्रः सबर्त्सिहस्य पूर .. .. वरस्य  
सः । आ[ता] मुहकर्मसिहस्य घोरं रणमिहाकरोत् ॥१३॥
- 10 वीरश्चौडावतः कोपि तथा विशतिसद्गताः । कृत्वा युद्धं दिवं याता भित्त्वा(त्वा)  
भास्वा(स्क)[र\*]मंडलं ॥१४॥ विधेः कलेर्व(वं)लाबाशां वदौ राणापुर(रं)दरः
- 11 । बहवा[री]महाघट्टे[ट]दन्यघट्टाच(च्च) वा(वा)वृजा[ः\*] ॥१५॥ आयांतु कृतसंकल्पा अपि  
या(यो)द्धुं मद्रु[क्ति]तः । नलिको(का)[गो\*]लकन्नो(स्तो)माः सो(शू)रसंधा महोन्न-
- 12 ताः ॥१६॥ राणो[क्ति]तस्तथा जातं ततो दिल्लीश आगतः । बहवारीमहाघट्टे क(कृ)त्वा  
तद्द्वारपातन(नं) ॥१७॥ ऐ(ए)कविंशतितथ्यंतं स्थितोत्र
- 13 निशि चैकवा [।\*] दिव्योः(व्यो)द्वयपुरं पा(प्रा)प्तो गुप्त एषास्त्युपभृतिः ॥१८॥ तवा<sup>1</sup>  
अकम्बरः प्राप्तो महोदयपुरे ततः । तथा तहब(म्ब)रः कं(सा)मस्त-
- 14 कृत्यं तद्भूटै[ः\*] कृतं ॥१९॥ ऐ(ए)कविंशं द्रष्टुमगाहंवाकव(ब)रस्ततः । अंबेरीवीरवाघट्टी  
वृष्टा शिविरमागतः ॥२०॥ भालाप्रतापः क-
- 15 कंटपुरवासी गजद्वयं । दिल्लीशसे(सं)न्यादानीय राणो(णें)द्राय न्यव(वे)दयत् ॥२१॥ भवेसरस्था  
बल्लाख्या हयौघान्हस्तिनां गजो(व्रजं?) । न्यं(न्य)-
- 16 वेदयन्न(श्रु)ष्ट्रवृ(वृ)दे(दं)नैनवारारिथतप्रभोः ॥२२॥ पंचाशत्कसहस्राणि नृणा(णां) नष्टानि तद्विधः ।  
दिल्लीस्व(श्व)रस्ततः प्र(प्रा)प्तश्चित्रकूटन्यथा

<sup>1</sup> The absence of *sandhi* here is in favour of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *amhu* is 'sin' or 'crime'.



that *Anivārīta* was a surname of Chālukya Vikramāditya I<sup>1</sup> who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the *sattra* was named after his surname either in commemoration of his having founded it himself or was named after him by some other founder in token of his respect to him as his suzerain.<sup>2</sup> That Vikramāditya I was a great conqueror is attested by his records in which he claims victory 'in country after country and in all directions'.<sup>3</sup> That in the south he went as far as the Kāvērī region is proved by his Gadval Plates.<sup>4</sup> As for the extent of his possessions in the north, we have as yet no direct evidence. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that in these northern regions he inherited the Three Mahārāshtrakas first acquired by his father, Pulakēsin II, since we have it stated in Vikramāditya's inscriptions that he not only regained possession of his father's kingdom which had been lost to enemies but also acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.<sup>5</sup> Further it is well known that the Western Chālukyas were recognised as overlords by the kings of the Hariśchandra family ruling in the Nasik District. One Svāmichandra of this family is explicitly stated as the feudatory (*pāda-prasād-ōpajīvī*) of Chālukya Vikramāditya I.<sup>6</sup> Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of our grant, though not actually a contemporary of Vikramāditya I, evidently came under Chālukya hegemony at the time of recording the grant under study, i.e., in Śaka 615(=693 A.C.), when his suzerain must have been Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. It is also interesting to note that it was this Vinayāditya who conducted a successful expedition in the north in which he was ably assisted by his son, prince Vijayāditya.<sup>7</sup>

None of the kings mentioned in our record barring Gōvindarāja is known to us from any other source except the two other grants of Nannarāja referred to above. However, in respect of Svāmīkarāja, attention may be drawn to another person of the same name who figures as *vijñapti* in a 7th century record of Kāpālivarman of the Bhōja family<sup>8</sup> who ruled the area around Goa in the west coast. Except the similarity of name and the proximity in point of date between the two persons there is nothing else to connect the two, much less to treat them as identical.

The area of rule of the family of Nannarāja lay as determined by the provenance of their records and the places mentioned in them roughly in the districts of Akola, Amraoti, Betul and Nagpur of Madhya Pradesh, which all lay adjacent to one another. Ancient Vidarbha roughly corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāgardhan Plates of Svāmīrāja, was issued from Nāndīvardhana, the same as Nāgardhan which lies three miles south of Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The family seems to have moved south-west to the region of Amraoti and Akola where they fixed a new capital at Padmanagara from which our inscription is issued. This place may be identified with modern Padmin<sup>9</sup> lying within the postal jurisdiction of Akola.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 101 and n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> [The word *anivārīta* here is to be taken in its literal sense of 'unhindered'; it is not proper to connect it with the name or title of any person.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 226, 227, 228.

<sup>7</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 368, 371.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339.

<sup>9</sup> I was at first inclined to identify Padmanagara with Pauni in the Bhandara District, a place which is also known as Padmapura, and where an early inscription of Bhāra Bhagadatta was discovered (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 11). In that case Umbarikā, the gift-village, might be Umrer lying about 15 miles WNW of Pauni. But since there are two other villages of the name of Pauni, one in the Betul District and the other in the Nagpur District near Ramtek, one cannot be sure as to which of these three could be Padmanagara. See *Mirashi*, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 7, n. 2.

This identification is supported by the location of Umbarikā, the village mentioned; for, this is Umbarī near Akola. Even the findspot of the plates, viz., Sangalooda, lies nearby. The Tiwarkhēḍ Plates mention another capital of the family, viz., Achalapura, the same as modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, north-east of Akola.

Of the places mentioned in our charter Padmanagara and Umbarikā have been identified in the foregoing paragraph. Tagara from which the donee hailed might be modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State. Nāgayayi, situated east of Umbarikā, may be Naigaon, near Akola. I am unable to locate Vaṭapuraka, Vaivadraka and Uchchhī(or chhī)vāhala which are stated in the record to be in or near Umbarikā.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

#### *First Plate*

- 1 Svasti [\*] Padmanagarād=Vi(rād[\*]Vi)stīrnna(rṇṇa)-sthiti-pālan-āpta-yaśasisrī-
- 2 Rāshtrakūṭ-ānvayē ramyē kshira-nidhāv=iv=ēndur=abhavach=chhri-Durggarā-
- 3 jō nripaḥ [\*] lōk-āhlādana-hētubhiḥ pravitatais=tējō-viśē-
- 4 sh-ōdayai[r]=yyēn=ōchchaiḥ padavīn=vi(vīm vi)gāhya vidhivat=paksha-dva[yaṁ]
- 5 bhāsitaṁ(tam) || (1||\*)<sup>2</sup> Tasya sūnur=āsi(sī)d=anēka-samara-sāhas-ā[vasṭam]-
- 6 bha-yaśā[h] śrī-Vō(Gō)vindarājas=tasy=āsīd=ātmavān=ātmaja ā-
- 7 tmany=āhita-śakti-siddhiḥ śrī-Svāmikarājaḥ [\*]Putras=tasya ma-

#### *Second Plate : First Side*

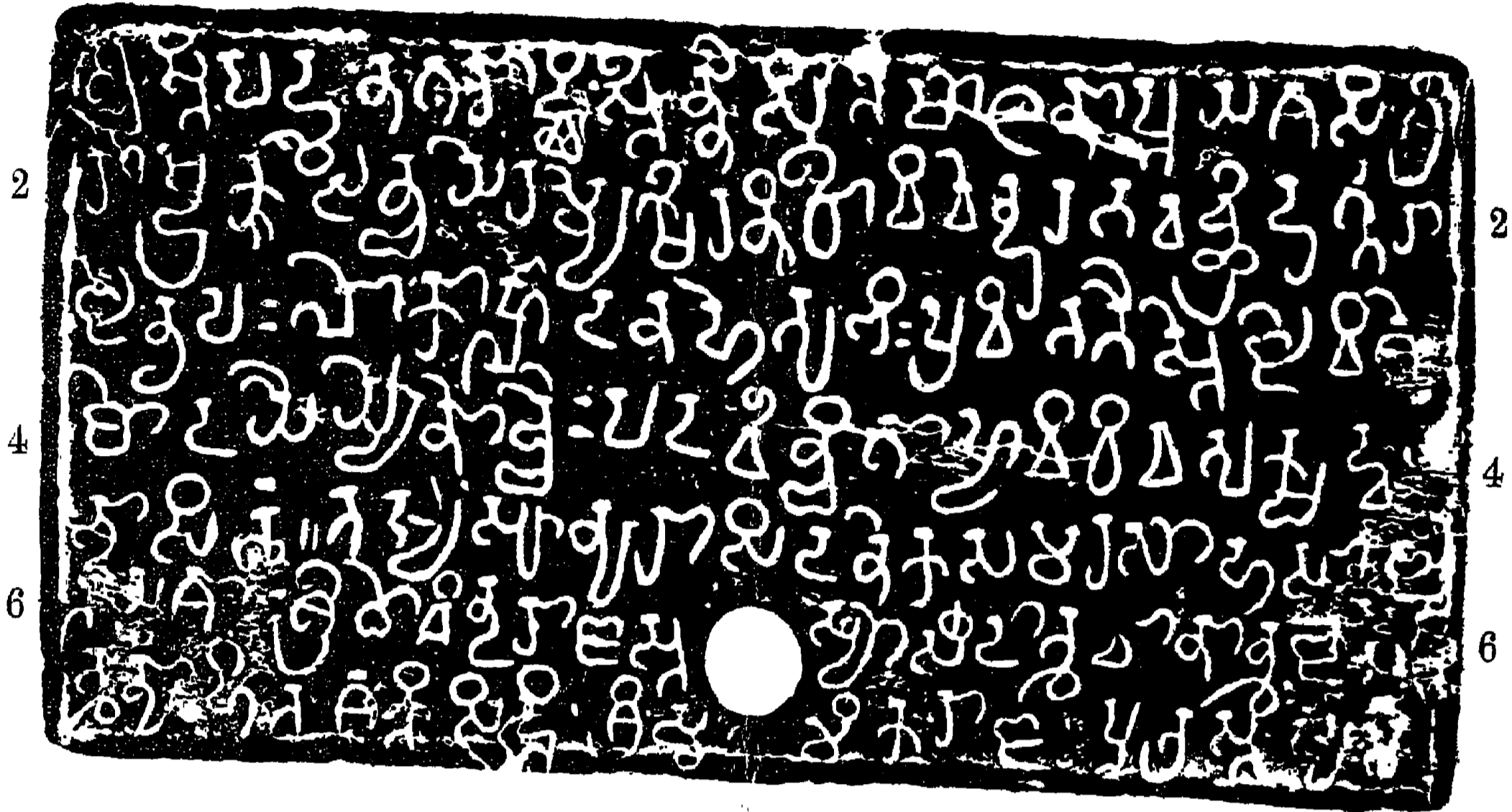
- 8 hānubhāva-charitaḥ śrī-Nannarājaḥ kṛiti(tī) kāntah=kārunikah=kala-
- 9 nka-rahitah=kētuh=karālō dvishān=dhaurēyō raṇa-sāhas-ā-
- 10 hita-dhiyām=agrēsarō māninām vaidagdh-ōddhata-chētasām-adhi-
- 11 patih=kalpa-dra(dru)mō yō=rtthinām(nām)<sup>3</sup> ||[2||\*]Yaś=cha samāśra(samāra)ya-viśēsha-lō-
- 12 bhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ
- 13 Paramabrahmanyah Paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-Yuddhāsura-āpara-
- 14 nāmō(mā) sas=sa(sa sa)rvānn=ē(n=ē)va rāja-sāmanta-vishayapati-grāma-bhō-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

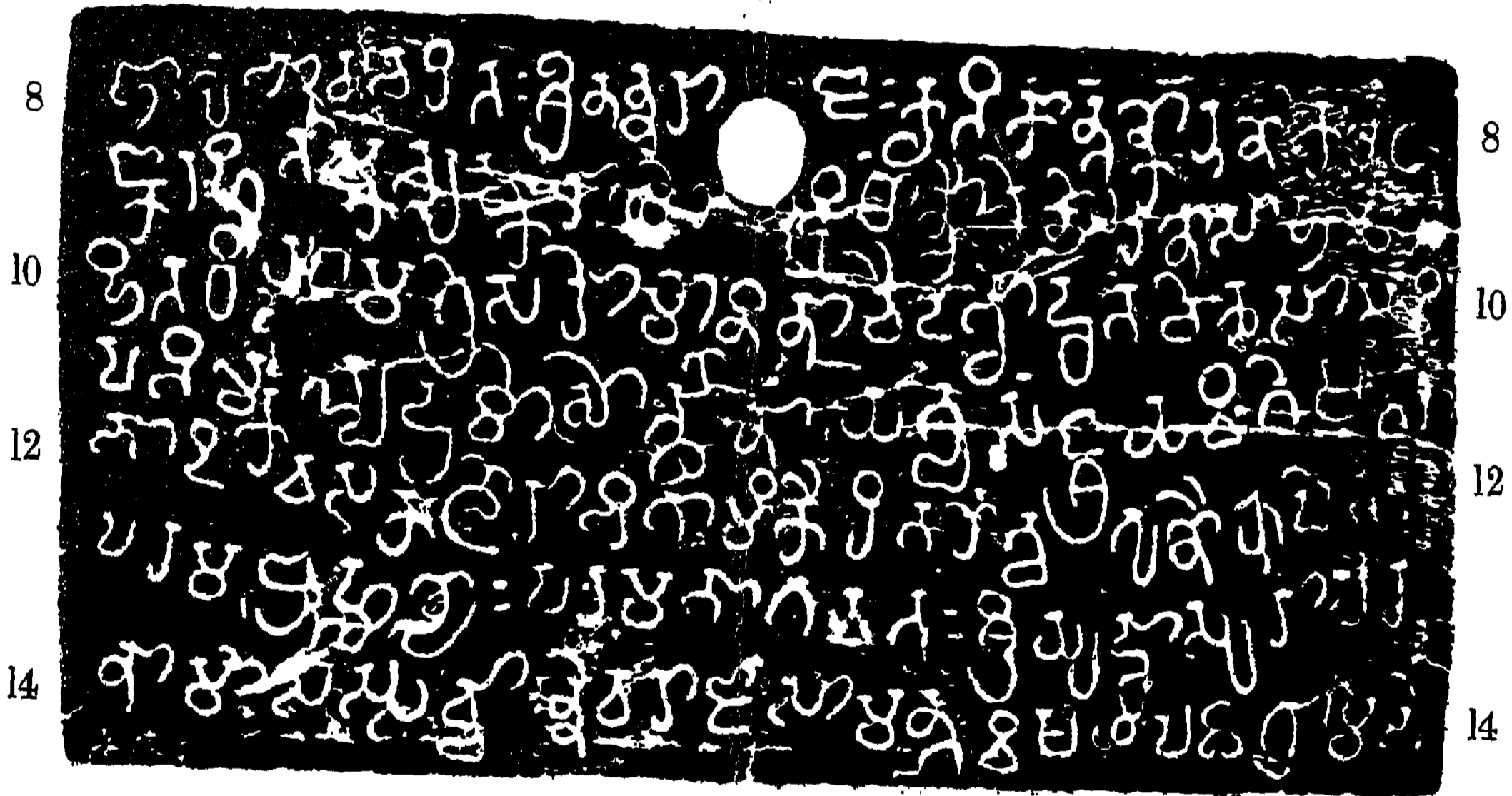
<sup>2</sup> Metre : Śardūlavikrīḍita.

SANGALOODA PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA: SAKA 615

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.

16  
 18  
 20  
 22

16  
 18  
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 22

16  
 18  
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16  
 18  
 20  
 22

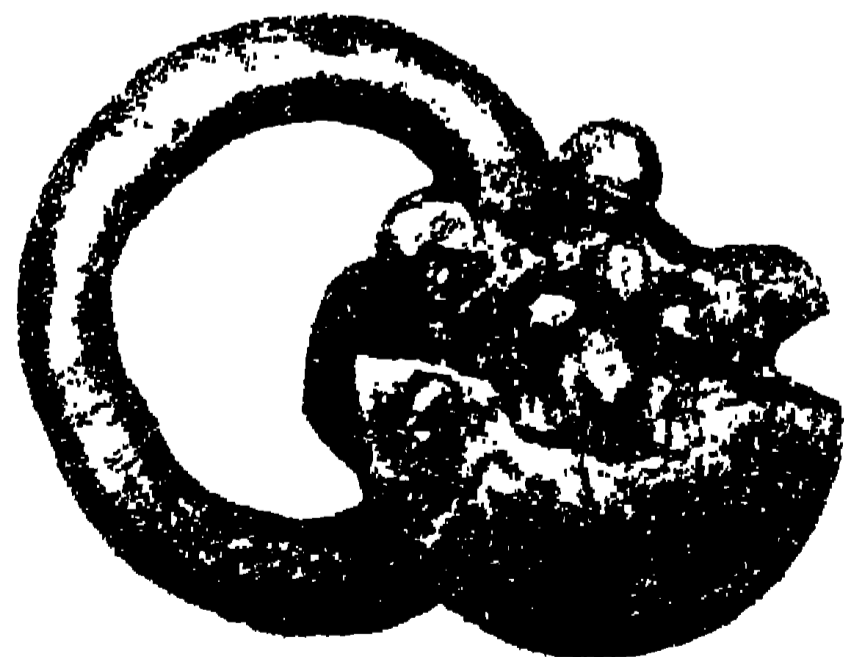
iii.

24  
 26  
 28  
 30

24  
 26  
 28  
 30

24  
 26  
 28  
 30

24  
 26  
 28  
 30



Seal  
 (From a Photograph)

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 15 gika-purillaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādīn=samanuvō(bō)dhayaty=astu vō  
 16 viditam yath=āsmābhir=mmātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-āvāptayē Taga-  
 17 ra-vāstavva-Vā(or Mā)ruḷa-sagōtra-Kaugi(sī)ka-pravara-Taittirīya-sa-brahmachā-  
 18 riṇē Anivārit-āna-satra(ttra)-pradāyinē Varmulaka-chaturvēda-pautrā-  
 19 ya Bhūtagaṇabhaṭṭa-putra-Haragaṇa-dvivēdāya Vaṭapuraka-grāmē  
 20 viṇśa(viṇśa)ti-karmmā[nta](ntā) madhuka-samētā(tam) kshētrañ=cha nivarttana-śataḥ  
 tachchha (tach-cha)  
 21 Umbarikā-grāmō(mē) dakshīni(nē)na Vaivadraka-sīma-maryyādā  
 22 uttaraḥ<sup>1</sup> Tatilingichchhi-bhaṭākara(rakaḥ) pūrvvataḥ Nāgaya[yi-maryā]dā<sup>2</sup>

*Third Plate*

- 23 paśchimatō Chchhivāhala<sup>3</sup> [ē]bhir=āghāṭanaiḥ<sup>4</sup> kshētra[m\*] bhūmichhi(chchhi)dra-  
 24 nyāyēna Kārttika-suddha-pāṇḍurāṅgāyāṁ udaka-pūrvvataḥ pratipāditam  
 25 yaḷō=asmad-vaiśyaḥ-anyaḥ-vv=āgāmi-nripati-bhōgapatibhir=asmad-dā-  
 26 yō=numantavva[h\*] pratipālayitavyaś=cha yō v=ājñāna-timira-pa-  
 27 ṭal-āvṛita-matir=ā[ch\*]chhindyād=āchchha(chchhi)dyamānam v=ānumōdē-  
 28 ta sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakai[s\*]-sa[m]yukta[h\*] syād=iti [l\*] Śaka-kāla-  
 29 sa[m]vatsara-śatēshu śhaṭhsu(ṭsu) pañcha[da]śān=va(śa-va)rshēshu Kārttika-suddha-  
 pau-  
 30 [rṇṇa]mi(māsyām) likhitam=iti [l\*]

*Seal*

Śrī-Ju[ddhā]surah

<sup>1</sup> This may be also read as *uttarataḥ Tilingichchhi*.

<sup>2</sup> *Dā* is inserted below this last line at the left end of the plate.

<sup>3</sup> This may be also *paśchimatō=chchhivāhala*.

<sup>4</sup> Some word like *upalakshitam* is to be added here. A similar omission occurs in the Multai Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 205, n. 1).

## No. 15—MUNDAKHEDE PLATES OF SENDRAKA JAYASAKTI ; SAKA 602

(1 Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

These plates were found several years ago in the possession of a Patil of Mundakhēḍē, a village in the Chalisgaon *taluk* of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, who edited them twice—first in the Marāṭhī magazine, *Prabhāta* of Dhulia, Vol. I, No. 12<sup>1</sup> and afterwards in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Sa-mśōdhaka Maṇḍala for Śaka 1834*, pp. 169-177. As no facsimile of the record accompanied either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not published. Several years ago, while I was studying the Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhāllāsakti<sup>2</sup>, I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its importance for the history of the Sēndrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when I received recently a copy of the printed facsimile of the plates from my friend, Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra, Śaka 1829, as well as from the name *Prabhāta* printed on it, it is clear that the facsimile was published in the same magazine *Prabhāta* in the next issue after the text of the record was first edited by Chandorkar. This facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words in the transcript published by Chandorkar. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. For these reasons as well as because this is the only record of the Sēndraka prince Jayasakti and is important for the ancient history of Mahārāshtra, I re-edit the grant here from the aforementioned facsimile published by Chandorkar.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on the inner side only. Their size and weight have not been recorded. From the description given by Chandorkar they seem to have raised rims for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the first inscribed plate and the top of the second, there is a hole for the ring which strung the plates together. This ring is said to have carried a seal with the legend *Śrī-Jayasakti*, but no photograph of it seems to have been published.

The record consists of twenty-four lines, twelve being inscribed on each plate. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The record is, however, rather carelessly written and contains a few mistakes here and there. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in the other records of the Sēndrakas found in Gujarat and Khandesh. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows: (1) the initial *ē* resembles *l*, but has a long vertical on the right; see *ēsha*, line 14; (2) the stroke for medial *ā* is turned upward in the case of *j* as in *-dviḡāti-*, line 6; (3) *l* has everywhere a straight vertical stroke on the right; see *-labdha-*, line 2; (4) *n* generally appears looped as in *samunnatē*, line 1, but it is sporadically unlooped as in *sūnōr-*, line 16; (5) a final consonant is shown with a horizontal stroke on the top; see *vasēt*, line 21. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 10. Punctuation is indicated by single or double dots. The language is Sanskrit. Except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the writer has used in the eulogy of Bhānuśakti the very expression *śarad-amala-śaśāṅka-maṇḍala-yasasah(yasāh)*, which describes Ādityasakti in the Bagumrā plates,<sup>3</sup> and Allāsakti in the Kāsārē plates.<sup>4</sup> Again, the expression *Bhava-sūnur iv āpratihata-śaktiḥ* which describes Ādityasakti in the present plates occurs in connection with Allāsakti in the Bagumrā and

<sup>1</sup> This No. bears the date Phālguna, Śaka 1829 which is plainly a mistake for Śaka 1828. The same mistake occurs on the first page of the previous two issues. As stated above, the facsimile of the plates published in the next number bears the date, Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

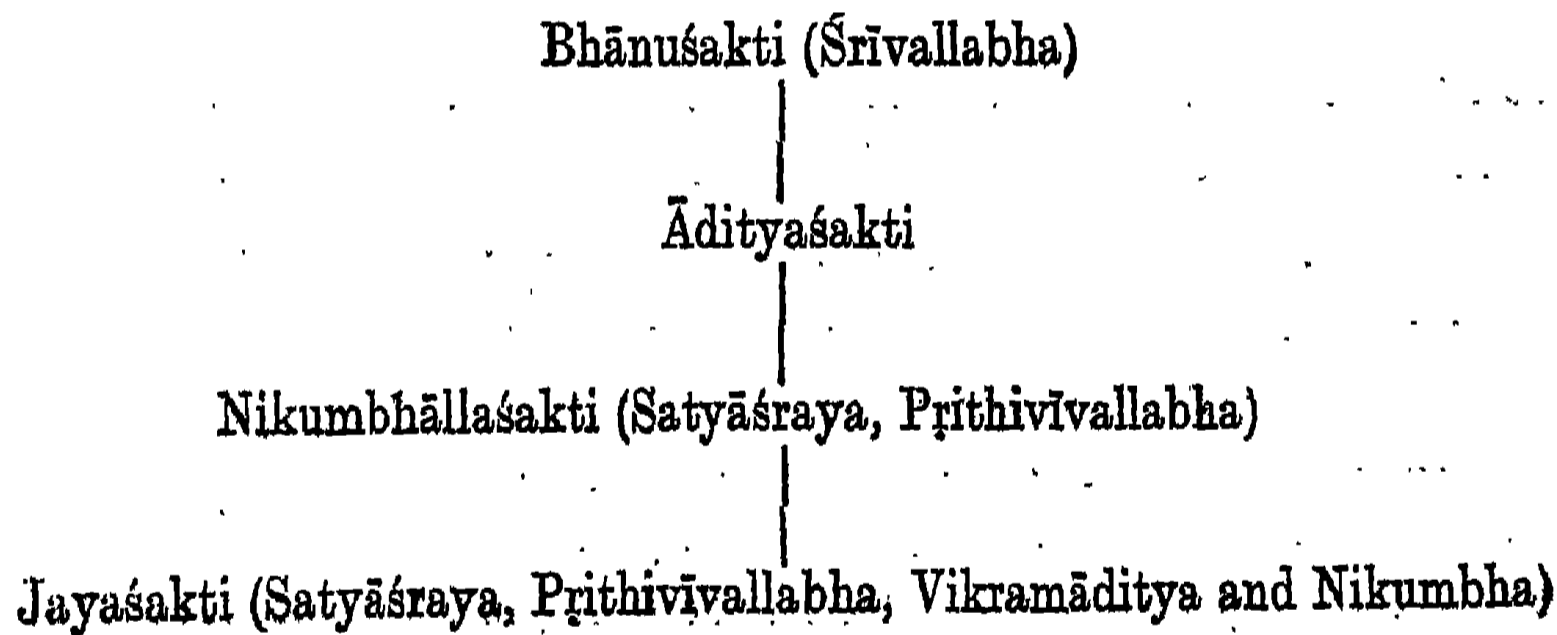
<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

<sup>4</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, p. 71. Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 197.

Nāgad plates.<sup>1</sup> The drafter of the present grant has thus drawn upon previous records of the family, and, evidently regarding the epithets as conventional, has not scrupled to transfer them from one prince to another. As for **orthography**, we may note that *ṅ* is used for *n* in *Phālguna*, line 24, and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are reduplicated; see *-chāturddanta-* and *vikkrama-*, line 2 and *-ānuddhyāta*, line 4.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the **Sēndraka** prince **Jayaśakti**. They were issued from **Jayapuradvārī**. They record the grant, by Jayaśakti, of a village the name of which Chandorkar read as *Sēṅṅakalasha*. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is *Sēṅṅā ēsha grāmaḥ*, not *Sēṅṅakalasha-grāmaḥ*. The village was therefore named **Sēṅṅā**. It was included in the **Kundalikāmala vishaya**. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin, the son of Rēvasvāmin, who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Hiranyakēsin branch of the Taittiriya *sākhā* of the Black Yajurveda, and resided at **Kallivana**. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the **Mīna-rāsi** on the **10th tithi** of the dark fortnight of **Phālguna** in the **year 602** of an unspecified era. The year and the *tithi* are expressed only in words. From the Nāgad plates we know that Jayaśakti's father Allasakti was flourishing in Śaka 577. The year 602 mentioned in the present grant of Jayaśakti must, therefore, be referred to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 680-81 A.C. In this period the sun entered the Mīna-rāsi at 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February 681 A.C. The religious ceremonies connected with the *saṅkrānti* must have been performed after sunrise next day, the 18th February 681 A.C., which was the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Phālguna.<sup>2</sup> This date shows that the *amānta* scheme of the lunar months was in vogue in Northern Mahārāshṭra in the seventh century A.C. The grant was written by the *Sāndhivigrahika* **Rāma**.

The present grant gives the following pedigree of the donor :—



Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as *Nikumbhallaśakti*, being probably misled by Bühler's reading of the royal name in the Bagumrā plates. The facsimile of the present grant, however, shows the correct reading of the name to be *Nikumbhāllaśakti*. The same reading of the name occurs in the Nāgad plates published by Mr. G. H. Khare. We now know from the Kāsārē plates that the proper name of the Sēndraka prince was Allasakti. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of the plates. *Nikumbha* was evidently a *biruda* prefixed to his name. The same *biruda* is seen to have been assumed by Allasakti's son Jayaśakti in the present plates. The *biruda* was evidently derived from the name *Nikumbha* of Allasakti's grandfather, mentioned in the Kāsārē plates. He had another name of *Bhānuśakti* which is noticed in the three other grants of the family, including the present one. His descendants Allasakti and Jayaśakti seem to have assumed his name *Nikumbha* as a *biruda*, probably because he was the founder of this Sēndraka branch which flourished in Gujarat and Khandesh.

<sup>1</sup> *Samśōdhaka* (Marāṭhī), Vol. VIII (October, 1939); above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> This *tithi* commenced only 15 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

The present grant describes both Allaśakti and Jayaśakti as *samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They both were evidently subordinate chiefs, owing allegiance to the Chālukya Emperor of Bādāmi. Bhānuśakti, though described in a more grandiloquent style, probably enjoyed no better status.<sup>1</sup> As his grandson Allaśakti was flourishing in 653 and 656 A.C., Bhānuśakti may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. He was probably placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II after he had conquered these provinces from the Kalachuris. No records of the reigns of Bhānuśakti and Ādityaśakti have yet been discovered, but Allaśakti is known to have made three grants, two of which, recorded in the Kāsārē and Bagumrā plates, are dated in the Kalachuri era and one, viz., that in the Nāgad plates, in the Śaka era. The earliest of these, viz., that in the Kāsārē plates is dated K. 404 (653 A.C.) and registers the donation of some land in the village Pippalikhēṭa, modern Pimpalner in West Khandesh. The second, known as the Bagumrā plates, dated K. 406 (656 A.C.), registers the gift of the village Balisa, modern Wanesa near Tēn in South Gujarat. The third record, viz., the Nāgad plates, though issued from Kāyāvātāra, modern Kārwan in Gujarat, mentions the grant of a village in the *vishaya* of Nāndīpuradvārī which is probably identical with Nandurbār in West Khandesh. This grant is dated in Śaka 577 (655-56 A.C.). These records show that Allaśakti continued to hold Gujarat and Khandesh at least till 656 A.C. Sometime thereafter, he seems to have lost Gujarat; for the next date from that part of the country is K. 421 (671 A.C.), furnished by the Surat plates of Śryāśraya-Śīlāditya, which register the grant of the village Āsaṭṭigrāma, modern Astgaon, not far from Tēn. From the Mānōr plates,<sup>2</sup> recently published by Mr. Krishna Deva, we learn that Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, the younger brother of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I, founded the Navsāri branch in 669-70 A.C. Thereafter, the rule of the Sēndrakas seems to have been confined to Khandesh. As shown below, the places mentioned in the present Mundakhēḍē plates can be satisfactorily located near the western border of that district.

It may be noted that Bhānuśakti, Allaśakti and Jayaśakti bore certain *birudas* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerains. One of these deserves special notice. Jayaśakti calls himself Vikramāditya in the present grant, dated 681 A.C. His suzerain was Vikramāditya I, who had died just in the preceding year (680 A.C.). As this is the only known grant of Jayaśakti, we do not know whether Jayaśakti had borne the *biruda* previously or whether he assumed it only after the death of Vikramāditya. The absence of any reference to the imperial family in the present grant lends colour to the latter view,<sup>3</sup> but we may note that similar *birudas* were assumed by other feudatories of the Early Chālukyas. The Mānōr plates, for instance, show that Maṅgalarasa, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, had assumed the *biruda Vinayāditya* before Śaka 613 (691 A.C.) during the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya. The present grant does not, therefore, give any indication that Jayaśakti had thrown off the yoke of the Early Chālukyas.

No descendants of Jayaśakti are known but, as I have suggested elsewhere<sup>4</sup>, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.C. may have belonged to the same lineage. Like the Sēndrakas, they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the

<sup>1</sup> Chandorkar's view that the Sēndrakas were independent kings who helped the Early Chālukyas to establish themselves in the Kanarese country is not supported by any evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Fleet also inferred that the Bagumrā plates belong to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance. See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361. Since then we have known of several records of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas which make no mention of the reigning emperor.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 166 ff.



Pāṭaṅ inscription of Śaka 1128 ; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sēndrakas, as it traced its descent not from the lord of serpents but from the Sun<sup>1</sup>.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, **Kundalikāmala**, the headquarters of the *viśhaya* in which the donated village was situated, is probably identical with Kundalgaon, 14 miles west of Nāndgaon near the western border of the Khandesh District. No place exactly corresponding to the donated village **Sēṅāṅā** can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundaṅē which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nāndgaon may represent the ancient village. **Jayapuradvārī**, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jeur which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nāndgaon. **Kallivana** where the donor resided is undoubtedly Kalvaṅ, the chief town of the Kalvaṅ *taluk* of the Nasik District.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>3</sup>[1\*] स्वस्ति [1\*] जयपुरद्वारीतो मेरुमही[ध]रशिखर[स्थि]ररुचिरसमुन्नते  
विकसितयशस(सि) [म]हति सेन्द्रकरा[ज्ञा](जाना)म-
- 2 न्वयेनेकचातुर्दन्तगजघटाटो[प]समरसंघट्टलब्धविजयी(यो) विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वविक्र-  
म(मा)-
- 3 कक्रान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमकुटनिघृष्टपा[द]पंकजो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-  
ण्यश्री-
- 4 संपदुपेतः शरदमलशशांकमण्डलामलयशसः(यशाः)<sup>4</sup> श्रीवल्लभभानुशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-  
नुद्धघातः स्वभुण(ज)म-
- 5 णिमयूखचक्रबलप्रकाशिताशेषदिकचक्रश्चक्रवर्तिलक्षणोपेतो विपुलघनपृथुयशसः(यशः)-  
कुसुमनिकरो-
- 6 पशोभितसकलवसुधातलः समुद्र इव क्षितिस्थितिराजकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगा(गं)-  
भीरो देवद्विजातिस्वजनबां-
- 7 धवोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहतशक्तिः<sup>5</sup> श्रीमदादित्यशक्तिस्त[स्य] पुत्रस्तत्पा-  
दानुद्धघातो व्यपग[तस]-
- 8 जलजलधरव्योमत[ल]शरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोवितानलंघितांभोधिपरापरः(पारापारः) सेन्द्र-  
ककुलगगनचंद्र]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> From the photo-zincograph published in the *Prabhāta* (Marāṭhī) for Chattrā, Śaka 1820.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> This expression is used to describe *Ādityasakti* in the Bagumrā plates, and *Allasakti* in the Kāsārē plates.

<sup>5</sup> This expression occurs in the description of *Allasakti* in the Bagumrā and Nāgad plates.

- 9 मा[\*] समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभश्रीनिकुंभाल्लशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्र-  
स्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातो विगतघन-
- 10 पटलेन्दुमण्डलामलकुलतिलककृत<sup>x</sup>युगनरपत्यतिशयितस्सच्चरितः शरणागतात्तिहरः प्रस-  
भाभिकृष्टान्य-
- 11 राजश्रीः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभविक्क्रमादित्यनिकुंभश्रीजयशक्तिः
- 12 सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्रामकूटाययुक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादी[न्\*] समनु-  
बोध-

## Second Plate

- 13 यत्यस्तु वः संविदित(तं) मया परलोकाप(पे)क्षत्वम(सं)गीकृत्य महत्फलं [हि]  
श्रु[त्वा] [ततः] कुन्दलिकामलविषयान्त-
- 14 गर्तसेणाणा एष ग्रामः<sup>2</sup> सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सर्वादानदित्यविष्टिप्रातिभे[दि]कापरिही-  
णा[भ्यन्तर]सि[द्धि]-
- 15 कः [भू]मिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य[ः] आचन्द्राकर्कार्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पु[त्रपौ]त्र-  
(त्रा)न्वयक्क्रमोप-
- 16 भोग्यः कल्लिव[न]वास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रतित्तिरिक्<sup>3</sup>हिरण्यकेशिब्राह्मणरेवस्वामिसूनोर्बप्पस्वा-  
मिने बलिचरुवैश्वद(दे)-
- 17 [वा\*]ग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रिय(यो)त्सर्पणार्थं(र्थं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-  
भिवृद्धये ब्राह्मणमह(हा)जनसमेताय
- 18 [फा]ल्गुण(न)बहुलदशम्यां पुण्ये तिथौ<sup>4</sup> भगवति सवितरि मि(मी)नराशि संक्रान्ते  
उदकातिसर्गणे प्रतिपादितो यतोस्मद्वंश्यैर-
- 19 न्यैर्वा[गामि]भूपतिभिर्नलवेणुकदलिसारसंसारजलबुद्धदोषमं च जीवितमवधार्यं  
शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायं [च]

<sup>1</sup> Chandorkar read -तिलककृत- but the sign inscribed above कृ is that of *jihvāmūliya*.

<sup>2</sup> Chandorkar read सेणाणकलषग्रामः but the correct reading is clearly as given above; compare कोणियाणां एष ग्रामः in the Vaḍṇer plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 34) and कुमारिवडग्रो एष ग्रामः in the Sarsavni plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 299).

<sup>3</sup> Read तैत्तिरीय-

<sup>4</sup> Read पुण्यतिथौ.

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां अष्टाध्याय्यात्सर्गोत्तमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 ४ अथ श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 ६ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 ८ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 १० अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 १२ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 १४ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 १६ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 १८ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 २० अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 २२ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥  
 २४ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥ अहो भूय ॥



- 20 यौवन(नं) गिर(रि)नदीसलिलगत्वरणि चैश्वर्याप्याकत्या(लथ्या)स्मदायोनुमंतव्यः  
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यास(से)न
- 21 व्यासेन [1\*] <sup>1</sup>व(ष)ष्टिवर्ष(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आ-  
च्छेत्ता चानुम(मं)ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[11१॥\*] विध्याटवीष्वतोया-
- 22 सु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः[1\*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [1२॥\*]  
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य य-
- 23 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) [1३॥\*] पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो  
यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1\*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छैयोनुपा-
- 24 लन[म्\*] [1४॥\*] संवत्सरशतषट्के द्व्युत्तरके [फा]ल्लुण(न)बहुलः<sup>2</sup> दशम्यां लिखि-  
त(तं) चैतत्सान्धिविग्रहिकरा[मे]ने(णे)ति [11\*]

### No. 16—CHATESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

This beautiful *prasasti* is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black granite. It is kept in the temple of Śiva, that goes by the name of **Chātēśvara**, in the village of Kisnapur or Kisanpur (Kṛishnapura), in the Cuttack District of Orissa. This village is situated about 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack. The inscription seems to have been examined first by Bābu Nagēndranātha Vasu as early as November 1893. He noticed it in Bengali, in 1894, in his *Viśvakōsha*, Vol. VI, p. 229. Later on, in August, 1898 he read a paper on it, giving its full text and translation, which has been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I (History, Antiquities, etc.), pp. 317-327. No facsimile of this *prasasti* has so far been published elsewhere.

After Vasu's treatment of this inscription, no other scholar seems to have cared to examine it closely, though it has been referred to by various scholars in connection with the history of Orissa. In the winter of 1938, the writer of this article, in the course of his official tour in Orissa, happened to visit Kisnapur, where he studied the inscription from the original slab. As a result thereof, it was found that the text presented by Vasu is as inaccurate in places as his interpretation of it is erroneous. The present writer had occasion to comment on this inscription in the Hindī monthly *Itihāsa*, September 1951, pp. 155-158, as also in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, 1952, pp. 11-13, where the importance of the inscription as well as a few examples of the defects in Vasu's treatment of it has been pointed out. These may be considered as enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Metre of verses 1-4: *Anushṭubh*.

<sup>2</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

The inscribed surface measures 31"×18". It contains 25 lines of writing. The engraving is beautifully executed, and is fairly well preserved throughout, except a few scratches about the middle of lines 17 and 18. These, however, do not cause any difficulty in the reading of the *aksharas* affected.

The **alphabet** of the inscription is the eastern variety, proto-Bengali, of the thirteenth century A.C. Some scholars prefer to give this script the name Gaudī.<sup>1</sup> Forms of *kh*, *j*, *t*, *ś*, etc., which resemble the modern Oriya and Bengali forms of these letters, are noteworthy. The forms of initial vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* and *ē* may be seen in lines 6, 8, 22 and 8 respectively. The sign of *visarga* is remarkable inasmuch as it consists of two small circles, one above the other, with a horizontal top stroke on the upper circle. The form of *p* looks somewhat like that of *y*. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as *ttra* and *ñja* in line 1, *rthi* in line 3, *vyū* in line 7, *mbrū* in line 12, and *shṭa* in line 7. This last shows that the subscript *ṭ* resembles *t*. The form of *ṭ* otherwise may be seen in *mukutē* in line 2. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the composition is in verse throughout, except the obeisance in the beginning. There are altogether twenty-five verses in various metres. The verses are not numbered; but the end of the first half of every stanza is marked off, as a rule, by a single *daṇḍa*; and the completion of every stanza likewise by a double *daṇḍa*. The style is highly ornate.

As for **orthography**, no distinction is made between the signs for *b* and *v*. Properly speaking, the sign for *v* stands also for *b*. In giving the text, I have read it correctly as *b* wherever *b* is required.<sup>2</sup> A consonant after *r* is generally doubled, cases like *rthi* in line 6 being exceptions. In those like *amarsha* in line 5 the rule of reduplication does not apply at all. In such cases the consonant after *r* is correctly left single.

Grammatically, the pronominal use of the word *dvaya* in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature, as in Māgha's *Śisupālavalha*, III, 57: *janair=ajāta-skhalanair=na jātu dvayē=py=amuchyanta vinita-mārgāḥ*. In verse 9, the verbal form *ajani*, in the causative sense, is a solecism, which is repeated in *jajñē* in verse 10. Similar solecisms are not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions. On the seals of Bhāskaravarman of Prāgjyōtisha, for instance, we have *tēna jātū dēvyām śrī-Ratnavatyām..... Kalyāṇavarumā*.<sup>3</sup> To quote an earlier instance, we have *vasundharēśas=tanayam prajajñē* in the Mandasor inscription of Mālava Samvat 524, referring to the Gupta king Gōvindagupta.<sup>4</sup> The word *śuddhām* in verse 7 has possibly to be taken as synonymous with *kēvalām*, which would be of lexical interest. The construction, however, seems to be faulty inasmuch as a *tām* was essential in the subordinate clause and that is absent. Instead of *śuddhām*, something like *tām=ēva* would thus have been better. These observations, it may be admitted, hold good only in case the interpretation of the verse in question as given below be acceptable. The verse no doubt is a hard nut to crack.

The main **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Kāmāntaka, i.e., Śiva, evidently identical with the present Chāṭēśvara temple. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who exactly was responsible for raising this edifice. Vasu ascribes it to Anaṅga-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. D. C. Sircar, for instance, justifies this designation (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 236; *IIIQ*, XXVIII, pp. 130-1). The script of the present inscription compares well with that of Svapnēśvara's inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhīma II; above, Vol. VI, plate facing page 202.

<sup>2</sup> The confusion between *v* and *b* is not only a palaeographical feature, but also a phonetic peculiarity, which is noticeable in certain inscriptions even of the Gupta period. See Dr. G. S. Gai's note in the *Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66, Calcutta, 1942)*, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 15, text 1, line 4.

bhīma II,<sup>1</sup> whereas a careful perusal of the text, even as it is presented by the said scholar, will show that it was Anaṅgabhīma II's (really III's) minister, **Vishṇu**, who built that temple. Bābu Manomohan Chakravartī, who, by the way, proved this Anaṅgabhīma to be Anaṅgabhīma III (and not II), has evaded the issue by merely observing : "Several years would have elapsed between the minister Vishṇu's fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple."<sup>2</sup> Bābu Rākhāl Dās Banerji, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note by attributing the construction of the Śiva temple in question to Gōvinda who was the said Anaṅgabhīma's grandfather's minister.<sup>3</sup> The confusion is probably due to the fact that Anaṅgabhīma's grandfather's name also happens to be Anaṅgabhīma and that both he and his minister, Gōvinda, also figure in the present inscription, as we shall presently see. Dr. Hemchandra Ray, however, correctly ascribes the erection of the temple to Vishṇu.<sup>4</sup>

Our inscription mentions only four members of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga : (1) Chōḍagaṅga, (2) his son Anaṅgabhīma, (3) his son Rājendra, and (4) his son Anaṅgabhīma. Not taking the earlier rulers of the lineage into consideration, Vasu took the second of the aforementioned members as Anaṅgabhīma I and the fourth as Anaṅgabhīma II. In the context of the full genealogy, however, these two stand as Anaṅgabhīma II and Anaṅgabhīma III respectively, one of their forefathers (Vajrahasta by name) being Anaṅgabhīma I.<sup>5</sup> It may further be observed that a variant form of this name, which frequently occurs in inscriptions, is Aniyaṅkabhīma, and that Rājendra of our inscription is to be equated with Rājarāja III. The full genealogy as well as the events connected with the various members of the dynasty has recently been reviewed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his edition of the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III ; Śaka 1151 and 1152.<sup>6</sup> The portion of the genealogy contained in the present inscription stands as follows :

- (1) Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.)
- (2) Anaṅgabhīma II (4th son of 1) (1190-97 A. C.)
- (3) Anantavarman-Rājarāja III (son of 2) (1198-1211 A. C.)
- (4) Anaṅgabhīma III (son of 3) (1211-38 A. C.)

Again, as indicated above, in connection with Anaṅgabhīma II, our inscription mentions *his* minister Gōvinda ; and in connection with Anaṅgabhīma III, it describes *his* minister Vishṇu. As a matter of fact, the Chāṭeśvara inscription is a eulogy of this Vishṇu himself. Of the total of twenty-five verses, the poet has devoted as many as thirteen to Vishṇu alone, describing his valour, learning and charities. The first eleven verses, descriptive of the Lunar Race and some of the later Gaṅga rulers belonging to it, serve as introduction, while the concluding stanza mentions the poet's name and fame. A perusal of the whole inscription leaves one with the impression that Vishṇu was that type of a minister who is all in all in a state, while its ruler counts as a mere figure-head.

The contents of the inscription are, briefly, as follows. It opens with a symbol for *śilpam* followed by *ōm* and obeisance to Śiva. Verse 1 is in praise of the Ocean and verse 2 in that of the Moon, born of the Ocean. Verse 3 refers, in a conventional way, to the kings descending from the Moon, i.e., those of the Lunar Race. Verses 4 to 6 describe, in a general way, king Chōḍagaṅga

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXVII (1898), p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII (1903), p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 255 and p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 478.

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(i.e., Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga). It is of interest to know that, in verse 4, he is described as an incarnation of the Narasiṃha *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu. We may parenthetically observe here that, as is known from other inscriptions, Chōḍagaṅga's ancestors were all staunch devotees of the god Śiva, and that Chōḍagaṅga himself was one such in the earlier part of his life; but that, about 1112 A.C., he started adoring Viṣṇu as well, later on becoming a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. His descendants all adhered to the Vaiṣṇava faith.<sup>1</sup> Verse 7 describes Chōḍagaṅga's son Anaṅgabhīma (II) as a peace-loving ruler. Verse 8 mentions his able minister, Gōvinda, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Verse 9 introduces Anaṅgabhīma (II)'s son Rājendra (Rājarāja III), whose son Anaṅgabhīma (III) is described, in verses 10 and 11, as a valorous and munificent ruler. Verses 12 to 22 are descriptive of Anaṅgabhīma (III)'s minister, Viṣṇu. In verse 12 he is stated to have stabilised the empire of the lord of Trikaliṅga (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III). Verse 13 represents him as a great warrior. Verse 14 alludes to his having routed a king of Tummāṇa, while in verse 15 mention is made of his fight with a Muslim ruler (*Yarān-āvanīndra*). Verse 16 refers to his vigilance and war-preparedness, ensuring safety and security to the empire of the lord of Utkala (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III). Verses 17 and 18 contain a poetic description of his glory (*yaśas*). Verse 19 adverts to the *Tulāpurusha* gift which, it is indicated, he ceremonially gave on the sea-shore near Puri. Verse 20 contains a poetic description of sea-breezes and informs us that the minister Viṣṇu caused pools and tanks to be constructed along principal roads. Verses 21 and 22 describe his proficiency in the *Vēdas* and various *sāstras*. It may, in passing, be remarked that it is on the strength of these two verses that Viṣṇu may be taken as a Brāhmaṇa. Otherwise, neither his caste nor his parentage is expressly stated in the inscription. Besides, we are not in a position to say whether he was in any way related to Gōvinda, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Anaṅgabhīma II. Verse 23 informs us that Viṣṇu erected the temple of the Destroyer of Cupid (*Kāmāntaka*), i.e., Śiva. In verse 24 a long life is wished to this temple as well as to the *praśasti*. The author of the *praśasti*, a poet, Bhāskara by name, introduces himself in verse 25, as the last item.

It may be realised that this eulogy gives us more of poetry than of history. The translation of the text appended hereto will give an idea of the heights of imagery and hyperbole to which the poet Bhāskara has soared. He has exhibited his skill well; but, alas! he has not been understood so well, with the result that what little of historical value his poem contains has suffered distortion. The obscurity that prevailed over the identity of the builder of the temple has already been pointed out. Following Vasu's translation, Banerji says: "According to this inscription either Gōvinda or Anaṅgabhīma III erected several pleasure-houses at Parashūttama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpurusha* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."<sup>2</sup> Now, this statement is wrong. In the first place, it is neither Gōvinda nor Anaṅgabhīma III, but Viṣṇu, who should be credited with the works of public utility enumerated. These, again, in reality consist only of tanks. He constructed no pleasure-houses and no roads. A perusal of the text and its rendering (of verses 19 and 20) given below will show that the so-called pleasure-houses refer to the toy-hillocks of jewellery for the *Tulāpurusha* gift, magnified by the poetic fancy into so many replicas of the Mount Meru, the abode of the gods, and that, so far as roads are concerned, Viṣṇu only *dotted* them with tanks here and there, and had nothing to do with their constructions. Besides, even the excavation of tanks may not be taken as a personal charity of Viṣṇu. It was presumably a part of the liberal policy of the government with Viṣṇu as its chief minister. What stands to the credit of Viṣṇu as a person, judging from the description given, is the great gift of *Tulāpurusha*, apart from the building of a Śiva temple, the main object of the inscription. It may be observed that the *Tulāpurusha* is the first of sixteen

<sup>1</sup> Ibid, pp. 239-40.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 202.

*mahādānas*, 'great gifts,' enumerated and elaborately described in the *Purānas*.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the particular gift in question, the donor gives away in charity his own weight of precious metal and stones (gold, silver, ornaments, jewels, etc.).

Historically, the allusions to the wars waged by Vishṇu on behalf of his master, Anaṅgabhīma III, are more important. They are, however, so vague that they do not add much to our knowledge. Verse 14, shorn of its hyperbole, means to convey that Vishṇu fought with a king of Tum-māna and possibly harassed him. We know that Tum-māna was the capital of a branch of the Haihayas of Mahākōśala, now represented by a small village called Tumāna 'in the Lāphā Zamin-dāri of the Bilāspur District in the Chattisgarh Division' of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> We know also that these rulers came into conflict with the Gaṅgas of Utkala (Orissa). In fact, Ratnadēva II of the Haihaya line is known to have inflicted a defeat on the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the great-grandfather of Anaṅgabhīma III.<sup>3</sup> It is, however, not known as to who the adversary of Vishṇu was. It may be argued that the author of the *prasasti* would have given us a more detailed and definitive information on the point, if the war were really a major one. Chakravartī infers from the poetic description that 'the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vindhya hills'.<sup>4</sup> It is true that the *Vindhy-ādrēr=adhī-sīma bhīma-taṭinī-kañjē* of the original does lend itself to that sort of inference, yet it is open to various objections. In the first place, the word *bhīma-taṭinī* may not refer to a river of the name of Bhīmā, as we have taken it to mean. In fact, no river of this name is known to exist in the region concerned. The well-known Bhīmā or Bhīmarathī, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā river, is too far in the south. It is thus more probable that the compound *bhīma-taṭinī-kañjē* is to be rendered by 'in the fearsome groves along rivers.' The choice of the word *bhīma* in this context seems to have been dictated by the poet's liking for alliteration. After all, the poet is describing the bewildered state of his hero's adversary running about in all directions, and not the site of any battle.

The reference to Vishṇu's encounter with a Muslim ruler in verse 15 is even more obscure. Chakravartī's supposition that this 'refers probably to some inroads of Ghiyās-ud-dīn' Iwaz, the fourth Bengal ruler' lacks corroboration.

It is needless to dilate upon the faulty text and the free rendering of it presented by Vasu, resulting in misconceptions, some of which have been shown above. As indicated above, the inscription is to be treated more as a piece of poetry than as a bit of history.

#### TEXT<sup>6</sup>

[Meters: V. 1 *Śikharīṅg*; v. 2 *Uṭṭijī*; v. 3 *Sragdhara*; v. 4 *Mandūkrāntā*; vv. 5—7, 10—17, 20 *Śāradāvikrāntā*; vv. 8, 9, 21, 25 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 18 *Harīṅg*; v. 19 *Prithvī*; v. 22 *Yamāsthambā*; vv. 23, 24 *Māliṅg*.]

1 सिद्धम् ॐ नमः [नवाय ॥ स यस्मिन्मैनाकः स्मरति जनकक्रोडललितं  
यदन्नः श्रीतान्नः श्रयति गृहजामानृपद्वीम् । सुरेभ्यस्तन्मन्थव्यसनमनुभूय  
व्याध्न यस्मृधामन्त्रं सोयञ्जयति सरि-

<sup>1</sup> The sixteen great cities are: *Paṭliputra*, *Hiranyapura*, *Brahmānḍa*, *Kalpavṛkṣa*, *Uśasahasra*, *Hiranyakūmadhīna*, *Hiranyavata*, *Hiranyasūtra*, *Hiranyasūtra*, *Panchalāṅgulaka*, *Dharā*, *Viśvachakra*, *Kalpalatā*, *Saptasāgara*, *Ratnadhara* and *Mahābhāratapāṭa*. For their description, see the *Matsya Purāna*, chapters 273-288. Compare also Hēmidra's *Ch. Pratyakṣakāma*, *Dānakhaṅga*, *Prakaraṇa* V.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII (1924), p. 267.

<sup>3</sup> H. C. Ray, *IBHI*, Vol. I, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXXII (1908), p. 119.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> From the original and from indel-stampings.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 तामेकसुभगः ॥[१॥\*] तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः कलानिधिर्विष्वविलोचनानाम् ।  
यमर्षयामास गुणानुरागान्ने[त्रे] मुरारिर्मुकुटे पुरारिः ॥[२॥\*] भूपास्तस्माद्भू-  
भूवुर्विसृमरसमरोदञ्चदाश्चर्य्यवीर्य्यज्यो-
- 3 तिज्जर्वालावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्त्यानदानप्रबन्धाः । येषां कीर्त्तिप्रवा[हैः] प्रतिपदमुदयत्स्वद्धु-  
नीसङ्गमौल्यप्रेङ्खरकल्लोलकेलिः कलयति जलधिस्तानि लीलायितानि ॥[३॥\*]  
तेषाम्बं(षां वं)शे विशदयशसा-
- 4 ञ्चोडगङ्गक्षितीन्द्रव्याजव्यक्तं नरहरितनोज्ज्योतिराविर्बभूव । दम्पो(र्षो)द्दामद्विप-  
मदनदीतीर्थसंन्यासिना यन्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिनृपतयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीम् ॥[४॥\*]  
धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान्प्रागेव वै-
- 5 रिश्रियः स्मेरामर्षतरङ्गितेन मनसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः । चक्रे वैरिवधूजनस्तनतटीर्य्यो  
मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः पश्चाद्दुर्गगन्धसिन्धुरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्डस्थलीः ॥[५॥\*] यत्कल्लोलित-  
मण्डलाग्रकुटिलाटोपस्फु-
- 6 रत्साध्वसैर्य्यद्वाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्यर्थिभिः पार्थिवैः । चण्डांशोर्द्विवि मण्डलाग्रपटलं  
निर्भिद्य तन्मन्युना मन्ये निर्व्वृतिगर्व्वितैरनुसृतो निर्व्वर्णसीमा रसः ॥[६॥\*]  
आसीत्सूनुरनङ्गभीमनृप-
- 7 तिः पुण्यातपत्रन्ततो न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकलमषमसीकल्लोललीलायितैः । केयं  
मन्त्रकला यद्गुन्मदकरिव्यूहम्बि(हं वि)हायामुना शुद्धामेकपदे वृषे कलयता  
साम्राज्यमासादितम् ॥[७॥\*] स्वैरं श्रुति-
- 8 त्रयगवीभिर्हपास्यमानो गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः । राज्ञः क एष महिमा  
यदसावनेन साम्राज्यभारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥[८॥\*] सवा(र्वा)नतप्रतिमहीपति-  
केशपाशशेवालवल्लिशिख-
- 9 रे नखराजहंसाः । यत्पादपङ्कजगृहाश्रमिणः स्वपन्ति राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः  
क्षितीन्द्रः ॥[९॥\*] जज्ञेसौ तमनङ्गभीमनृपतिं यस्य प्रतापानलज्वालाम्ब(सं)लितैः  
सुवर्णशिखरी याति द्रवत्वं
- 10 यदि । आदायैनमर्हन्निशं यदि घना मुञ्चन्ति धारोत्करानाशाः पूरयितुं तथापि  
विजयी यद्दानकेलिक्रमः ॥[१०॥\*] त्रैलोक्यं विमलीकरोति यदि तत्कीर्त्तिर्मुधा  
स्वर्द्धनी कण्ठे चेद्विलुठन्ति

2 ५३ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 ४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 ६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 ८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
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 १२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
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 १६ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 १८ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 २० ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 २२ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥  
 २४ ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ इति श्रीमच्छिवपुराणे चतुर्विंशोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥



- 11 तद्भूणितयो विडमौक्तिकानां स्रजः । तत्पादाब्जनखद्युतिव्यतिकरैर्भूषाविधिर्यद्य-  
भूषणव्यतिरिक्तसालफलके कः पट्टबन्धग्रहः ॥[११॥\*] तस्याथ क्षितिपाल-  
भालवडभीनिद्रास्त-
- 12 पादाङ्गुलेर्विष्णुद्विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान्साचिव्यमव्याहृतम् । श्वेतच्छत्रशतानि यस्य  
यशसा निम्माय किम्ब्रूमहे साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपत्रीकृतम् ॥[१२॥\*]  
ये याताः शरणं
- 13 रणाङ्गुलि[शि]रस(रसं)न्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो [यै]र्वा दुर्दमदोर्विलासरसिकैरुत्खातखङ्गैः स्थितम् ।  
आश्चर्य्यं यदमी द्वयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः पदं] प्राप्ता निर्भर-  
निर्वृतिप्रणयितां प्र-
- 14 त्यथिनः पार्थिवाः ॥[१३॥\*] विन्ध्याद्रेरधिसीम भीमतटिनीकुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-  
द्विष्णुद्विष्णुरसावसाविति भयाद्वै तन्दिशः पश्यतः । योगाभ्यासपरिश्रमेण न  
तथा वेखानसानामिदं विश्वं
- 15 विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्माणपृथ्वीपतेः ॥[१४॥\*] कर्णोत्तंसितसायकस्य  
सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः किम्ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्द्रसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।  
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-
- 16 नां व्योमाङ्गणे नाभिनामश्वनैरनिमेपवृत्तिभिरभून्नेत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥[१५॥\*] साहस्राः  
परिनः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यूथैर्गजाः प्रेङ्खद्भिः पथि पुण्डरीकपटलै-  
द्विक्चक्रमा-
- 17 क्रम्यते । सम्वा(भवा)गः कटकेषु मौलि[षु] पदन्यासः कुलक्षमाभृतां [क्रु]द्वे यत्र  
न कार्तिवृत्तकल्पतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीक्षतिः ॥[१६॥\*] क्षमापीठं कियदम्बरङ्किय-  
दथ स्वःसौधमेतत्कियद्विक्चक्रं किय-
- 18 देतदेव कल्पय अक्ष्णाण्डम्वग्द्विक्चक्रम् । आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रे-  
दमामोदते यत्र [स्फूर्ज]ति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतद्यशः ॥[१७॥\*]  
वपानननामभ्यादनेयसंगितुं शिवः कुवलयकुलं
- 19 कर्णोत्तंसेन विभ्रति सुभ्रुवः । विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्गीर्विदन्त्य]लिनः स्वनैर्जगति  
जनितश्वेताद्धौते तदीय[य\*]शोभरैः ॥[१८॥\*] अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीषु  
वारान्निधेस्तटीषु यटितास्तुलापु-

- 20 रूष[हे]मभूमीभूतः । विलासवसतीशश[तं] कलयता बलारातिना शचीवदनवारिजे  
तरलितास्सलीलं दृशः ॥[१६॥\*] पन्थानः सरसां शतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्किता  
यत्तदा स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-
- 21 बर्भकुहरध्वस्ताध्वखेदोर्मयः । अन्तःसौरभसारशीकरमयैः पाथेयभारैरमी मन्दं  
मन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानम्भोधिवेलानिलाः ॥[२०॥\*] आन्वीक्षिकी कुटिलमैक्षत  
यं कटाक्षैर्यस्य त्रयी वदनताम-
- 22 रसं चुचुम्ब । स्वैरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्त्ता यं दण्डनीतिरपि निर्भर-  
मालिलिङ्ग ॥[२१॥\*] उदग्रदोषाद्यथप्रवर्त्तनरखत्तद्गतीनि श्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः ।  
चकार तत्त्व[प्र]तिपत्तिसम्प-
- 23 दाम्पदं पुराणानि पुनर्नवानि यः ॥[२२॥\*] कनककलशभावं भावयामास भास्वानजनि  
रजनिजानिः स्फाटिकः पूर्णकुम्भः । ध्वजपटत्रट्टलश्रीर्यत्र च व्योमगङ्गा  
विरचितममुनेदं धाम
- 24 कामान्तकस्य ॥[२३॥\*] त्रिभुवनभयशान्तिङ्गुर्नमैकाण्यवेन्नाजंनत्रपमिव यावत्कुर्वते  
पर्वतेन्द्राः । सदनमिदमुदञ्चत्फेनपुञ्जप्रनिष्ठासिद्ध कलयन्तु तावद्गीयताञ्च  
प्रशस्तिः ॥[२४॥\*] लोका-
- 25 श्चतुर्दश न माति यशो यदीयं विद्याश्चतुर्दश न नृप्यनि यम्य बुद्धिः ।  
मन्वन्तराण्यपि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्तिर्न म्वातिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोस्याः  
॥[२५\*] ॥

## TRANSLATION

Success ! Ōm ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1) Hail to the Ocean, the sole (lovable) lord of (all) the rivers, (submerged) in whom the famous (mount) Maināka (still) cherishes the memory of his (childhood's) frolics in the parental lap,<sup>1</sup> in whom Vishṇu is (enjoying himself) as son-in-law at (his father-in-law's) home,<sup>2</sup> (and) who

<sup>1</sup> Mt. Maināka, son of Mt. Himālaya from Mēnā or Mēnāka, a famous deity, because he was lucky enough to have escaped the calamity when Indra clipped the wings of the mountains. He owes his escape to his friendship with the Ocean. The word *janaka* in the original stands for both *janaka* and *janani*, 'father and mother', according to Pāṇini, I, ii, 67 or I, ii, 70.

<sup>2</sup> Vishṇu is known to be Mahōdadhiśaya, i.e., 'one who reclines on the waters of the great ocean'. The ocean is his father-in-law, because his wife, Lakṣmī, happens to be the daughter of the Ocean.

freely distributed ambrosia<sup>1</sup> among the gods (*even*)<sup>2</sup> after having experienced torture at their hands at the time when they churned him!

(Verse 2) From him (the ocean) was born the Moon, causing wonderment to the eyes of one and all, whom Vishṇu placed in his eye, (*and*) whom Śiva placed on his forehead,<sup>3</sup> out of loving regard for his virtues.

(Verse 3) From him (the Moon) sprang kings, the glowing flames of whose amazing prowess manifesting itself on the (*ever*) expanding battle-fields consumed the swollen stream of rut of the enemy elephants, the union with the celestial Gaṅgā rising every moment through the ceaseless influx of whose fame caused such a (*thrill of*) joy to the Ocean that he started rollicking with surging waves, the which revels he keeps indulging in (*to this day*).<sup>4</sup>

(Verse 4) In the family of those (*kings*) of the spotless fame did the glory of the Narasimha incarnation (*of the god Vishṇu*)<sup>5</sup> manifest itself in the guise of the king Chōḍagaṅga whose sword a veritable hermit on the sacred banks of the river of rut of the (*enemy*) elephants flying into a frenzied rage, helped the hostile princes attain the blessing of salvation.<sup>6</sup>

(Verse 5) With his mind agitated by the palpable displeasure, he (Chōḍagaṅga) grabbed, in his hand (*so soft*) as a fresh leaf, the chignon of the enemy Fortune even before<sup>7</sup> he clutched his creeper-like sword, (*and similarly*) he first rendered the gorgeous bosoms of the ladies of his enemies bereft of their pearls (*and*) afterwards<sup>8</sup> (*he did so*) the broad temples<sup>9</sup> of the boisterous scent-elephants<sup>9</sup> (*of his enemies*), from which rut was trickling profusely.

(Verse 6) At his indignation, the hostile chiefs, obviously frightened by his scimitar being brandished and looming large (*to their horror*), (*and*) shuddering under the volley of the multitude of his arrows, sought after the joy of complete-extinction type, as if priding themselves on eman-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'installed an alms-house of ambrosia for the gods.' Ambrosia (*amṛita* or *sudhā*) is one of the fourteen gems that the Ocean yielded when churned by the gods and the demons. These include the Moon and Lakshmi as well.

<sup>2</sup> The implication being that he treated benevolently and generously even those who wronged him grievously.

<sup>3</sup> While Śiva's carrying a crescent on his forehead is well known, the idea of Vishṇu's bearing the Moon in the eye goes back to the *Vēdas*, where he is described as 'having fire as his head and the sun and moon as his eyes' (*agnir=mūrdhā chakshushī chandra-sāryau*). It is on account of this that one of Vishṇu's thousand names is *Ravilōchana*, i.e., 'one who has the sun as one of the eyes' (see *Vishṇusahasranāma*, with Śaṅkarāchārya's commentary, verse 93).

<sup>4</sup> In order to appreciate the poetic fancy here one must know that *kīrti* (fame) is conceived as a white liquid while the waters of the celestial Gaṅgā (really speaking, the Galaxy or Milky Way in the heavens) are regarded to be milky. The augmentation is thus supposed greatly to add to the gracefulness and charms of the fancied lady, hurrying to her lover, with the heaving bosom.

<sup>5</sup> *Narāharitana* of the original is comparable with *Nārasimhāvapuḥ* of the *Vishṇusahasranāma*, verse 3.

<sup>6</sup> A florid substitute for saying: 'he killed his enemies.'

<sup>7</sup> The alleged reverse order of *vanquishing* and *molestation*, rhetorically speaking, indicates the agility of action and confidence of victory on the part of the person whose valour is described here.

<sup>8</sup> As for the temples of elephants having pearls, they are traditionally known as one of the various sources of pearls. The tradition is recorded by Mallinātha as follows: *Kurīndru-jīmūta-varāha-śankha-matsy-āhi-śukty-udbhava-vāpujāni muktāphulāni prathilāni lōkā tēhām tu śukty-udbhavam-ēva bhūri*. 'Pearls are known in the world as emanating from elephants, clouds, boars, conchshells, fish, snakes, oyster-shells and bamboos. Of them, however, those coming from oyster-shells are most common.' For details, see under *muktā* in the *Śabdakalpadruma*.

<sup>9</sup> A scent-elephant, *gandha-sindhara*, is supposed to be one of the most excellent kind of elephants. It is defined as *Yasya gandham samūghrāya na liṣṭhanti pratidvipāh sa vai gandha-gajō nāma nripatēr-vijay-āvahab*. 'A scent-elephant is that having smelt whose scent the rival elephants take to flight; such a scent-elephant brings victory to the king (*who owns it*).'



icipation (from the bondage of this world), having pierced through the frontal disc of the orb of the sun in the heaven.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 7) From him (Chōḍagaṅga) was (born his) son, king Anaṅgabhīma, a very parasol of piety,<sup>2</sup> who was not touched by the spurtings of billows of the ink of sins of the Kali age. What a (wonderful) magic trick was that, leaving aside the array of rutting elephants, (and depending rather) on the one-legged bull (i.e., *dharma*), adopting merely<sup>3</sup> that (magic), he had secured the empire?<sup>4</sup>

(Verse 8) In the family of (the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the) Vatsa (*gōtra*) there was born an excellent Brāhmaṇa, called Gōvinda, who was voluntarily adored by the hymns and chants of (all) the three Vēdas.<sup>5</sup> What an (astonishing) greatness was this of the king that he made him (Gōvinda) the bull-at-the-yoke for carrying the burden of (his) empire?<sup>6</sup>

(Verse 9) Then, from him (Anaṅgabhīma) was born a king, named Rājendra, the swans (in the form) of toe-nails, the house-holders (so to say) of lotuses (in the form) of whose feet, rest<sup>7</sup> on the top of mossy weeds (in the shape) of locks of hair of all the hostile chiefs who bowed (to him).

(Verse 10) He (Rājendra) begot that king Anaṅgabhīma whose manner of disporting himself by giving charities far excels in fulfilling desires (of the suppliants), even if the mountain of gold (i.e., Sumēru) gets melted by the blasts of the flames of the fire of his prowess, and the clouds, having taken it (molten gold), shower it in milliard streams day and night for filling (all) the quarters (of the space).

(Verse 11) If his fame purifies (all) the three worlds, in vain is there the celestial Gaṅgā! If his utterances roll about in the neck (of the people),<sup>8</sup> fie upon pearl necklaces! If the purpose

<sup>1</sup> All this means that the enemies fought and fell. Seeing no escape from the sure death, they made a virtue of necessity, hoping to be rewarded in the world hereafter with the reward of a happy warrior. And that reward consists in the attainment of perfect bliss in the solar region, as the tradition has it, which only two can reach, a *yōgin* and a warrior. Compare the couplet: *Dvāv-īman puruṣau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala-bhāḍīman parivrāḍ-yōga-yuktāś-cha raṇē ch-ābhimukhō hataḥ*. 'There are these two men in the world who burst through the disc of the sun, (one is) a peripatetic *yōgin* perfected in meditation, and (the other is he) who is killed in the battle without turning his back (upon his opponent)'. (*Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 6th edition, 1929, p. 161, verse 106.) Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, kindly informed me that this couplet is met with in certain Kannaḍa hero-stone inscriptions. See B. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, London, 1909, p. 172. It may be recalled that, among the duties of a *kshatriya*, a noteworthy one is *yuddhē ch-āpy-āpalāyanam*, 'not running away in the battle field' (*Śrīmudbhayavulgiṭā*, XVIII, 43), which is echoed in the *raṇē ch-ābhimukhō hataḥ* of the couplet quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> This means that the pious people enjoyed special protection and security under Anaṅgabhīma.

<sup>3</sup> Mark the use of the word *suddha* in the sense of *kēvala* in the present context. The English word *pure* offers a parallel inasmuch as this likewise is occasionally used in the sense of *sheer* or *mere*. See remarks above, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> The implication is that Anaṅgabhīma was a peace-loving and righteous king. Though he possessed war elephants, he never went to war. The bull, symbolic of *dharma*, stood on all the four legs in the Kṛita age, on three legs in the Trētā age, on two legs in the Dvāpara age, and in the present Kali age, he stands only on one leg, mythologically speaking. Again, *mantra-kalā* apparently denotes here 'magic trick' or the like, but in reality it stands for *mantra-śakti*, 'the expedient of wise counsel,' which is one of the three expedients well-known in the lore of statecraft, the other two being *prabhu-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti*, referring to the personality of the king himself and the enthusiasm of his forces respectively. The poet astutely tells us in the present verse that Anaṅgabhīma's success as a ruler was due to the wise counsel he used to receive from his ministers, one of whom is described in the verse that follows.

<sup>5</sup> In other words, he easily acquired proficiency in the Vedic lore.

<sup>6</sup> Another of the poet's pet conundrums! Being a calf (*Vatsa*), a great favourite of the cows (*gavī*), Gōvinda must indeed have made a fine bull of himself to drag the great burden! Shorn of the poetic embellishment, the circumlocution means that Gōvinda was Anaṅgabhīma's chief minister.

<sup>7</sup> Mark in this verse and in the following ones the historic present tense, referring to the past events.

<sup>8</sup> It need not be pointed out that the Sanskrit word *kaṇṭha* means both 'throat' and 'neck'.

of decoration could be served by the sparklings of lustre of the toe-nails of his lotus-like feet, what was the necessity of tying a tiara on the block of a forehead of the hostile chiefs ?

(Verse 12) Now, he (Anāṅgabhīma), the toes of whose feet used to fall into a slumber (as if were) on the balcony<sup>1</sup> (in the form) of the foreheads of (hostile) princes, had one Vishṇu, like a second (god) Vishṇu (himself), who served him uninterruptedly as his minister. What should we speak of his (Vishṇu's) fame which, having created hundreds of white parasols (all over the world), brought the (whole) empire of the king, the lord of Trikalinga, under one single parasol ?<sup>2</sup>

(Verse 13) How wonderful that no sooner had they approached the foot of Vishṇu<sup>3</sup> than both (kinds of) the hostile chiefs, those who surrendered to him, laying down the arms in front of him in the forefront of the battle-field, and those who stood their ground with their swords upraised, itching for a trial of strength, achieved the blissful state of complete emancipation !

(Verse 14) The anchorites of the Vaikhānasa order, by their striving in the practice of *yōga*, do not so much perceive this universe to be composed of (the god) Vishṇu as indeed it appeared to the king of Tummāṇa to be consisting of (the minister) Vishṇu, who, (in his hallucination) out of fear, saw him (in all) the directions, repeatedly uttering 'there is Vishṇu, there is Vishṇu,' (during his flight from the battle) at the skirts of the Vindhya hills, in the forests along the Bhīmā river, (and) on the shore of the sea.<sup>4</sup>

(Verse 15) How are we to describe that heroism of his (Vishṇu's) during his fight with the Muslim king, while all alone—his arrows appearing as his ear-pendants<sup>5</sup>—he shot dead (many) expert soldiers, which (display of heroism) became a grand feast to the sleepless and unwinking eyes<sup>6</sup> of the gods who were the interested lookers-on in the heaven above ?

(Verse 16) While he (Vishṇu) is on the alert,<sup>7</sup> no harm whatsoever (can come) to the sovereignty of the lord of Utkala ; horses in their thousands are prancing on all sides, elephants are playing about in herds, all the quarters of the space are choked with multitudes of lilies swaying on (either side of every) road, residence is in camps (also, on the mountain ridges), (and) tramping is on the foreheads of (hostile) chiefs of noble birth (also, on the peaks of the celebrated mountains).

<sup>1</sup> The term *vaḍabhī* or *valabhī*, properly speaking, means 'topmost part of a building' or 'part of a sloping roof projecting from the outer wall,' which in Hindustani is called *chhajjā*.

<sup>2</sup> The point of poetic perplexity is the creation of hundreds of umbrellas on the one hand, and on the other the keeping of the government under only one umbrella. It may be pointed out that 'a single parasol' is symbolic of universal sovereignty. Cf. *Ēkātapatram jagataḥ prabhutvam*, in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, II, 47.

<sup>3</sup> Vishṇu's *pada* refers to the god Vishṇu's holy feet as well as to the minister Vishṇu's proximity. The verse implies that those of the enemies who dared to oppose were killed downright, and those who surrendered were allowed to enjoy their freedom !

<sup>4</sup> The poet has cleverly kept up the minister Vishṇu's comparison with the god of that name in this verse as well. For a different interpretation of the expression *bhīma-taṭinī-kuñjē*, see above, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> That is, pulling the bow-string right up to the ear while shooting arrows.

<sup>6</sup> The eyes of the gods are traditionally known to be ever wide open, without winking. The poet evidently wishes to convey that, in watching the heroic feat of Vishṇu, the natural winklessness of their eyes proved an extra advantage to the gods, because thereby they did not miss the great sight even for so short a time as the twinkling of an eye.

<sup>7</sup> 'On the alert' is a free rendering of the original *kruddha* which literally means 'angry' or 'furious'. This is to be equated with the *udyata-danḍa* ('one with the rod upraised') of the *rājanīti* or statecraft. Expatriating on *rājadharmā*, Manu says: *Nityam-udyata-danḍaḥ syāt*, etc., "Let him be ever ready to strike", etc. (*Manu-smṛiti*, VII, 102 and 103, and G. Bühler's translation in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 232). Commentators like Kullūka explain *danḍa* in this context by *hasty-aśv-ādi-śikṣābhyaśa*, 'military training and drilling, especially for wars with the help of elephants and horses.' The poet of our *praśasti* evidently refers to such a war-preparedness on the part of Vishṇu in mentioning the sports of horses and elephants and all the rest of it in the present verse. The lilies and lotuses symbolise the peace with plenty established through his good administration, while the tramping on foreheads points to the proper subjugation of hostile elements in like manner.

(Verse 17) Just think (of it)! How extensive (after all) is the surface of the earth where his (Vishṇu's) Fame can comfortably sit? How spacious is the sky where she can stretch her feet? How big is the mansion of heaven where she can enjoy herself? How roomy are the quarters of the space where she can leap about? And how expansive is this fragment of a universe where she can dwell?

(Verse 18) The world having been (white) washed by the heaps of his fame, owing to the (all-enveloping) whiteness produced (thereby), Śiva grabs at Yamunā for adorning (his head), fair damsels carry blue lilies for their ear-ornaments, (and) in the heart of the jasmine groves the bees make out their mates (only) by the buzzing sound.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 19) On the shores of the sea, favourite of (the god) Purushōttama,<sup>2</sup> he (Vishṇu) raised many a veritable Mēru (mountain of gold) while performing the *Tulūpurusha* ceremonies. (Consequently) Indra, seeing (not one but) a hundred pleasure-resorts (resembling Mēru), cast askance amorous glances on the lotus-like face of (his consort) Śachi.<sup>3</sup>

(Verse 20) He (Vishṇu) dotted the roads with hundreds of lotus-pools, at convenient intervals. From that time onwards, the sea-breezes, with their fatigue and weariness of the way removed by (their resting in) the deep inner cavities of the blooming lotuses, carrying provisions for the journey—provisions consisting of the spray pregnant with the fragrant essence—gently follow the way-farers.

(Verse 21) Logic regarded him with favour! Lore of the *Vēdas* kissed his ruddy lips! Ethics had a free play in his heart! Statecraft, too, embraced him lustily!

(Verse 22) As for the *Purāṇas* (the old persons, so to say),<sup>4</sup> he, himself being a repository of the wealth of clear understanding of the real meanings (of the *Vēdas* and the like), revived (and rejuvenated) them; (for), owing to the great defect (and the derangement, attendant on old age, of the humours of the body, known as *tri-dōsha*) through the perversion of the views about the *Vēdas* (and the decay<sup>5</sup> in the faculties of hearing and seeing), they were leading (people) on the wrong path and thereby becoming unpopular (and going astray and stumbling).

(Verse 23) This temple of Śiva has been built by him (Vishṇu), where the Sun has assumed the form of its globe<sup>6</sup> of gold, the Moon has become its crystal pitcher full (of water),<sup>7</sup> and the celestial Gaṅgā (is apparent in) the fluttering beauty of its banner.

<sup>1</sup> Traditionally, the waters of the Yamunā are black whereas those of the Gaṅgā are white, and it is white lilies that ladies take for making them into ear-pendants. The bees are naturally black. The confusion, such as Śiva reaching for Yamunā instead of for Gaṅgā, is wrought by the fame which has turned everything white, poetically speaking.

<sup>2</sup> The allusion seems to be the beach near Puri in Orissa, where there is a famous temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha, so closely associated with the minister Vishṇu's patron, Anāṅgabhīma III.

<sup>3</sup> Mythologically, Mount Mēru consists of gold and gems, and is the abode of the gods. In the *Amarakōśa*, I, 49, we have such significant synonyms of it as *Hēmādri* ('mountain of gold'), *Ratnasīnu* (gem-peaked) and *Surālaya* ('abode of the gods'). The sight of a hundred such delightful abodes must needs rouse a desire for dalliance in Indra, the lord of the gods.

<sup>4</sup> The analogy with old persons is kept up in the attributes that are given in this verse to the *Purāṇas*. It need hardly be mentioned that the word *purāṇa* means 'old.'

<sup>5</sup> The use of the word *vibhrama* in the sense of *bhrāṇśa*, decay or decline, is best illustrated in the *Śrīmad-bhagavadgītā*, II, 63 :

*Krōdhād bhavati saṁmōhaḥ  
saṁmōhāt smṛiti-vibhramas  
smṛiti-bhramāt buddhi-nāśō  
buddhi-nāśāt prapūsyati*

<sup>6</sup> By this is meant the spherical member of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple, from which rises the bud-shaped spire.

<sup>7</sup> This obviously refers to the pitcher of water, which is kept suspended or placed on a tripod over the *Śivalīnga* in the *sanctum sanctorum*, the pitcher having a tiny hole at the bottom to allow water constantly to drip on the *līnga* below.

(Verse 24) As long as the great mountains<sup>1</sup> remain inside the ocean, as if engaged in the *jala-japa* prayers<sup>2</sup> for the removal of dangers from and the establishment of peace in (*all*) the three worlds, so long may this temple keep up the grandeur of swelling heaps of foam<sup>3</sup> in this world, and so long may (*this*) eulogy be sung (*as well*)!

(Verse 25) That well-known Bhāskara is the poet of this (*poem*), whose fame is hardly contained in (*all*) the fourteen worlds<sup>4</sup> that there are, whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (*all*) the fourteen lores<sup>5</sup> that there are, and whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (*all*) the fourteen aeons<sup>6</sup> that there are.

## No. 17—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

### A.—Kāśyapa Image Inscription from Silao

This inscription has been published by me.<sup>7</sup> It attracted the attention of Professor Dr. E. H. Johnston of the Balliol College, Oxford, England, who was good enough to offer some illuminating comments on it in a letter, dated the 18th October, 1941, addressed to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Dr. Chakravarti kindly supplied me with the relevant extract from that letter. This extract runs as follows :

“Owing to various circumstances I have only recently seen Dr. Chhabra’s interesting article in *Epigraphia Indica* on the Kāśyapa image inscription at Silao. On one or two points however he has overlooked references, which would have modified his interpretation. If you would be good enough to send this letter to him, he might be interested to look up those I mention, and if he wishes to publish a supplemental note, he is welcome to make what use of my remarks he likes ; there is no need to mention my name.

“On page 330 he refers to *Buddhacaritra*, xvii, 12, in Cowell’s edition; but the whole of the text in Cowell from xiv, 33 on is a nineteenth century addition by Amṛtānanda, who was Hodgson’s pandit in Khatmandu. Āsvaghoṣa did give a full account of Mahākāśyapa’s conversion, and an English translation of it from the Tibetan and Chinese by me is to be found in *Acta Orientalia*, XV, canto xvii, 24 ff. There is also an earlier translation in German from the Tibetan only by Fr. Weller in *Das Leben des Buddha von Āsvaghoṣa*.

<sup>1</sup> The reference here is to the submarine mountains.

<sup>2</sup> In an ordinary *japa*, the votary sits in a quiet corner and mutters prayer or repeats a formula there in an undertone or inarticulately, but in a *jala-japa*, as the term indicates, he is required to keep sitting under water all the while.

<sup>3</sup> One has to imagine that the exterior of the temple was originally white-washed, and that the main item of the up-keep of a temple usually consists of a fresh coat of lime-wash at least once a year. The poet no doubt wished that the temple built by Vishṇu might be well looked after and might endure for ever, but the *phēna-puñja-pratishṭhā* of the stanza lends itself equally to a totally opposite and undesired sense : *the solidity of a heap of foam*, a mocking reference to the ephemeral nature of man-made things.

<sup>4</sup> The broad division of the universe into three : earth, heaven and the nether world, is here replaced by its more elaborate classification into the following fourteen sections : *bhū*, *bhuvā*, *svā*, *māhas*, *janas*, *tapas*, *satya*, *atala*, *vitāla*, *sulāla*, *rasātāla*, *talātāla*, *mahātāla* and *pātāla*. The first one refers to this earth, the next six are above it, one over the other, and the remaining seven are under it, one below the other.

<sup>5</sup> The fourteen traditional lores are four *Vēdas*, six *Vēdāṅgas*, *Dharma*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya* and the *Purānas* collectively as the fourteenth.

<sup>6</sup> The fourteen *manvantaras* constitute but one day of Brahman. They comprise 4,320,000 human years. Six such periods have already passed, we are living in the seventh, and seven more are yet to come.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, 327 ff. and plate.

"In verse I, should not *javana* be taken in the technical sense, as described in Rhys Davids-Stede, Pali Dictionary, s. v. ? It is a puzzle to me that the term does not appear to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. I would suggest the meaning here is "of immeasurable intelligence" (or "power of perception"?).

"The last verse refers to the legend that Mahākali attained Nirvāṇa, but after it his body was preserved by magic, and he entered the Gurupāda mountain, where he awaits the coming of Maitreya. Hiuan Tsang's account of it differs slightly from this and from the verse, in making his Nirvāṇa be deferred till the meeting with Maitreya. For the canonical accounts see Watters, On Yuan Chwang, II, 144, and much more fully in J. Przyluski, La Legendé 'Acoka 167 ff. (Is this latter important work not available in Indian Libraries?) Dr. Chhabra is clearly not satisfied with his own translation and has not seen the significance of *adhīsthāya*, which refers to *adhīsthāna*, the magic spiritual power of Buddha, by which he causes things to endure, or a Bodhisattva to explain the most esoteric points of doctrine. For references see La Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, ch. iii, 31, and ch. vii, 119 and E. Lamotte, Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā, 56 ff., and Suzuki, Studies in the Laṅkāvatārasūtra, 377.

"Despite the last, I think it is unusual to find the power attributed to anyone except the Buddha. It is of course a specifically Mahāyāna doctrine, and the Hīnayāna adopted it from them. I take it that the verse means "This Kāśyapa, who passed into Nirvāṇa and yet kept his body in existence by his magic power just for the good of the world, resides (lit. shines) in the Beautiful Gurupāda mountain; i. e. inside the mountain, not on it."

I have nothing to add, except one remark in connection with Dr. Johnston's explanation of the last verse. It might be considered right provided the *sō-'yam* of the original be taken as referring to Kāśyapa *himself*. It is, on the contrary, presumed that we are concerned here with the *statue* and the inscription on its pedestal. And when the latter says *sō-'yam=ābhāti Kāśyapah*, it obviously alludes to the stone image of Kāśyapa,<sup>1</sup> and not to Kāśyapa as a person. Such being the case, would it not be correct to say 'on the mountain, not inside it' rather than 'inside the mountain, not on it'?

Further, I am inclined to connect *Gurupādā girau ranyē* with *nirritah* and not with *sō-'yam=ābhāti*.<sup>2</sup> The difference it makes is as obvious as it is consequential. According to the latter construction, the statue must necessarily have been set up on the Gurupāda hill itself, whereas according to the former it might have been established anywhere else as well. In fact, the possibility of its having been erected in the vicinity of the village of Silao, if not at Silao proper, has already been shown.<sup>3</sup>

#### B.—Chandrabandī Rock Inscription, Śaka 803.

This inscription has been edited by the late C. R. Krishnamacharlu.<sup>4</sup> It is a Kannaḍa record and pertains to the Jaina faith. It consists of only six lines, the last two of which comprise the following *Āryā* in Sanskrit :

अनवरतशास्त्रदानप्रविमलचारित्रजळधरंदिचत्रम् ।

द्वरितनिदाघविघातं कुर्यात् श्रीसर्व(र्ष)नन्दीन्द्रः ॥

<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out that 'the inscription is virtually a label to the image' (ibid., p. 328).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 333, note 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 327, para. 1, p. 331, para. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *The Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Kōpāl (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 12, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 6-7, plate I (b).*

<sup>5</sup> It may be pointed out that the sign of medial (long) *ī* is not distinguishable from medial (short) *i* in this inscription, and that the rule of *sandhi* has not been observed in *kuryāt śrī*.

The learned editor introduces this verse by remarking that it "expresses a wish that the glorious Sarvanandīndra may 'dispel the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of his conduct'. The reading in the photograph appears to be *jala-dhāraiś*—, in which case it would refer to the waters of his pure conduct." His translation of the couplet accordingly runs as follows: "May the glorious Sarvanandīndra wonderfully effect the destruction of the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters ?) of (*his*) ceaseless teaching and (*his*) absolutely pure conduct !"

First of all, the possibility of the reading *jala-dhāraiś* is ruled out by the fact that it militates against the metre, not to speak of the dubious nature of the use of *dhāraiḥ* for *dhārābhīḥ*.<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the term *nidāgha*, that has been taken in the sense of 'drought,' usually means 'heat,' 'summer,' or 'hot weather.' This primary sense of the word appears to be quite appropriate in the given context. In fact, it is doubtful whether the word *nidāgha* has ever been used in the sense of 'drought.'

It is, however, the last word of the couplet that the present note seeks to draw particular attention to. *Indra* in *Sarvanandīndra* is evidently not to be equated with *Bhaṭārār* in *Sarvanandī-Bhaṭārār* that occurs in the Kannada portion. The word *indra* appended to the name Sarvanandin plainly refers to Indra, the lord of gods, the god of rains, with whom Sarvanandin is metaphorically identified. The rest of the verse will bear it out that we have here a clear instance of the figure of speech, called *Rūpaka*, and that the very Indra is the mainstay thereof. The idea embodied in the verse thus becomes manifest: as the god Indra allays the oppressive heat by pouring rain, so may the holy Sarvanandin dispel the evil by spreading knowledge and thereby turning the common herd into good characters.

Finally, as implied by the above free rendering, the long compound in the beginning also lends itself to an interpretation slightly different from the one offered by Sri Krishnamacharlu. According to him, it speaks of two diverse things: *śāstra-dāna* and *pravimāla-chāritra*. And the *chāritra* he takes as referring to that of Sarvanandin himself. It would perhaps be preferable to treat the two things not as separate, but the first as the cause and the other as its effect, and thus the *chāritra* as referring to that of the people at large. This would not only justify the plural number employed in the expression, but would also be more in consonance with the adage *vidyā dadāti vinayam vinayād yāti pātratām*, etc. A more literal rendering of the stanza would therefore be: "May Indra, (the god of rains,) (*in the guise*) of the holy Sarvanandin, in his wonderful way, put an end to the (*blazing*) heat (*in the form*) of the evil by means of rain-clouds (*in the shape*) of perfectly flawless characters (*produced*) through his ceaseless teaching or continuously disseminating knowledge<sup>2</sup> (*among the people*) !"

<sup>1</sup> What has been taken for the length mark (or medial ā) on the letter *dha* seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

<sup>2</sup> Considering the religion of the teacher spoken of, the *śāstra* here may be taken as adverting to the Jaina scriptures, but may as well be taken in its broader sense of knowledge as defined in the *nīti*:

अनेकसंशयोच्छेदि परोक्षार्थस्य दर्शकम् ।

सर्वस्य लोचनं शास्त्रं यस्य नास्त्यन्ध एव सः ॥

Mr. P. B. Desai, Epigraphical Assistant, has kindly pointed out to me that the inscription is in the nature of an epitaph and that the concluding expression in the Kannada portion, *sanyāsanān-nōntu mudipidar*, translated as 'completed the vow of renunciation,' implies, as similar expressions in similar Jaina inscriptions do, that Sarvanandin died. In that case, the blessings invoked in the Sanskrit *Āryā* would sound rather inconsistent unless, of course, Sarvanandin's agency as preacher or teacher, after his death, be understood to be continuing through the succession of his disciples.

C.—*Balsānē Inscription ; Śaka 1106*

This short inscription of four stanzas, rather indifferently engraved, has been published by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.<sup>1</sup> Its text seems to be defective here and there. I had an opportunity of examining Dr. Dikshit's article on it at the time when it was going through the press. I even made a suggestion or two regarding its reading. The observations offered here are the result of a study which I subsequently happened to make of this interesting record. It presents certain difficulties that are still awaiting solution. Dr. Dikshit's provisional identification of the king Kṛishṇa figuring in it, for instance, with a member of the Ābhīra family of Bhambāgiri needs corroboration. And his explanation of the line read by him as

यः क्रे(कृ)ष्णस्य महीपतेः करतले कर्त्तुं पिच्छा(च्छा)चलं(लाम्)

'who in no time made over the earth...to the possession of the king Kṛishṇa'<sup>2</sup> does not seem to have hit the nail on the head.

In the present note, however, I propose to draw attention to a more obvious point, namely the object of the inscription. "The object of the inscription," says Dr. Dikshit, "is to record that the *Pandita* repaired the Royal Maṭha (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at Balasānaka, for the inhabitation of Brahmins."<sup>3</sup> The relevant text आ(अ)कारयद्राजमठं च भग्नं निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः has accordingly been translated by him as "he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitation of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery."<sup>4</sup>

The use of the term *maṭha* in the original has given rise to what I may call a misconception as to the exact purport of the record. It has been taken in its ordinary sense of 'monastery,' whereas it has in all probability been employed here in its secondary sense of *dēvālaya* or 'temple.'

In the very opening sentence of his paper, Dr. Dikshit informs us that the inscription 'is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple.'<sup>5</sup> And in the absence of any specific reference to the contrary in the inscription, we may be justified in accepting that the *maṭha* mentioned therein refers to the very temple itself where the inscription is found.

Going through the earlier reports on the epigraph, one gets at the root of the confusion. Mr. H. Cousens first drew attention to its existence 'upon the *maṭha*.'<sup>6</sup> Mr. R. D. Banerji, who happened to examine it later on, has asserted that it is found on a temple and not in the *maṭha*.<sup>7</sup> It appears that both the scholars in reality referred to one and the same building, the former naming it *maṭha* after the manner of the inscription and the latter calling it temple in accordance with its actual appearance. The mistake, however, seems to lie in the fact that to Mr. Cousens, the term *maṭha* meant nothing else but 'monastery.' To him the building in question was thus a monastery, because it was labelled, so to say, as *maṭha* whatever its form and size. One finds him describe it as such in his *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*.<sup>8</sup> In this publication he gives also a plan of the *maṭha*,<sup>9</sup> from which one can see that the modest dimensions of the structure answer more to a simple fane than to a monastery.

It remains to be shown that *maṭha*, meaning 'temple', is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauli cave inscription of the time of Śāntikara,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 313.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> *An. Prog. Report, A. S. I., Western Circle, 1918-19*, p. 45.

<sup>8</sup> *Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series, Vol. XLVIII*, pp. 23, 26-27.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., plate XXVIII.

for instance, records the erection of a temple, where the term employed is *maṭha*.<sup>1</sup> The word *maṭha*, occurring in line 8 of the Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Śiva.<sup>2</sup> The Alagum inscription, dated in the sixtysecond regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, obviously refers to a temple of Śiva, under the name of Gartōśvara, again using the word *maṭha* for 'temple.'<sup>3</sup> Instances of *maṭhi* and *maṭhikā* (diminutive forms of *maṭha*) in the sense of 'shrine' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

If now, in view of the foregoing discussion, we accept that the *maṭha* of the inscription refers to a temple, the question arises as to which particular deity it was sacred to. The answer is: to Brahman. This is indicated by the very words निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः which may now be rendered as 'for the permanent residence of (*the god*) Brahman.' The word *brahman* thus retains its primary sense. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation to the very god Brahman. And, as if to lend conviction to all this, we have a report by Mr. Cousens himself that among the sculptured stones, that lie about at the ancient site of Balsāṇē, there is an image of Brahman.<sup>5</sup> It may, therefore, be supposed that this image must originally have been enshrined in the *maṭha* spoken of in the inscription. It is called *rāja-maṭha* or 'royal temple,' which possibly signifies that it was built originally by a king. It may be worth while to investigate as to who this king was. Considering that temples devoted to Brahman are few and far between,<sup>6</sup> the present specimen though now deserted, may be counted among rarities.

## No. 18—NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS

The sculpture bearing a short one-line inscription engraved at its base, which is published below, was discovered in 1940 at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra State, by Mr. K. Ramamurti, the Senior Conservation Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, who was then in charge of the Archaeological Museum at that place. It is a mutilated image in high relief on a white marble slab that was found half buried in the debris of rubble and stones on the northern slope of the Nāgārjuna hill, overlooking the river Kṛishṇā. In the process of clearing the debris, Mr. Ramamurti discovered traces of a large many-pillared hall, at the extremity of which the image under review was found. The partly exposed pillars of this hall are made of marble similar to that used for the other monuments of this place. The building, of which these pillars are the survivors, perhaps enshrined under its roof the very image which forms the subject matter of this article. A search for the missing portion of the image round about the region proved of no avail. The image is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself. When I visited this place

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 330.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 225, text lines 26 and 27.

<sup>5</sup> *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 23.

<sup>6</sup> An article on The Temple of Brahmā at Khed-Brahma, by Mr. Henry Cousens, in the *An. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, pp. 171-78, may be consulted with advantage on this point.



in 1940, I took a photograph of it and a couple of estampages of the inscription at its base, both of which I publish here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.<sup>1</sup>

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Amarāvati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in **Prākṛit** language and **Brāhmī** characters assignable to the 3rd century A. C.

The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an *a-vidhavā*, 'one who has her husband alive', and a *jīvaputā* (Sanskrit *jīvaputrā*), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the *liṅga* and the other in the form of the *yōni*, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines akin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegian coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, Ādyā-Śakti, Prakṛiti or Pṛithivī, the Earth.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oblong sealing found at Harappa depicts, on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb.<sup>3</sup> This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure akin to this is afforded by a small repousse gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess.<sup>4</sup> The inscribed sculpture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamḍuvulā who figures for the first time in this record is described as Mahādēvī and the wife(?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehalā Chātāmula. The latter is probably identical with his namesake who is mentioned as a son of Siri Vira Purisadata and Mahādēvī Bhaṭidēvā and as the brother of Queen Kodabalisiri, in inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself.<sup>5</sup> In an inscription from Reṅṅāla, not far from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,

<sup>1</sup> Photograph No. 1996 of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India; inscription No. 470 of 1940-41 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>2</sup> R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 19-20.

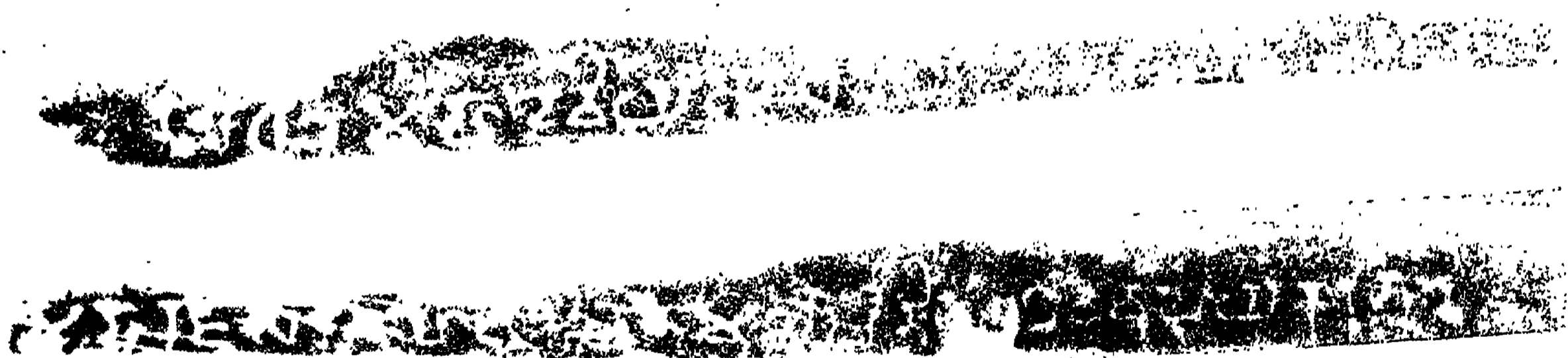
<sup>3</sup> Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 52, pl. XII, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *JRAS*, 1898, p. 579, pl. opp. p. 579, figs. 11 & 15.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and inscriptions G and H. The king's name occurs variously as Ehuva Chātāmula in inscription G (page 24, plate V, line 7) and Ehuvala Chātāmula (in inscription H, line 10, plate V, reverse).



NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION



the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Ehuvala Siri Chāmtamūla.<sup>1</sup> The expressions *a-vidhavā* and *jīvaputā* used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathurā, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C.<sup>2</sup> and also on some inscriptions of the Śuṅga period on the railings from Bodh-Gaya.<sup>3</sup> In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.<sup>4</sup>

## TEXT

Sidha[m\*] |<sup>5</sup> Mahādēviya a-vidhavāya j[i]vaputāya Mahār[ā] ja-siri-  
[Ehavala Chāmtamu]<sup>6</sup>la-pati[ya]<sup>7</sup> Khaṁḍuvulāya kārītātī<sup>8</sup> [ ]<sup>9</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Success. (*This image is*) caused to be made by Mahādēvi Khaṁḍuvulā, (*who is*) an *a-vidhavā* (i. e., one with her husband alive) and (*who is*) a *jīvaputā* (Sanskrit, *jīvaputrā*, i. e., one who has her child or children alive) (*and who is*) the wife (?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehavala Cha[m]-tamūla.

## No. 19—MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Ablūr is a village about 6 miles north of Hirekerūr, the present day headquarters of Kōḍ taluk, Dharwar District. Traditions are current in these parts asserting that formerly it was a very big city<sup>10</sup> and included within its extent the present day neighbouring villages of Bhōgāvi Sutkōṭi, Nūlgēri, Dūpadhalli and Yattinhalli. According to another tradition Ablūr is the birth place of Sarvajña,<sup>11</sup> a popular Kannaḍa poet (circa 1700 A. C), and a house near the Sōmēśvara temple is shown as the place where he was born. In one of his *tripadī* verses Sarvajña states that he was born at Am̄balūru<sup>12</sup> which is identified with Ablūr.

<sup>1</sup> *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1936-37, p. 62, para. 11, Ins. No. 349.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. Archl. Survey of India*, 1911-12, p. 128.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 149, f. n. 3; cf. *Jīva-sutā* in the Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and *Jīva-putra-patrā* in the inscription of Prabhāvatīgupta in the *Select Inscriptions*. (These references were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. C. Sircar.)

<sup>4</sup> *Bhartur=mitraṁ priyam=avidhavā—Mēghasandēśa*, v. 99. *Jīvaputrās=tathā striyah—Rāmāyana*, *Yuddhakāṇḍa*; *Jīvaputrī sutas=tē=yaṁ Dharmaputrō Yudhiśṭhīrah—Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparvan*, ch. 144. (I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Dr. V. Raghavan for these references).

<sup>5</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a hook-like mark.

<sup>6</sup> This portion of the inscription bears numerous scratches on the stone somewhat obliterating the letters enclosed in the brackets.

<sup>7</sup> The stone has slightly peeled off here and with it the lower half of the letter *ya* has gone. There is a distinct mark of an *anusvāra* over *ti*. Probably the expression is *patimya*, a corrupt form used in the sense of *patnyā*.

<sup>8</sup> This expression obviously stands for *kārītā iti*.

<sup>9</sup> The slanting stroke at the end seems to stand for the punctuation.

<sup>10</sup> The *Abalūra-charitre*, to which a reference will be made in the later part of this article, also says that it was an extensive city.

<sup>11</sup> R. Narasimhachar : *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. II, p. 532.

<sup>12</sup> Channappa Uttangi *Sarvajña Vachanagaḷu* (3rd edn., 1935), verse 8.

Over half a century ago the late Dr. Fleet noticed in this journal seven inscriptions<sup>1</sup> from this place, three of which were edited in full. In the course of my annual tour during the field season of 1951-52, I visited Ablūr (January 1952) and explored its antiquities. My investigations revealed that this village contained a large number of inscriptions many of which were not known to Fleet and that some important points connected with its antiquities were also lost sight of. In all I discovered thirteen more inscriptions. I propose to study a few of these here briefly.

Most of the interesting facts regarding the activities of Ēkāntada Rāmāyā,<sup>2</sup> the militant protagonist of the Śaiva upheaval, are centred in the temple of Sōmēśvara. Besides the epigraph E<sup>3</sup> furnishing a graphic account of his miraculous exploits<sup>4</sup> this temple contains an inscription above a panel of sculptures depicting the scene of Rāmāyā's encounter with the Jainas as described by Fleet.<sup>5</sup> As there are some errors in the understanding and reading of this record (F) by Fleet, I may point them out here in the first instance.

Firstly, it is a label inscription and the word *ṭāvu* appears to have been used in a rather technical sense denoting 'a place representing the scene of.' We meet with its variant *ṭāū* and *ṭhāvu* in other inscriptions at this temple, which we shall study presently. The expression *ṭāvu* may be derived from the Sanskrit root *sthā*, though it appears to have been influenced in its formation by Prakrit. It is interesting to note in this context that the labels in Tamil incised near the sculptures representing incidents in the Pallava history, found in the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchīpuram, similarly end with the word *iḍam*<sup>6</sup> meaning likewise 'a place, etc.'. Secondly, the epigraph is not incomplete and none of its letters is missing as supposed by Fleet. The first line ends properly with the word *kudureya-* and continues in the second. At the end of the second line, again, it is unnecessary to supply some letters through brackets as done by Fleet. For its continuation is found on the front side of the parapet wall and it reads almost exactly as conjectured by Fleet. The whole inscription now reads as follows :—

#### TEXT (Fleet's F)<sup>7</sup>

1 Śrī-Brahmēśva(śva)ra-dēvaralli Ēkāntada-Rāmāyān basadiya Jinan=oḷḍav-āgi talcyan=aridu  
haḍeda ṭāvu || Saṅka-gāvunḍam basadiyan=oḷeyal-īyade āḷum-kudureya-

2 n=oḷḍiralu Ēkāntada Rāmāyān kādi geldu Jinan=oḷedu liṅga-pratiṣṭe(ṭhe)yaṅ māḍida  
ṭā[vu] [ ||\* ]

#### TRANSLATION

This is the place representing how, at (*the temple of*) the illustrious god Brahmēśvara, Ēkāntada Rāmāyā laid a wager, at the cost of the Jina of the shrine, of cutting off his head and received it back again. When Saṅka-gāvunḍa would not let him destroy the shrine of the Jina,

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 213 ff.; inscriptions A to G.

<sup>2</sup> The epithet *Ēkāntada* appears to have been acquired by Rāmāyā after his victory over the Jainas. In lines 28-29 of inscription E the propriety of this epithet is justified on the ground of his firm and single-minded devotion to Śiva. But it appears reasonable to add that he might as well have claimed it to bring into contrast his great achievement which consisted in vanquishing the doctrine of Anēkānta that characterised the Jaina faith.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.

<sup>4</sup> It is of interest to note that the achievement of Ēkāntada Rāmāyā against the Jainas is also described in one of his compositions in the *Ragale* metre by Harihara, a Kannaḍa poet of about the 13th century. Harihara's account agrees in many respects with that of the Ablūr inscription E.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 260-61.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

<sup>7</sup> *In situ* and from an impression.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

Inscription I



Inscription II



B. CH. CHHABRA

Rea. No. 669 H E (C)'52-499'53.

SCALE: ONE-HALF

Inscription III

Decorative scrollwork at the top of the first section.  
A single line of ancient script, likely Tamil, carved into a stone surface.

Decorative scrollwork at the top of the second section.  
A single line of ancient script, likely Tamil, carved into a stone surface.

Decorative scrollwork at the top of the third section.  
A single line of ancient script, likely Tamil, carved into a stone surface.

arraying his men and horses against him, Ēkāntada Rāmayya fought and vanquished them. He smashed the Jina and installed the *liṅga* (*in its place*).

Now I will take up two more inscriptions in the same temple. These deal with the same theme as the above, viz., Ēkāntada Rāmayya's victory over the Jainas. These are also of the label category. They are not dated, but evidently belong to the same period as that of the above epigraph. They may be assigned approximately to 1200 A. C. on palaeographic considerations.

#### INSCRIPTION I

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the left of the entrance into the inner shrine of the Sōmēśvara temple. The sculptures represent a dignitary with attendants on one side and a row of Śaiva devotees on the other. A person holding a document in his hand is shown prominently in the middle. The epigraph reads :—

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Śrīmad-Ēkāntada-Rāmayyaṅge Saṁka-gaṁvum-  
2 ḍan=ōleyaṁ kuḍuva ṭhā[vu] [||\*]

#### TRANSLATION

This is the place (*depicting the scene*) of conferring the certificate (*of victory*) upon the illustrious Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Saṁka-gavunḍa.

#### INSCRIPTION II

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right of entrance into the inner shrine of the same temple. The sculptures depict the scene of a Jina placed horizontally ready to be broken amidst a group of local officials and Śaiva devotees. The epigraph reads :—

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

- 1 Yē(Ē)kāntada Rāmayyaṅgaḷu Jinanan=ōḍedu  
2 liṅga-pratiṣṭheyam māḍida ṭāvu[||\*]

#### TRANSLATION

At this place (*is depicted the scene of*) Ēkāntada Rāmayya breaking the (*image of*) Jina and setting up the Śivaliṅga.

#### INSCRIPTION III

This is an independent inscription by itself, made up of labels. It is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right side of the parapet wall at the entrance proper into the same temple and just opposite to Fleet's F. The characters are of about the same period as those of the foregoing records. The panels of sculptures as well as the inscription divide themselves into three portions pertaining to different episodes in the lives of Śaiva saints. The first series of sculptures consists of the figure of Śiva in his divine form followed by that of a Śaiva mendicant standing before a devotee holding a long piece of cloth in his hand. The second series represents a devotee with his wife carrying a child in her arms and a Kāpālika *bhikṣu* facing them. The last is the figure of a seated man holding an object like a small round bat. The labels below these sculp-

<sup>1</sup> *In situ* and from impressions.

<sup>2</sup> *In situ* and from impressions.



tures explain their subject matter. The second line of the inscription commences just below the third label indicating that it constitutes its part. The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 (i) Jēḍara Dāsimaḡḡaḡu dēvarige vastrava kuḡuva ṡāū ||  
 (ii) Siriyāḡa-seṡṡi Chaḡḡaḡavve dēvarige maganan=ikkuva ṡāvu ||  
 (iii) Kumbāra Gu[m\*]ḡana muḡde  
 2 baḡdhā(mḡd=ā)ḡida ḡamma Śivanu [||\*]

## TRANSLATION

- (i) Here is ( *depicted the scene of* ) Jēḍara (weaver) Dāsimaḡḡa offering cloth to the god (Śiva).  
 (ii) Here is depicted the scene of Siriyāḡa-seṡṡi and (*his wife*) Chaḡḡaḡavve offering their son to the god (Śiva).  
 (iii) Our (god) Śiva came down and danced before Kumbāra (potter) Guḡḡa.

Jēḍara Dāsimaḡḡa, as the story goes, was a weaver and a devotee of Śiva. By offering a cloth to his deity he received from him the boon of inexhaustible treasure (*tavanidhi*). This episode is frequently referred to in the Vīraśaiva literature of Karnāṡakā, the earliest allusions being those found in the *Vachanas* or Sayings of Basavēśvara.<sup>2</sup> Siriyāḡa-seṡṡi is said to have offered the cooked flesh of his son to god Śiva who came to him in disguise as a Śaiva mendicant to test his faith.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to trace the ramifications of this story the roots of which are found in the Tamil country. According to the *Periyapurāḡam*, Paraḡjōṡi, the general of Pallava Nara-siḡhavarman I (circa 7th century), who in his later life became famous as the Śaiva saint Śiruttoḡḡa Nāyaḡār<sup>4</sup>, had a son named Sirāla. This Sirāla was sacrificed by his father to propitiate Śiva. This legend had several adaptations in Śaiva literature of the Telugu and Kannāḡa countries and also of Mahārāshṡra. In these versions the son's name appears to have passed on to the father who became popular as Siriyāḡa-seṡṡi.<sup>5</sup> In Mahārāshṡra a festival is observed in the name of Siriyāḡa-seṡṡi on Śrāvaḡa śu. 6 in a queer fashion by the ladies of the household.<sup>6</sup> Kumbāra or Potter Guḡḡa, again, mentioned in the above epigraph, was a devotee of highly spiritual status. While beating his earthenware into shape he went into a trance and was absorbed in the meditation of Śiva. Pleased with his devotion Śiva descended from Kailāsa and danced before him.<sup>7</sup>

The accounts of Ēkāntada Rāmaḡḡa, Jēḍara Dāsimaḡḡa, etc., noticed above, along with a host of other Śaiva devotees, are often met with in the Vīraśaiva literature of the Kannāḡa country. Epigraphical references to them, however, are not so numerous and they belong rather to a late period. The earliest epigraphical notices of some of these devotees, associated with their sculptures, are found for the first time in the inscriptions of Ablūr, as indicated above. Herein lies the main interest and importance of these brief records.

<sup>1</sup> *In situ* and from impressions.

<sup>2</sup> *Basavaḡḡanavara Śaṡṡhaḡaḡa Vachanaḡaḡu* (edited by S. S. Basavanūḡ), Nos. 147-48, etc. Jēḍara Dāsimaḡḡa appears to have been referred to as Dāsa in the following inscriptions also; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Cn. 210 and Vol. XII, Ck. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 146-49, 152, etc; *Basavapurāḡa*, sandhi 24.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 254, n. 6; V. Rangacharya's article 'The Legend of Siruttonda Nayanar', *The Hindu*, Jan. 3, 1943.

<sup>5</sup> 'Siriyāḡa Charitra', *Bhārati* (Telugu Journal), 1951 August.

<sup>6</sup> B. A. Gupte: *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials* (Calcutta, 1916), pp. 207-08.

<sup>7</sup> This story is narrated by the Kannāḡa poet Harihara (circa 13th century) in one of his compositions in the *Raḡaḡe* metre. A later epigraphical reference to this devotee is found in the *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 83.

Adverting to Ēkāntada Rāmayya, we may see how his achievements had passed into legend and were considered worthy of representation in sculptures by this time, that is to say, about half a century after his period.<sup>1</sup> We may also note the significant fact that all these inscriptions are found in the temple of Sōmēśvara. This temple, according to the inscription E, was erected by Rāmayya himself. But it would be more reasonable to postulate that he was actually responsible for its main structure only to which additions might have been made subsequently. This surmise gains support from the testimony of other antiquities, tradition and literature. Besides the main shrine dedicated to the god Sōmēśvara, a *liṅga*, the temple contains two collateral shrines wherein are found two more *liṅgas*. They are known as Ēkāntada Rāmayya and Agni Honnayya. It becomes evident from this that Rāmayya was consecrated here in the form of a *liṅga* after his demise. Agni Honnayya, as the tradition avers, was the beloved *guru* of Rāmayya, who backed him up in his disputations against the Jainas. He must be identical with Aggaṇiya<sup>2</sup> Honni Tande hailing from Puligere, who figures in the *Raḡale* of Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Harihara and also as Ponni Tande in the *Abalūra-charitre*, a Kannada work of a late period.<sup>3</sup> We are told in this work that the temple of Sōmēśvara was erected at the instance of Rāmayya by Śaṅkapāla who must evidently be Saṅka-gāvunḍa of the inscriptions, along with others, to celebrate the former's victory.<sup>4</sup> Sōmēśvara appears to have been the favourite deity of Rāmayya. His native place Alande was sanctified by this deity and this place is referred to as the 'town of Sōmanātha' in the inscription E.<sup>5</sup> This fact is further confirmed by the Aland inscription of Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna, edited by me in this journal. It speaks of Alande as specially favoured by god Sōmēśvara.<sup>6</sup> Again, according to the inscription E, Rāmayya worshipped the deity Sōmanātha at Huligere before he proceeded to Ablūr.<sup>7</sup>

By the middle of the 12th century Karnāṭaka witnessed the upsurge of a great religious movement emphasizing the superiority of god Śiva and his devotion. Two eminent personalities, one in the south and the other in the north, were instrumental in bringing about this upheaval. These were Ēkāntada Rāmayya of the Ablūr inscriptions and Basavēśvara, the founder of the Viraśaiva faith. The Kalachuri usurper Bijjala II came into contact with both, incidentally with the former as narrated in the Ablūr inscription E, and directly, with long association ending in bitter antagonism, with the latter. In consequence of the zealous activities of the leaders of this Śaiva revival, Jainism, Buddhism, Pāśupata and other faiths prevailing in the land, received a staggering blow. A study of Harihara's *Basavarājadēvara Raḡale* reveals that the genesis of the conflict between Bijjala and Basavēśvara was not in the alleged circumstance of the former being either a follower or supporter of Jainism. It is gathered from this work, the testimony of which deserves to be reckoned as authentic on account of its proximity to the scene of events, that

<sup>1</sup> It is of interest to note in this connection a parallel instance from the neighbouring province. With the ascendancy of Śaivism the Jainas of the Tamil country were persecuted and the scenes of such persecutions are depicted in sculptures on the walls of the temple at Tiruvattūr in the North Arcot District (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> *Aggaṇi* is an epithet and it can be derived from Sanskrit *aggaṇi* or *arghyapānīya*, both of which point to the respectable position held by Ponni or Honni Tande. Honni Tande literally means 'Father Honni' or 'Honni's Father'.

<sup>3</sup> This work is of the nature of a *Purāṇa* recounting the exploits of Rāmayya in the legendary fashion. It is unpublished. Being popular, its recitations are held on ceremonial occasions among the Viraśaivas of these parts. While at Ablūr I secured a manuscript copy of this work for study.

<sup>4</sup> In the wake of Rāmayya's victory conversions from Jainism to Śaivism took place on a mass scale, according to the *Abalūra-charitre* and the local tradition. It is interesting to observe that miniature terracotta *liṅgas* were unearthed in a large number in the locality some years back. One such was shown to me while at Ablūr.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. V, p. 255.

whereas Bijjala was a protagonist of the orthodox Brahmanical creeds,<sup>1</sup> Basavēśvara was a reformist directing his attacks against the rigidity of Brahmanical dogmas and practices and preaching his new cult of liberality and equality amongst the devotees of Śiva.<sup>2</sup> A volume of epigraphical and other evidence is now available to prove that Bijjala, like all members of the Kalachuri house, was a staunch follower of Śaivism and had no particular interest as such in Jainism. Thus the theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala stands thoroughly exploded.<sup>3</sup> When Fleet wrote in this journal more than half a century ago, he expressed his doubt<sup>4</sup> in regard to the historicity of Basavēśvara on account of the paucity of sources then available to him. Subsequently the discovery and publication of a substantial number of literary works and epigraphs which constitute quite reliable and contemporaneous documents, have established him as a historic figure beyond all doubt.<sup>5</sup> Of paramount importance in this context is the evidence of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published in this journal.<sup>6</sup>

We are in possession of more epigraphical evidence now to show that besides Rāmayya and Basavēśvara, there flourished in this century other sponsors of the Śaiva movement, whose aggressive activities must have contributed to its success. We may illustrate these observations from the contents of two inscriptions. An inscription at Anṅigēri<sup>7</sup> in the Dharwar District, referring itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vīra-Sōmēśvara IV and dated in 1184 A.C., introduces a feudatory chief of the Sagara family named Vīra-Goggidēva. An ardent upholder of the Śaiva faith, he is described as 'a fire to the Jaina scriptures' and 'a death to the adherents of the Jaina Law.' The record further characterises him as 'an eagle to the snakes which are the Jainas' and 'a hunter of the wild beasts in the form of followers of the Jina.' Another epigraph from Tālikōṭi<sup>8</sup> in the Bijāpur District, referring itself to the same reign and bearing a date in the same year, furnishes the following facts about another feudatory, *Mahūmanḍalēśvara* Viruparasa. This Viruparasa propitiated god Hara by his multifold devotion and was busily engaged with the advocates of the rival faiths. He launched a regular crusade as it were against the adherents of other sects. A conflagration to the forest of Jaina creed and adept in demolishing the Buddhist Canon, he pulverized the Jaina temples and raised the thrones of Śivaliṅgas. Thus did he vindicate his solemn oath and hold aloft the banner of Śiva in the three worlds. By virtue of such achievements he was endowed with the encomium of innumerable Śaiva devotees, both of the past and present generations. Lastly we may note here the significant circumstance that both Vīra-Goggidēva and Viruparasa of the above two epigraphs lived in a period slightly later than that of Basavēśvara and that their spheres of activities too were confined to the northern parts of Karnāṭaka. This might have been responsible for the confusion of later writers attributing to Basavēśvara active hostility against the Jaina creed.

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed this topic and illustrated it with extracts from Harihara's above-named work in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka, delivered at the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar, in 1951. They are now published; see *Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 102 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The *Sayings of Basava* are replete with utterances that testify to these observations. They show that his chief opponents were Brāhmaṇas of the orthodox school wielding influence in the society. The Brāhmaṇas and their practices are criticised severely and more often in his utterances than the Jainas to whom only passing references are made. The following among others are a few passages criticising Brahmanism; *Basavanna. Sha. Vachanagaḷu* (op. cit), Nos. 571, 576, 583, 588, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka' referred to above; *Kan. Sāh. Puri. Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 113-14. Also see Govind Pai's *Mūru Upanyāsaḷu*, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. V, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> *Mūru Upanyāsaḷu*, pp. 59-62.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff. and 17.

<sup>7</sup> Bombay-Karnatak Collection, No. 207 of 1928-29. The text of this and the following inscription are not published. Their short summaries only have been given in the *Annual Reports on S. I. Epigraphy* for the years concerned. But I have utilised their texts with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 68 of 1929-30

## No. 20—PARBATIYA PLATES OF VANAMALAVARMADEVA

(1 Plate)

P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI AND D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatiyā which lies about three miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. It was secured by Mr. Biswadeb Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. Mr. Sarma handed over the plates to his teacher, Mr. S. K. Datta, Barrister-at-Law, then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where they are now deposited.

The plates measure 10" by 6.2". They are held together by a ring to which a seal, similar to those found with the charters of the ancient kings of Prāgjyōtisha, is soldered. The seal is oval in shape with its diameter measuring lengthwise 4.7" and breadthwise 4.3". It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on counter-sunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front, below which, separated by a cross-bar, is the legend in characters similar to those employed in the inscription on the plates. The legend is written in three lines and reads :

- 1 Svasti [ ||\* ] Śrīmān=Prāgjyōtish-ādhip-ānva-
- 2 yō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vanam[ā]-
- 3 lavarmmadēva[ḥ ||\*]

The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plates are raised; but the rims of the first plate are damaged and the last line of the inscription on its face is partially obliterated. The upper border of the obverse of the second plate is also slightly damaged towards the right. With the exception of certain *aksharas* in the last line on the first plate as well as the vowel-marks of a few *aksharas* in the first line of the same plate and also of line 1 on the obverse of the second plate, the inscription is in a good state of preservation. The *aksharas* are neatly and beautifully incised. With the exception of the third plate, all the inscribed faces of the plates have one or more *aksharas* in the margin opposite the ring-hole or in the space left out near about the hole. In the margin of plate I (reverse) there is the single *akshara śrī*, while plate II (reverse) has similarly *sa*. But in the space near the ring-hole of plate II (obverse) there are the stray *aksharas śrī, śrī, sa, sa* and *sta* (?) together with two indeterminable marks, which are all fashioned here and there without any order. They, however, do not appear to have been the *aksharas* inadvertently omitted in the inscription on the faces of the plates in question. The *akshara śrī* may of course be taken as a *maṅgala*; but the other *aksharas* can hardly be accounted for.<sup>1</sup> The plates together with the seal weigh 258 *tolas*, while the seal alone weighs 127 *tolas*.

The characters employed belong to the East Indian variety of the Siddhamātrikā or Kuṭila script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgarī or Proto-Bengali.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is the *Gaudī lipi* or the East Indian script as known to Al-Birūnī<sup>3</sup> and was the source from which the Bengali alphabet and the allied Assamese, Oriya and Maithili scripts gradually developed. The inscription employs several times the initial vowels *a* (lines 2, 5, 58), *i* (lines 4, 10, 19, 22, 23, 53), *u* (lines 41, 50) and *ē* (lines 15, 28, 50, 52). Initial *i* is of the ordinary type in all the cases,

<sup>1</sup> For similar stray *aksharas* on the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarman, see P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 62 and note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Some of the *aksharas* (cf. *a, kh, g, j, s*, medial *ē* and *au*, etc.) closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms.

<sup>3</sup> Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173; cf. *JRASSB*, L; Vol., XIV, 1948, pp. 118-16; *INQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 130-31.

except in line 23 where the lower part has a double curve instead of the usual one. Medial *ā* has no less than three different forms. In addition to the usual sign resembling a *danḍa* put at the right of consonants and generally joined above with their top *mātrā* (cf. °*Kailāsa* in line 1), there are some cases where the stroke is a little curved towards the right and reaches only down to about half the length of the consonants (cf. *krīḍā* in line 2), while in others it comes only a little down and then goes up, leaving a sharp curve below and ending in a stroke curved towards the right above the head of the consonants (cf. *pañk-āvīla* in line 1). Medial *u* and *ū* are usually of the ordinary types; but the forms of *chyu* (cf. *chytutair*° in line 2), *ru* (cf. *dhvānt-ōru*° in line 23), *rū* (cf. °*ārūḍhair*° in line 11) and others are interesting. *Bhū* has been written in two different ways. The ordinary sign for medial *ū* has been employed in some cases (cf. °*abhūt* in line 53); but often the *ū* sign is formed by joining the sign for *u* with a *danḍa* put at the right of *bh*; cf. lines 9 (°*bhūt*°), 12 (°*bhūt*), 18 (*bhūtā*), 20 (°*ādbhūt*° for °*ābhūt*°), 24 (*bhūmishu*) and 25 (*bhūri*). Medial *ē* is formed by lengthening the left end of the top *mātrā* of the consonant in a curve forming almost a loop at the end; but it is yet shorter than the developed sign of the *mātrā* reaching the bottom of the line. The *akshara* *ḷ* has not been distinguished from *v*. The consonant *jh*, which is of rather rare occurrence, is found in the conjunct *jjhi* in line 43. The final consonants *t* (lines 5, 12, 54, 57, 59), *n* (lines 51, 53) and *m* (lines 4, 7, 8, 23, 25) occur many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The prose portion exhibits the quality called *ōjas* in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of masters like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (cf. lines 33-46); but the versification is rather weak, there being several cases of metrical errors (cf. verses 8, 9, 19, 26, 27). The formal part of the charter from the beginning down to *Vanamālavarmmadēvaḥ kuśalī* in line 48 is the same as in another record, viz., the Tezpur plates,<sup>1</sup> of the king who issued the charter under discussion, except that two passages of considerable length have been omitted in the present inscription, perhaps inadvertently. As some mistakes are common to both the records (cf. °*ādyaśya* for a word like *yuktasya* in verse 9 and *vijagrihuḥ* for *jagrihuḥ* in verse 21), it seems that they were prepared from the same draft which was faulty. There are altogether thirty verses (actually 29 verses and only the first half of another stanza). Of the five verses in the latter part of the document, two are the common imprecatory stanzas, while the remaining three describing the donee are written in a style which is definitely worse than that of the stanzas in the formal part of the record. Weakness in the composition even of the formal part is exhibited by the repeated use of some expressions; cf. *adhināhatva* in lines 7-8; *nīśēsha* in lines 16-17; *asēsha* in lines 17, 20, 26; *aṅghri* in lines 9, 14, 30; *vairi-vira* in lines 10, 12; *amugā* in lines 13, 19; *vrūta* in lines 30, 36. The number of orthographical errors, although not many, is not inconsiderable. The conjunct *ṅh* has been written as *nh*. The word *pushkariṇī* is found in the form *pushkiriṇī*. *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the final *m* in the imprecatory verses quoted at the end of the record. As regards other orthographical features, the consonants *g*, *ṅ* and *dh* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *m* and *v* have been only occasionally reduplicated under the same condition, while *th* and *y* have not been subject to reduplication. *T* has been reduplicated when followed by *r*.

The inscription is not dated even in the regnal reckoning of the king who was responsible for its issue, although that was expected considering its age and locality. There is, however, no difficulty in determining the approximate date of the charter. As a record of the father of its issuer, viz., the Tezpur stone inscription of Harjaravarman,<sup>2</sup> is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.C., the inscription under notice has to be assigned to a date about the middle of the ninth century A.C.

<sup>1</sup> See *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1940, pp. 766-67; *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śūlī*, pp. 58-65.

<sup>2</sup> *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śūlī*, p. 187.

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* and two verses of adoration, the first in honour of the Lohitya-sindhu, i.e., the river Brahmaputra, and the second in honour of the god Pinakin, i.e., Śiva. Verse 3 introduces Naraka, the son of Ādivarāha (i.e., Viṣṇu) and the goddess Earth, and the next verse says how Kṛṣṇa killed Naraka but allowed to go unpunished the latter's two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. Verses 5-6 describe how, when Bhagadatta obtained the lordship over Prāgjyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta went to the forest where he propitiated Īśvara (probably the god Śiva) by his penance and obtained through the god's favour the lordship over Uparipattana as well as the future lordship of Prāgjyōtisha for his descendants. Verse 7 introduces a later king of Prāgjyōtisha belonging to Vajradatta's lineage, whose name is given as Sālabha. The following two verses appear to say that, when Sālabha joined in heaven the past kings of the country beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha (i.e., Harshavarman), his brother Arathi became king. Verse 10 describes Arathi's queen Jivadēvī. Verses 11-12 describe king Harjara (i.e., Harjaravarman) who was the son of Arathi and Jivadēvī, while verses 13-15 say how Harjaravarman's queen Maṅgalā was an incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī on the earth. Verses 16-23 give a description of king Vanamāla (i.e., Vanamālarman) who was the son of Harjaravarman and Maṅgalā. Verse 24 says how king Vanamālarman rebuilt a fallen temple of the god Hētuka-Śūlin (i.e., Śiva) into a magnificent building. Lines 47-48 mention *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vanamālavarmadēva* who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (i.e., Śiva), meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of his parents and issued the charter from Haḍapēśvara. Lines 33-46 give a lengthy description of the city of Haḍapēśvara in prose. This passage suffers from the omission of a number of words at the end, although they can be restored from the Tezpur plates of the same king, referred to above. The description suggests that the city was situated on the bank of the Lohitya-bhāṭṭāraka (i.e., the river-god Brahmaputra). The river is said to have passed by the Kāmākūṭa hill, on the top of which were installed the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī. The following passage in prose and verse in lines 48-58 records the grant which is followed by two imprecatory verses in lines 58-59. The king made a gift of the village called Hapōsagrāma which was attached to the *maṅḍala* or district of Svalpa-Maṅḍōka situated in Uttara-kūla and was bounded by Akṣhidāhikā in the east, the tank of Chaṇḍikā (possibly the goddess of this name)<sup>1</sup> in the south-east, Dīrghāṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bush of bamboos or reeds in the west, a *sālmālī* tree in the north-west, a big *ālī* (possibly an embankment) in the north and the tank of Dhavala in the north-east. The gift village is said to have been made *a-chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēśa* (i.e., not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, or, more probably, by policemen and peons) and *mukt-ōparikara* (i.e., not endowed with the right to enjoy taxes from temporary tenants). There is no specific mention that the village was made a rent-free gift. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Chūdāmaṇi who was the son of Jējjaṭa and was the eldest of four brothers, the other three being Dēṭōbhā, Garga and Śambhu. It is said that the brothers were all living jointly without separation, because they feared in that the loss of *dharma*. Apparently the grant was made in favour of the head of the family but was meant to be enjoyed by all the four brothers and their descendants. The grant is said to have been made with a view to increasing the merit and fame of the king's parents with the request that it might be approved by all.

As regards the absence of any clear indication in the charter whether Hapōsagrāma was made a rent-free gift, it may be pointed out that the *sāsanas* of ancient Indian rulers were of

<sup>1</sup> Various forms of the mother-goddess are associated with Assam and especially with the Śākta Pīṭha at Kāmākhyā near Gauhati. Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (JRASB, L, Vol. XIV, 1948, No. 1), pp. 11-16, 47-48, and notes.

several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free-gift and a rent-free holding.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding.<sup>2</sup> In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given'; but a specified rent was fixed for it.<sup>3</sup> There were other cases (cf. the charter under discussion) in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free-gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold' and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions may have often been allowed to be enjoyed by the holders.<sup>4</sup> In ancient India, often the sale of land was theoretically represented in the form of a gift. This is definitely suggested by the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 114: *sthāvarasya vikraya-pratishēdhāt... dāna-prasamsāch=cha vikrayē=’pi kartavyē sa-hiraṇyam=udākam dattvā dāna-rūpēṇa sthāvāra-vikrayam kuryāt.*<sup>5</sup> That Hapōsagrāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold seems to be suggested also by the absence of the customary list of officials and subordinates who were usually addressed by the kings while making free gifts of land.

The reference to the joint family in which the four Brāhmaṇa brothers Chūdāmaṇi, Dētōbhā, Garga and Śambhu were living together is very interesting. It is said that they did not get separated for fear of the loss of *dharma*. This seems to acknowledge the right of the sons to demand partition of the family property (even during the life time of the father) as provided for in the so-called *Mitāksharā* system of inheritance. It is interesting to note that some early writers on law (e.g., Gautama, 28, 4; Manu, IX, 111) favour partition because it tends to increase *dharma*. Manu says that "the brothers may stay united, or separate in case they desire an increase of *dharma*; by living separate *dharma* increases; therefore separation is meritorious." As indicated by Brīhaspati and Nārada, when the brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them, but when there is a partition those acts are separately performed by each,<sup>6</sup> and this explains the reference to the increase of *dharma* by Manu. According to Śāṅkhā-Likhita, however, brothers may stay together, since being united they would prosper materially.<sup>7</sup> This view was no doubt shared by the members of the Brāhmaṇa family mentioned in our record. The fear of *dharma-kshaya* referred to in the inscription points to the fact that such acts of *dharma* as the worship of the gods and manes and the entertainment of guests were easy for a joint family with its undivided property but difficult for each of the tiny families partitioned out of it with the small resources at its disposal.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only legible record, besides the Nowgong plates<sup>8</sup> of Balavarman, of the Mlēcchha dynasty of Prāgyōtisha, which was founded by Sālastambha and was preceded by the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, represented by Bhāskaravarman and his predecessors, and succeeded by the Pāla dynasty founded by Brahmapāla, although both the dynasties of Sālastambha and Brahmapāla claimed to be offshoots of the ancient Nāraka or Bhauma line. According to verses 9-10 of the Bargaon plates<sup>9</sup> of king Ratnapāla of the third dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings (i.e., the Pāla house of Brahmapāla), the kingdom of the descendants of Nāraka passed to the *Mlēcchh-ādhinātha*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 417.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 347-9.

<sup>3</sup> See *JPASB*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, p. 567.

<sup>6</sup> See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

<sup>7</sup> Kane, *loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> *JASB*, 1897, Part I, pp. 289-92; *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 73-80.

<sup>9</sup> *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 94.

Sālastambha, the twentyfirst king of whose line was Tyāgasimha; this king having died childless, the subjects, preferring a scion of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, made Brahmāpāla their king. Of these twentyone rulers of the Mlēcchha house of Sālastambha, mentioned in verse 7 of our record (of. the expression *tasy-ānvayē* indicating the relation between Vajradatta and Sālastambha) as a branch of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, we have inscriptions of three kings only, viz., (1) Harjara or Harjaravarman to whom belong the Hayungthal plate<sup>1</sup> and the Tezpur rock inscription<sup>2</sup>; (2) Harjaravarman's son Vanamāla or Vanamālarman who issued the Tezpur plates<sup>3</sup> and the charter under discussion; and (3) Vanamālarman's grandson Balavarman who issued the Nowgong plates referred to above. Of the four published records of the family, Harjaravarman's inscriptions, one (the Hayungthal epigraph) of which is fragmentary as only one of the plates has so far been found, are both in a miserable state of preservation. The original of the Tezpur inscription of Vanamālarman is now lost and its transcript, published as early as 1840 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, is palpably full of mistakes of all sorts. The late Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya made an attempt to emend the faulty transcript of the record with the help of imagination; but the result could hardly be satisfactory. The only published record of the family, reliable from the historians' point of view, is thus the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, although this epigraph also suffers from a few damaged letters. Under the circumstances, the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālarman under publication remove a number of defects and doubts in the history of the Mlēcchha or Sālastambha family of Prāgjyōtisha.

In the first place, from the published wrong text of verses 7-9 of the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarman, it was so long believed that king Prālabha was the father of Harjaravarman. The clear reading of those verses in our record shows that *Prālabha* was a wrong reading for *Sālabha* and that Harjaravarman's father was not Sālabha but the latter's brother (apparently younger brother) named Arathi. It further shows that the reading of the name *Aratha* in verse 9 is wrong. The theory about the existence in this dynasty of a prince named Āratha, regarded as the son of Arathi who is mentioned in the passage *chakr-ārathī* (Chakra and Arathi) in line 9 of the indistinct Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, is thus entirely imaginary.<sup>4</sup> Secondly, it was so long believed, on the strength of the wrong reading of verse 5, that it was Bhagadatta who is said to have received the lordship of the territory called Uparipattana. It is, however, clear beyond doubt from our record that, while Bhagadatta obtained the kingdom of Prāgjyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta secured lordship over Uparipattana through the grace of Īsvara whom he had propitiated.<sup>5</sup> Thirdly, the name of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 48-51.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 53-65; *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 766-67.

<sup>4</sup> *Kāmarūpa-sāsan-āvalī*, introduction, p. 20. The reading and interpretation of verse 8 of the Hayungthal plate are not beyond doubt. According to Bhattacharya (op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51-52), Harshavarman, who seems to be placed immediately before Sālabha in our record (of. *śrī-Harsh-āntarī* in verse 8), was followed on the throne by his son Balavarman; then in the family were born the princes Chakra and Arathi, and the son of the latter, whose name is not traced in the record but is suggested to be Āratha (on the basis of the wrong reading of verse 9 of Vanamāla's lost plates) became king; Jivadēvi, mentioned in the following verses 9-10 and described as the mother of Harjara in verse 11, was the wife of Āratha's successor Prālabha (sic. Sālabha). We now know that Sālabha was succeeded by his younger brother Arathi, who was the husband of Jivadēvi and the father of Harjaravarman. It seems therefore that the second half of verse 8 of the Hayungthal inscription has to be so interpreted as to indicate that the throne passed to the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi and that the younger of the two brothers was the husband of Jivadēvi. If this has to be accepted, then it has possibly to be suggested that Chakra was another name of Sālabha and that the rule of Balavarman intervening between that of Harshavarman and Sālabha was ignored in Vanamāla's records because that king was succeeded by Chakra *alias* Sālabha after a very short rule.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Journ. Assam Res. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.



Harjaravarman's queen, who was the mother of Vanamālavarman, is given as Śrīmattarā in verse 15 of the published text of the lost plates, while the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman (line 24) has it as Maṅgalāśrī. The correct reading of the name in Vanamālavarman's inscription is now found to be *śrī-Maṅgalā*. The real name of the queen thus seems to have been Maṅgalā or Maṅgalāśrī. Fourthly, the name of Harjaravarman's mother was read in the lost plates as Jīvadā (verse 10), although the Hayungthal plate gives it as Jīvadēvī (line 13). The present record shows that *Jivad=ēti* suggesting the name Jīvadā is a wrong reading for *Jivadēvī*. Fifthly, verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the rebuilding of a fallen temple of Hētuka-Śūlin (Śiva) by Vanamālavarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word *hētuka* in this context, Bhattacharya's emendation *Hāṭapa-Śūlin* to indicate the god installed at the city of Hāṭapēśvara seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings was Hārūppēśvara. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however, be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two *aksharas* of the name are not quite distinct; Possibly *sarū*"<sup>1</sup>. In line 21 of the Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, Bhattacharya reads the name as *Hāṭappēśvara* (although not the slightest trace of *ā* sign on *h* is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to Hārūppēśvara.<sup>2</sup> In line 1 of the Tezpur stone inscription<sup>3</sup> of the same king, the reading seems to be *Haṭappēśvara*, although Bhattacharya suggests *Hārūppēśvara*. The late Mahāmahōpādhyāya H. P. Sastri reads the name in this record as *Hārūppēśvara*.<sup>4</sup> As regards the first *akshara*, however, he says, "The *ā* stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was *Hārūppēśvara*." In regard to the second *akshara* of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of *ra*. Hence the Government Epigraphist (H. Krishna Sastri) read it as *kka*". In a note<sup>5</sup> on the reading of this damaged inscription, that master epigraphist, F. Kielhorn, read the name as *Ha..ppēśvara* and observed as follows: "Of the name which follows upon *svasti*, the initial consonant (*h*) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply *ha*, or *hā* or *hu*; and the second syllable, which I have omitted, is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 5 of Plate IIb of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmadēva of Prāgyōtisha where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read *Hārūppēśvara*, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be *sarū*. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like *rū*, and in the impressions of our stone inscription to read *rū* seems impossible."<sup>6</sup> It will thus be seen that the reading of the first two *aksharas* of the name *Hārūppēśvara* is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably *ha* and not *hā*. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarman, the name is found in the rough transcript published in the *JASB* as *Harayēsana*, although, it may be pointed out, the letter *ḍ* has always been read by the transcriber as *r* as a result of the

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, 1897, p. 291, note 29. See also Kielhorn's remarks on the reading of the name, quoted below.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 50 and plates facing p. 47. Cf. *Journ. As. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 111, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *ibid.*, plate facing p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> *JBORS*, 1917, p. 512, notes 1-2.

<sup>5</sup> *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1905, pp. 465-71.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 468.

- 17 प्रथां ॥२३॥ ज्ञापयित्वा<sup>1</sup> अकबरस्था(स्तथा) तत्र समागतः । तथा हसनअल्लीखाँ छप्पझादत्र नी(चा)गतः ॥२४॥ नाही(हीं) प्रति तदायातो राणें-
- 18 द्रो रोषपोषितः । कोटडीग्रामत[:\*] शीघ्र(घ्रं) ततः सेनासमो(मा)वृतः ॥२५॥ संप्रेषितो भीमसिंहः कुमारो राणभूभुजा । ईडरद्वं(ध्वं)सम-
- 19 तनोत्सैदहसा(साँ) ततो गतः ॥२६॥ बडनगरं लूटित<sup>2</sup>मथ चत्वारि(रिं)शत्सहस्त(त्र)मिताः । राजतमुद्रा जगृहे दंडविधौ भीमसिंह इह
- 20 ॥२७॥ अहमदनगरे लक्षद्वयप्रमितरूप्यमुद्राणां । वस्तूनां लूं(लुं)दनमिहे(ह) कारितवान्भी-  
मसिंहा(ह)व(ब)ली ॥२८॥ एका महामसीवि<sup>3</sup>-
- 21 विखंडिता लघु(घु)मसीविसुत्रिशती । वे[वा]लयपातरुषः प्रकाशित(ता) भीमसिंहवीरेण ॥२९॥  
राणामहीमहेंद्रस्य<sup>4</sup> आज्ञया विज्ञ उ-
- 22 त्सुकः । महाराजकुमारश्रीजयसिंहो नामः(म)<sup>4</sup> ॥३०॥ झालाख्यचंद्रसेनेन चोहानेन चमूभ(भू)ता ।  
तथा सव(ब)सिंहेन रावेण रणसू-
- 23 रिणा ॥३१॥ केसरीसिंहनाम्ना तद्भ्रात्रा रावेण शोभितः । राठोडगोपीनाथेन<sup>1</sup> अरिसिंहस्य  
सूनुना ॥३२॥ भगवंताविसिंहेन धन्य-
- 24 राजम्यराजिभिः । सहितः स्वाहितजयं कर्त्त(त्तुं) हितसमीहिते ॥३३[॥\*] त्रयोदश सहस्राणि<sup>1</sup>  
अश्ववारवरावलेः । सद्द्विंशतिसहस्राणि
- 25 पदातीनां महात्मनां ॥३४॥ संगे गृहीत्वा प्रययौ चित्रकूटतटीं प्रति । ततस्ते टक्कुरा  
रात्रौ संगरं चक्रुस(द)म्बदाः ॥३५॥ सहस्रसंख्या-
- 26 दिवल्लीशलोकान् जघ्न(घ्न)गंजत्रयं । येनागतास्तास्तुरगाभिःसुतस्तदकम्बरः ॥३६॥ पंचाशत्सु-  
रगाम्बीरा गृहीत्वा तादृयवेदयन(न्) ।
- 27 कुमारजयसिंहाय जयसिंहो मुदं दधे ॥३७॥ जयसिंहः कुमारोप श्रीराणेंद्रस्य दशनं ।  
कृतवान्क(म्क)तकृत्या(त्यो) वा महारणकृती
- 28 कृती ॥३८॥ शक्तावतस्य शक्तस्य केसरीसिंहवर्मजः । गंगकूबर इत्येष कुमारपदवीं दधत्  
॥३९॥ अष्टादश द्विपान्मसान्ह-
- 29 योषानुष्दुसंभयान् । दिल्लीशसंभ्यादानीय राणेंद्राणे न्यवेदयत् ॥४०॥ राणेंद्रेण कुमारोप  
भीमसिंहो बलीनि(सान्धि)तः । प्रषितोऽ-

<sup>1</sup> The absence of *sandhi* here is in favour of the metre.

<sup>2</sup> Read *lupitam*, *lū* would be Hindi.

<sup>3</sup> *Masdi* stands for *masjid*, i.e., mosque.

<sup>4</sup> This fourth quarter is too short by two syllables. Perhaps the intended reading was *Jayasinhā-ṛi-nāmakāḥ*.

- 30 कबराध्येन तथा तहबरेण च ॥४१॥ खानेन संगरं चक्रे शक्ररक्षोरणोप[मं] । उल्लंघ्य  
देवसूरीं ता(तां) महानालिं नलोप्र(प)मः । ॥४२॥
- 31 घानोरानगरे चक्रे युद्धं योद्धुविक्रमः<sup>1</sup> । बा(बी)कासोलंकिवीरोथ . छद्(घट्ट)रक्षां रणं व्यधात्  
॥४३॥ राणेत्रेण कुमारोथ गज ॥<sup>2</sup>
- 32 सि(सि)हो व(व)लात्वि(न्वि)तः । प्रस्थापितो व(व)भंजायं तद्वे(द्वे)गमपुरं महत् ॥४४॥  
राष्ट्रत्रय(यं) रूप्यमुद्रालक्षत्रयमथापि वा । दत्तै(त्तै)व मिल-
- 33 नं<sup>3</sup> कार्यं मया राणेन निश्चितं ॥४५॥ श्रीरंगजेबो दिल्लीश्च उक्तवान्स् [त]द्(दु)त्तरं ।  
विधेः कलेर्व(व)लाज्जातं यत्तदत्र ववाम्यहं ।<sup>4</sup>
- 34 ॥४६॥ श्रीराणोदयसिंहसूनुरभवत्<sup>5</sup> श्रीर्म(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री<sup>6</sup>भमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्ण-  
सिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राण-
- 35 जगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्मावा(वा)जसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्वीरः शिलाजे(ले)खितं  
॥४७॥ पु(पू)र्णे सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा
- 36 सत्पूणिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमू(मु)द्रमिष्टजलधेः  
सुष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तो-
- 37 प्रावत्(वत्तं) रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्या[ह्व]यं ॥४८॥ युग्मं । अ(आ)सीद्वास्करतस्तु  
माधववु(वु)धोऽस्माद्रामव(वं)द्रस्तत[:\*] स-
- 38 त्म(त्स)र्वेश्वरकः कडो(ठो)डिकुलजो लक्ष्मणादिनाथस्स(स्त)तः । तेजं(लं)गोस्य तु रा[मचं]द्र  
[इ]ति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधु-
- 39 सु(सू)वनस्त्रय इने व(व)ह्येशविष्णूपम[र]ः । ४९॥ यस्यासा(सी)न्मधुसूदनस्तु जनका(को) वेणी  
च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[ष\*] कृत-
- 40 वानाजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राणगुणौघवर्णनमयं वा(वी)रांकयुक्त(वत्तं) महत्<sup>7</sup> ।<sup>4</sup> द्वाविंशोभवदत्र  
सर्गं उदितो वागर्थसर्गस्फुं(स्फु)टः ॥[१५०॥\*]
- 41 [चतु]वि(विं)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भवमुदे सर्गोर्थसर्गोत्तः<sup>6</sup> ॥५१॥ इति श्रीराजप्र[श\*]स्त(स्ती)  
श्रीराजसर्ग(गर)श्रीप्रस्त श्रीसर्गद्विंशत्यं<sup>7</sup> सर्गः]

<sup>1</sup> We have probably to read *yuddam-ābhūta-vikramāḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> These two *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> A more correct form would be *mālanath*.

<sup>4</sup> This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> *Bandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>6</sup> The portion of verse from *chatur*° to *anataḥ* is redundant here ; it is meant for the twenty-fourth canto wherein it occurs in the thirty-sixth stanza.

<sup>7</sup> The meaning of this part is obscure ; this line of writing in any way is superfluous.

## Slab XXIV ; Canto XXIII

[Metres : vv. 1-3, 9-43, 45-62 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 4-8 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* ; v. 44 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः[\*] ॥ शते सप्तदशोतीते सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेब्दके । कार्तिके शुक्लदशमीदिने  
राणापु[रं]दरः ॥१॥ नानाविधानि [दा]-
- 2 नानि ब्रह्मं वत्वा(स्वा) त्वनंतकं । द्विजादिभ्यो हरिं ध्यात्वा जपमालां करे दधत्  
॥२॥ हृदि संस्थाप्य च जपशमनाम स्वनाम च । सयश-
- 3 : स्थापयन्लोक(यैल्लोके) भूलोकं त्यक्तवाङ्मूः ॥३॥ वदानो महादानवृंद(वं) द्विजेभ्यस्तथा गाः  
सवत्साः सुवर्णादिपूजाः(र्णाः) । तदुक्तं फलं शं-
- 4 व(ब)लं संदधानो नृपो दुर्गमस्वर्गमार्गाय यातः ॥४॥ महादानसन्म(न्म)उपस्तंभसंघाः कृता  
दारुणा तेभवन्स्वर्गरूपः(पाः) । तदा(दी?)योच्च-
- 5 निःश्रेणिकाश्रेणिकाभिः क्षितिस्पर्शाहीनं विमान(नं) समान(नं) ॥५॥ महेंद्रेण संप्रेषितं मेदिनीप्रः  
समारुह्य दिव्यैर्गणैः संवृतश्च । स
- 6 नाकं सुखं प्राप धर्मेण साकं महाराजसिंहो नरेंद्रेषु सिंहः ॥६॥ महेंद्रेण संमानितस्तेन  
दिव्यासने स्थां(स्था)पितो मानितस्तोषितो
- 7 यत् । महादानमालातडागप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)करो विष्णुनामग्रही धर्मपूणेः(र्णः) ॥७॥ ततः स्वीय-  
वेकुण्ठलोके त्वकुण्ठप्रभावो हरिः प्रेषयि-
- 8 त्वा विमानं मुद्रा(दा)ऽऽकार्यं संस्थापयामास युक्तं स्वपूर्वोद्भूतैः संयुतं राजसिंहं ॥८॥  
ततः(तः) कडैजे नगरे शिविरं व्यातनोद(द्व)ली ।
- 9 जयसिंहो जयमयः सत्पंचदश वासरान् ॥९॥ उल्लंघ्य कृतवान्धीरो राणसिंहासनसिंथर्ति(ति) ।  
रि(र)रक्ष रणदक्षोयं क्षोणा(णी)म-
- 10 क्षौहिणीपतिः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेब्दके । मार्गशा(शी)र्षे क्षौर्यमार्गप्रकाशी  
मार्गपार्यदः ॥११॥ वसत्क(न्क)डंजे नग-
- 11 नगरे जयसिंहो महामनाः । श्रुत्वा तह्वरं खानं देवसूरीं विलंघ्य च ॥१२॥ आयात(तं)  
घट्टमर्यादालोपिनं कोपपूरितः । स्वभ्रातरं भीमसिंहं
- 12 भीमं वाऽप्रे(वा प्रै)धयत्स तु ॥१३॥ वीकासोलंकिनं वृष्ट्वा तं समाशवास्य तत्परं ।  
महाभीमो भीमसिंहो वीकासोलंकिना ब(व)रः ॥१४॥ जघ्नतु-

† This ga is superfluous.

- 13 स्लेंछ(च्छ)सत्या(सैन्या)नि रुद्धस्तह्वरोभव(व)त् । दिनाष्टकांतं मु[क्तो]थ राहुमुक्त(क्ते) दु-  
विछ(च्छ)विः ॥१५॥ घानोरापा<sup>१</sup>इवं आयातो जयसिंहो दलेलखां [१\*]
- 14 छप्पन्नदेशशैलेष्वायां(या)तो ह्याग(गो?)बू(बू)तोस्य तु ॥१६॥ मार्गो वसो राणलोकैर्गोगुंदाघट्ट  
आगतः । रुद्धा घट्टास्ततो राणालोकै[लोके]षु विश्रु-
- 15 सैः ॥१७॥ रत्नसीरावतेनापि स्थितं घवे(द्वे) शिलोत्कटे । दलेलखां न शक्तोभूत्तदा गंतुं  
कथंचन ॥१८॥ अथ श्रीजयसिंह(हे)न झालाख्यो व-
- 16 रसाभिधः । प्रेषितो मि(मे)लनं कर्तुं तेनोक्तं मार्ग्यामिना ॥१९॥ द[ले\*]लख(खा)न(नं)  
प्रत्येवं भवान्दिल्लीशमानितः । सहस्राण्यश्ववाराणा(णां) सगय(संगे पं- ?)
- 17 चदशात्र ते ॥२०॥ राणेंद्रस्यैकराजन्यो घट्टं रुद्धा स्थितो भवान् । निःसरत्व(त्वे) व  
निश्चिंतो राणेंद्रस्य तव स्फुटं ॥२१॥ स्नेहस्तदत्रपर्यंतमा-
- 18 यातस्त्वमतः परं । नबावे(वावे)नोच्यते च(चे)त्तं घट्टान्निःसारयाम्यहं ॥२२॥ उच्यते  
चेत्स्थापयामि नबा(वा)वेन तदेरितं । पथीत्सुं(श्चात्सै)न्यं समायाति मा-
- 19 स्तु तेनापि वारणं ॥२३॥ घट्टत्रयस्य मार्गस्य दृष्ट्यर्थं प्रेषिता भटाः [१\*] तैरुनबा(वा)वेन  
तु कृद्वृद्धास्त्रयोदृढं<sup>२</sup> ॥२४॥ ततो न निःसृतस्तत्र [न\*]बाव(वाब)-
- 20 स्तदनंतरं सहस्व(स्त्र) रूप्यमुद्रास्तुदत्तवै(त्वे)कस्मै द्विजातये ॥२५॥ अग्रेसकृत्य च तं<sup>३</sup>  
नबा(वा)बो रणकेसरी । निःसृतोन्येन्य(न) मार्गेण रात्रौ त-
- 21 त्रापि सैन्यवान् ॥२६॥ रत्नसीरावतो रत्नं ये(यो)धाना(नां) मार्गतो जवात् । रं(र)णं  
चक्रे निःसरणं नबा(वा)बः का(क)ष्टतो व्यघात् ॥२७॥ इत्थं दलेल-
- 22 खानस्तु नि[:\*]सृतो य(घ)ट्टतश्छलात् [१\*] दिल्लीशांतिक आयातः पृष्टो दिल्लीश्वरेण  
मः(सः) ॥२८॥ त्व(त्वं) निःसृत्य किमायातो सणा(राण)कस्यानु नो
- 23 गतः । दलेलपा(खां) तदोवाय(च) नास्रं लब्धं मया प्रभो ॥२९॥ राणे(णे)द्रो मम  
[प\*]श्चात्तु हंतुं मां समुपागतः । योधा मे मारितास्तेन नानाहं तेन नि[:\*]-
- 24 सू[तः ॥३०॥\*] अतना(ना)भावाश्रित्यमेव लोकानां तु चतु[:\*]शता(ती) । मृता हंत त्रिः(निः)सृतस्तत्<sup>४</sup>  
श्रुत्वा दिल्लीश आकुलः ॥३०(३१)॥ अथाकबर आयातो मि(मे)ल-
- 25 न(नं) कर्तुमुद्यतः । राणाश्रीकर्णसिंहस्य द्विता(ती)यस्तनयो बली ॥३१(३२)॥ गरीब-  
दासस्तत्पुत्रः श्यामसिंह इहागतः । कृ(कृ)त्वा मि(मे)लनवार्ता(र्त्ता) तां

<sup>१</sup> This pā appears like ghā, while next to it there is a superfluous danḍa.

<sup>२</sup> The reading of this latter half of the verse is not clear ; possibly we have to restore it as follows : *cuir-uktam tu Navābēna kritam ghaṭṭa-trayaṁ driḍham.*

<sup>३</sup> Read *agrāsaram cha kṛtvā tam.*

<sup>४</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 26 परावृत्य गतो दृढां ॥३२(३३)॥ ततो द<sup>१</sup>लखानस्तु मिलने<sup>२</sup> दाढर्धमातनोत् । तथा हसनअल्लीखां मिलनस्य<sup>३</sup> विधि(धि) व्यधात् ॥३३(३४) जयसिहो-
- 27 थ मिलनं<sup>४</sup> कर्तुमुद्योगमातनोत् [१\*] श्रीमद्राजसमुद्रस्य<sup>५</sup> अग्रभागे स्थितस्ततः ॥३४(३५)॥ सहस्राण्यश्ववाराणां सप्त स सप्तकत्विषां । मध्ये स्थि-
- 28 तः सप्तसप्तिसमतेजाः समाव(ब)भौ ॥३५(३६)॥ जयसिहः स्थितः स[प्त]नामसप्तिसमे ह्ये । तत्प्रेन्क्ष(क्ष)कजनैः प्रोक्तं अश्ववारमयं जगत(त्) ॥३६(३७)॥ प-
- 29 दातीनामयुक्तं संगे स्थापितवान्प्रभुः । तदा पत्तिमयं प्रोक्तं जगदृष्ट्वा जनैर्षु(ध्रु)वं ॥३७(३८)॥ महाशौर्यो महाधैर्यो जयसिहस्ततो व(ब)ली [१\*]
- 30 झालेंद्रं चंद्रसेनाख्यं वो(चो)हानं स्थापयन्पुरः ॥३८(३९)॥ रावंसव(ब)र्त्सिहाख्यं परमार- शिरोमणि । वैरीसालं महारावं राठोरान्वीरठक्कुरान्
- 31 ॥३९(४०)॥ चौडावतान्त्रणे चंडान् शक्तान्श<sup>६</sup>क्तायतांस्तथा । रानावतान्त्राजेयान्त्राजन्यान्ज-<sup>७</sup> न्यदुर्जयान् ॥४०(४१)॥ सवतिखर्वरठिधा<sup>८</sup>न्संगे संगे<sup>९</sup>
- 32 संस्थाप्य से(सो)त्सवः । राणेंद्रो रणदुर्धषो(षो) मिलना<sup>१०</sup>र्था(र्थी) मुदाऽचलत् ॥४१(४२)॥ रक्तध्वनैः(जैः) शोभमाना भांति नाना मदद्विपाः । सपल्लवद्रुमा
- 33 गोत्रा एकत्र स्थापिताः किमु ॥४२(४३)॥ वे(वै)रिप्राहगणे(णै)र्महीधरकुलैः सद्रत्नचंद्रैरहो राजञ्चक्रव(च)यैश्च वाडवस्ति(शि)खिस्फुर्जत्प्रतापैवृ(वृ)त[ः] १\*]
- 34 उद्यद्भोगिवरंमंहि(हो)मिनिवहैर्मर्यादयापूर्वया गांभीये(यै)ण युतो<sup>७</sup> विराजति जयी राणाऽर्णवः<sup>७</sup> कि पर[ः\*] ॥४३(४४)॥ ओरंगजेबवीरस्य दिल्ली-
- 35 शस्य सुतस्य सः । जगत्त्राणसुरत्राणम्राजमस्य प्रतापिन[ः\*] ॥४४(४५)॥ अज्ञिया ति(धि)ज्ञतांसिधुगा(गां)भीर्यगुणसागरः [१\*] दस(ले)लखां महावीरो हससाज(ह्ला)-
- 36 द्पूरित[ः\*] ॥४५(४६)॥ तथा हरा(स)नअल्लीखा(खां) अं(अ)न्येपि म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भुभुजे(जः) । राठोडो रामसिहाख्यो रतलामपुरस्थित[ः\*] ॥४६(४७)॥ हाडाकिशोरसिहाख्यो गौडभू-

<sup>१</sup> The sign of *aragraha* is unnecessary.

<sup>२</sup> Though the correct form of this word is *mēlana*, yet our author invariably uses *mīlana* which is Hindi.

<sup>३</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here for the sake of the metre.

<sup>४</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>५</sup> The intended reading of this portion seems to be *sarvān=akharva-vīry-ādhyān*

<sup>६</sup> This *sangē* is redundant.

<sup>७</sup> There is a superfluous *danḍa* here.

- 37 पस्तथापु(प)रे [1\*] हिट्टु(हिट्टु)म्लेच्छ(च्छ)महावीरा आयाताः संमुखं सुखात् ॥४७(४८)॥<sup>1</sup>  
दिल्लीपतीयैः स्वीयैश्च देशपालैः समावृतः । जयसिंहो विभाजाव<sup>2</sup> दिव्या(क्पा)लैर्मघ-
- 38 वावृतः ॥४८(४९)॥ तत[ः\*] श्रीजयसिंहाख्यः पूर्वोक्तैष्ट(ष्ट)क्कुरैर्वृतः । गरीबदासनाम्ना  
स्वपुरोहितवरेण वा । [१५०॥\*] भी[षू]प्रघां(घा)नवै[श्ये]न युक्ते(क्तः) सुयोनितेज-
- 39 साः(सा) [1\*] महाभाग्यो [महा\*]शौयो(र्यो) महोत्साहो महामताः(नाः) ॥४९(५१)॥  
हि(हि)ट्टुम्लेच्छ(च्छ)महावीरदेशनाथविशोभिप्तः(तः) । वगा(आजमा?)ख्यसुरत्राणमणैर्दशरुमातनो-
- 40 त् ॥५०(५२)॥ आजमाख्यभुस्वा(सुरत्रा)णो रणेन्द्रस्यादरं भूशं । अकरोद्विनयोपेतस्(स्स)  
ले(स्ने)हमनुदर्शयन् ॥५१(५३)॥ एकादश गजी(जा)नश्वा(श्वां)श्चत्वारिंशन्मितान्
- 41 शुभान् । आजमाख्याय राने(नें)[द्रो]प(र्ष)यामास सुदर्पवान् ॥५२(५४)॥ आजमाख्यः सुरत्राण  
एक मदल द्विप(एकं मदालसं द्विपं?) । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याश्चान्सहेमवस्-
- 42 नत्रयीः ॥५३(५५)॥ पञ्चाशत्प्रमिता भूषां(षः) समूहं रानभूभुजेः(जे) । ददो(दो) महानिंहमय<sup>3</sup>  
मिलनं त्वनयोरभूत(त्) ॥५४(५६)॥ इलेषां(खां) तदोवाच सुलतान श्रु-
- 43 णु प्रभो । अय(यं) वीरश्चंद्रसेनो राना झालशिरामणिः । [१५७॥\*] रावः सव(ब)लसिंहोयं  
रत्नसीनामरावतः । चोडावत रणे चं(चं)डाः शपता(क्ताः) शक्तावतास्तथो(था)  
॥५५(५८)॥ प-
- 44 रमारश्च राठोस(डा)स्तथा राणावतोत्तमां(माः) । रणे सि(सि)हाः पर्वतेषु मार्गमददुरुत्तमाः  
॥५६(५९)॥ युयुधुर्म(र्मे) महायोधा ज्ञातव्यं विज्ञतांबु(बु)धे । दिल्लीशेन प-
- 45 रां — —<sup>4</sup> रानोक्त्या रक्षितुं धु(धु)वं [१६०॥\*] आजमा(भो)प्युक्तवानेवं सत्यमेव न  
संशय[ः\*] ॥(१) संतुष्टो जयसिंहा(हो)थ ददावाज्ञां कृतादतार(कृतादरः) ॥५७(६१)॥  
जे(ज)यसिंहो महाभाग्यो वी-
- 46 [रः शि]विरमागतः । अस्थासी[द्वाग्य]तः शीघ्र(घ्रं) मिलनं [गजतादरात्?] ॥५८(६२)॥  
[पूर्णः] सर्ग इति त्रयोविंशतिनामा सर्गः ॥

## Slab XXV ; Canto XXIV

[Metres : vv. 1-10, 16-27 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 11 *Upajāti* ; vv. 12-15, 33-36 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 28 *Āryū* ; v. 29 *Upagīti* ; vv. 30-32 *Gīti*.]

- I ॥ सिध(द्धं) श्रीगणेशाय नम(नमः) [११\*] प्रेम्णा<sup>5</sup> अमरसि(सि)हाख्यपौत्रयुक्तस्य धर्म(र्मि)णः ।  
राणे(नें)द्रराजसिंहस्य राजराजस्य संपदा ॥१॥ हेम्नो दश सहस्यो(हस्रो)द्यत्तो-

<sup>1</sup> The two sets of *danḍas* and the figure 47 appear above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of these four syllables is probably intended to be *babhāv-ājnu*.

<sup>3</sup> The sense is not clear here.

<sup>4</sup> This third *pāda* is too short by two syllables.

<sup>5</sup> The absence of *sandhi* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

- 2 लकैः<sup>1</sup> पूर्णतो भृतः । शुद्धात्मने व(वि)सृष्टायास्तुलाया अतुलाजुषः ॥२॥ मा(म)हासेतौ हस्तिनीसत्क(त्स्क)षे वं(वं)धुरमुंदरं । तोरणं भाति गौरो-
- 3 च्चाघोरणं तुलयंद्रुवा<sup>2</sup> ॥३॥ महोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लतया किंवा<sup>3</sup> ऐरावतकुलस्थितिः ॥(1) हस्तिन्येषा मु(मू)द्विन धत्ते चित्ररूप्योच्चभूषणं ॥४॥ वत्तांकुशद्व-
- 4 [याप्ये]षा<sup>3</sup> अचलैवाभवत्ततः [1\*] वशिंतं तूभ्रतीकृत्य हस्तिनेना(नां)कुशद्वयं ॥५॥ मा(म)हातोरणमेतत्तु गौरीकीर्त्योभ्रतीकृतं । प्राञ्जलं साञ्जलि-
- 5 युगं भुजयोर्भाति भु(भू)पतेः ॥६॥ द्वितीयं तोरणं तत्र पार्श्वेस्ति लघु सुंदरं । तथा<sup>4</sup> अमरसिंहारूप्योत्रस्यातिविचित्रकृत् ॥७॥ राणैर्वरा-
- 6 जसिंहस्य पट्टराज्ञा(ज्ञया)तिविज्ञया । श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य मात्रा मित्रप्रतापया ॥८॥ सदाकुंबरि-  
नाम्या या तुला रूप्यमयी कृता । आस्ते
- 7 ततोरणं चित्रं हस्तिन्यां(न्या) हस्तयुग्मं(ग्म)वत् ॥९॥ आस्ते गरीव(ब)वासस्य पुरोहितशिरोमणेः ।  
कृतायाः स्वर्णपूर्णायास्तुलायास्तोरणं महत्
- 8 ॥१०॥ गरीव(ब)वासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो रणछोडरायः । आस्ते कृतापाः किल  
तेन रूप्यत्रा(भ्रा)जस्तुलायाः शुभतोरणं सत् ॥११॥
- 9 श्रीराणोवशासिंहसूनुरभवत्<sup>4</sup> श्रीर्म(म)त्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री<sup>4</sup>अमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य  
वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पपि(ति)वच
- 10 तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्वीरः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥१२॥ पूर्णं  
सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णमा-
- 11 स्थे दिने द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः । काव्य(व्यं) राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः  
सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्राक्तं
- 12 रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥१३॥ युग्मं [1\*] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोज्जमाद्राम-  
चंद्रस्ततः [स\*]त्सर्वेश्वरकः क-
- 13 ठो(ठौ)डिकुलजो लक्ष्म्यादिनाथस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा  
माधवः पू(पु)त्रोभून्मघुसूदनस्त्रय इमे व(व)-
- 14 ह्येशविष्णूपमाः ॥१४॥ यस्यासीन्मघुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड  
ऐ(ए)[ष\*] कृतवान्नाजप्रशस्त्याह्वय(यं)

<sup>1</sup> In v. 28, Canto XVII, the quantity of gold mentioned is 12,000 *tolas*.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we are to read *tulayad=ruchā*.

<sup>3</sup> The absence of *sandhi* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

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



- 15 । काव्यं राजग(गु)णौघवर्णनमयं [वीरांकयुक्तं\*] चतुवि(त्रिं)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भवमुदे सर्गो-  
र्थसर्गोन्नतः ॥१५॥ राजप्रशस्तिप्रंथोय(यं) प्रसिद्धः स्या-
- 16 ज्जगत्यलं । लक्ष्मीनां(ना)थादिबालानां पाठार्थं जायतां ध्रुवं ॥१६॥ नारायणादिपुण्या-  
त्प(त्न)राणैर्दान्वयवर्णनं । कर्णस्थितं स्या[स्क\*]णी(णी)-
- 17 च्वपुत्रपौत्रसुखप्रदं ॥१७॥ रामादिराजस्तुतियुक्काव्यं रामायणोपमं । श्रुत्व(त्वा) घने घनेश[:\*]  
स्यात्काव्ये काव्यो गुरुर्गिरि ॥१८॥ ना-
- 18 नाराजेतिहासाक्तं प्रथं स्याद्भारतोपमं । भारत्यां भारतीतुल्यः पठन्भारतस(सं)दके ॥१९॥  
वा(वा)हणो व(व)हवचस्वी वा(वा)हुजो बाहुवी-
- 19 यंबान् । वैश्यो लभे<sup>१</sup>द्धनं श्रुत्वा शु(शू)ब्रो भद्रं तथाखिलं ॥२०॥ संस्तभ्य चित्तमन्येभ्यः  
पठन्सभ्यो(भ्य)त्वमाप्नुयात् । इभ्यतां भुवने मर्त्यो
- 20 नालभ्यं तस्य किञ्चन ॥२१॥ विप्रोऽग्निहोत्रशामेभ्यः क्षत्रियोऽखिलभूमिपः । वैश्यो घनी  
स्यात्कायस्थः श्रिया सुस्यो भवे-
- 21 बृध्रुवं ॥२२॥ राज(जा) श्रुत्वा चक्रवर्ती शौर्यगांभीर्यधैर्यवान् । देशस्वास्थ्यं लभेद्वैरिविजयं  
कुरुते सदा ॥२३॥ पठन्स्फुरद्भागव-
- 22 तनवमस्कंधसक्तयां । आकंठं सुखभुग्भूत्वा वैकुण्ठं प्राप्नुयाद्विदं ॥२४॥ वयाल<sup>२</sup> साहू  
कृतवान् खेरावादस्य मारणं । त-
- 23 त्केतुदु(दुं)बुभिप्राह(हं) वनहेडाख्यलुटनं ॥२५॥ धारापुरा(री)मारणं च मसीदिततिपातनं ।  
ध्वस्तं [चक्रे]<sup>३</sup> ग्रहमदनगरं लुटने [खिल?]\*
- 24 ॥२६॥ महामसीदितनं कृतवान्समरे कृतीः(ती) । इत्युक्तः प्रभुवीराणां पराक्रमविनिर्णयः ॥२७॥  
जगदीशमिश्रं(श्र)तनयो
- 25 माथुदहीरामणिर्माहामिभ्यः [।\*] राजसमुद्रजलाशयसूत्रनिवेशे परिक्रमणे ॥२८॥ द्वादशशतमणमितिकं  
धान्म(न्य)[म\*]हीध्रं
- 26 महासेतौ । द्वादशशतमणमितिकं धान्यात्रि(त्रि) कांकारोसीस्थे ॥२९॥ सेतौ संस्थाप्य तथा  
सादसहस्राद्य(द्य)रूप्यमुद्राणां ।
- 27 ऋ(ऋ)त्वा, ढब्भूकगणं सरूप्यमुद्रादिकं तदार्थिभ्यः ॥३०॥ षट्द्व(द्वि)नपर्यंतमयं — ७ तदा  
राजसिंहदेवेन । उक्तं जनस(सं)म-

<sup>१</sup> The correct form is *labhēta* ; better read *vinūta*.

<sup>२</sup> Read *Dyāla* for *Dayāla* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>३</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 28 [द्वे] मिश्रोऽस्पन्निकटतः पुरः कुरु(रु)ते ॥३१॥ इत्युत्साहेन तदा भ्य(भ)क्त्या मिश्रः पुरः स्थितो नृपतेः । धान्याद्रा(द्री)ध(न्ध)नमार्थ(मर्थि)-
- 29 व्रजाय दत्त्वा(त्वा) प्रियो नृपस्यासीत् ॥३२॥ श्रीराणोदर्यसिहसूनुरभवत्<sup>1</sup> श्रीमन्त्र(मन्त्र)ताप[:\*] सुतस्तस्य श्री<sup>1</sup>अमरेश्वरोस्य
- 30 तनयः श्रीकरण(कर्ण)सिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिह एष कृतवान्धी-
- 31 रः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥३३॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णिमाख्य(ख्ये) दिने द्वात्रि(त्रिं)शन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिह-
- 32 प्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधे[:\*] सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्राक्त(क्तं) रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥३४॥ युग्मं [॥\*]
- 33 आसीद्भास्करतस्तु पा(मा)धवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरकः कठो(ठो)डिकुलजो लक्ष्म्या-दिनाथस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगो-
- 34 स्य तु राभचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्त्रय इमे व्र(व्र)ह्मेश विष्णूपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्यासीन्मधुसूद-
- 35 नस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[ष\*] कृतवान्नाजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राधगुणौघवर्णनमयं [वीरांकयुक्तं\*] च-
- 36 तुर्वि(र्विं)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भवमुदे सर्गोर्थसर्गो(न)तः ॥३६॥ दुहा<sup>2</sup> ॥ राणी कोडी रजपूत जेवउ ता जायो [?] । समुद्रं फे-
- 37 रण सूतः राणा तुहीज राजसी ॥३७॥ ऐजो ओरंग काह मेगल मुगल मारिजे । राणो रापे राह रजवट भरीयो राजसी । २॥<sup>3</sup> दुहा(दोहा) [॥\*]
- 38 संवत् १७१८ माहवदि ७ नीश्वोदवारो महरत हुशोजी अतराठाकर<sup>4</sup> सेल<sup>5</sup> कमः करवा ॥ राणावत माहासीघजी रामसीघ-

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>2</sup> That is *Dohā*, a couplet. From here onwards the composition is in the local dialect. It begins with two *Dohās* which, however, do not conform to the metrical scheme. The text, however, is left uncorrected.

<sup>3</sup> The sense of these two *dohās* in Mowāri seems to be :—

1. A great Rājput (*lady*) is the queen who gave birth to a lion (*nāhara*)—a son who could turn the ocean—and that is yourself, O Rājāsī.

2. You kill all these Mughals of Aurangzeb, O Rājāsī, thou art the only way, as thou art, O Rājāsī, full of martial spirit. Duly Rājāsī Rājāsīhā, who is full of martial spirit, keeps the boastful Mughals of Aurangzeb under his control.

<sup>4</sup> *Atarū* means so many, such and such.

<sup>5</sup> Same as Hindi *mil-kar* 'together'.

- 39 जी राणावत भाउसी[घ]जी ।<sup>1</sup> चुडावत दलपतिजी मोहणसी[घ]जी । रावत लुणकरणजी  
चुडावत केसरीसीघजी चुडावत मोक-
- 40 मसीघजी मोज(जा)वत नरसीघदासजी [मो]ज(जा)वत गरीबदासजी राठोड सीघजी राठोड  
रामचंदजी राठोड हमीजी राठ(ठो)ड मोकमसीघ-
- 41 चितागरा(चित्रकार) ॥ साह रां(रा)मचंद्र चेचाणीसाह कलुपंचोली राम(न)जरामालात सा  
मुकददअपंचोली हरराम[सिघ] वो लषु(सु) पंचो[ली] वाघ
- 42 <sup>2</sup>गजघर मुकंद गजघर किल्यानसुत जगनाथ उरजणसुत लालो लषो जसोहरजी  
जगनाथसुत मेघोमनो [॥\*] संवत १७३२
- 43 प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) हुडीज सुभ(शुभं) भवतु श्रीरस्तु सु(सु)स्व(त्र)घार मोहण[जी]सुत सु(सु)त्रघार  
सुषजी सु(सु)भं भा .. वतः

<sup>1</sup> The *virāma* is shown here with two dots.

<sup>2</sup> A similar list of masons is found also towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII and IX.

resemblance between the forms of the two letters.<sup>1</sup> The Parbatiyā plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings (i. e., the house of Sālastambha) unmistakably as Haḍapēsvara which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarman and Balavarman were Haḍappēsvara and Haḍappēsvara respectively.

The inscription mentions a number of geographical names including those of a river and a hill. The adoration to the river-god Lōhitya-sindhu (cf. *Lōhitya-bhaṭṭāraka* also in the Tezpur plates), i. e., the Brahmaputra, is very interesting. The same river is also adored as *Lauhitya-vāridhi*, *Lauhitya-sindhu* and *Lauhitya ity-adhipatiḥ saritām* in the records respectively of Balavarman who was the grandson of Vanamālarman, of Ratnapāla who was the son of Brahmapāla founder of the Pāla dynasty (the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings), and of Indrapāla who was the grandson of Ratnapāla.<sup>2</sup> The kings apparently held the river-god in special veneration. But more interesting is the reference to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra as a 'sea'. This seems to be associated with the tradition about the existence, in early times, of the Eastern Ocean (i. e., the Bay of Bengal) near Dēvikōṭṭa which is modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District in the northern part of Bengal, and with the presence in the central region of Bengal of large *bils* or lakes like the Chalan.<sup>3</sup> Wide areas in the Mymensing District of Bengal (now in East Pakistan), through which the Brahmaputra at present passes, are spoken of as the 'sea' even today. It is a low-lying country which for six or more months of the year is under water; in that area, communication by boats of maundage varying with the stream and season is always possible. The coast line of this 'sea' may be taken to be passing through Bhairab-bāzār, Bājīpur, Niklī, Dōmpārā and Tarūl and then towards the north-east. To the west of this line, the country is a bed of dead and dying rivers. Equally interesting is the mention of the Kāmākūṭa hill, on which the god Kāmēsvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī are said to have been installed. The same deities are also mentioned in the Guākuchi plates<sup>4</sup> of king Indrapāla of the Pāla dynasty or the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings. The land granted by this charter is described as *Uttara-kūlā Mandī-vishay-āntah-pūli-Paṇḍuri-bhūmitō='pakrish(a)-dhānya-dvīśahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmi*, i. e., the land of an inferior quality yielding 2,000 [*drōṇas*] of paddy out of the area called Paṇḍarī (modern Paṇḍuri Mauza in which the Raṅgiyā station on the old Assam Railway is situated) in the Mandī district pertaining to Uttara-kūla. This *Uttara-kūla* (literally 'the north bank') was apparently a division of the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the description of the boundaries of the above land, the Guākuchi inscription mentions several times *Mahāgaurī-Kāmēsvarayōḥ satka* (or *dēva-satka*)-*sāsana-Paṇḍarībhūmi*, i. e., the land called Paṇḍarī which was a gift land belonging to the deities Mahāgaurī and Kāmēsvara. The names of the hill *Kāmākūṭa* and the god *Kāmēsvara* would suggest that the goddess Mahāgaurī was no other than Kāmēsvari otherwise called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā (literally 'the goddess with the name Kāmā') whose temple stands near Gauhati<sup>5</sup> in Assam. According to the *Kālikā*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Kāmarūpa-sāsana-āvalī*, p. 59, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 73, 92, 117.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *pūrvē kila Dēvikōṭṭa-samīpē paśchimē* (sic. *pūrvē*) *Pūrvōdadiv-āsīt* in Bṛhaspati-Bāyamukūṭa's *Paḍachandrikā* (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 501). For references to the sea bordering on the country of Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, see Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 201; *Rāmāyana* (Vaṅgavāsī ed.), *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa*, chapter 42, verso 30, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Kāmarūpa-sāsana-āvalī*, p. 136-37.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *The Śūkta Pīṭhas*, pp. 12-13, 15.

*Purāṇa*,<sup>1</sup> Kāmarūpa was one of the four main Śākta Pīṭhas where resided the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Kāmēśvarī (installed on the Nīla-parvata). Another passage of the same *Purāṇa*<sup>2</sup> speaks of the hill, on which the Pīṭha was situated, as Kāmagiri, no doubt the same as Kāmākūṭa. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*), a standard work on the Śākta Pīṭhas, also connects the Yōni-pīṭha with Kāmākhyā on the Kāmagiri.<sup>3</sup>

It has been suggested<sup>4</sup> that the capital of the second line of Prāgjyōtisha kings, called Haḍapēśvara in our record, was probably situated at Daba-Parbatīyā in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. Although nothing can be said definitely on this point, the find of the present record in that area seems to support the suggestion. Hapōsagrāma, which was the village granted by the charter under discussion, cannot be satisfactorily identified. It was situated in the Svalpa-Maṅgōka (literally the smaller Maṅgōka) *maṅḍala* (district) pertaining to the Uttara-kūla division which, as already indicated, is also known from other records of the ancient kings of Prāgjyōtisha.<sup>5</sup> Interesting in this connection is also the mention of another similar division called Dakṣiṇa-kūla, no doubt lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in Balavarman's inscription.<sup>6</sup> The name Svalpa-Maṅgōka suggests the existence of another *maṅḍala* called Bṛīhan-Maṅgōka or the bigger Maṅgōka; but nothing can be said in regard to the territorial unit with the exception of the fact that it lay to the north of the Brahmaputra. Akṣhidāhikū and Dīrghāṅga, which are mentioned as boundaries of Hapōsagrāma and appear to have been names of villages, also cannot be located with any amount of certainty. The word *hētuka* in the name of the god Hētuka-Śūlin, a dilapidated temple of whom was rebuilt by Vanamālavarman, may be geographical or personal name referring either to the area where the temple was standing or to the man who was responsible for the original temple and the installation of the god. But it is difficult to be definite on this point, although persons named Hētuka are known from Indian literature.

Prāgjyōtisha, famous in ancient literature, was the country, the heart of which lay in the modern Gauhati region of Assam. From the fourth century A. C., sometimes the name of the country is also given as Kāmarūpa, a designation possibly associated with that of the goddess Kāmā, Kāmēśvarī or Kāmākhyā.<sup>7</sup> According to Chinese sources,<sup>8</sup> the boundary between this country and Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal was the river Karatōyā, and to the east of Kāmarūpa "the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao." The territory called Uparipattana in the records of Vanamālavarman is not known from other sources. Since, however, the name seems to indicate literally 'the town above,' the region, which was apparently not far from Prāgjyōtisha, may have been no other than the hilly eastern land mentioned by the Chinese and referred to above. In line 46, while showing his knowledge in the science of erotics, the author mentions the women of the Karṇāṭa country which may be roughly identified with the Kannaḍa-speaking area of South-western India.

We are thankful to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who has kindly offered some suggestions for the improvement of the transcript and translation of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Chapter 64, verse 43 : *Kāmarūpaṁ mahā-pīṭham tathā Kāmēśvarīm śivīm | Nīlam cha parvata-brēṣhṭham nātham Kāmēśvaram tathā ||*

<sup>2</sup> Chapter 18, verse 42 : *Kāmarūpē Kāmagirau nyapatad-yōni-maṅḍalam.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 47 : *Yōni-pīṭham Kāmagirau Kāmākhyā tatra dēvatā.*

<sup>4</sup> *Kāmarūpa-tāsan-ānalī*, introduction, p. 22n.

<sup>5</sup> Vide *ibid.*, pp. 89, 116, 131.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 15.

<sup>8</sup> See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 185-87.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2, 18, 29-30 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 3-6, 8-9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23 *Āryū* ; verses 7, 12-13 *Indravajrū* ; verse 10 *Gīti* ; verse 14 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 16, 25 *Mandākrūntā* ; verse 20 *Rathōddhatū* ; verses 24, 26-27 *Sūrdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 28 *Uṇajāli*.]

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> Svasti | Śrīmat-Kailāsa-bhūbhṛit-piṭhu-kanaka-silā sañchay-āspāṭān-ōchait-āsār[air]=hēma-pank-āvila-tu-
- 2 hina-jalaih sikta-vaimāni-sārthah | ambhaḥ-krīḍā-prasakta-pravara-sura-vadhū-kēsa-hastachyutair=vvō nākē-
- 3 śa-dru-prasūnair-arunīta-salilō-vyūt-sa Lōhitya-sindhuh || [1\*] Sa punātu Pinākī vō yan-  
nātyē svarddhu-
- 4 nī-jalam | kīṇṇam rēchaka-vātēna tārakāprakarāyitam || [2\*] Naraka iti sūnur-āsīd=  
Ādivarūhasya bhu-
- 5 vi tad-uddhārē | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala-haraṇē pratāpam=api yō Harēr=aharat || [3] Kṛishṇēna  
tan=nihatya cha sṛi-
- 6 shtau<sup>3</sup> Bhagadatta-Vujradatt-ākhyau | tasya sutau tad-vanitā-karuṇa-vilāpa-hṛīta-  
hṛidayēna || [4\*] Samprāptē Bhagadattē
- 7 śrīmat-Prāgyōtish-ādlināthatvam | vanam=itarō=pi tad=ētya prārādhayad=Īsvaran=  
tapasū || [5\*] Tushṇē(shtē)na
- 8 tēna tasmai dattam=Uparipattan-ādlināthatvam | Prāgyōtish-ādhirājyam kālēna ta[d-a\*]-  
nvayasy=āpi || [6\*]
- 9 Tasy-ānvayē=bhūt=kshiti-pāla-mauli-māṇikyā-rōchi-sphurit-ānhri-piṭhaḥ | Prāgyōtish-ē-
- 10 śaḥ kshata-vairi-vīraḥ Sālabha ity=uddhata nāmadhēyaḥ || [7\*] Sat-pūrvva-nṛipati-guṇa-  
sampad-augha-rāg-ānu-
- 11 rañjita-dig-antaih | Sālastambha-pramukhai[h\*] śrī-Harsh-āntair=mmahīpālah || [8\*]<sup>4</sup>  
Divam-ārūḍhair-ādyasya<sup>5</sup> bhūbhujō=nē-
- 12 ka-vairi-vīrō-bhūt | bhrītā śaurya-tyūgair=a-samō nāmn-Ārath=iti nṛipah || [9\*] Śrī-Jīva-  
dēvi-sa[rn\*]jñā rājñī
- 13 hṛiday-ānug-ūbhavat=tasya | va(ba)hu-jana-vandyā mahataḥ prabhāta-sandhy=ēva tējasō  
jananī || [10\*] Tasyān-tasya tu .
- 14 rājñah sutō-bhavan=nṛipa-sīrō-rehit-ānhri-yugah | śrī-Harjarō nṛi(nṛi)p-ōndrah śriyā  
svayam yah samupagūḍhaḥ || [11\*]
- 15 [Dharmma-pravādēshu\*] [Yudhishtirō yō Bhī]mō=ri-vargē sa[marē] cha Jish[ṇuh] | ēkō=  
py=anēkair=iti sad-[gu]ṇ-ō(ṇ-an)-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plates now preserved in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, and impressions prepared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

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

<sup>3</sup> The word *sriṣṭa* has been used here in the sense of *visṛiṣṭa*.

<sup>4</sup> The metre of verses 8-9 is *Āryū*. But both of them are defective from the metrical point of view.

<sup>5</sup> A word like *yuktasya* seems to suit the context better than *ādyasya*.

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 16 ghair=niśśēsha-Kuntī-tanayatvam=ētaḥ || [12\*] Gōpijan-ārañjita-mānasasya s-ē[r]shy=ēva  
vakshaḥ pariḥṛi[tya\*] Viśtō(shṇō)ḥ [\*] niḥ-
- 17 śēsha-rāmājana-dēha-samstham=ādāya saundaryam=ih=ājagāma || [13\*] Varṇ-ādy-aśśha-  
guṇa-jātam=ayam=va(m=ba)bhāra patyu-
- 18 r=mam=ātula-va(ba)lasya Rathāṅgapāṇēḥ | tēn=āham=agra-mahishī jagatībhujō=sya bhūtā  
janē na khalu lāghavam=abhyu-
- 19 paimi || [14\*] Iti yasya mahādēvi vigaṇayya manō-nug=ābhaval=Lakshmīḥ | Śrī-Maṅgal-  
ābhīdhānā pramadā-ratn-ōttaman=ṛi-
- 20 patēḥ || [15\*] Tasy=āsēsha-kshitipa-makuṭ-ōdghriṣṭa-pād-āvja(bja)-pīṭhasy=ādbhū(bhū)-  
t=sūnur=ṛipa-guṇa-mahāratna-mālā-vibhūsha[h\*] ||(l) tasyām(syā)n=dēvyām=akhila-  
bhuvan-ānanda-
- 21 kō yaḥ śās=īva śrīmān=khyātō jagati Vanamāl-ābhīdhānaḥ kshiti(t-ī)-
- 22 śaḥ || [16\*] Jatanidhi-taṇa-vana-mālā-sm-āradhi-mēdini-patitasya | yōgya iti nāma dhātā  
cha-
- 23 krē Vanamāla iti yasya || [17\*] Prachand-ārāti-mattēbha-ghaṭā-dhvānt-ōru-samhatim |  
divākarāyitaṁ
- 24 yēna vidārya raṇa-bhūmishu || [18\*] Kshiti-tanaya-ṛipa<sup>1</sup>-vaṁśa-prabhava-narēndra-ūmal-  
āmva(mba)rē yēna | sphu-
- 25 tam=ēva mṛigāṅkāyitam=utsāry=ārāti-ti[mi\*]r-ō(r-au)gham || [19\*] Bhūri-dripta-ripu-vīra-  
vāhinī-śaila-va-
- 26 jram=uru-vikram-āsinā | yēna rājakam=asēsham=asyatā śrīr=akāri chirani=ēka-bhartṛikā ||  
[20\*] Yasya pratāpa-bhītyā
- 27 va(ba)hu-ripu-jayinō=pi mēdinīpālāḥ [\*] kēchi[d\*]=diśō vijagrīhuḥ prasabham-alam chāma-  
rāṇy=anyē || [21\*] Rājñām=anyēshām
- 28 yē niśītān=ājāv=ishū[n\*] ṛipā mumuchuh || ( | ) yasya ta ēva vibhītyā bhūmīr=dūran=niḥ  
vijahuh || [22\*] Yair=abhimukham ripu(pū)-
- 29 ṇām=āghaṭitā matta-kari-ghaṭā-va(ba)ndhāḥ | tair=vikram-aika-hētē[r\*]=yasy=ā[m\*]-  
jalayaḥ kṛitā[h\*] kshitipaiḥ || [23\*] Dhūr=ūhē Nahu-
- 30 shasya yēna patitaṁ kāl-āntarād=ālayam saudham bhakti-nat-ākḥil-āmara-vara-vrāt-ārchit-  
āñhrēḥ punaḥ | Prālēyā-
- 31 chala-śṛiṅga-tuṅgam=ātula-grām-ēbha-vēśyājanaīr=yukta[m\*] Hētuka-Śūlinaḥ kshītibhujā  
bhaktyā nava[m\*] chakrushā<sup>2</sup> || [24\*]

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 32 Yasy=Ānanta-dyutim=atisitā nāga-lōkē hasantī | diṅ-nāgānām śvasita-janitām śīkar-ālīḥ=cha  
dikshu

<sup>1</sup> The word *nripaī* would suit the metre better.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ornamental design at this place to cover the space at the end of the verse.

PARBATIYA PLATES OF VANAMALAVARMADEVA

i.

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

ii, a.

16  
18  
20  
22  
24  
26  
28  
30

16  
18  
20  
22  
24  
26  
28  
30

ii, b.

32  
34  
36  
38  
40  
42  
44  
46

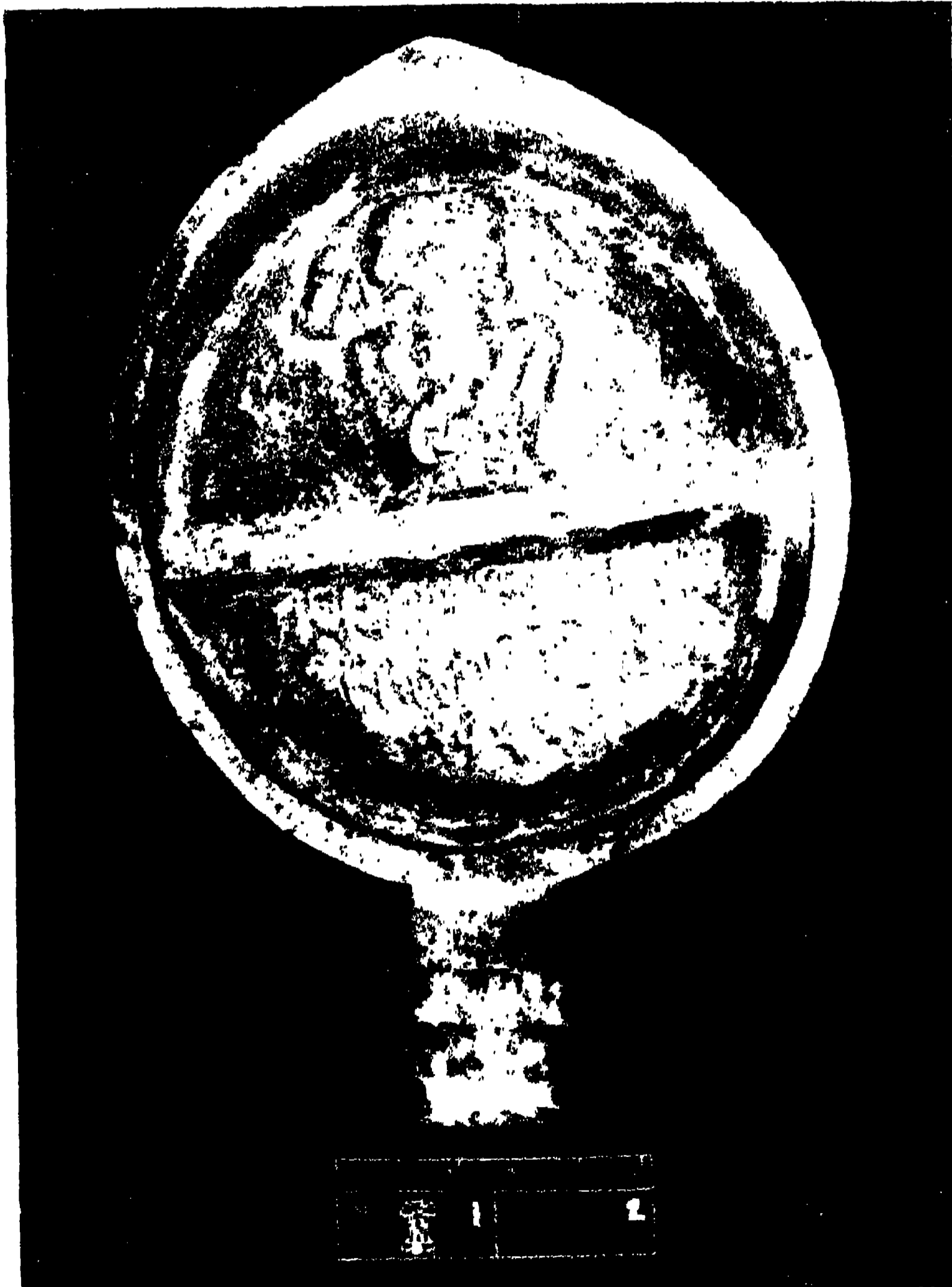
32  
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48  
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48  
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 52  
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 56  
 58

Seal



(From a photograph)



## Third Plate

- 47 śrī-**Haḍapēśvarāt**=sa paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-parama-  
bhaṭṭarakō mahārājādhirāja-
- 48 śrī-**Vanamālavarmadēvaḥ** kuśalī || **Uttara-ku(kū)lē Svalpa-Maṅgōka-maṇḍala-**  
prativa(ba)ddha[m\*] pūrvvē Akshidāhikā | dakṣiṇa-pū-
- 49 rvvē Chaṇḍikā-pushki(shka)ri[ṇī\*] | dakṣiṇē Dirghāṅga[h\*] | dakṣiṇa-paśchimē vaṭa-  
vṛiksha[h\*] | paśchimē vēṇu-viṭapa[h\*] | paśchim-ōttarē śā-
- 50 lmalī | uttarē vṛi(bṛi)had-ālī | uttara-pūrvvē Dhavala-pushki(shka)riṇī | ēvam=ashṭa-sīmā-  
paryantam=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam **Ha-**
- 51 **pōsa-grāmam** mukt-ōparikaram kṛitvā |<sup>1</sup> Tyāgi satya-dhanaḥ par-ōpakṛitimān sādhuḥ  
satām sammataḥ śāstr-ā-
- 52 rth-ānmṛi(mṛi)ta-tripta-dhiḥ |<sup>2</sup> kaliyugē ttraryāḥ<sup>3</sup> sa ēka-grihō<sup>4</sup> vēd-ābhyāsa-rataś=cha Sāma-  
charaṇaḥ Śāṇḍilya-gōttrō mahā-
- 53 n bhaṭō(tṭō) Jējjaṭaḥ(ṭa) ity=abhūt(bhūd) guṇa-nidhiḥ sanmā(mmā)nitō rājabhiḥ |[26\*]  
Tasmyai(sy=ai)tē guṇa-śālinō ni-
- 54 ja-kula-pradyōt(ta)-daksha-kṛi(kri)yō(yā) jātāḥ satva(ttva)-hit-aika-datta-manasaḥ(sa)ś=  
Chūdāmaṇir=Dēṭōbhā<sup>5</sup> |[\*] Garggaś=cha<sup>6</sup>
- 55 tatō=py=a(py=u)dāra-charitā(taḥ) Śambhu[h\*] samētāḥ sutāḥ nō bhinnāś=cha paraspara[m\*]  
vinayinō dharmma-kshay-āśaṅka-
- 56 yā || [27\*] Tattr=āgrajāya pradadau dvijāya grāmam hi Chūdāmaṇayē praśūsyah(sya)|<sup>7</sup>  
Hapōsa-nāmānam=i-
- 57 ha prayatnāt pū(pu)ṇyē=hani prīti-manā narēndraḥ || [28\*] mātā-pitṛōr-ātmanaś=cha  
puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛi-
- 58 ddhayō<sup>8</sup> ataḥ sarvvair=anumantavyam=iti | Va(Ba)hubhir= vasudhā dattā rājabhi[h\*] Śagar-  
ādibhi[h\*] yasya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)miḥ(mis=)
- 59 tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [29\*] Śa(Sva)-dattām para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēt-  
(ta) vasu[m\*]dharām(rām) sa viṣṭā(shṭhā)yām kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhi[h\*] saha  
pachyatē |[30\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! May it be well (*with us*) !

(Verse 1) May that sea which is the Lōhitya protect you ;—(*the sea*) which wets the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers that rise from its striking the multitude of big golden rocks belonging to the glorious Mount Kailāsa (*and*) that are icy cold (*and*) mixed with golden mud ;—(*the sea*) the water of which is reddened by the flowers of the trees (*in the garden*) of the lord of paradise, which are fallen from the hands and the (*braids of*) hair of the best heavenly damsels engaged in playing in the water.

<sup>1</sup> There is an ornamental design here between the two *daṇḍas* apparently used to separate the prose portion from the following section in verse.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the reading intended is *traryāḥ sa ēk-āśrayaḥ*.

<sup>4</sup> As the first half of the stanza ends here, a *daṇḍa* is necessary after *grihaḥ* which is not required to be joined in *sandhi* with the following word.

<sup>5</sup> The metre requires a short syllable in the place of *ṭō*. Was the intended name Dēbhaṭa ?

<sup>6</sup> The metre requires °*ch=aiva*.

<sup>7</sup> The word intended may also have been *praśasyam* (to go with *grāmam*) or *praśasyah* (to go with *narēndraḥ*).

<sup>8</sup> This passage may be taken as half of a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

(Verse 2) May (*the god*) Pinākin (i. e., Śiva) purify you ;—(*the god*), at whose dance, the water of the celestial river (i. e., the Gaṅgā hidden in the god's matted hair), being scattered by his exhaling breath, shines like the multitude of stars.

(Verse 3) A son, named Naraka, of Ādivarāha (i. e., the Primeval Boar or Vishṇu in his boar incarnation) was born of the Earth (*goddess*) at (*the time of*) her rescue ;—(the son) who destroyed the prowess of Hari (i. e., Indra) as well in (*the affair of*) the carrying away of Aditi's ear-rings.<sup>1</sup>

(Verse 4) After having killed him (i. e., Naraka), Kṛishṇa, his heart being moved by the lamentations of his wife, allowed his sons, named Bhagadatta and Vajradatta,<sup>2</sup> to go (*unpunished*).

(Verse 5) As Bhagadatta received the lordship of the glorious Prāgjyōtisha (*country*), the other (i. e., Vajradatta) then, having repaired to the forest, propitiated Īśvara (i. e., Śiva) by penance.

(Verse 6) The lordship of Uparipattana was granted to him (i. e., Vajradatta) by him (i. e., the god who was pleased) ; (*the god also granted that*) the sovereignty of Prāgjyōtisha would belong to his descendants after some time.

(Verse 7) In his family was born one whose foot-stool was shining with the lustre of jewels on the heads of kings ; who was the lord of Prāgjyōtisha ; who destroyed the warriors of the enemies ; (*and*) who bore the majestic name ' Sālambha '.

(Verses 8-9) The brother, by name Arathi, the (*very*) fire to numerous enemies (*and*) unequalled in valour and munificence, of the king (i. e., Sālambha) who was joined<sup>3</sup> with the monarchs beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha, who had ascended heaven and dyed the horizon with the colour of the flood of the richness of merits of the good kings of old, became king.

(Verse 10) His (Arathi's) queen, bearing the name Śrī-Jīvadēvī, became gratifying to his heart : —(*the queen*) who was adorable to a great multitude of people (*and*) was the source of great splendour as the morning twilight is of strong light.

(Verse 11) The son of that king, from her, was the king of kings the illustrious Harjara, whose two feet were worshipped by the heads of kings (*and*) who was embraced by the goddess of fortune of her own accord ;

(Verse 12) who was (*the very*) Yudhisṭhira in religious discourses, Bhīma to the host of enemies, (*and*) Jishṇu (i. e., Arjuna) in fighting ; who, although one, acquired the sonship of Kuntī in its entirety (i. e., became equal to the three sons of Kuntī) by means of the mass of good qualities (*mentioned above*).

(Verses 13-15) The goddess of fortune, having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Vishṇu whose heart was amused by the milk-women, (*and*) having gathered (*in herself*) the beauty pertaining to the persons of all women, came here (*and*) became that king's queen gratifying to his heart, by name Śrī-Maṅgalā, the best of jewels that were women, thinking thus : ' He bears<sup>4</sup> the mass of qualities in their entirety, inclusive of complexion, of the bearer of the discuss (i. e., vishṇu), my husband of unequalled valour ; for that reason I have become the chief queen of this king ; indeed I have not incurred disrespect in the world '.

(Verse 16) The son of that king (i. e., Harjara), the stool under whose lotus-like feet was touched by the crowns of all kings, was king Vanamāla by name, who was born of that queen ; who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, X, section 59.

<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (XIV, sections 75-76) makes Vajradatta a son of Bhagadatta.

<sup>3</sup> See note on the text of this stanza.

<sup>4</sup> For the *lit* or Perfect Tense used here for the Present, see *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 183-4.

was famous in the world, beautiful (*and*) the delighter of the whole earth like the moon ; (*and*) who was adorned with the garland of big jewels that are royal qualities ;

(Verse 17) whose name the god of destiny made ' Vanamāla ' (literally, ' one wearing a forest-garland ') saying, ' (*Verily he is*) fit for the lordship of the earth bordered by the row of forests on the shores of the ocean (*around it*) ' ;

(Verse 18) who, having dispersed on the fields of battle the great mass of darkness that was the assemblage of the intoxicated elephants of the mighty enemies, shone like the sun ;

(Verse 19) who, having dispersed the mass of darkness that was the enemies, shone distinctly like the moon in the clear sky that was the king born in the family of the monarch who was the son of the Earth (i. e., Naraka) ;

(Verse 20) by whom, having destroyed completely with his sword of great strength the assemblage of kings who were the (*very*) thunderbolt to the hills that were the armies of the warriors of their excessively proud enemies, the goddess of fortune was made for a long time to enjoy only one husband (i. e., his own self) ;

(Verse 21) for fear of whose valour, some of the kings, though they were subdued of numerous enemies, fled importunately towards (*different*) directions while others readily took up the chowrie (*to fan thier conqueror*, i. e., to become his servants) ;

(Verse 22) out of fear for whom, even the kings, who in a battle against (*other*) rulers shot sharp arrows, (*themselves*) left their territories far away (*behind them*) ;

(Verse 23) to whom, whose only weapon was his valour, those kings, who effected formations of the assemblage of intoxicated elephants against (*other*) enemies, folded their palms ;

(Verse 24) who was the king that bore the burden of Nahusha<sup>1</sup> by making new again, out of devotion, the palatial temple of Hētuka-Śūlin (i. e., Śiva styled Hētuka) whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down through reverence ;—(*the temple*), that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, was as high as a peak of the snow-mountain (i. e., the Himālaya), (*and*) was endowed with incomparable villages, elephants and prostitutes (i. e., dancing girls styled *dēvadāsī*) ;

(Verse 25) whose excessively white (fame)<sup>2</sup> excels the radiance of (*the jewel of*) Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles<sup>3</sup> raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (*different*) directions.

(Lines 33-47) From the illustrious Haḍapēśvara which has the people of all the Varṇas (viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) and Āśramas (viz. Brahmacharya, Gārhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Bhaiksha) well contented ; which is the abode of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men (or, merchants) and learned men ; the big main roads of which are crowded by the great kings who are seated on beautiful elephants and horses and in palanquins and are going and coming with a view to attending on the lord of the earth (i. e., Vanamāla) ; which has the whole of its space always obstructed by the armies of innumerable elephants, horses and foot-soldiers ; (*and which has the river Laukitya running by it*)—

(*the river*) which has its water perfumed by the fragrance of the flowers fallen (*into it*) from the numerous creepers shaken by the hissing sounds produced by the host of serpents frightened by the cries of the peacocks resting in the woods of tall trees rising from the hills on both of its banks ; which carries the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising

<sup>1</sup> It seems to have been believed that Nahusha was a great devotee of Śiva.

<sup>2</sup> See note on the text of the stanza.

<sup>3</sup> The reference seems to be to the milky-way.

<sup>4</sup> See note on the text of the section in question.

from the smoke of the black sandal trees (*at the time of their*) being burnt by the conflagration of the forests near the gardens in it (i. e., Haḍapēśvara); which has its current filled by the waters that are purer owing to their constantly washing the slopes of Mount Kāmākūṭa having its head made an abode by the glorious Kāmēśvara and Mahāgaurī-bhaṭṭārikā whose foot-stools are beautified by the foliage that is the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the gods and demons; which has the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musks of the musk-deer that graze on the shoots of the Granthiparṇa plants in the forests on the hills on its two banks—here (*some of the deer*) dead by themselves, there a herd of them killed by tigers (*and*) elsewhere some of them left by a group of wolves after having killed them and eaten up half of their flesh; which has its water scented (*as it is*) mixed with the musk unguent applied to the sides of the pot-like breasts of the girls sporting in the water while taking bath; (*and which has the lands adjoining both its banks adorned with boats*)<sup>1</sup>—

(*the boats*) which have their (*upper*) part open and adorned with numerous loads like the prostitutes having their limbs visible and adorned with many ornaments; which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like the young girls; the speed of which is enhanced by sharp strokes (*of the oars*) as the passion of the women of Karnāṭa increases at violent sexual enjoyment; (*and*) which bear chowries like the prostitutes.

(Lines 47-48) That *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Vanamālavarma<sup>2</sup>, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (i. e., Śīva), meditates on (or, is favoured by) the feet of his mother and father, (*and*) is in good health;—

(Lines 48-51) having made<sup>3</sup> (*the village called*) Hapōsagrāma, attached to the Svalpa-Maṅgōka district in Uttara-kūla, unfit for the entrance of policemen and peons (or, regular and irregular troops), (*and*) unendowed with (*the right to enjoy*) the tax on temporary tenants—(*the village*) as far as these eight boundaries: Akshidāhikā in the east, the tank of Chaṇḍikā in the south-east, Dīrghaṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-bush in the west, a Śālmālī tree in the north-west, a big embankment in the north, (*and*) the tank of Dhavala in the north-east—

(Verse 26) A great *Bhaṭṭa* (i. e. learned Brāhmaṇa), named Jējjāta, was born in the Kāli age, who was munificent, exceedingly truthful, kind to others, honest (*and*) respected, by the good people; whose mind was contented by (*drinking*) the nectar that is the meaning of the scriptures; who was the sole repository of the three Vēdas; who was engaged in the study of the Vēdas; who belonged to the *charaṇa* of the Sāman (i.e., Sāmavēda) (*and*) the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*; who was a store of virtues; (*and*) who was esteemed by the kings.

(Verse 27) These sons were born to him, viz., Chūḍāmaṇi, Dēṭōbhā and Garga as well as the noble-minded Śambhu;—(*the sons*) who were endowed with good qualities; who illuminated their own family (*and*) were skilful in the performance of ceremonies; who applied their minds to the good of living beings; who were modest; (*and*) who were united and did not separate from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

(Verse 28) The king, having delivered his order (*and*) being pleased, now granted by ordering especially the village called Hapōsa on an auspicious day to the Brāhmaṇa Chūḍāmaṇi, the eldest among them (i. e., the four sons of Jējjāta)—

(Lines 57-58) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself; therefore (*the gift of the king*) should be approved of by all.

(Verses 29-30) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

<sup>1</sup> See note on the text of the passage in question.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence is incomplete; its end can be traced in verse 28 below.

## No. 21—TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I ; YEAR 2

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS.

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied by me during my tour in the Telugu Districts in the year 1949-50. It is engraved on a neatly dressed granite slab set up in front of the small dilapidated temple of Surabhēsvara, the earliest among a group of temples situated at the confluence of the Guṇḍlakamma and a small rivulet called Rāḷlavāgu, about a mile north of the village Turimella in the Cumbum taluk of the Kurnool District. Besides the group of these temples which range in date from the 8th to about the 16th century A. C., the extensive site at this confluence shows marks of early habitation like large-sized bricks, partially exposed brick structures, varieties of potsherds and old coins occasionally discovered, as I am told.

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab, the broad side and its adjoining narrow side, the lines of writing running on from one side to the other and the entire inscribed surface occupying a space roughly a foot and half square. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannaḍa script of the period. The damage sustained by the edges of the slab has resulted in a few letters of the writing getting obliterated, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved.

The palaeography of the record calls for some remarks, as it forms the main basis for dating it. This inscription, like most of the stone records of the early Chālukyas, does not furnish any details beyond the regnal year of the king to enable us to fix its precise date. Before taking up the question of fixing the date of our record, a few noteworthy features of its palaeography may briefly be recorded. The intial *ā* occurs twice in *āchandra* (line 4) and *Ālukumara* (line 6) and the vowels *u* and *ē* in *Ujēnī* (line 7) and *Ēruva* (line 8) respectively. It is worth noting that in *u* the ends of the line denoting the serif, instead of pointing upwards, point downwards as if standing for the *o* sign. But for this peculiarity, the form of this letter compares well with its similar forms occurring in the Aihole inscription of Pulakōśin II<sup>2</sup>. The vowel *ē* is almost indistinguishable from the consonant *ch* except that the latter has a broader and more pronounced base than the former. The medial *ā* generally indicated by a downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side as in *rā*, *mā* (line 2), *lā* (line 3), etc., is in the case of *ṭā* denoted by a shaft at the top of the letter; cf. *ṭā* in *taṭāka* (line 7) and *bhaṭṭāra* (line 9). The Dravidian *r* has two forms; in one the circle forming the body of the letter is divided into four equal quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles as in *r* in *Ēruva* (line 8), while in the other it is divided into three chambers by a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line as in *r* in *°r=ayina* (line 6), etc. The forms *°bhujāyamānūṅ=ayina*, *°tanayimṅ=ayina* (line 6), *°ādhiṣṭhānūṅ=ayi* (line 8) are to be obviously taken as the honorific plural forms of the corresponding expressions in the singular as *°bhujāyamānūṅḍu*, etc. In *vasuṅḍharām* in line 10, the use of both the class nasal *n* with *dha* in the conjunct consonant *ndha* and the *anusvāra* in place of the one or the other may be noted. The cursive form of mute *m* occurs in *purassaram* (line 4) and *kshētram* (line 9).

Of orthographical peculiarities, the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled in *rdāha* in *pravarddha* (line 3), but not in *rta* in *varta* (line 5); the form *varsham* (line 5) is used for *varshamu* and the use of the *i* sign in *prii* in *priithvī* (line 1) is redundant.

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50*, Stone Inscriptions, No. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, text lines 15, 18.

The language of the introductory portion of the inscription is Telugu and of the operative part of it is Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse *svadattāṃ paradattāṃ vā*, etc., attributed to Vyāsa. As in early Telugu records<sup>1</sup>, we meet here with such archaic expressions as *Bhatarulākun*, *samvatsarambul*, *ēlan*, etc. The donative part of the record consists of a single sentence in Sanskrit which is neither accurate in its syntax nor precise in its expression, using the nominative singular *mātā* in place of the instrumental *mātrā* and the expression *Bhaṭṭārahō*,<sup>2</sup> for *Bhaṭṭarakāya*. The object of the inscription is a gift of 150 units<sup>3</sup> of land to Gōvri-shāpa-Bhaṭṭāraka by the mother of Ujēnīpīśācha, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right-hand man of Goggi-Bhaṭāra, in the second augmenting year of the reign of *Satyābraya Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Paramēśvara Bhaṭāra* when Ujēnīpīśācha was ruling over the *Ēruva vishaya* with the city (*nagara*) [Turū]taṭāka as its capital (*adhishthāna*).

Among the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. The first was the son of Pulakēśin II, the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja and many other kings both of the north and the south, among whom were the Mālavas.<sup>4</sup> There are as many as ten copper-plate grants issued by this Vikramāditya,<sup>5</sup> of which some are spurious. But of stone records pertaining to his reign, strangely enough, there are incredibly few. Indeed the only stone inscription that could be definitely assigned to Vikramāditya I is the Dimmaguḍi record,<sup>6</sup> for, it is dated in the 27th year of the reign of a Vikramāditya Satyābraya who could be no other than the first of this name inasmuch as his namesake and great-grandson, Vikramāditya II, reigned only for a little more than a decade, 734 to 747 A.C. This inscription, it is worth observing, gives the latest date so far known for Vikramāditya I, two years beyond the date (680 A. C.) hitherto assigned to him. A close comparison, in the formation of individual letters, of this record<sup>7</sup> with the Turimella inscription reveals certain interesting features. Apart from the similarity of the letters in general in both, a certain development in the palaeographic features of the Dimmaguḍi epigraph such as the later and more developed form, in place of the closed archaic four chambered shape, of *r* marks it definitely later than the Turimella record, later at least by a quarter of a century. In other words, the record under review is earlier than the Dimmaguḍi inscription by at least 25 years and therefore belongs to the early years of the reign of Vikramāditya I, to wit, his second year as the record itself states. That this is indeed so could easily be confirmed by a glance at the general get up and the forms of individual letters in this and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, and Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhaṭṭārahō*, the nominative singular in Prakrit for *Bhaṭṭarakāḥ*, would not fit in here; it should have been *Bhaṭṭārassa* to convey the dative or the genitive sense in Prakrit.

<sup>3</sup> The word expressing units of measurement seems to have been omitted in the text after *śata-pañchāśat* before *kshētram*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 241. Most of the copper-plate grants of Pulakēśin's successors recount these exploits while describing the king.

<sup>5</sup> Subsequent to Kielhorn's List (above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 5, Nos. 18 to 22), five more records have come to light and they are (1) the Madras Museum plate (C.P. No. 9 of 1906-07); (2) the Talamañchi plates (C.P. No. 8 of 1906-07; above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.); (3) the Gadval plates (C. P. No. 3 of 1909-10, above, Vol. X, p. 100 ff.); (4) the Savanur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 155 ff.), and (5) the Honnur plates (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff.). Of these the first is considered spurious.

<sup>6</sup> No. 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 24, app. p. xxv. An inscription on a hero-stone at Annavaram-agrahāram in the Nellore District has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this king (*Ann. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1933-34, p. 29 and plate). But the later developed forms of *j* and *b* found in this record make such an assignment highly improbable. The record may, on the contrary, be assigned to Vikramāditya II in whose inscriptions the later forms of these letters occasionally appear.

<sup>7</sup> Plate opposite p. 163 below.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VI plate opposite p. 6.



The inscription refers to a chief who is described as the righthand man of Goggi-Bhaṭāra and the dear son of Ālakumara. He bears the rather unusual epithet *Ujēnīpīśācha* (*Ujēnīpīśāchanāmadhēyundū*) which sounds more like a title than a name, a title probably acquired by him as a result of a terrorising campaign that he must have undertaken, against Ujēnī (Ujjain). Who could this unnamed hero be? An inscription at Aihole in the Hungund *taluk* in the Bijapur District of Bombay State mentions a certain Ālekomara-Śiṅga (i. e., Ālekomara's son Śiṅga) as the founder of a temple.<sup>1</sup> This record which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya is undated but could be assigned palaeographically to the period of Vikramāditya I. If this Śiṅga, the son of Ālekomara could be identical with the unnamed son of Ālakumara<sup>2</sup> of our record, it would not be impossible that this Śiṅga found an opportunity of following his suzerain in a campaign against Ujjain and of showing his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the fiefdom of the Ēruva *vishaya*. It may be recalled that it was Pulakēśin II who distinguished himself as the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja. His conquests were by far the most widely spread and included among the conquered, the Mālavas.<sup>3</sup> Whether Śiṅga *alias* Ujēnīpīśācha obtained the fiefdom of Ēruva as a reward for his valour from Pulakēśin II himself or from his son Vikramāditya I when the latter re-established his authority in the south after a temporary set-back following the defeat of his father, Pulakēśin II, at the hands of the Pallavas, is more than what could be said at this stage. As regards Goggi-Bhaṭāra who figures in the capacity of a master or leige-lord of Ālakumara's son, a chief of this name born of the Chālukya family and bearing the title *Mahāsāmanta* figures in stone inscriptions of the Mysore State.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that one of these epigraphs ascribes the title *Ujjēnībhujāṅga* apparently to this same chief.<sup>5</sup> But all these records are assigned to the 10th century A.C. and therefore the chief mentioned in them must be different from Goggi-Bhaṭāra of our record.

Of the place names, [Turū]taṭāka is obviously the present Turimeḷla, the findspot of the record. Legend connects it with the mythical story of the sage Jamadagni and his celestial cow Surabhi. The later inscriptions at this village refer to the place as *Jamadagni-āśrama* and mention the temple as that of Surabhēśvara. The story goes that king Kārttavīryārjuna chanced to visit the sage at his *āśrama* once with his retinue and was amazed at the mysterious powers of the celestial cow which granted anything that its owner wished for. Possessed with the desire to own this cow, the king demanded it of the sage and took it from him by force which resulted in dire consequences not only to the king himself but to generations of the Kshatriyas after him at the hands of Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni. The word Turumēḷla or Turimeḷla (*turu*, meaning cow and *mēḷla* corrupted into *mēḷla*, 'drive'), as the village name goes, denoted the spot where the 'cow was driven'.<sup>6</sup>

The territorial division Ēruva-*vishaya* seems to find the earliest mention in this record. It was a small principality on the borders of the Kurnool, Nellore and Cuddapah Districts and was

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 286 and plate, text lines 2-3. Dr. Fleet remarks that this record might belong to the reign of either Vikramāditya I or Vikramāditya II.

<sup>2</sup> Among the early Terugu-Chōḷas figures a Śaktikomāra. Except for a vague similarity of this name to Ālakumara, there is nothing to suggest any relationship between them.

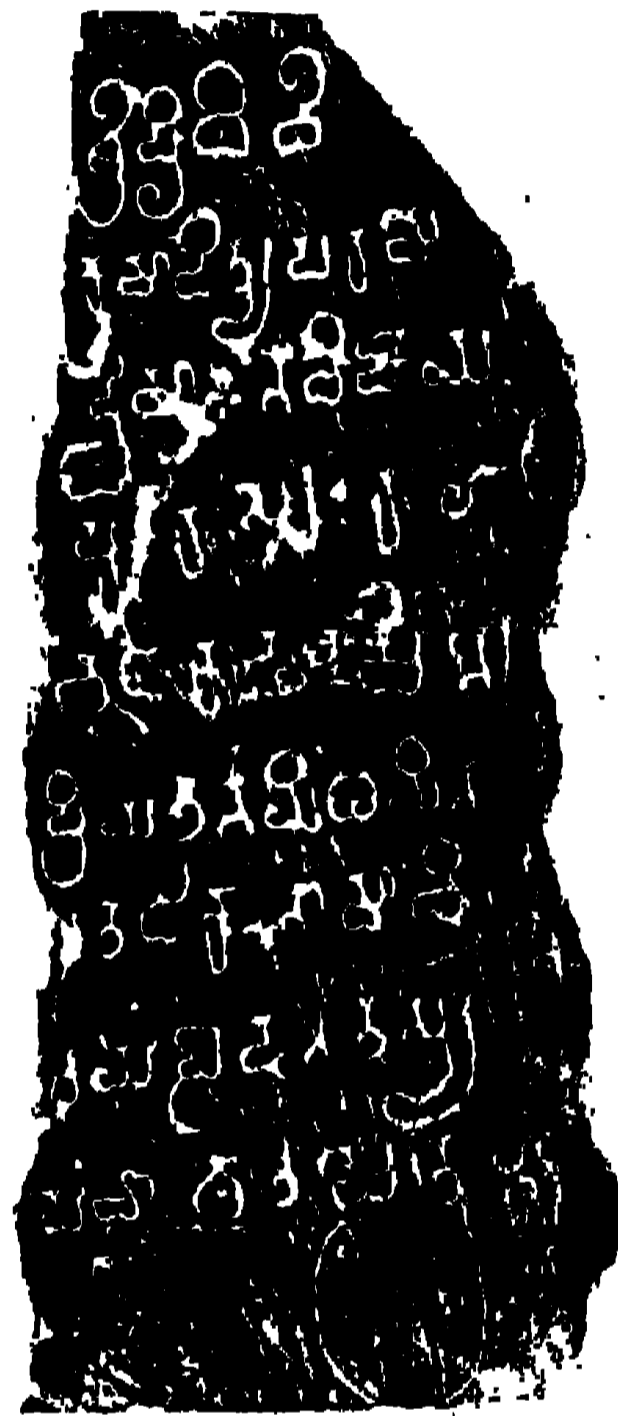
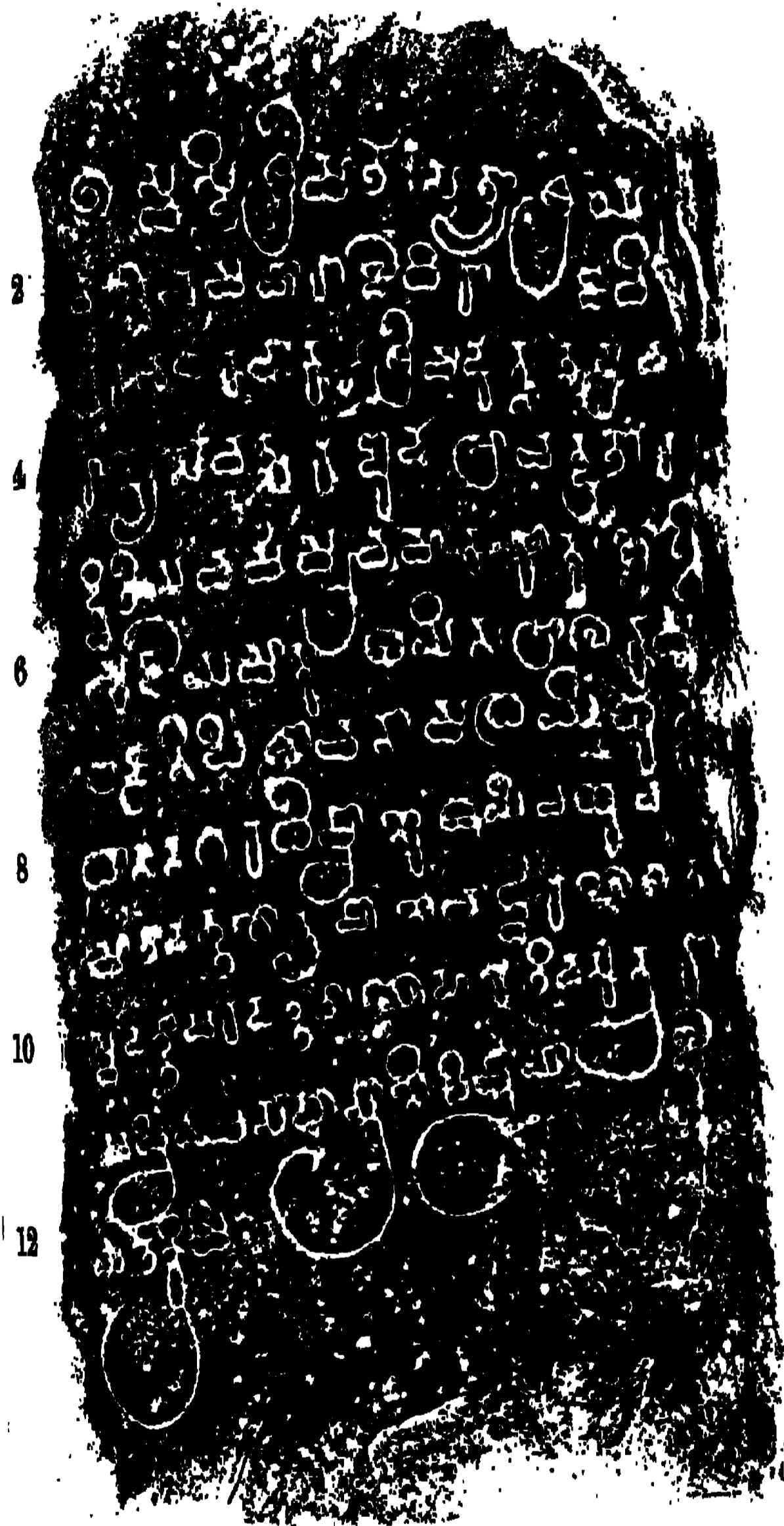
<sup>3</sup> Among the successors of Pulakēśin II, neither his son Vikramāditya I nor the latter's great-grandson Vikramāditya II claims any campaigns against the Mālavas. Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya no doubt fought with the kings of the north, but they do not specifically mention the Mālavas among them. The later Vikramāditya's pre-occupations seem to have confined themselves mainly to the south, especially to the Pallavas.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Mysore 36, 37, Vol. XI, Chitaldurg 74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Intro. p. 9.

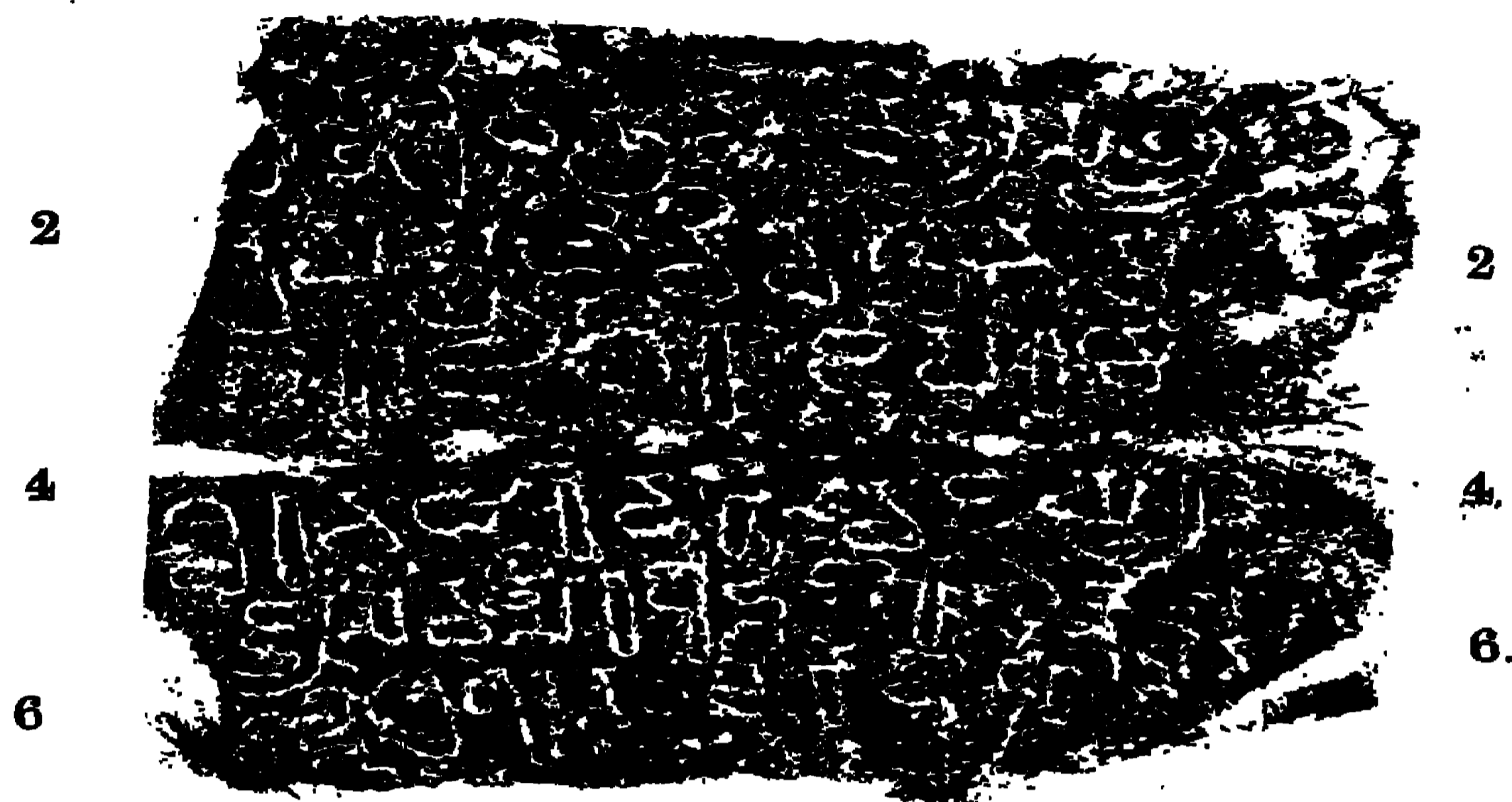
<sup>6</sup> Mr. M. Venkataramayya suggests another derivation of Turimeḷla from Turutaṭāka : Turutaṭāka would, in Telugu, correspond to Turumaḍugu and this may have undergone changes like Turumaḍugula, Turumaḍla, Turimeḷla and Turimeḷla.

TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I; YEAR 2

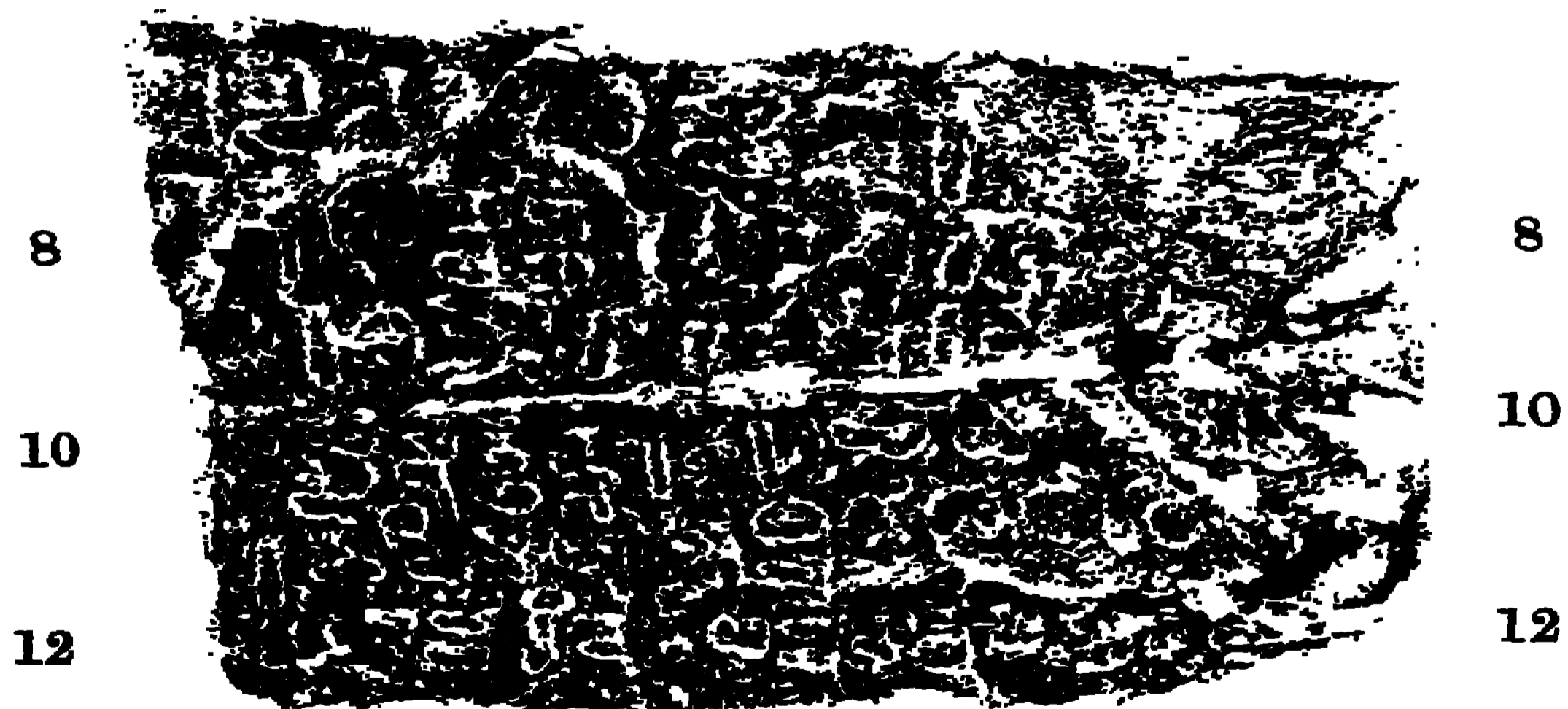


DIMMAGUDI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA (I)

First Piece



Second Piece



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH

the dominion of one of the branches of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who held sway over it about the beginning of the 15th century A.C.<sup>1</sup> Members of this branch attached the name Ēruva to their own names as a distinctive surname of their family to indicate perhaps their political sway over that territory, or, at times, to distinguish themselves from members bearing similar names but belonging to a different family. That their sway over this division could be traced to a considerably earlier period, almost co-eval with the record under review, is proved by an inscription in characters of the 8th century A. C. on a *saptamātrikā* panel at Turimella itself which mentions the name Ēruva-Mahādēvī.<sup>2</sup> It is not unlikely that this Ēruva-Mahādēvī was the wife of Ālakumara and the unnamed mother of the chief who called himself Ujēnīpīśācha and whom we have identified with Śiṅga, the son of Ālekomara of the Aihole record. A few later records copied in this region furnish some more details regarding this ancient division. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Kākatīya king Gaṇapatidēva dated in Śaka 1164 refers to this tract as a Thrice-Seventy division with Krochcherulu as its capital.<sup>3</sup> Later still, in Śaka 1324 during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, it is mentioned as Ēruva-nāḍu and as a division in Udayagiri-rājya.<sup>4</sup> A copper-plate grant of a later date belonging to king Achyutarāya mentions the same *nāḍu* as situated in Kochcherlakōṭa-sīma.<sup>5</sup> It will be evident from the statements in these inscriptions that this division which originally covered a small area round about Turimella at the time of the record under review, later spread far wider, covering a considerable area of the western portion of the Nellore District from Kochcherlakōṭa in the Darsi Division right down to the river Pennār.

The gift as well as its recipient deserve a few remarks. The unit of land usually expressed by the word *nivartana* that was generally current at the period of our record<sup>6</sup> seems to have been omitted here. Another instance where this term is similarly left out occurs in the Dommara-Nandyāla plates of Puṇyakumāra.<sup>7</sup> The recipient of the gift, Gōvṛishāṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka is possibly identical with the god Surabhēśvara, for *surabhi* is a synonym for *gō*, 'cow'.

### TEXT

- 1 Ōm<sup>8</sup>[\*] Svasti[\*] śrīmat |<sup>9</sup> Satyāśraya-Śrī-Pṛī<sup>10</sup>thivī-
- 2 vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-
- 3 śvara-Bhaṭṭarū<sup>11</sup>kun śrīmad=unnata-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-
- 4 rājya-saṁvatsaraṁbu<sup>11</sup> ā-chandra-tāra-purassaram(m)
- 5 dvitīya-varsham=pravarta<sup>11</sup>mānam kānu [ | ] Goggi-Bhaṭṭarāḷa dakshīṇa-

<sup>1</sup> C. P. No. 8 of 1911-12, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for 1949-50, No. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 40. The relevant portion of the inscription reads *Krochcherulu nelaviḍugān-Ēruva-mūmāṇu-ḍebbadulum.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 58; the exact wording in the inscription is *Udayagiri-rājyamandula Ēruva-nāṅṭilō.*

<sup>5</sup> *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, C. P. No. 10, p. 87; text-line 86—*Ēruva-nāṅṭi-vikhyāta-Kocherlakōṭa-sīmani.*

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. X, p. 102, the Gadvāl plates of Vikramāditya I; *ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 339, the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 275.

<sup>8</sup> Represented by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>10</sup> The *i* sign over the consonant is redundant. Read *Prīthivī*.

<sup>11</sup> The syllable *ṛta* was omitted first, but was later introduced below the line between *va* and *ma*.

- 6 bhujāyamānumṛ=ayina Ālakuma[ra]<sup>1</sup> priya tanayi(yu)mṛ=ayina  
 7 Ujēnīpīśācha-nāmadhēyi(yu)mṛu [Turu]<sup>2</sup>-tatāka-nām-ābhi-  
 8 dhāna-nagar-adhī (r-ādhi)shṭhānumṛ=ayi Ēruva-[visha]<sup>3</sup>yamb=ēlan tasya  
 9 mātā(trā) dattam Gōvrishāna-Bhattārahō śata-paṁchāśat kshētram [ | \*]  
 10 Svadattām paradattām vā | <sup>4</sup> yō harēti(ta) vasum<sup>5</sup>ndharā[m | \*]  
 11 shashṭhim(ṭim) varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jā-  
 12 yatē krimih [||\*]

## No. 22—PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime before February 1891, the late Mr. Man Mohan Chakravarti secured two copper-plate inscriptions, on temporary loan for examination and publication, from the Rāghavadāsa Maṭha at Puri, Orissa. The results of his study of the inscriptions were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 123-27. Both the charters were issued by a king named Kulastambha belonging to the Śulki family which Chakravarti identified with the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He even suggested the identification of the issuer of the charters in question with the Eastern Chālukya monarch Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III who began to rule about the middle of the ninth century and alternatively with the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I who ruled in the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. and the first quarter of the twelfth, although the plates were assigned by him on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century. The identification seems to have been suggested to him by the occurrence of the name of Kaliṅga in his transcripts of the two inscriptions. Chakravarti further observed, "The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has been badly transcribed....The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision". As the two "inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself", Chakravarti transcribed only one of the two grants (marked by him as A) but quoted the text of six lines from the other charter (marked by him as B), which give details of the grant recorded in the latter. According to him the legend on the seal of A reads *śrīmām Kulastambhadēva* and that on the seal of B *śrīmām Kalastambhadēva*. He also believed that both the grants mention Kulastambha's son or governor (*kōdālō*), named Kachchhadēva, and that while A records the grant of the village of Kāṅkanira in the Ulō-khaṇḍa subdivision in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana, son of Vēlu, B records the grant of the village of Pajāra in the same sub-division in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Vēluka or Vēlu.

Unfortunately the facsimiles of the inscriptions were not published along with Chakravarti's paper and it was impossible for scholars to verify the correctness of his transcripts and interpretations of the two Puri plates of Kulastambha. But his identification of the Śulki family with the

<sup>1</sup> This letter is completely damaged on the stone.

<sup>2</sup> Both these letters are partly damaged on the stone.

<sup>3</sup> These two letters are again partially damaged. A part of the lower portion of *v* and part of the *i* sign attached to it are visible on the stone; so also the right half of *sha* is visible.

<sup>4</sup> The stroke is redundant here.

<sup>5</sup> The *anusvara* is redundant.

Eastern Chālukya dynasty and of Kulastambha with Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III or Kulōttuṅga I has generally been discarded. On the strength of other inscriptions of the family, since discovered, we have suggested, while editing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha in this journal,<sup>1</sup> that Chakravarti's Kōdālō-Kachchhadēva of the Śulkī family never existed as the intended reading of the passage in question is undoubtedly *Kōdālōkāt sa ēva* (or, *dēva*<sup>o</sup>).

Recently we had an opportunity to examine the second (B) of the two plates, of which a few lines only were transcribed and translated by Chakravarti. A careful examination, however, enabled us to trace numerous mistakes in Chakravarti's views on the inscription. In the grant portion of the record, he read a passage as *karastaru pla 10* and translated it as "with Karaba tree worth (or rent?) ten pals". The actual reading of the passage is, however, *kara-sāsna ru-pla 10* which shows that the inscription, like those mentioned in connection with the plates of Narēndradhavalā,<sup>2</sup> records a *kara-sāsana* (i.e. a grant liable to pay a fixed revenue) for which the rent, apparently annual, was fixed at ten *Palas* of silver. Chakravarti therefore could not realise the nature of the document. It was also noticed that a large number of errors that crept in his transcript and interpretation of the other plate (A), which he fully transcribed and translated, could be easily eradicated with the help of the inscription under review. It will be seen that most of his suggestions (including the one relating to the mention of Kaliṅga) in regard to the two records, which have so long been troubling scholars,<sup>3</sup> can quite easily be proved to be wrong.

This is a single plate measuring about 9 inches in height, 5 inches in breadth and 0.1 inch in thickness. A circular lump of metal (nearly 2 inches in diameter and 0.4 inch in thickness), soldered on a semi-circular projection in the middle of the top side of the plate represents the seal, on which are counter-sunk the usual emblems of the Śulkī family of Orissa. These emblems are much corroded, although the crescent above, the legend in the middle and the standing boar to proper right below can be made out. The legend seems to read either *śrī-Kulastambhadēva* or *śrī-Raṇastambhadēva*. The preservation of the plate and of the writing on it (especially on its reverse) is not quite satisfactory. There is a break in the plate affecting the writing on lines 5-7 on the obverse and lines 24-26 on the reverse. The weight of the plate is 90 *toḷas*.

In point of **palaeography, language and orthography**, the charter closely resembles other grants of the family including the Hindol plate (which belongs, as will be seen below, to the issuer of the charter under review), edited above. Although nothing requires special mention in these respects, a word has to be said now in regard to the date of this record as well as of other inscriptions of the Śulkī family. It has been shown in our paper on the Hindol plate that the Śulkīs owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and that the Talcher plate of Raṇastambha (grandfather of the issuer of the Hindol plate and of the present charter as well) is dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era. But relying on the suggested identification of the era of the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era, an earlier date was then assigned to Raṇastambha and his grandson. It has, however, been shown recently that the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era falls somewhere about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.C.<sup>4</sup> The Talcher plate should therefore be ascribed to a date about the middle of the first half of the tenth century<sup>5</sup> and the inscription under review about the end of that century.

The charter begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *svasti*, which are followed by seven verses forming the introductory part of the document. All the seven verses are found exactly in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 107 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 44 ff. See also *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 191, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> As the era in question probably started from 831 A. C., the date of the Talcher plate (year 103) may actually correspond to 934 A.C. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

the same order as in the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha and grandson of Raṇastambha. But the language of the verses in our document is slightly different from that of the Hindol plate. Moreover, the important verse referring to the son of Raṇastambha and father of the reigning king Kulastambha is defective inasmuch as the foot containing the name of Jayastambha as found in the Hindol plate is omitted in the record under review no doubt through the inadvertence of the writer. There is, however, little doubt that Kulastambha who issued the charter under discussion as well as the other Puri (Rāghavadāsa Maṭha) plate published by Chakravarti was no other than the issuer of the Hindol plate.

Another interesting fact worth noticing in this connection is that the text of the introductory part in our record closely follows that in the Bhimnagarigarh (Dhenkanal) plate of Kulastambha,<sup>1</sup> although, where this latter mentions Vikramāditya and his son Raṇastambha, the present record mentions Raṇastambha and his son (name omitted through negligence of the scribe, but known from the Hindol plate to have been Jayastambha). The Bhimnagarigarh plate represents its issuer, king Kulastambha, as the lord of all the Gōndramas with Śaṅkhajōṭī forming the borderland of his kingdom exactly as in the record under notice. Since the relation of Kulastambha, referred to as issuing the charter, with Raṇastambha mentioned in the introductory part is not specified clearly in the inscription, the Bhimnagarigarh plate is generally believed to have been issued by Raṇastambha who is suggested to have had Kulastambha as a second name. But we have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> remarked, "The Bhimnagarigarh plate represents *Mahārāja* Raṇastambha as the *ātmaja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *suta* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṇastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Raṇastambha". The close resemblance of the Bhimnagarigarh inscription with the record under discussion in regard to both language and style, however, now appears to suggest that the corrupt introduction of the former epigraph actually intended to describe, as that of the present charter, Kulastambha, grandson of Raṇastambha. It further appears that the text of the introductory part of the Bhimnagarigarh plate was copied without proper adjustment from a grant of Jayastambha.<sup>3</sup>

Verse 1 of our inscription, found in most of the Śulkī records, is in adoration to the god Giriśa, i.e. Śiva, while verses 2-3 introduce king Raṇastambha of the Śulkī family, favoured by the goddess Stambhēśvarī, as having constructed some temples probably for the god Sadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe Raṇastambha's son whose name is inadvertently omitted, while the following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha, son of Raṇastambha's son, as issuing the charter in question from Kōdālōka.

The grant portion of the document which is in prose and follows the introduction in verses represents *Mahārāja* Kulastambha, called lord of all the Gōndramas, as in good health. A defective passage in the description of the ruler seems to attribute to him the feudatory title *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda*, although the change introduced in it may have been deliberate. Such deliberate modification of feudatory titles was often resorted to by subordinate rulers who claimed a semi-independent political status.<sup>4</sup> The future rulers and the present and future administrators, associated with the *maṇḍala* (district) extending up to the Śaṅkhajōṭikā, are then addressed. The way in which the *maṇḍala* is mentioned suggests that it comprised either the whole dominions of the Śulkīs or, at least, the central part of the Śulkī territories. The lists of the rulers and administrators include the *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *mahāsāmanta*, *vishayapati* and others. The charter then

<sup>1</sup> JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 401 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 109.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the text of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha in JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 406 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Mahada plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.).

goes on to record the grant of the village of Paḍāra, attached to the Gōilō *khaṇḍa* (subdivision), in favour of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vēlluka who was the son of Āṇanti and whose original home was at Āviddhā. The village was given along with its boundaries and the space above the ground (*s-ōddēśa*); but it was not made a rent-free holding. It was given as a *kara-śāsana* (i.e. land granted as a rent-paying holding) with a fixed rent of ten *Palas* of silver apparently per annum. It is not stated whether the village was sold or given away free of cost; but it was possibly purchased from its owner with the king's approval with the stipulation of an annual rent as in some other cases known from Orissan inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

The charter ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The language of these stanzas is extremely corrupt as in the case of the *kraya-śāsana* (the Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavalā) edited above.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the location of Kōḍālōka has been discussed in connection with the Hindol plate edited above. It is probably modern Koalu near Talcher in Dhenkanal. The expression "all the Gōndramas" or "the eighteen Gōndramas", as indicated elsewhere, was possibly used to signify the same thing as Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*. The *Śaṅkhajōtikā* has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region of Upper Orissa. The exact location of the villages Āviddhā and Paḍāra is uncertain.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Gīti*; verses 2 and 4 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*); verses 3 and 5 *Vasantatīlaka*; verse 6 *Upajāti* (*Vaṁśastha* and *Indravāṁśā*); verse 7 *Sragdharā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> Svasta(sti | ) Jayati sur-āsura-vidvad-<sup>4</sup>vidyādhara-makuṭa-
- 2 ghrīṣṭa-charaṇ-āmvu(mbu)ja[h |\*] śasi(śi)-maṇa(ṇi)-mayūkha-bhāśi(si)ta-
- 3 piṅga-jatū-bhāra-bhāsurō Girisāḥ [| 1\*] Stambhēśva-
- 4 ri(rī)-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasādē Śulkī-kulē-bhūt=kshi-
- 5 tipu[h\*] kshat-ārū(ri)ḥ [|\*] śrīmān(mān) Raṇastambhadēva<sup>5</sup> pratītaḥ
- 6 sphurat-pratāp-ōdayaḥ<sup>6</sup> tāpit-ārī(ri)ḥ || 2) Bhāsvavī(d-vi)chitra-
- 7 ruchir-ōjva(jjva)lu-chāru-śōbhau(bhai)r-uchau(chchaiḥ) Sadāśiva-pu-
- 8 r-ōgamaniya<sup>7</sup>-mārggailḥ [|\*] davūlaiyair<sup>8</sup>=nnija-yaśō-dhava<sup>9</sup>-
- 9 dhavalair-anēkair yēn ātmanas-tri(s-tri)divam=udgamit=ōru-ki(kī)-
- 10 rttī(rttih || 3) Tasy-ātma-jō=bhū[j |\*] jagad-ōka-vi(vī)raḥ ||<sup>10</sup> ju yaśō la<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4-10.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plate.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The same seems to be the reading in the Hindol plate.

<sup>5</sup> Better read "stambhu iti for the sake of the metre.

<sup>6</sup> Read "dayas-lāpi", or better "daya-lāpi" for the sake of the metre.

<sup>7</sup> Read "ōpagam-aika, or pura-prayam-aika as in the Hindol plate and other records.

<sup>8</sup> Read *dēv-ālayair*.

<sup>9</sup> The *aksharas dhava* here are redundant.

<sup>10</sup> The second *pāda* of the stanza is omitted through inadvertence. In place of the double *daṇḍa*, followed by the *akshara ju*, we have to read something like *śrīmān Jayastambha iti kshītīśaḥ* as in the Hindol plate, line 5.

<sup>11</sup> Read *yasy=ōlla*.



- 11 sat-khaṅga(dga)-nipāta-bhi(bhī)tāḥ samantatō yāntī(nti) raṇē dviśa<sup>1</sup> [|| 4\*]  
 12 Yō rāja-chakra-tilakaḥ sva-guṇ-āṅgu(ṅ-āṁsu)-pātau<sup>2</sup> da-kāmini(nī)-  
 13 mukha-manōhara-karṇapūraiḥ [||\*] śaṅgōchit<sup>3</sup>-āhita-vadhū-va-  
 14 dan-āravindai[r=\*]dēs<sup>4</sup>-āndhakāra-bhiduraiḥ saśubhai<sup>5</sup> śasi(ś=ī)-  
 15 va [|| 5\*] Tasmāt=va(d=ba)l-ōtsārita-vairi-vārī(ri)taḥ |<sup>6</sup> parākram-ākra-  
 16 ntā(nta)-samasta-dik-tataḥ [||\*] dāna-pravṛit-ārda<sup>7</sup>-kara-pratīti-  
 17 mām(mān) dig-vāraṇ-ēndra-pratimō=bhavat=sa(t=su)taḥ [||6\*] Kōdālōka(kāt) chchha(sa)  
 dēva-  
 18 dvija-guru-charaṇ-ārādhan-āśa(sa)kta-chētā[h\*] śrīmām(mān) durvvāra-vairi-pa-  
 19 vara-kari-ghaṭā-kumbha-kuṭā(ṭṭā)ka-vārah<sup>8</sup> [||\*] dātā satv-ai(ttv-ai)ka-nishṭhō ja-

## Reverse

- 20 gati Pri(Pri)thu-sama[h\*] ya<sup>9</sup> pārthivēśa(shu) prati(tī)ta[h\*] ka(kṛi)chchhrē=py=amalāna-<sup>10</sup>  
 21 khaṅga(dga)-prakata-bhuja-valā-trāsītāśēśa<sup>11</sup>-śatru[h || 7\*] Sa-  
 22 kala-Gōndramōdhīthaḥ<sup>12</sup> prama<sup>13</sup>-māhēsvaraḥ samudga-  
 23 mit-āsēśha-śavda<sup>14</sup>-mahārāja-śrī-Kulastambhadēva[h kuśalī\*]  
 24 Śaṅkhajōṭ[i]kā-valaya-parīkaritaḥ<sup>15</sup>-paryantē ma-  
 25 ṇḍalē=smina(smin) bhāvī(vi)n[ō] rājanka<sup>16</sup>-[rāja]putrā(tra)-mahāsāmanta-  
 26 nagar<sup>17</sup>=anyān=api yathā-kāladdhaṅga[n]ō<sup>18</sup> viśayapati-nidhika<sup>19</sup>-  
 27 <sup>20</sup>rīṇas=cha sa-karaṇa-kalāpa(pān) yathāhriṇ<sup>21</sup> vē(bō)dhayatīh(ti) kuśala-

<sup>1</sup> Read *dvishantaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pātau=dik°*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śaṅgōchit-ā°*.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *dōsh-ū°*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śuśubhē*.

<sup>6</sup> The *danḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pravṛit-ārda*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *bāhuḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> This *ya* is redundant.

<sup>10</sup> Read *amlāna*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *bala-trāsīt-āsēśha*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Gōndram-ādhināthaḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *parama*.

<sup>14</sup> Better read *eamadhigata-pañcha-mahūśabda* or *sumudhigutāsēśha°*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *parīkriti*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *rājanaka* or *rājānaka*.

<sup>17</sup> Better read *kumārāmāty-āntaraṅgān=anyūn=api*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *°kāl-ādhyāsīnō*. Chakravarti reads this expression as *kāla(li)ṅgaṅganē* in Plate A and takes it to refer to the Kalinga people.

<sup>19</sup> Read *viśayapatīn=adhikārīṇas=cha*.

<sup>20</sup> Chakravarti reads : *rīṇa śvasa karuṇa kalaya yathāhriṇ vīdhasutīh kuśala*.

<sup>21</sup> Read *yathāhram*.

PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

Obverse

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18

सप्तम्यादिना...  
 सुभद्रा...  
 विष्णु...  
 अथ...  
 मयि...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...

Reverse

20  
 22  
 24  
 26  
 28  
 30  
 32  
 34  
 36

गति...  
 विष्णु...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...  
 अथ...  
 श्री...



- 28 <sup>1</sup>yaty=ādīsa(śa)ti cha [ |\* ] viditam=astu bhavatām Gōilō-khaṇḍa-
- 29 <sup>2</sup>saṁvandhaḥ<sup>3</sup> Paḍāragrāma[ḥ\*] saṅkarataḥ<sup>4</sup> s-ōdē(ddē)śa[ḥ\*] sa-
- 30 <sup>5</sup>rvva-vādha-virvarjataś=chatuś[t]aya-simā-valaya-parīka<sup>6</sup> -
- 31 <sup>7</sup>rata-paryantaḥ |<sup>8</sup> kara-sāsna<sup>9</sup> ru-pla<sup>10</sup> 10 Āviddhā-
- 32 <sup>11</sup>vinirgata-bhaṭṭapū(pu)tra-Vēllukasya<sup>12</sup> Āṇa-
- 33 nti-sutaḥ<sup>13</sup> Taṭākānāma<sup>14</sup> saha[srā\*]ṇi asva(śva)-
- 34 mēddha(dha)-sana chaḥ<sup>15</sup> [ |\* ] gavā[m\*] kōṭi-prā(pra)dānēna bhūmi-
- 35 hartā na su(śu)dhyati || yasya<sup>16</sup> yāsya tasya tasya ta a-
- 36 phalam mā<sup>17</sup> bhō phalam saṅkā sa sva-datām<sup>18</sup> pālāniā-
- 37 t sva<sup>19</sup>-pradām=vā jō harēti vasadharā [ | sa vi ]<sup>20</sup>

## No. 23—BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA ; REGNAL YEAR 8

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAÇAMUND

Sometime about the middle of the year 1951, reports reached me that Mr. S. C. De, Curator of Archives, attached to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had found an inscribed stone in the vicinity of the well-known town of **Bhadrak** in the Balasore District of Orissa. I also learnt that the stone, believed to have been originally the lintel of the door of a temple, had been secured for the Orissa State Museum and brought to Bhubaneswar. I wrote to the authorities of the Museum requesting them to send me a few impressions of the inscription for examination ; un-

<sup>1</sup> Chakravarti reads : *yathādisati viditam=astu bhavatām Gōulō-khaṇḍa*, but takes the name of the subdivision to be Ulōkhaṇḍa.

<sup>2</sup> Chakravarti reads : *sambandhaḥ Paḍāragrāma sayari karataḥ sō dēśa sa.*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Read *sambaddha*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *s-ōparikarāḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> Chakravarti reads : *°rbba-vādha-vivarjita chatuśraya simā laya parīka*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *vādha-vivarjitaś=chatuḥ-sīma-valaya-parīkriti*.

<sup>7</sup> Chakravarti reads : *rata paryantaḥ | karastaru pla 10 Āviddhā.*<sup>o</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>9</sup> Read *śāsanatvēna dattaḥ*.

<sup>10</sup> I.e., *rūpya-pālāni daśa*.

<sup>11</sup> Chakravarti reads : *vinirgata Bhaṭṭa-putra Vēllukasya āṇa*.

<sup>12</sup> The *shashṭhī vibhakti* is preferred apparently because Vēlluka received the village (possibly by purchase) as a *kara-śāsana* and not as a revenue-free gift.

<sup>13</sup> Read *sutasya*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *taṭākānām*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śatāni cha*.

<sup>16</sup> The reading intended is *yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam*. The first half of the stanza is inadvertently omitted.

<sup>17</sup> The intended reading is *Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā*, etc.

<sup>18</sup> The intended reading is *sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam*, etc.

<sup>19</sup> The reading intended is *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā*, etc.

<sup>20</sup> The second half of the stanza could not be completed owing to want of space.

fortunately no impression reached me as a result of the correspondence. About the beginning of November in the same year, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra happened to visit Bhubaneswar in the course of a tour that side. He inspected the Bhadrak stone inscription in the Orissa State Museum and copied it. After his return to Ootacamund, Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal all the impressions of the above inscription for examination. He also permitted me to edit the record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. C. De for information regarding the discovery of the inscription. "I discovered the inscription", Mr. De subsequently wrote to me, "in the courtyard of the temple of Bhadrakālī in a locality about five miles from the town of Bhadrak in the Bhadrak Sub-Division on the 17th of March 1951. I noticed the stone buried in the earth and learnt that pilgrims used to wash their feet on it. Certain scars on the stone attracted my attention. I then dug it out and found the inscription. In the month of June we managed to bring the stone to the Museum. Its upper part is damaged as the villagers used to sharpen their axes on it. I was told that the stone had been brought to the Bhadrakālī temple from an adjoining village some years back. The temple of Bhadrakālī is an ordinary thatched cottage. So the stone was probably the lintel of some other temple."

The stone bears an inscription in three lines and is unfortunately broken here and there. The state of preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters in all the three lines have either completely or partially broken away, while some *aksharas* in line 1 have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. This corrosion is apparently due to the stone being used as an axe-sharpener. The writing covers a space about 44 inches in length and about 7 inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are about 1.5 inches in height.

The characters resemble those of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, of which the test letters are *m*, *s* and *h*. Of the three letters, *m* and *h* in our record are almost as developed as in the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>1</sup> of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. C.), although in one case *m* seems to exhibit an earlier form. The letter *s* has its earlier form found usually in the inscriptions of the age of the Kushāṇas. The form of *l* resembles that of the same letter as found in the Allahabad pillar inscription, while letters like *k*, *ṅ*, etc., show pre-Gupta forms. The letter *ṅ* resembles in form the same letter as found in some Mathurā inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.C. and reproduced by Ojha in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, Plate VI, i (cf. the fourth form of *ṅ*). In a few cases medial *ā* and *ū* seem to be written by lengthening slightly the top *mātrā* of the consonant respectively towards the right and the left. The inscription exhibits the initial vowel *a* and the symbols for the numerals 3, 8 and 80. On grounds of palaeography, the inscription may be assigned to the period between the age of the Kushāṇas and that of the Guptas. I am inclined to assign it to a date about the second half of the third century A.C. This date seems to be supported also by the language of the record.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. We know that originally the epigraphic language of the whole of India was Prakrit, that Sanskrit is first found in North Indian epigraphs about the beginning of the Christian era and that it gradually ousted Prakrit from the field of Indian epigraphy. The suppression of Sanskrit by Prakrit in the epigraphic records of the lower part of South India took place as late as the middle of the fourth century A.C. In the early Prakrit inscriptions, double consonants are found to be represented by single letters; but gradually the influence of Sanskrit became noticeable in the Prakrit records, not only in their use of double consonants, but also in the occasional inclusion of Sanskritic sounds, words and passages. From a study of the Prakrit inscriptions of the various dynasties holding sway over South India, we find

<sup>1</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III), pp. 1fi.; and Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff.

that double consonants began to appear in such records in the third century A.C.<sup>1</sup> As our inscription shows the use of double consonant only in one case (cf. *ayya* in line 2, for Sanskrit *ārya*, instead of the earlier epigraphic Prakrit form *aya*), it may reasonably be assigned to the same third century. That it has to be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century is suggested again by the Susunia inscription<sup>2</sup> of king Chandravarman who ruled over South-West Bengal (adjacent to North-East Orissa in which Bhadrak, the findspot of our record, is situated) about the middle of the fourth century A. C. and was defeated by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The language of the Susunia inscription is Sanskrit and suggests that Prakrit was ousted from the inscriptions of that area at an earlier date.

The Bhadrak inscription begins with traces of a short horizontal line which appears to stand for the usual *siddham* symbol. This is followed by the word *Mah[ā]r[ā]ja*. The following two *aksharas* read : *si[r]i*, although traces of the vowel-mark are not distinct above the second *akshara*. This is because the stone is broken here. What comes next has to be read as *Gaṇasa*. The tops of all these three letters are damaged owing to the breaking away of a piece of stone as well as to corrosion about the upper parts of the second and third *aksharas* ; but there is hardly any doubt about the reading. Then comes *Sa[m] 8* [ ]. Traces of the *anusvāra* above *sa* are faintly visible ; but the upper right side of the letter is completely corroded. The symbol for 8, which here resembles the 8 sign reproduced by Ojha from the inscriptions of the Kuhsāṇa age in his work, Plate LXXI, i (cf. the third symbol for 8) is partially corroded, traces of the lost part being fortunately still slightly visible. The *daṇḍa* that follows the numeral is indicated here by a short vertical line. The first half of line 1, besides the *siddham* symbol at the beginning, thus reads : *Mahārāja-siri-Gaṇasa Saṁ 8*, in Sanskrit *Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇasya Saṁ 8* (= *saṁvatsarē aṣṭamē*). The inscription is therefore dated in the eighth regnal year of a king called *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa*. The name cannot be read as *Gaṇa* as there is absolutely no trace of any *u-mātrā* attached to *g*. With the name of the king mentioned in our record, we may compare that of *Mahāsainyapati śrī-Gaṇa*, known from the Hayungthal copper-plate inscription<sup>3</sup> of king Harjaravarman of Assam. In both these cases, *śrī* appears to be an honorific and not an integral part of the name. That the name of the king mentioned in the Bhadrak inscription is most probably *Gaṇa* and not *Śrīgaṇa* seems to be suggested by the fact that, unlike *Śrīgaṇa*, *Gaṇa* (literally meaning the god *Gaṇēśa* or an attendant of *Śiva*)<sup>4</sup> is actually known to have been used as a personal name in ancient India. *Gaṇa* is the name of the author of the celebrated work entitled *Aśvāyurveda*,<sup>5</sup> while the *Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>6</sup> speaks of a *gōtra-kāra* named *Gaṇa*.

The second half of line 1 of our inscription reads : *[M]ūlajap[ēna] d[ē]vā 3 dat[ā]*. The upper part of *mū* is corroded. Although the traces now visible would rather suggest a slightly earlier form of *m* than that of the other cases of the letter in the record, the *akshara* in question can hardly be read as anything else than *mū*. Parts of *na* are much corroded and the letter is really unrecognisable. *Mūlajapa* (literally meaning 'a mutterer of the *mūla-mantra*, i.e., a particular sacred text or sounds') is a personal name, while the word *dēva* has been apparently used in the sense of 'an image of a god' as in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 87) and other works. Thus the above sentence

<sup>1</sup> For the points raised, see Sircar's *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939., pp. 87 and notes, 166 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 38 ff. ; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 501-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

<sup>3</sup> See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 51. Harjaravarman flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.C. as one of his inscriptions is dated in the Gupta year 510 (829-30 A.C.).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. ; *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s.v.

<sup>5</sup> Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 465.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, I, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gana*.

of the inscription says that a person named Mūlajapa presented three images for worship to (or installed them in) a particular religious establishment. The name of the establishment is not specifically mentioned in the inscription apparently because the inscribed stone was in view in the temple which housed the images. The temple was probably situated in the modern Bhadrak area which is the findspot of our inscription. Unfortunately the deity or deities represented by the images have not been named and cannot therefore be determined. We know that there was a practice according to which the installation of one or more images of one or more deities would be promised by a person in distress with the hope that he would be relieved of the suffering. Numerous such images, styled *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* in the records on later specimens, have been discovered. In the terminology of similar dedicatory inscriptions, the three images referred to in our record were the *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* of Mūlajapa who installed them in a temple in the vicinity of Bhadrak within the dominions of *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa* in the eighth year of the latter's reign.

In regard to the reading of the second half of line 1, we have to admit that, since this part follows the regnal year, it is tempting to take *pa* (read *pē*) before the traces of a damaged sign (tentatively read *na*) as a contraction of *pakshē* and *dava* (read *dēvā*) before 3 as meant for *divasē*. In that case, however, we should expect immediately before *pa* the name of one of the seasons (viz. *grīshma*, *varshā* and *hēmanta*) or less probably that of a month. But the reading *mūla* is fairly certain, although the sign read as *ja* may possibly also be 3. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out here the name of a season or month in spite of the fact that one of the twenty seven *nakshatras* bears the name *Mūla*. The name *Jyēshthamūla* is sometimes applied to *Jyēshtha*; but *mūla* is never used as the name of a month.

Line 2 of the inscription begins with *vapa 80*. Before this, there are traces of a letter partially broken away along with a piece of stone. Judging from the beginning of the first line of the record, marked by the traces of the *siddham* symbol, it is apparent that one or two letters have been completely broken away at the beginning of the second line. A word ending in *vapa* and followed by a number would suggest an expression like *kulyavāpa*, *khārīvāpa*, *drōṇavāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* or *nālikāvāpa* all of which were the names of some of the different land-measures of ancient India. Thus the section no doubt refers to eighty measures of land which was apparently granted by Mūlajapa in favour of the temple for the continuation of the worship of the three deities installed by him therein. The partially broken letter before *vapa* cannot be satisfactorily read; but it may be a damaged *ḍha*.<sup>1</sup> In that case the reading intended may be *āḍhavāpa*.

The rest of the second line of the inscription reads: *Mah[ā]kulapati-ārya-Agisamēna Pānidē vadīdam paḍichhidam*. *Paḍichhida* is the same as Pali *paṭichchhita* meaning 'accepted,' while *vadīda* seems to be the same as Sanskrit *vaṭita* meaning 'an apportionment', i.e., an apportioned piece of land in the present case. The sentence thus indicates that the eighty measures of land referred to were apportioned in a locality called *Pānida* and that the land was accepted by *Mahā-kulapati-ārya* Agnisarman apparently on behalf of the temple or religious establishment in question. Agnisarman was probably the head of the establishment or less probably the priest in charge of the temple. The epithets *ārya*, 'venerable', and *Mahākulapati* point to his high rank. The expression *kulapati*, which usually means the head or chief of a family, also indicates a sage who feeds and teaches ten thousand pupils.<sup>2</sup>

The letters of the first half of line 3 are either completely or partially broken away. The first five or six *aksharas* are lost, while only the vowel-marks of the following two *aksharas* (medial *i*

<sup>1</sup> [It looks more like *ha*.—B.C.C.]

See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

in both the cases) remain. Only the upper parts of the next seven letters are visible and they suggest the reading : *adhivāsaka Bhada*. The second half of the line, in which some of the letters are damaged, seems to read : *Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Aḍasama [ ]*. The last two letters, *sa ma*, suggest a Brahmanic name ending in the word *śarman* exactly as *Agisama=Agniśarman*. *Aḍasama* may be Sanskrit *Aṭaśarman*. It is thus possible to think that this name is preceded in the record by other names, *viz.* Bhada (Sanskrit *Bhadra*), Apavasa (possibly Sanskrit *Apavarsha*), Mahāsara (possibly Sanskrit *Mahāsāra*) and Ghali (cf. Sanskrit *Khalin*). The possibility of the existence of the word *adhivāsa(si)ka* in the damaged first half of the line would suggest that it was preceded by the name of the locality where the persons mentioned resided. But what their relation was with the grant recorded in the inscription cannot be determined with certainty. If they were merely witnesses to the transaction, they were probably residents of a locality near the gift land at Pānida.

*Mahārāja* Gaṇa, during whose reign the inscription was engraved about the second half of the third century A.C., is not known from any other source. He seems to have been a ruler of the ancient Utkala country bounded by the rivers Vaitaraṇī<sup>1</sup> and Kansai (ancient Kapiśā)<sup>2</sup> and lying between the lands inhabited by the Vaṅgas and the Kaliṅgas.<sup>3</sup> He was probably an independent monarch like the kings of Pushkaraṇā (modern Pokharna on the Damodar in South-West Bengal), who are known from the Susunia inscription. As already indicated above, king Chandravarman of Pushkaraṇā was overthrown by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century A.C. Whether the Utkala country was also conquered by Samudragupta about the same time is as yet unknown. The Sumaṇḍala plates<sup>4</sup> of the Gupta year 250 (569 A. C.), however, show that imperial Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in Kaliṅga and presumably also in Utkala. Although it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe the conquest of Kaliṅga and Utkala to a particular Gupta monarch, it is possible to suggest that the event took place before the death of Kumāragupta I, grandson of Samudragupta, in 455 A.C., as the successors of that monarch do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the annexation of such far off territories. These conquests should better be attributed to Samudragupta or to his son Chandragupta II Vikramāditya described as *kṛitsna-pṛithvī-jay-ārtha* in one of the Udayagiri inscriptions (cf. also the reference to his *dig-vijaya* in the Meharauli inscription).<sup>5</sup> As however Utkala is not mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription in connection with the victorious campaigns of Samudragupta, the second alternative seems preferable.<sup>6</sup> Whether the rulers of Āryāvarta, mentioned in that record as overthrown by the Gupta monarch, included a ruler of Utkala cannot be determined.

We have said that the eighty measures of land granted by Mūlajapa were apportioned in a locality called Pānida. The place may not have been far away from Bhadrak, near which the inscription has been found. I have not succeeded in identifying the locality.

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

1 [Siddham]<sup>8</sup> [ ] Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-sir[i]-Gaṇasa sa[m 8] [M]ūlajap[ēna] d[ē]vā 3 dat[ā]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 3 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38 ; above, loc. cit. Utkala came later to be known as the Ōdra country no doubt after the name of an allied tribe of that name. The Ōdras may have originally inhabited parts of Northern Orissa.

<sup>3</sup> *Raghuvamśa*, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 272, 275 ff.

<sup>6</sup> In this connection, it may be noted that the Meharauli inscription attributes to Chandragupta II the conquest of a country on the Southern Sea.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol which is faintly visible



2 [āḍha?]vapa 80 [\*] Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya-<sup>1</sup>Agisamēnam(na) Pāni[dē]<sup>2</sup> vaḍidaṁ paḍichhidam [\*]  
3 .....i.i. [adhivāsa(si)ka Bhada?] Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Aḍasama<sup>3</sup> [ ]<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

May there be success ! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Gaṇa. By Mūlajapa are given 3 idols (*and also*) 80 [āḍha?]vāpas (*of land*). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Pānida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agnisarman), the *Mahākulapati*. Bhada (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apavarsha?), Mahāsara (Mahāsūra?), Ghali (*and*) Aḍasama (Aḍasarman), residents of....

## No. 24—HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIBHURAJA ; YEAR 3

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This copper plate grant is from the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, where it has been deposited for the last 27 years. It is reported to have been found in the possession of a Brahmin at **Hingni Berdi**, a small village on the bank of the Bhīmā river, near Dhond in the Poona District. It was obtained by Śrī P. R. Alegaonkar who passed it on to Prof. Datto Waman Potdar for the purpose of decipherment and publication. At the request of the latter, Mr. P. M. Chandorkar read a short note based on this record before the Sixth Annual Session of the B. I. S. Maṇḍala in 1926.<sup>5</sup> As the reading given by him is not altogether satisfactory, I re-edit the plates here with the kind permission of the secretaries of the said institute.

The set consists of two sheets of copper, each measuring about 5 inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The weight of the two plates is 14 *tolas*. In the upper margin of each plate there is a small roundish hole, about 2/10 inch in diameter through which a copper ring is passed for holding them together. The two ends of the ring are secured under a lump of copper which is flattened and bears on it the incised figures of an *akshamālā*, consisting of eleven beads, a *kumandalu*-shaped spouted vessel on its left and a *danḍa*<sup>6</sup> on its right, apparently the requisites of a *saṁnyāsīn*. The ring weighs 1½ *tolas*. The inscription on the plates consists of 22 lines of writing, of which 9 are engraved on the second side of the first plate, 10 lines on the first side of the second plate and the remaining 3 on the second side of the latter. As the rims of both the plates are raised, the engraving has remained in a fair state of preservation.

The **characters** are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabet current in the fifth and sixth centuries A. C. The record is very carelessly engraved and exhibits certain peculiarities which deserve close attention. We see mostly nail-headed or acute-angled letters in the first plate, while the second plate shows small circles or pin-heads on the top of certain letters. These

<sup>1</sup> The reading may possibly also be *ayya-Agisamēna*; but I am inclined to ignore the traces about the tail of *ā* in both the cases.

<sup>2</sup> What I have read as *dē* may possibly also be *ḥ* or *ja*, although that would hardly give any sense.

<sup>3</sup> The first letter in this name may possibly be also read as *ā*.

<sup>4</sup> Full-stop in this case seems to be indicated by a slanting line.

<sup>5</sup> *Shāshṭha Sammēlana Vṛitta* (B. I. S. Maṇḍala), pp. 63-65.

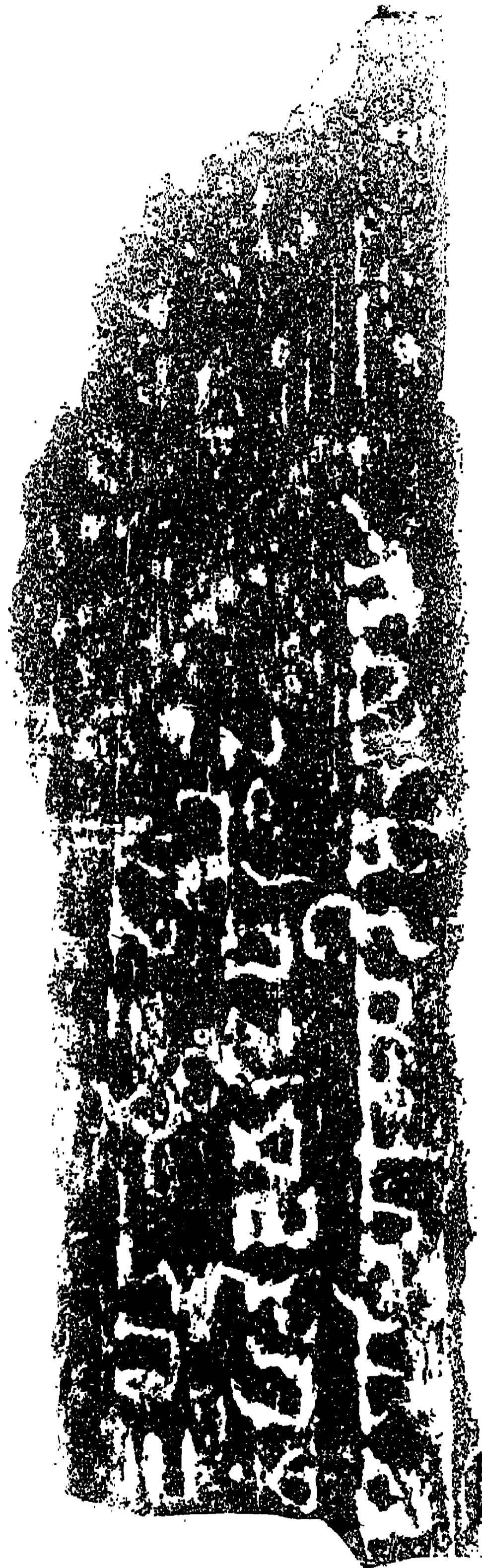
<sup>6</sup> [What has been described as *danḍa* represents possibly only a blade of *kuśa* grass according to Mr. M. Venkataramayya. Ed.]

BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA; REGNAL YEAR 8

Left half



Right half



2



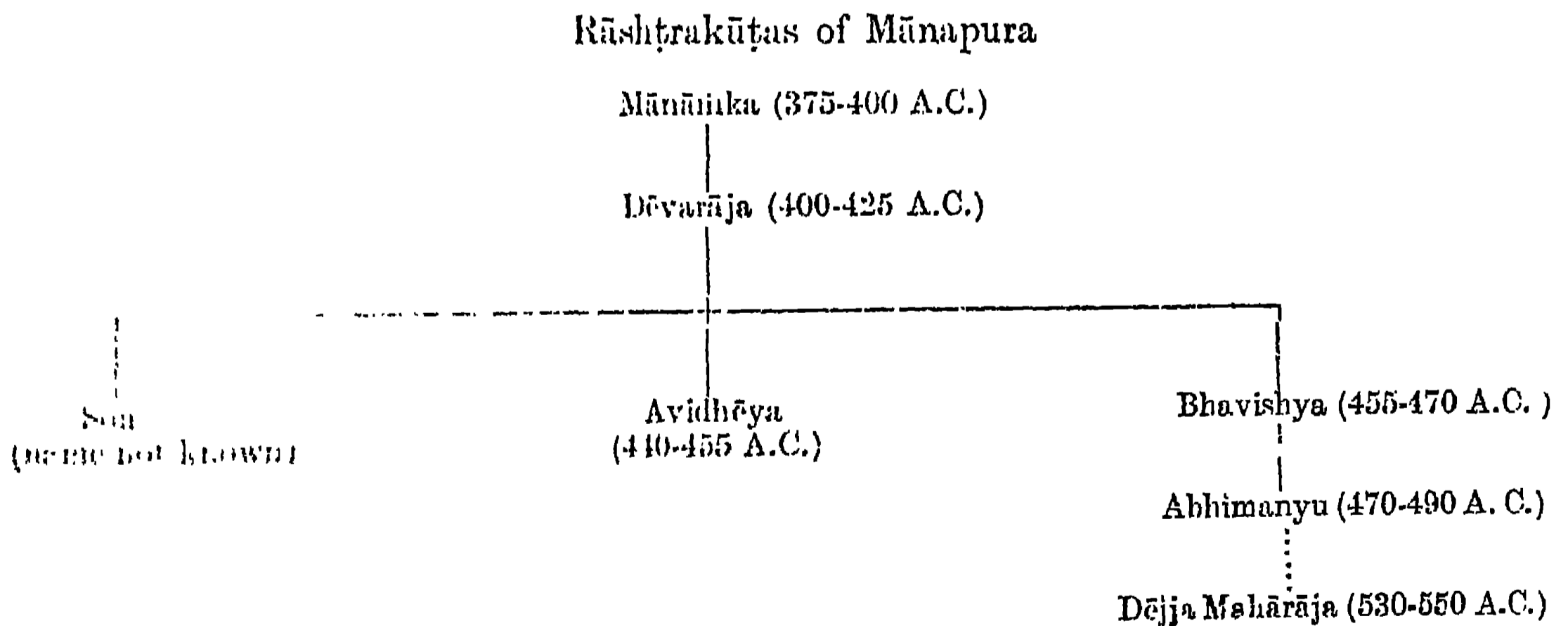
resemble closely the forms of letters found in the Añjanēri plates<sup>1</sup> of Pṛithvīchandra Bhōgāsakti. The writing on the second side of the second plate shows a very crude hand. It is strongly doubted if all the three sides of the two plates were engraved by one and the same person.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose and is full of mistakes, but the sense can be clear, if proper restorations are made in the text.

The inscription refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is styled *Rāshtrakūṭēśvarāṇām-anavāya* in the initial portion. It is stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess **Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī**, the Queen-consort of Rāshtrakūṭa **Dēvarāja** and mother of **Mānarāja**, donated an *agrahāra* called Kamalibhūhaka to a Brahmin called Nannasvāmin, belonging to the Agastya *gōtra*, for the purpose of carrying on religious duties. In addition to this land a *dakṣhiṇā* of fifty bars (*śalākā*) of gold was given to the Brahmin with the consent of Rāshtrakūṭa **Vibhurāja**. The grant was made on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja.

The plates refer to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty thrice (lines 1, 9 and 16) and from the find-spot of the plates it seems certain that the family must have been ruling somewhere in Mahārāshṭra. The royal persons belonging to this family are described in the usual panegyric and as such do not yield any historical information. King Vibhurāja is mentioned twice and there is no specific reference to his period, except that the palaeography of the grant, which as stated above, places it in the 5th century A. C. In the absence of these details it would have been difficult to identify this king Vibhurāja, as none of the branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty anywhere refers to him.

The mention of king Dēvarāja, however, affords some clues. Recently Principal V.V. Mirashi, in his article entitled "The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura", has suggested that there was a minor branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty ruling in certain parts of the Satara District during the 4-6th centuries A.C. Hitherto only three copper-plate grants of this family have been found, viz., Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Rāshtrakūṭa Abhimanyu, Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli plates<sup>2</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Avidhēya, and Gokak plates<sup>3</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Dējja Mahārāja. From the identification of the place names recorded in the first two of these grants, it has been shown that the members of this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty were ruling in the Māṇa *tāluka* of the Satara District. The genealogy and the approximate period assigned to them is given as follows :—



<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225-238 and plates.

<sup>2</sup> *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-50.

<sup>3</sup> *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff.

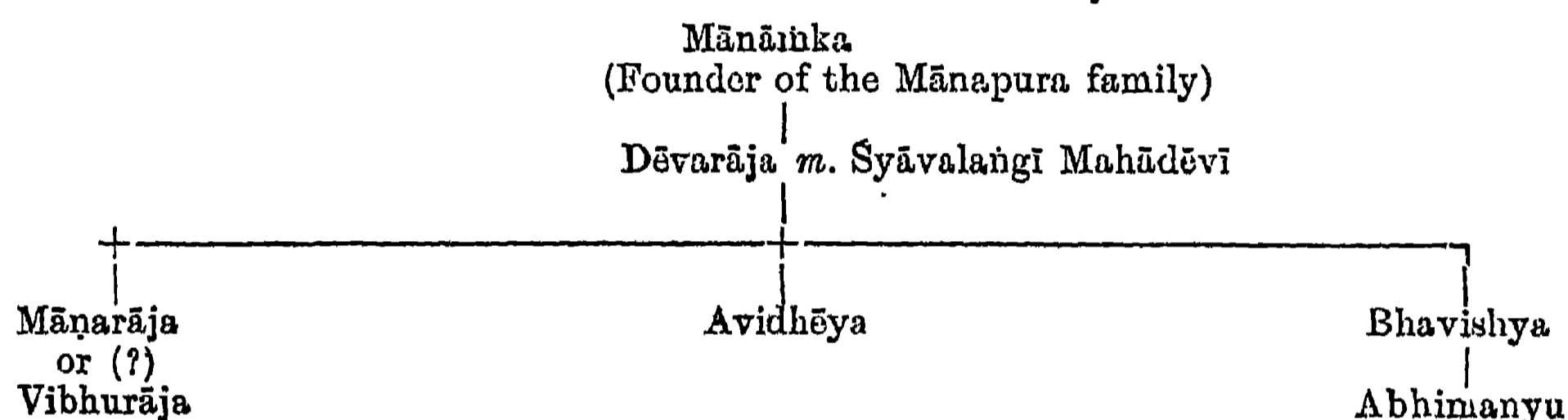
<sup>4</sup> *Mysore Arch. Dept. Report* for 1929, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

<sup>6</sup> DCA 53

Since the donor of the present plates is described as the wife of Dēvarāja, it seems plausible to suggest that the Dēvarāja referred to by them is no other than the second person mentioned in the pedigree given above, because the palaeography of the record does not go against the age assigned to that ruler by Prof. Mirashi. In the Uṇḍikavāṭikā and Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli plates, this Dēvarāja is stated to have had three sons, but the names of only two of whom, viz., Abhimanyu and Bhavishya, are known from the inscriptional data available. As the queen of Dēvarāja is also called the mother of Māṇarāja in the present inscription, it is clear that **Māṇarāja is the name of the hitherto unknown (third) son of Dēvarāja** and he was probably the eldest. And this is quite in keeping with the ancient practice of naming the child after his grandfather, because the name of the father of Dēvarāja is known to be Mānāṅka, who founded the Mānapura branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The grant was issued in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja. His exact relationship with Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī is not explicitly stated in the record. But since the plates are issued in the early part of the career of that king, I believe that Vibhurāja is an *alias* of Māṇarāja and that the plates were issued by the queen-mother Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī after the death of her husband Dēvarāja. Whether it was actually so needs further corroboration. In the light of the details at present available, the genealogy of the family can be reconstructed as follows :



The present plates were issued on the Vaiśākha *paurṇamāsī* day in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja ; but these details are not quite sufficient to verify the date of the grant.

The mention of golden bars (*suvarṇa-salākā*) given as *dakṣhiṇā* is also very interesting. It cannot be said if these bars bore any marks as on the bent-bar silver currency, so frequently noticed in ancient sites like Taxila on the North-Western borders of India. At any rate, no currency of the above description is known to have been current in Mahārāshṭra in the period in which the plates were inscribed.

For want of adequate data, the geographical position of Kamalībhūhaka mentioned in the grant cannot be located. It is likely that it was the name of some plot in Hingṇī Berdi itself where the plates were discovered.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

##### *First Plate*

1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति श्रीमतां धु(?)लितशत्रुबाध<sup>3</sup>(?)नां राष्ट्रकूटेश्व-

2 राणामन्ववायश्रियोलंकारेण श्रीमता महाराज-

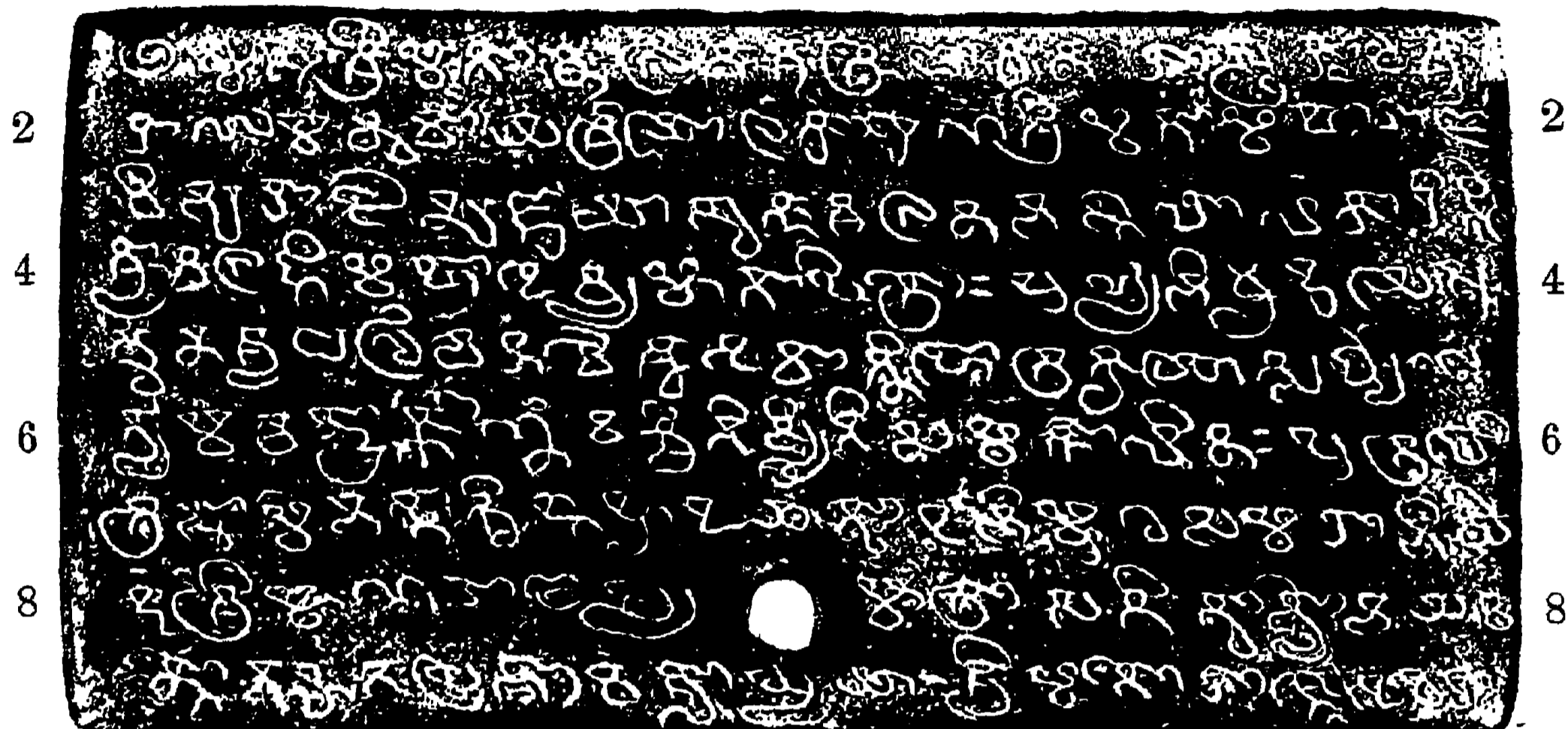
<sup>1</sup> From the original plates and ink impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> I am not sure about the reading of this *akshara*. [Possibly *dalita-satru-bādhānāni* is intended. —B.C.C.]

HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIBHURAJA; YEAR 3

i.



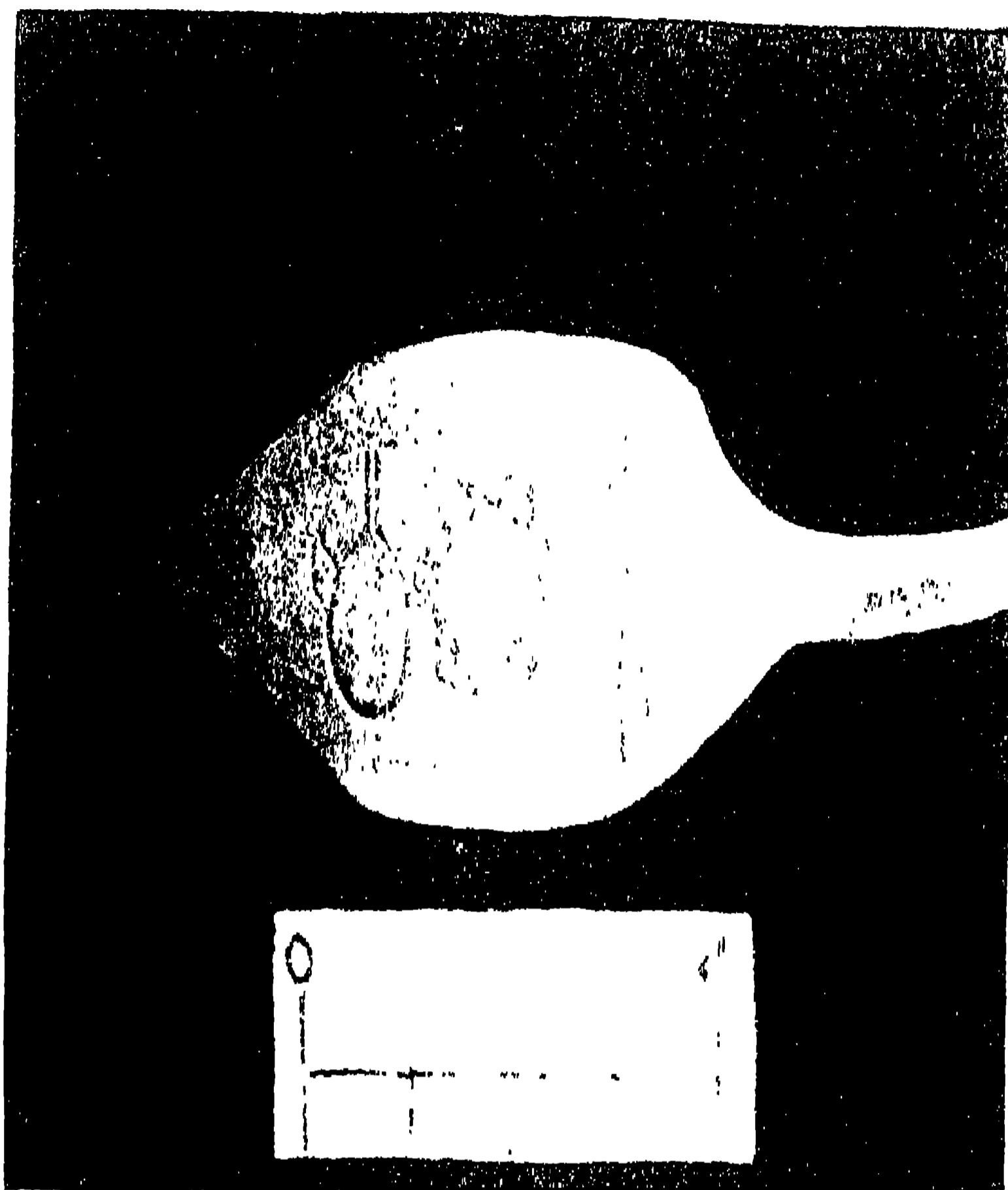
ii, a.



ii, b.



Seal



(From a photograph)

- 3 विभुराजानुज्ञया<sup>1</sup> स्वकुशल<sup>2</sup>नभस्तलालंकारिणी(?) (ण्या)  
 4 श्यावलङ्गीमहादेव्य (व्या) मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये आ-  
 5 त्मनश्च बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रकृ (क्रि) योत्स[र्ष]णा-  
 6 त्थम (मा) चन्द्राकर्काण्णवक्षितस्थि (स्थि) तिसमकालि (ली) नः पुत्रपौ-  
 7 त्रस्वामिभक्तार्थिह<sup>3</sup> हृदय[ना]दाभिमुखसमराभिये-  
 8 दं श्रीमाणराजस्य मात्रा सतीत्वाच्चोभयव-  
 9 नशोतभु (वंशोद्भू) तप्रभावत्या[र्य]या श्रीमतो राष्ट्र[कूट\*]देवरा-

*Second Plate ; First Side*

- 10 जस्य पन्या (त्न्या) [रा]ज्यान्वयभोग्यस्सव्वादित्यविषि (ष्टि) परिव-  
 11 जितो चाटभटअप्रावेश्ये (श्यो) भु (भू) म (मि) च्छ (च्छ) द्रन्यायेन  
 12 अगस्त (स्त्य) सगोत्रब्राह्मणाय नन्नस्वामि (मि) ने स्वहस्त-  
 13 धृत[भू]ङ्कारकोद[ने]के[न\*] कमली[भू]हकाग्रा (ग्र) हारस्य दक्षि-  
 14 [णा] सुवर्णाशि (श) द (ला) कायाः पञ्चाशत्ताम्रशासनन (नि) व-  
 15 द्वा [I\*] वर्नक्षाने तृत (ती) ये स (सं) वत्सरे वैशाख[शु]क्लपौ[र्ण]-  
 16 मास्य (स्यां) रा[ष्ट्र]कूटेन महाराजविभुराजस्य [I\*] यश्चै[तत्\*] [लो]-  
 17 पय (यि) प्य (प्य) ति स पाञ्च[महापातकसंयुक्तो भविप (प्य) ति [I\*] ष-  
 18 [ष्टि]वर्गमहा[ध्या]णि स्वग्नि (ग्ने) न (मो) दति भूमिद (दः) आच्छेता वा-  
 19 नुम[न्ता] च

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 20 ता[न्ये]व नरके व[से]त् [I\*] बहु[भि]र्व्व[सु]धा [भुक्ता रा]-  
 21 जि (ज) भिस्सा (स्त) गरादिवि (भिः) [I\*] यस्य वि (य) स्य यदी (दा) [भू]म (मि)-  
 व (स्त) स्य (स्य)

- 22 त[स्य] [त]दा फलवि (मि) [ति] [II\*]

<sup>1</sup> [The words *anūkārēṇa* and *śrīmatā* are obviously intended to qualify *Vibhūrāja* wrongly compounded here. —B.C.C.]

<sup>2</sup> The letter *śa* is redundant ; read *svakūta*.

<sup>3</sup> This *akshara* is not necessary.



## No. 25—AJMER STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

While dealing with the stone inscription containing portions of the Sanskrit drama entitled *Harkēli-nāṭaka*, composed by king Vigraharāja (1153-64 A.C.) of the Chāhamāna or Chauhān dynasty of Śākambharī, F. Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> deplored the strange vicissitudes of fortune that led the stones, on which the royal author made the products of his muse known to the people, to "have been used as common building material for a place of Muhammadan worship by the conquerors of his descendants." Portions of the above drama as well as of the *Lalita-Vigraharāja-nāṭaka*, composed in honour of the Chāhamāna king by his court poet, *Mahākavi* Sōmadēva, which were edited by Kielhorn,<sup>2</sup> were copied from stone slabs embedded in the walls of the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tārāgarh hill at Ajmer. The mosque, as is well known, was built out of the spoils of Hindu structures by Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak (first Sulṭān of Delhi, 1206-10 A.C.) in 1200 A.C., while Sulṭān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.C.) subsequently beautified it with a screen.<sup>3</sup> Impressions of another inscription on a stone slab from the same mosque were recently supplied to me by Mr. U. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It appears that all these inscribed slabs had originally belonged to some temples or public buildings raised by the imperial Chāhamānas, the materials of which were later utilised in the construction of the Ārhāidin-kā-Jhōprā.

The impressions of the Ajmer (Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā) inscription, received by me from [Mr. U. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya, had a printed slip attached to them. It assigns the inscription to the twelfth century and mentions it as exhibit No. 256 of the Rajputana Museum. It further says, "This inscription forms the beginning of a Sanskrit poem engraved on slabs. It contains invocation to Nārāyaṇa and various other gods and states that the Chauhāns belonged to the solar race". The description of the contents is, however, not strictly accurate.

The inscription under discussion covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9½" in height. There are altogether 27 lines of writing, each letter being a little above ½" in height. The engraving is neat and beautiful, although the stone is damaged in several places and some letters have broken away. As, however, the engraver is sometimes found to have avoided a damaged part of the stone (cf. the damaged space between *vāha*<sup>o</sup> and [nō] in line 2, between *vāta-egūḥi* and *gūtō* in line 4, between *kumudā*<sup>o</sup> and *d=ambhōja* in line 21), there is no doubt that the stone was defective in places even when the inscription was incised.

The **palaeography** and **orthography** of the inscription resemble closely those of other records of about the twelfth century found in the same area, and nothing calls for special mention. As the mosque, to which the inscribed stone belongs, is known to have been built in 1200 A.C. with the spoils of local structures, it is possible to attribute the date of the record to some time between the accession of the Chāhamāna king Ajayarāja (c. 1110-35 A.C.) who is credited<sup>4</sup> with the foundation of Ajayamēru, now known as Ajmer, and with beautifying it with many temples and palaces, and 1200 A.C. when the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā was constructed, that is to say, somewhere in the twelfth century.

<sup>1</sup> See *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff., *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 16-20.

<sup>2</sup> *IA*, loc. cit.; *Göttinger Festschrift*, op. cit., pp. 1-15.

<sup>3</sup> *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. p. 581.

<sup>4</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1071.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the passage *Om namo Nārāyaṇāya* ||, preceded by the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning, the whole record on the stone is written in verse. There are in all 37 stanzas, all of which, with the solitary exception of the last verse, are consecutively numbered. Considering the want of space at the end of the last verse and the fact that the poem was probably continued on other slabs, it seems that the number of the last verse (i.e., 37) was put at the beginning of the first line of another slab. As is the case with numerous other epigraphic records, a short space at the end of some lines in our inscription (cf. lines, 2, 4, 6, 13, 15-17, 19-26) has often been covered by an unnecessary single or double *danḍa* usually endowed with a mark of cancellation.

Out of the 37 verses, which form the text of our record, the first 32 stanzas eulogise the god Vishṇu. Ten out of these (viz., verses 12-21) refer to the ten incarnations of the god, viz., (1) Kūrma, (2) Mīna, (3) Kōla (Varāha), (4) Nṛsimha, (5) Vāmana, (6) Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma), (7) Daśāsyāntakṛit (Dāsarathi Rāma), (8) Kṛishṇa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalkin. Verse 33 of the record introduces the Sun-god as the right eye of lord Vishṇu and as the progenitor of the solar dynasty which is itself introduced in the following stanza (verse 34). The next two stanzas (verses 35-36) speak of the glories of the solar dynasty and mention certain ancient rulers of the Sūrya-vaiṇsa such as Ikshvāku and Rāma. The concluding stanza (verse 37) introduces king Chāhamāna, mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna or Chauhān clan of the Rājputs, as a scion of the solar dynasty. The nature of the inscription supports the conjecture that it formed part of the introduction of a *kāvya*, the theme of which may have been certain achievements of a Chāhamāna king. The principal one of these exploits described in the *kāvya* may have been the construction of a temple in honour of the god Vishṇu.

The inscription is not of exceptional importance from the historical point of view ; but it has considerable interest as a literary composition of a Chāhamāna court poet of the twelfth century. The author's style, although it is not free from defects, is not poor. He has often shown his skill in employing *ślēsha* or *double entendre*.<sup>1</sup> In composing the 37 stanzas, he has employed no less than 14 metres, of which *Śāribhāvikṛīḍita* (13 verses) and *Vasantatilakū* (8 verses) are used in more than half of the cases. The metres *Mālinī*, *Sikhariṇī*, *Anuṣṭubh* and *Upajūti* have each been used in 2 stanzas, while one stanza has been allotted to each of *Prithvī*, *Sragdharā*, *Vaiṇsasthavila*, *Svāgatā*, *Harīṇī*, *Mandākrāntā*, *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*.

As regards the eponymous Chāhamāna being represented as a scion of the solar dynasty, it may be pointed out that this is in partial agreement with the tradition recorded in the *Prithivīrajavijaya* of Jayānaka (12th century) and *Hamnīra-mahākāvya* of Nayachandra (13th-14th century), according to which Chāhamāna sprang from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala* ; but it can hardly be reconciled with the other imaginary accounts regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas, such as the creation of Chāhamāna himself or the Chāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasishṭha or by the god Indra.<sup>2</sup> The well known story of the creation of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Chāhamāna, Pratihāra and Chaulukya dynasties by the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Abu was unknown to the Chāhamāna court poets as late as the fourteenth century.

The reference to Kṛishṇa as the eighth of the ten *avatāras* of Vishṇu is interesting. It is well known that the doctrine of the *avatāras* underwent several stages of development<sup>3</sup> and that their number, originally unsettled, gradually came to be recognised as ten. It should, however, be noticed that, even as late as the twelfth century, the same list of ten *avatāras* was not definitely fixed for the whole of India. Thus the author of the record under discussion, who was a twelfth

<sup>1</sup> Cf. verses 5, 8-9, 11, 22-23, 25-26, 35.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1053.

<sup>3</sup> *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (The Classical Age), pp. 414 ff.

century court poet of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer, regards Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu, while the author of the Belāva plate<sup>1</sup> of king Bhōjavarman (12th century) of Eastern Bengal, recognises the same divinity merely as *amśakṛit-āvatāra*, i.e., a partial incarnation. Another contemporary author, Jayadēva, who was a court poet of king Lakshmaṇasēna (circa 1179-1206 A.C.) of Bengal puts Haladhara (i.e., Balarāma-Saṅkarshaṇa) in the place of Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Vishṇu in the list of the ten *avatāras* in the *Gītugōvinda*.<sup>2</sup>

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1, 6, 8-9, 12-13, 20, 37 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 2 *Pṛithvī* ; verse 3 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 5, 10, 14-16, 18-19, 21, 24, 32-33, 36 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita* ; verses 7, 17 *Mālinī* ; verse 11 *Vamśashavila* ; verses 22, 27 *Śikhariṇī* ; verses 23, 25 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 26 *Svāgatā* ; verse 28 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 29 *Harīṇī* ; verse 30 *Mandūkṛāntā* ; verse 31 *Indravajrā* ; verse 34-35 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Siddham ||<sup>4</sup> Ōm namō Narāyaṇāya || Ārādhanīyam=amarair=api pātu yushmān=pād-āraviṃda-yugalaṃ Garuḍadhvajasya | vinyasta-kaustubhamaṇēr=urasō=varuhya Lakshmir=nakh-āmśu-khachitaṃ bhajatē bhṛīsaṃ yat || 1 || Jagaj-janana-pālana-pralaya-kēli-kārō muhur-mahā-danuja-nāki-
- 2 nām vihitā-nigrah-ānugrahaḥ | vihaṃgapatī-vāha[nō] bhujagarāja-talpē-śayaḥ śriyē bhavatu vō bhav-ām̐vu(bu)nidhi-karṇadhārō Hariḥ || 2 || Ōmkārō dānava-strī-samudaya-rudita-vra(bra)hma-pārāyaṇānām kalp-ām̐t-āravdha(bdha)-bhāra-stanita-jaladhara-śrēṇi-śaky-ānukārah | pāp-āhi-kshvēḍa-pī- |<sup>5</sup>
- 3 dā-nīpatita-sukṛit-ōtthāpan-āmōgha-mantrō jīyād=yuddhē[shu] [sa] Śrī-sahachara-Murajit-pāṃchajanya-praṇādaḥ || 3 || Mūrdhni Śrī-kucha-kumbhayōr-nīpatitā muktā kalāpāyatē lagnā talpa-bhujamga-puṃgava-tanau nirmōka- paṭṭāyatē | nābhī-nīcaruhasya sannidhi-charī yā rājahaṃsāya- |<sup>6</sup>
- 4 tē sā pāni-sthita-pāṃchajanya-kiraṇa-śrēṇī Harēḥ pātu [vaḥ || 4] || Vāta-vyādhi<sup>6</sup>-yutō vayasī=ati-gurau tishṭhan=va(n=ba)lī saṃtatatḥ saty-āsakta-matir-ijagatra(t-tra)-ya-hitaṃ kurvvan=dadhānaḥ kshamām̐(nām̐) | anītaḥsthaṃ gamayan-dhanam̐jayam=anauddhaty-ānvitaṃ dīpra-bhām̐(bham̐) śrēyaḥ-saṃtatayē Purāṇapurushō dē- ||<sup>7</sup>
- 5 vaḥ sad=aiv=āstu vaḥ || 5 || Vakshasthal-ōchchhalita-kaustubha-kām̐[ti-liptam̐] pāni-sthitam=bhavatu Chakradharasya chakraṃ(kram) | yuddhēshv-anēka-danujēndra-kathōra-kam̐tha-chchhēd-āvasakta-rudhir-augham=iva śriyē vaḥ || 6 || Vilasita-vanamālō dīpta-Vairōchana-śrī-viratīkṛid=anurajyat-Pannagārir=nikām̐(mam) |
- 6 bhuvana-janaka-vidyut-puṃja-pīt-ānīva(ba)rō vō ghatayatu ghana-kūlah [Kē]śavō maṅgalāni || 7 || Ślishyat-sudarśana-payōdhara-kṛishṇam=udyad-bhīm-āhava-prakāṭit-āindhaku(ka)-putra-nāśaṃ(śam) | stutyam̐ su-parvvahir=alam̐kṛita-dharm̐-pākaṃ Vyāsasya kāv-yarū=iva pātu Harōr=vvapur=vvah || 8 || Astr=īti viśva-viditō= |<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III pp. 14 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 12. Jayadēva's list of the *avatāras* corresponds to that given in a Puranic verse quoted in an eighth century inscription from Māmallapuram (*Mem. ASI*, No. 26, p. 5).

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Some space is left unengraved after *vyādhi*.

<sup>7</sup> The two *dandas* are unnecessary.

2 नीविदित्तियहावयलक्षविहवापितयले  
 4 तसपणिस्सुतपीचक्षुकिशाथीत्तरेपात  
 6 त्वनधनकविद्ययुंकीपीतीवरोवापदधतपनकाः  
 8 त्वनैतकडिलतोवतेनकवैवडैडैतनवधतनस्यत  
 10 कःसह रिसु विनतयेवशाशासदीविस्सुतकिणाकि  
 12 रित्तयेरोश्याविनतयेवशाशासदीविस्सुतकिणाकि  
 14 त्साद्यैरसवैरुपैरिक्ततयेवशाशासदीविस्सुतकिणाकि  
 16 नाकायास्यकरीयुतःसलिससुवैरुपैरिक्ततयेवशाशासदीविस्सुतकिणाकि  
 18 षड्दतमंशरविस्सुतकिणाकि  
 20 पित्तसोतदममीह्रिकतायुर्दःकतचुति  
 22 मरणाकंतपस्यशिसंशोत्तवसततद्वालक  
 24 तिवस्सुतकिणाकि  
 26 त्साद्यैरसवैरुपैरिक्ततयेवशाशासदीविस्सुतकिणाकि



- 7 pi va(ba)bhūva yaḥ strī bhagn-ārjunō=py=akṛita yō hitam=Arjunasya | yaḥ [Śē]sha-bhōga-vihita-sthitir=apy=aśēsha-bhōg-ōpabhōga-kṛid=avatv=akhilam sa Śauriḥ || 9 || Vaktram nābhi-sarōja-chāru-hasitam yā pāmchajany-ōjva(jjva)la-jyōtsnam kaustubha-ratna-śōṇam=adharam kēsān=vapur=mēchakān | śa[stam śā]mrga<sup>1</sup>-
- 8 dhanur=latā-kuṭilatām dhattō=nukarttum bhruvōr=dvaṁdvaṁ Dānava-sūdanasya dayi[t]ā dēvī śriyē vō=stu sū || 10 || Virōchan-ēṁdivaramitra-lōchanām sarōja-hastām kanak-ōjva(jjva)l-āmśukām(kām) | vi(bi)bharti Lakshmīm=iva yaḥ prabhus=tanum sa Vāsudēvō durtāni hafitu vaḥ || 11 || Udvarttana-pratinipāta-[vaśā]- |<sup>2</sup>
- 9 t=payōdhau dvēdhā-vidirṇṇa-salilē jala-śāyinā yaḥ | svasy=aiva mūrṭti[r=a]parā hata-yōga-nidram ālōkitō vijayatē sa Murāri-mīnaḥ || 12 || Yasya trasadbhir=avanīdhara-tāḍa-nēbhyō yādō-gaṇair=udara-pāda-talē nilīnaiḥ | pīyūsha-mamthana-vipan=niratīryat=āv-dhau(bdhau) Kūrm-ātma- |<sup>2</sup>
- 10 kaḥ sa Harir=astu vibhūtayē vaḥ || 13 || Sūry-ādhisṭhita-dakṣiṇ-ākshi-kira[ṇai]ḥ samvartta-vāty-ōlvanaiḥ samśōshanī mukha-mārutaiś=cha sutarām=ēk-ārṇṇavē gachchhati | pṛithvīm phēna-kṛit-āspadām=iva dadhad=damshṭr-āmśu-liptām Hariḥ kōl-ātmā vitaratv=a-pūrṇṇa-salila-kṛīḍā-sprīhō vaḥ śivam(vam) || 14 [ || \*]
- 11 Vishṇōr=ddhārayataḥ sadā-kavachita-skamdhām nṛisimh-ārddhatām dēyāsuh [ka]rapatrayamtra-nisītāḥ śasvat=sukham vō nakhāḥ | yair=vakshaḥ-khanatā Hiranyakasi(ś)pōr=dēvōna datta-śriyām=utkhātaḥ su-chir-ōtthitō hṛidi mahān=duḥkha-drumō nākinām(nām) || 15 || Yāchñām chētasi matsarūd=vi-
- 12 rahitasy=ōva śriyā vi(bi)bhrataḥ pratyaṁgām laghutām cha Vāmana-harēḥ pāda-dvayam pātu vaḥ | hastānām vividh-āyudha-pramathit-āmartya-dvishām=īrshayā nūnam yēna rasātalam pragamitō vikramya Vairōchanāḥ || 16 || Tri-bhuvana-guru-śishyaś=chāpa-vēdē manīshī nisīta-paraśu-lūn-āsēsha-rā-
- 13 janya-vamśaḥ | jayati muni-sama-jyā-rajyad-ātmā Sahasrārjuna-bhu[ja]-[vana]-sham(kham)ḍ-āṁgāra-kṛij-Jāmadagnyaḥ || 17 || Mayy=āsva(śva)sya tay=ēdam=arpitam=iti prahv-ā(bhv-ā)-tmanā Jānakī-chūḍā-ratnam=upāhitam charaṇayōr=mūlē Marut-sūnunā | gṛiṇṇan=sapraṇayam sa-sāṁdra-karuṇam s-āvṛitti sa-pratyayam ||<sup>3</sup>
- 14 s-ōtsūham sa-va(ba)hu-trapaṁ vijayatē dēvō Daśāsy-āṁta-kṛit || 18 || Śr[āvair=dhā]turas-ūktam udyad-upal-āsāṁg-āsrig-āsāṁkayā hā kim jātam=iti pramṛijya paritaḥ svasv-ōttarīy-āmchalaiḥ | yam rōm-āmchitam=a-kshat-āṁgam=api cha vyālōkya gōpyō mudā valgamti sma sa-hōlam=uddhṛi- |<sup>2</sup>
- 15 ta-giriḥ Kṛishṇaḥ sa pushṇātu vaḥ || 19 || Vēda-kriy-ām̄vu(bu)-rahitam [ka][ruṇā\*]-trīṇ-augha-chchann-ānanam Śugata-darśana-nimukūpam(pam) | pātāya yaḥ kali-yug-aika-suhṛich=chakāra lōkasya Vu(Bu)ddha iti rakshatu vaḥ sa Vishṇuḥ || 20 || Tārksḥ-ārōhaṇa-niḥsprīhasya turagēn-ōḍhas[y]a [va(ba)rha]m=vi(rham vi)- |<sup>3</sup>
- 16 nā kālō yasya karē sthitaḥ kali-samuchohēdam karishyaty=asiḥ [| gō-sam]yukta-vṛishām-(sham) vidhāsyati kṛitam sṛishṭvā prakṛishṭam yugam Mlēchchhānām=avasāna-kṛit=sa bhagavān Kalkī Hariḥ pātu vaḥ || 21 || Śubh-ākhyānam ghōr-āhava-ghaṭita-bhīmam śakuninā pradhānēn-ōpētām vijayi-bhujā- |<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Better read *sāriṇa*.

<sup>2</sup> The *danḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The two *danḍas* are superfluous.

- 17 nihpī(nishpī)ḍita-vṛisham(sham) | kram-ōdgachchhad-Garigā-pṛithuka-mahanīyam Mura-ripōḥ sva-rūpam sampattyai bhavatu bhavatām Bhāratam=iva || 22 || Pātu vō daitya-patibhir=mahā-sēnair=a-pīḍitaḥ | Harir=Indra-Hara-Vra(Bra)hma-Mahāsēnair=ap=īḍitaḥ || 23 || Vishṇōḥ pūrta-[pāmcha]janya-kuhara- ||<sup>1</sup>
- 18 prōdbhūta-maindr-āravais=talp-āhi-svasit-ānilaiḥ prachalatām [nā]bhī-sarōjē gatē | tra-stēn=Āvja(bja)bhuvā tṛitiya-savanēn=āmnāya-pāṭhē kṛitē prāg-udvu(dbu)ddha-payō-dhijā-dhṛita-padō bhūtyai pravō(bō)dhō=stu vaḥ || 24 || Padmā-yuktaḥ sa-padmō=pi vṛishah=āpi vṛish[āya] yaḥ | hat-ārir=ari-
- 19 sampannō=py=astu vaḥ śrēyasē Hariḥ || 25 || Sēvitaḥ sura-ga[ṇai]ḥ sa-suparṇṇas=chhāyay=āti-ghanayā ramaṇiyah | sthāsnutām dadhad=alamkṛita-kāmah kalpa-vṛiksha iva pātu Harir=vaḥ || 26 || A-bhārō=yam nūnam yadi janita-khēdō=si tad=a[mu]m [tya]ja tvad-vīsrāmtyai kshaṇam=a- |<sup>2</sup>
- 20 pi vahāmō vayam=amī(m=imam) | Harir=jāt-āscharyaiḥ kṛita-nuti[bhir=ā]rttaiḥ pramuditair=hasann=uktō gōpair=iti jayati chitraṅ=giri-varam(ram) || 27 || Anāratām yō danujēndra-yōshid-vilōchan-ārdrikaraṇāya nūnam(nam) | vi(bi)bhartti dhār-ānvu(bu) Ha[rēḥ] karasthō lunātu duḥkhāni |<sup>2</sup>
- 21 sa namdakō vaḥ || 28 || Na nava-jalada-syāmam yad-yan-na k[au]stubha-sōbhitaṁ na jaladhi-sutā-sōtkamṭham yan=na yad=Garuḍa-dhvajam(jam) | na yad-ari(si)-gadā-samkh-ām-bhōjair=niruddha-karam Harēr=jayati gaditam tad-Vēdāntaiḥ pravō(bō)dhamayam vapuḥ || 29 || Daityān=nighnann=anu-Va(Ba)dari- |<sup>2</sup>
- 22 k-āraṇya-kunjam tapasyan=Śrī-samślēsh-ōtsavam=anubhavan-pālayan viṣṭapāni | tat-tat=kinchit-samam-atisay-ōchchhṛinḥkhalas tēna tēna vyātanvānō jayati vapushā viśva-varādyō Mukundah || 30 || Vā(Bā)hur-vidhattām bhavatām śriyam sa [Kam]sa-dvishah Kēsi-[ra]da-vraṇ-āmkah | vichī- ||<sup>1</sup>
- 23 vichitrasya dinēsa-putrī-pūrasya dūram jayati śriyam yaḥ || 31 || Nihkrā(Nishkrā)mat-Kamalā-mukh-ēndu-nipatan-nētrasya gātrē Harēr udbhinnāḥ saha manmathēna bhavataḥ pāntu śram-āmbhah-kaṇah | mantha-kshōnidhar-āhati-vyatākarā | utthīya pāthōni-dhēr=lagnānām vima- |<sup>2</sup>
- 24 la-tvishām dadhati yē muktā-maṇinām bhramam(mam) || 32 || Kavīdō v [ma]ra-pālapasya kumud[ā]d=ambhōja-bhājam śriyam nirmātum pratibhūr mṛigānka-mukurasy=āmbhōda-kāl-ānilah | tārā-pārada-viprushām huta[va]h | kōkī-rata-prakriyā-sūksḥī dakshinam=i- ||<sup>1</sup>
- 25 kshaṇam Mura-ripōr=dēvō Raviḥ pātu vaḥ || 33 || Tasmāt sa[mā]lāiva(la)na-dainḍa-yōni-[r=abh]ūj=janasya skhalataḥ sva-mārggō(rggāt) | vaṁśah sad aiv ōḍha-rasō nṛipānām=anudgat-ainō-ghuṇa-kīṭa-raindhrah || 34 || Samutthitō rkād anarāya-yōnir utpanna-punnāga-kadam- |<sup>2</sup>
- 26 va(ba)-śākhah | āscharyam=amtaḥ-prasarat-kuśō yam vaṁśō rthimām śrīphalatām prayāti || 35 || Ādhi-vyādhi-kuvṛitta-durggati-parityakta-prajās tatra tē sapta-dvīpa-bhujō nṛipāḥ samabhavann=Ikshvāku-Rām-ādayah | yēshām durjaya-dānavēndra-jayin[ām] tair=Im-dra-mu- ||<sup>2</sup>
- 27 khyair=makhēshv=āhūtair=upayāchitēshv iva puroḍāsēna tṛi[ptai]ḥ suraiḥ || 36 || Tasminn=ath=ari-vijayēna virājamānō rāj=ānuramjita-janō-jani Chāhamānah | sampūrṇṇas=chandra iva chandrikayā triyamām kirtty-ōjva(jjva)latvam anayat bhuvana-trayīm yaḥ || 37\* ||

<sup>1</sup> The two *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

## No. 26—TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of October 1952, I received for examination two copper-plate inscriptions from Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. I was informed that the inscriptions had been found in the old Daspalla State, now merged in Orissa as a sub-division of the Puri District, and that Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Assistant Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had prepared a paper on them for publication in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*. Mr. Acharya, however, was kind enough to permit me to edit both the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am extremely thankful to him for this kindness.

## A.—Daspalla Plate of Dēvānanda ; Year 184

This copper plate, as I learnt from Mr. Acharya, was found early in 1951 in the course of the re-excavation of an old tank in the village of **Chikankhandi** in the Jormu Pargana of **Daspalla**. The Pargana is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi while the town of Daspalla lies on the left bank of the river. The plate was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Dasarathi Misra who is a teacher of the M. E. School at Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division.

The inscription is written on both sides of the **single** plate measuring 10" × 7.45" × .13". A **bronze seal**, having the shape of an expanded lotus and measuring 3.25" in diameter, is soldered about the middle of the proper right end of the plate. It resembles the seal attached to the charters of the family to which the issuer of the grant under discussion belonged. The border of the pericarpial portion (about 2.24" in diameter) of this lotus-shaped seal is raised. In the hollow thus formed, the seal proper is countersunk. The central part of the space on the surface of the seal is occupied by the legend in one line: *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya*, the subscript *y* in the last *akshara* being considerably lengthened towards the left so that the entire legend looks as doubly underlined. Above the legend is the figure of a couchant bull to proper right, with the emblems of a conch and a crescent above it. Below the legend there is the representation of an expanded lotus. The seal is fixed to the plate by means of two knobs running through holes made in the usual projection of the plate. These are covered by a lump of metal forming the back of the seal. Some eight or nine lines of writing about the middle of the plate on both its sides are shorter owing to the encroachment of the lower part of the seal. The plate together with the seal weighs 143½ *tolas*.

In respect of **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography**, the present record closely resembles the published charters of the family to which its issuer belonged. In a few cases (cf. *sarvadā* in line 11, *sarva* in line 23) the superscript *r* reminds us of a similar form of it in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.<sup>1</sup> The charter is **dated in the year 100 80 4, i.e., 184** (the symbol for 100 resembling the *akshara lu*) of an unspecified era which appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. This era is now often identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. C. and in that case the year 184 of our inscription would correspond to 792 A.C. But it has been noticed that the palaeography of the inscriptions dated in the era in question points to a considerably later epoch for it. As will be seen in our discussion on Śatrubhañja's plates edited below, the beginning of this era now seems to be nearly two centuries later than that of the Harsha

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 2 and 49.



era. This would suggest a date about the beginning of the eleventh century A. C. for the inscription under discussion and such a view seems to be supported by palaeography. The use of numerical symbols instead of figures appears to point to a date not considerably later than the tenth century.

The charter was issued by king Dēvānandadēva II of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava family of Jayapura in the present Orissa State. This ruler is already known from his Baripada Museum, Jurerpur and Narsingpur plates,<sup>1</sup> none of which, however, bears any date in an era as the record under review. The seal of king Dēvānanda is found attached to the Talmul plate<sup>2</sup> of king Dhruvānanda who belonged to the same family and was apparently a successor of Dēvānanda II. Like the present charter of Dēvānanda, Dhruvānanda's record is dated in the year of an era. This date is usually taken to be the year 293; but, as we have suggested above,<sup>3</sup> it may be really 193. This conjecture seems to be supported by the date, year 184, no doubt of the same era, when Dēvānanda II, who appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dhruvānanda, issued the charter under discussion.

The Baripada Museum plate of Dēvānanda II and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda have quoted the same introductory verses. These verses, with the omission of only one, are also quoted in the Jurerpur plate of Dēvānanda II. All these records begin with a prose passage referring to Jayapura which was the capital of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava kings of Orissa. The verses that follow speak of the following rulers: (1) Jayānanda, (2) his son Parānanda, (3) his son Śivānanda, (4) his son Dēvānanda (I), and (5) his son Vilāsatuṅga. The above verses are followed in the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur plates by a prose passage which introduces king Dēvānanda (II) as the issuer of the charters in question, while the same passage substituting the name of Dhruvānanda for that of Dēvānanda (II) is found in the corresponding section of the Talmul plate. It was therefore quite natural to suggest that both Dēvānanda (II) and Dhruvānanda enjoyed the *viruda* Vilāsatuṅga and were the sons of Dēvānanda (I).<sup>4</sup> But the introductory verses of the charter under discussion clearly state that the reigning king Dēvānanda II was the son of Vilāsatuṅga. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the *Samhivigrahin* of the Nanda king, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family, which is full of errors of various kinds. It seems that verses describing the reigning kings are omitted through confusion in the above records of Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda.<sup>5</sup> The correct genealogy of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava rulers of Orissa from Jayānanda, founder of Jayapura, to his fifth descendant Dēvānanda II is thus supplied by the record under review. But the relationship between Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda still remains uncertain. Dhruvānanda seems to have been either a younger brother or a son of Dēvānanda II. The genealogical tree of the Nandas of Orissa may therefore be drawn as follows.

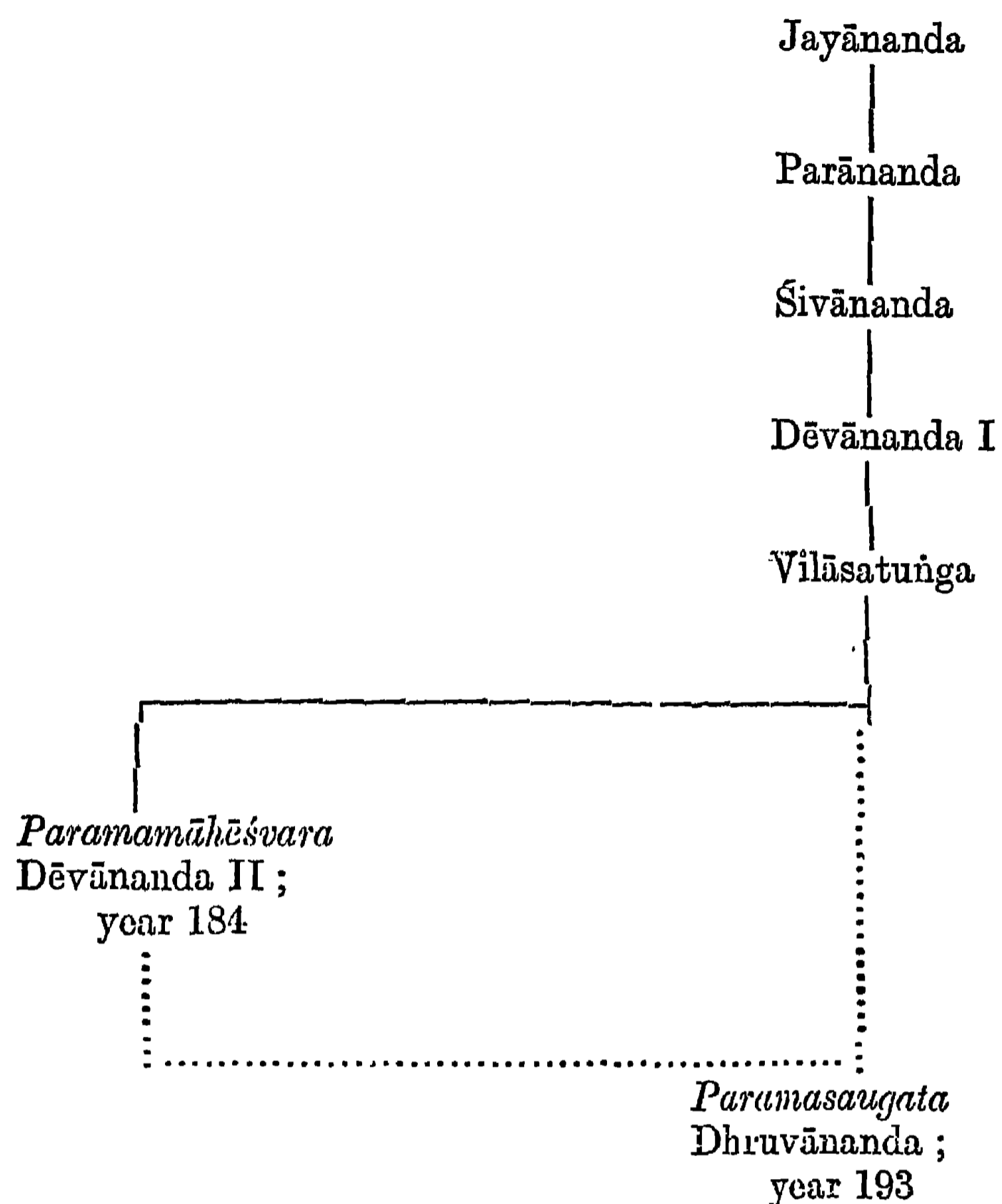
<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 76, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Dhruvānanda appears to have utilised an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already.



The Narasingpur plate of Dēvānanda II is a spurious document containing only certain fragments of two genuine charters of the Nanda king. As noticed above,<sup>1</sup> the fragments of verses found in this spurious record suggested the existence of some genuine grants of Dēvānanda having a set of introductory stanzas which were different from those known from the published records of the king. Happily this conjecture has now been justified fully by the discovery of the present inscription. The introductory part of the charter under discussion consists of ten stanzas none of which is found in the common introduction of the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur plates of Dēvānanda and the Talaul plate of Dhruvānanda, although fragments of most of them can be traced in the spurious Narasingpur plate of the former. Lines 1-3 and 8-19 of the Narasingpur plate contain fragments of the verses forming the introduction of our charter in the following order : 1, 6, 7, 8, 4, 5 and 6. Lines 16, 18 and 19 of the same plate contain respectively the numbers 4, 5 and 6 which, as we have already pointed out, were meant to indicate the end of the fourth, fifth and sixth verses of some genuine records copied in it. It is now seen that the number 4 is put there actually after the concluding passage of the fourth verse of the present charter, while 5 is placed among certain passages of the fifth verse and 6 between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth stanza apparently through confusion.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. Verse 1 describes the city of **Jayapura**, capital of the Nandas, while each one of the following six verses describes respectively the rulers **Jayānanda**, his son **Parānanda**, his son **Śivānanda**, his son **Dēvānanda I**, his son **Vilāsatuṅga**, and his son **Dēvānanda II**, although the description of the reigning monarch Dēvānanda II continues in the following three stanzas (verses 8-10). This introductory part of the record contains hardly anything besides conventional and vague praises of the rulers described. Next follows a prose passage (lines 22-26) introducing again king Dēvānanda II as desirous of making

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 331.

a grant. This description is substantially the same as found in the Baripada Museum and Jurerupur plates of the same king and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda and has been already discussed by us.<sup>1</sup> As regards the slight modification of the language in our record, it may be noted that the king is here called *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka-Nanda-Mahārāja-Rānaka-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* instead of *paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmantādhipati-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* as found in the other charters. In connection with the second passage quoted above, we remarked that "the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*) may be intentional" and suggested that the rulers of the Nanda family may have "originally owned allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline". It will be seen that the epithets applied to Dēvānanda II in the present record (cf. lines 3-4 of the spurious Narsingpur plate) are similarly ambiguous as they may be taken to be a mixture of both imperial and feudatory titles, which is often found to have been adopted by subordinate rulers to indicate their newly achieved semi-independent status.<sup>2</sup>

Lines 26-33 of our inscription record the grant of a village called **Indēḍḍā** situated in the **Jilōṇḍā vishaya** of the **Airāvāṭṭa mmaṇḍala**, made by the king by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of Yaśōdatta, son of Māhōla, for the increase of his own merit as well as his parents'. The donee was resident of Vaṇiggōṭrā; but his family is stated to have hailed from a locality called Rāhīyavaḍa. He is described as *sattva-gēhin*, *śāstr-ōpādhyāya* and *kāyastha*, while verse 16 in line 33 of the inscription seems to suggest that he was the *Sandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) of king Dēvānanda II. The fact that Yaśōdatta's *gōtra*, *charaṇa*, *śākhā*, etc., are conspicuous by their absence in his description may suggest that the donee of our record was not a Brāhmaṇa and that his epithet *Kāyastha* possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste. But he is stated to have been not only a *sattva-gēhin*, i.e., 'a virtuous householder', but also a *śāstr-ōpādhyāya*,<sup>3</sup> i.e., 'teacher of the *śāstra*', although what *śāstra* is particularly meant is not clear. Since Yaśōdatta seems to have been a minister of the king, it is not impossible to think that he was a teacher of the science of politics. If these suggestions are acceptable, the inscription under review gives us valuable information regarding the crystallization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of Kāyasthas as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.<sup>4</sup>

Lines 33-38 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another stanza saying that the *praśasti* or eulogy (apparently referring particularly to the introductory verses discussed above) was composed by Yaśōdatta who was serving king Dēvānanda II as *Sandhivigrahin*. Line 39, with which the document ends, gives the date, year 184, and says that the eulogy was engraved by Lōgayāka.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the charter, the name **Airāvāṭṭa-maṇḍala**, which appears to have comprised the kingdom of the Nandas, is believed to be preserved in that of modern **Ratagarh** within the Banki Police Station in the Cuttack District, while, Jayapura, capital of the Nanda kings, has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District. The name of the district called **Jilōṇḍā** reminds us of modern **Jilinda** in Daspalla. It is difficult to identify the villages of Indēḍḍā, Rāhīyavaḍa and Vaṇiggōṭrā.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 329.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1555, etc. In the charter under discussion, the king is called *mahāsāmantādhipativandita-paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a paramount king worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates) or *mahāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his overlord).

<sup>3</sup> The word *upādhyāya* means a teacher or preceptor in general. Sometimes it is used to indicate a sub-teacher who gives instructions for wages only in a part of a Vēda. An *upādhyāya* is often regarded as inferior to an *āchārya*. Cf. *Manusmṛti*, II, 141.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 273.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2, 4-10 *Śārdūlavikr̥dita* ; v. 3 *Mālinī* ; vv. 11-13, 16 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 14 *Śālinī* ; v. 15 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [||\*] Svasti prōttuṅga-mādyat-kari-karaṭa-taṭa-prasravad-dāna-tōyaiḥ saṁsikta-prājya-mārgād=ghana-samaya-
- 2 vaśa-prāpta-vṛipti(shṭi)-prachārāt | viprāṇā[m] vēda-śāstra-dhvani-janita-sukhāt=sarvvalakshmī[m\*] davā(dhā)nād=ratnam(tna)-prākāra-bhi-
- 3 tti-prachura-Jayapurāt=sārthakāt=sarvvad=aiva || [1\*] Āsīn=Nanda-kul-ōdbhavaḥ kshītitalakhyātō visu(śu)ddh-ānvayō bhūpālair=nata-pāda-
- 4 padma-yugalaḥ sat-kīrtti-lakshmyā vṛitaḥ | vā(bā)hvōr=vvikrama-lavdha(bdha)-śuddha-vibhavō vidyā-vinītō mahān=rājā rājita-lōka ē-
- 5 va hi Jayānandō jan-ānanda-kṛit || [2\*] Sakala-guṇa-nidhānaḥ khyātaḥ(ta)-saum-ō(my-ō)-nнатō=yaṁ para-hita-nirat-ātmā lōka-mā-
- 6 [r]g-ānuvartti | vigata-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ<sup>3</sup> tasya sūnuḥ prasiddhaḥ kshītīpani(ti)r=atulō=bhūch<sup>4</sup>=chhēp-Parānanda-nāmā || [3\*] Atyant-ō-
- 7 nta(nua)ta-śatru-paksha-timira-pradhvaṁsakṛin=nirmmalah sa[r]vv-āsā(śā)-paripūraṇ-aikachaturah saṁtyakta-dōsh-āśrayah | tasy=[ā]-
- 8 bhūt-tanayaḥ prasiddha-mahimā mitr-ōdayō bhāsurō bhūbhṛid=bhānur=iv=āpa[raḥ] prakatitaḥ sṛimāra<sup>5</sup>-Vivānandaka-
- 9 ḥ || [4\*] Sūnus=tasya nirasta-śatrunikaras=tējō-nidhānaḥ sadā lakshmyā lakṣaṇa-lakshita-ḥ[ḥ\*] kshītībhujām=agrēsaraḥ
- 10 sunderah | jātaḥ sachcharitō vinīta-nipuṇō bhūpāla-chūḍāmaṇir=Dēvānanda-nṛipō=ti-su(śu)-ddha-mati-
- 11 māna(mān) khyātaḥ kshamā-maṇḍalē || [5\*] Sa[r]vva]-prāṇabhṛitām=abhīshṭa-vishayē chintāmaṇiḥ sarvadā nītau
- 12 Śakra-guruḥ prajāsu nṛipatir=Vēṇuḥ<sup>6</sup> suputrō mahān | pratvyā(tyā)y-ārjana-samchayē cha Dhanadaḥ sad-vikra-
- 13 mō Sūdrakaḥ<sup>7</sup> tasmād=ēva Vilāsatuṅga-narapō=py=ēkō=py=anēkaḥ stha(sthi)taḥ || [6\*] Mādyatkuñjara-pīna-ku-
- 14 mbha-dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayah kshāmāpāl-ānani(ta)-mauli-ratna-nikara-pradyōtit-āṅghri-dvayah | tyāgai-

<sup>1</sup> From the original plate.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *kalaṅkas=tasya*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *°bhūch=chhri-Parā°*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śrīmāñ-Chhivā°*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *nṛipatir=Vainyah*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Śūdrakas=tasmā°*.

- 15 r=nyakkṛita-Karṇṇa-varṇṇana-kathaḥ śrīmān=ku(n=ku)l-ālaṅka(ūkrī)tō **Dēvānanda-nṛipō=**  
ti-sundara-vapus=tasy=ātumajō=bhūn=mahān
- 16 || [7\*] Bhūbhṛit-paksha-samasta-rakshaṇa-parō gāmbhīrya-lavdh-ā(bdh-ā)spadō bhī(bhā)svad-  
ratna-vi[tā]ma(na)-satva(ttva)-nilayō Lakshmī-sudha-sarīn-
- 17 bhavaḥ | tulyō=ya[m] jaladhēr=manōhara-mahā-matt-ēbha-vāji-pradō **Dēvānanda-narēsva-**  
(śva)rō=[ti\*]vimalaḥ svachchh-āsa(śa)yō
- 18 h=aiva saḥ || 8\*] Nānā-ratna-parīkshaṇē kila manāk-trāsa-kramō dṛīsyatē varṇṇānām=iha  
lōpa ēva kathitaḥ sā(śā)-
- 19 strē cha savd-āsrayō<sup>1</sup> ni[h\*]svatva[m] muni-puṅgavēshu niyatam n=ānyatra sambhūvyatē  
tasmina (smin) bhūbhujī pā[rthi]v-ēndē(ndu)-Pṛi-

## Reverse

- 20 thuvat=sam[sēvamā]nē sadā [9\*] Prālēy-āchala-kānta-kānti-vilasat-kunda-prabhā-spardd-  
hinā bhāsvat-pūrṇa-śaran-mṛigāṅka-ruchinā
- 21 nitya[m] manōhāriṇāy | asy=ōchchair=ddhavalīkṛitam tri-bhuvanām sō(śō)bhā-yasō(śō)-rāsi-  
(śi)nā **Dēvānanda-nṛipa[s\*]=trilōka-vijayī jīyū-**
- 22 ch=chiram sarvadā || [10\*] Jājvalyamāna-pratāp-ānala-pulshṭ-ūrāti-chākra(ru)-mūrtti[h\*]  
sapta-samudra-sa[m\*]bhrānta-kīrttir=yath-ōchīta-sthū[n]-āvasthāpi-
- 23 ta-varṇṇa-chatusṭayah saṁpūrit-āsō(śō)sha-praṇayijana-manōrathaḥ sarva-sajjana-  
jan-ānanda-dāyī rakt-āmva(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-ka-
- 24 ladhauta-dōllikā-chāmara-pralamvi-(mbi)ta-prāntadōśa-vīnyasta-mayūra-cha[n]drīkū-nīkara-  
śi-(si)ta-chachhatr-āva bhāsamāna[h\*] sītadhātu-
- 25 maya-gōdhā-si(śi)kharīkṛita-lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhvaja[h\*] mahā-ma(mā)hōsva(śva)ra[h\*]  
mātā-pitri--pā[d-ū\*]nudhyāta[h\*] samadhiyata-pañchamahāsa(śa)vda(bda)-ma-
- 26 hāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka-Nanda-[ma]hārāja-Rāṇaka-śrī-**Dēvānanda-**  
**dēvaḥ** kusa(śa)lī | **Airāvāṭṭa-maṇḍala-sa-**
- 27 mva(mba)ndha(ddha)-**Jilōṇḍā-vishayō** bhavishyād-yathākāla-bhāvino rāja[aya\*]kātṛā  
(n=rā)-japutrān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇa-purōgā[n\*] sāmantā(nta) nivāsi-jan[ā]-
- 28 n=adhikāriṇaḥ sa-karaṇān=anyā[m\*]ś cha chūṭa-bhaṭṭa-vallabha-jātīyā[n] rāja-pād-ōpaḥjīvinah  
sarvān=yathārham mānayatī vō(bō)dhaya-
- 29 ti kusa(śa)layaty=ādīsa(śa)ti ch-ānyad vidina(ta)m astu bhavatām ētat-vshaya-samva-  
(mba)ndhē(ddh-**Ē**)**ṇḍēḍḍā**<sup>3</sup>-grāmō yanī sa-jaka-sthala-ya(yō)-
- 30 gā(gaḥ) sa-gartt-āvaskā(ska)ra-prajñāyamāna-chatur-śīma-paryantō Rūhiyavaḍa-śāmā<sup>3</sup>-vinir-  
gata-Vaṇiggōtrā-vāsa(sta)vyāya sa-
- 31 tva(ttva)gēhī-sā(śā)strōpādhyāya-Kāyastha-Yasō(śō)dattāya Māhola-putrāya mātā-pitrōr=  
ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhividdha-

<sup>1</sup> Read *śabd-āsrayō*.

<sup>2</sup> Originally *rē* with a rather long top-*mātrā* was engraved in place of *ṛē*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be *grāma*.

Obverse

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- 32 yō tāmra-sā(śā)saṅkṛitya pa(pra)dattō-'smābhir=ataḥ tāmra-sā(śā)sana-pradarsa(rśa)nād=ēv-āsmat-kā[r]y-ānurōdhād yathākāl-ōpa[bhu]-
- 33 jyamāna-phalasy āsya kair api paripanthibhir-na bhavitavyam || Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datō(tt-ē)ti p[ā]rth[i]vā[h] | \*] sa<sup>1</sup> vā phala-
- 34 ntyā para-datt-ānupāna<sup>2</sup> || [11\*] Sva-dattān paradattā[m̄ vā\*] yō harēta vasundharām-(rām | ) sa viśṭhāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitribhi[h] saha pachyatō [||] [12\*] Va(Ba)hu[bhir=vasu]-
- 35 dhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) || [13\*] Sāmānyō -ya[m̄] dharmma-sētu[r]=nripāṇā[m̄\*]
- 36 kālē kāla(lē) pālē(la)nīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētā[n\*] bhāvinaḥ pārvivēndrā[n\*] bhūyō bhūyaḥ prā[rtha]yaty-ēśu Rāmāḥ || [14\*] Iti kama[la\*]-
- 37 dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām sri(śri)yam-anuchiritya manushya-jīvitam cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puru[shai]ḥ para-kī[r]ttayō vilō-
- 38 pyūḥ || [15\*] Sandhivigrahiṇā rājūō Dēvānandasya nirmitā | prasa(śa)stih<sup>3</sup> param-ōdārā Yasō(śō)dattēna śrīmatā || [16\*] Jē(Jyē)shṭha-
- 39 sudi 5 Samva(Samva)t 100 80 4 yā utkīrṇa(rṇṇā) Lōgayākēna ||<sup>4</sup> Siddham<sup>5</sup>

B.---Daspalla Plates of Śātrubhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa ; Year 198

According to information kindly supplied to me by Mr. P. Acharya, this set of plates was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Krushna Chandra Misra who is a clerk in the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector of Daspalla. Nothing is known about its exact findspot or the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The inscription is written on three plates, of which the first and third are inscribed only on the inner side. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates measure 6.7" × 4.75". The hole in the plates for the seal-ring to pass through, which had been made apparently before the plates were engraved, is .4" in diameter and is .75" inside from the proper right margin of the plates. The copper ring which is .37" in thickness and 2.7" in diameter has its joint covered by a lump of bronze, on which the seal (1.5" in diameter) is countersunk. It resembles the seal found with other charters of the family to which the issuer of the present record belonged. Its upper part is occupied by the figure of a lion to proper right, having its face to front, its left paw raised and its tail curled above its back. Below the above emblem is the legend in two lines: (1) Śrī-Sa(Śā)trubha- (2) ūjadēvasya. The three plates together weigh 107 *tolas*; but, as they vary in thickness, their individual weight is not the same. The weight of the first plate is 49 *tolas* and that of the second and third plates 27 and 31 *tolas* respectively. The ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*. Thus the weight of the three plates together with the seal-ring is 145 *tolas*.

In respect of palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription under review resembles very closely other charters of the Bhaṅja kings of Vaṅjūlvaka, two of which have

<sup>1</sup> Read *sva-dānūt=phalam=ānantyam*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ānupālanē*.

<sup>3</sup> The *visarga* had been at first omitted but was later inserted.

<sup>4</sup> This sign of punctuation is preceded by a *visarga*-like mark that forms a part of it.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



been recently edited in this journal.<sup>1</sup> But unlike the known records of the family, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings issuing the grants in question, the present charter bears the date in the year 198 (written according to the decimal system of writing numerals) of an era. As already indicated above, this era seems to be no other than that used by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and their feudatories in dating their charters. The chronology of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas has so long remained a disputed problem. But as the exact date of the present record can be determined almost with precision, it seems to throw welcome light on the above problem. We shall see below that the issuer of the charter under discussion flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The epoch of the era in question may thus be assigned to a date in the first half of the ninth century A.C.

The charter was issued by a Bhañja king of **Vañjulvaka**, whose name is given as **Śatrubhañja II**<sup>2</sup> *alias* **Tribhuvanakalasa**. He is stated to have been the son of **Śilābhañja** and great-grandson of **Vidyādharañja**. As it stands, the description of the issuer's ancestry in our grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of the king's grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *praputra* is a mistake for *pautra* so that Vidyādharañja was really the grandfather of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa or that the name of the grandfather of Śatrubhañja was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. But the more important fact about this genealogy is that, while Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa (issuer of the charter under review) and his father Śilābhañja are as yet unknown from any another source, Vidyādharañja, grandfather or great-grandfather of Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa, is already known to us from several of his own records as well as of his son Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalasa II.<sup>3</sup> I have elsewhere<sup>4</sup> discussed the genealogy and chronology of these Bhañjas. It has been shown how Raṇabhañja, who was the great-grandfather of Vidyādharañja, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. I have also shown how the successors of Raṇabhañja, viz., his sons, Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalasa I and Digbhañja, and Digbhañja's son Śilābhañja II and grandson Vidyādharañja, had all very short reigns so that a Brāhmaṇa named Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva is known to have served all the four kings while a goldsmith named Durgadēva not only served all of them but also Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalasa II, son of Vidyādharañja. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadēva and Durgadēva probably covered about half a century, the reign of Neṭṭabhañja Kalyānakalasa II may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century. Śilābhañja, father of the issuer of the charter under review, may not have ruled. Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa, as he was the grandson or great-grandson of Vidyādharañja, may have flourished about the second quarter of the same century. In any case, the date of our inscription does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. Certain dates in the latest decades of the second century of the era in question (cf. Dēvānanda's plate edited above and the grants of the Bhauma-Kara queen Daṇḍimahādēvī) are written with numerical symbols instead of figures according to the decimal system and the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived considerably long after the end of the tenth century. Moreover the major part of the dominions of the Bhauma-Karas, who ruled from Jaipur for about two centuries (i.e., upto about the year 200 of the era, so that the date of the present charter, year 198, fell about the latest days of Bhauma-Kara rule), appear to have been included in the empire of the Sōmavaiśis during the rule of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 292 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The first king of this name in the family was Śatrubhāñja Gandhata of Dhritipura.

<sup>3</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1500-02.

<sup>4</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff. ; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274 ff.

Chañḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (circa 1025-60 A.C.) and his son Uddyōtakēsarin Mahābhavagupta IV (circa 1060-80 A.C.)<sup>1</sup>

That Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa who issued the charter under review flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century (so that the Bahuma-Kara era started about the corresponding period of the ninth century) is further indicated by another interesting piece of evidence that has recently come to light. The unpublished Baud plates of Pṛithvī-mahādēvī, which were examined by me some time ago, are dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and state that this Bhauma-Kara queen was the daughter of king Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kōsala (South Kōsala). One of the grants<sup>2</sup> of the Sōmavamśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.) of South Kōsala seems to apply the name Svabhāvatuṅga to that monarch. There is therefore no doubt that Pṛithvī-mahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvana-mahādēvī II, who was on the Bhauma-Kara throne in the year 158 of the era in question, flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century A.C. This would also point to the beginning of the era about the second quarter of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the expression *Om svasti*, which are followed by three verses known also from all other records of the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka. The third of these verses introduces the reigning king under his coronation name Tribhuvanakalasa. Next comes a long passage in prose (lines 10 ff.) in which the *Paramavaishṇava Rāṇaka* Śatrubhañja (i.e., Tribhuvanakalasa), son of Śilābhañja and great-grandson (possibly a mistake for 'grandson') of Vidyādharaḥhañja, is represented as making a grant of the village of Kōṅkaīrā in the Paśchima (i.e., Western) *khaṇḍa* (sub-division) in the Ramalava *vishaya* (district) in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Ājapāla (or Ajapāla). The donee is stated to have belonged to the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Vājasanēya *charaṇa* and Mādhyandina *sākhā*. He was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Nīlakaṇṭha and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Madhusūdana. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been the *Bhaṭṭagrāma* Khaduvāvallī in Madhyadēśa; but he was settled in a locality called Santōshamādhava. The gift village was made a revenue-free holding on the occasion of the Vishuva-saṅkrānti falling on a Sunday when the *sakshatra* was Mṛigaśiras and the *tithi* the fifth of the dark or bright fortnight of an unspecified month.

Lines 27-39 quote several of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. They are followed by certain endorsements indicating that the document was *lāñchhita* (registered with the seal) by Pṛithvī-mahādēvī (apparently a queen of king Śatrubhañja), *anumata* (approved of) by *Bhaṭṭa* Rājada, *pravēśita* (entered into the donee's possession, i.e., executed) by *Pratihāra* Prabhākara

<sup>1</sup> See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

<sup>2</sup> See *JPASB*, 1905, p. 15; cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-82; also Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff. Elsewhere (*IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 227) we have seen how Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I probably ousted the Bhañjas from Dhṛitipura and drove them to Vañjulvaka. These Bhañjas appear to have been feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas. This fact points to a struggle between the Bhauma-Karas and the Sōmavamśīs. The success of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I against the Bhauma-Karas is further demonstrated by one of his charters (above, Vol. III, pp. 351-55) which is dated in his ninth regnal year and records the grant of a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsala (within the Bhauma-Kara kingdom), although the early Sōmavamśīs were really kings of Kōsala (South Kōsala). The Baud plates show that Pṛithvī-mahādēvī ignored the claims of Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V for the Bhauma-Kara throne and may have been engaged in a civil war with the latter. In this she may have been supported by her father. In any case, the grant of a village in the Bhauma-Kara territory by the Sōmavamśī king does not appear to be unconnected with the above fact. If the ninth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I fell near about the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the beginning of the era may be roughly assigned to 820-25 A.C. The astronomical details supplied by our record (year 158, Vishuva-saṅkrānti, Sunday, Pañchamī, Mṛigaśiras) suggests March 23, 1029 A. C. (Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 60). It has to be noticed that the above combination does not suit any other date in the period in question. It therefore appears that the Bhauma-Kara era started from 831 A. C.

and *anujñāta* (witnessed) by *Vāguli* Ratna. The document is stated to have been written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Śaṅkara while the plates were engraved by the *akshasālin* (goldsmith) Napa, already known as the engraver of the plates of another king of the family, named Neṭṭabhañja III Tribhuvanakalasa, which have been edited above.<sup>1</sup> The charter ends with the date, year 198.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Vaṅjulvaka** is well known from many other records of the family, although its exact location is as yet unknown. The **Ramalava** district and the villages of **Kōṅkairā** and **Santōshamādhava** are difficult to identify. The *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* **Khaḍuvāvallī** in **Madhyadēśa** (roughly identical with the modern Uttar Pradesh) cannot be identified.

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

[Metres : V. 1 *Mālinī* ; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Gīti* ; vv. 4-9 *Anushtubh* ; v. 10 *Push-pitāgrā*.]

#### *First Plate*

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> Ōm Svasti [||\*] Jayatu kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-daksharṇ sva-ki-
- 2 raṇa-parivēsh-aurjjitya-jirṇṇ-ēndu-lēkham(kham | ) tribhuvana-bha[va]<sup>4</sup>n-ānta[r]-dy[ō]-
- 3 ta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikaśa(sha)-gaurarṇ vibhru-nētraṇ Harasya|| [1\*]
- 4 Sē(Śē)sh-āhēr=iva yē phaṇāḥ pravilasanty=udbhūsvad-indu-tvishaḥ prālō-
- 5 y-āchala-śrīṅga-kōṭaya iva tvangati(nti) yē=ty-unnatāḥ | nṛity-āṭō-
- 6 pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē Sā(Śā)mbhavās=tē sa-
- 7 rv-āgha-vighātina[h\*] surasari[t\*]-tōy-ōrmmayah pāntu vah || [2\*] Svasti | Vija-
- 8 ya-**Vaṅjulvakād**=asti<sup>5</sup> Śrī-vijaya-nilaya[h\*] prakāṣa-guṇa-guṇa-grasta-sa-
- 9 masta-ripu-vargaḥ [ | \*] śrī-**Tri(Tri)bhuvanakalasa**-nāma-[rā\*]jā nirdhūta-kali-kalu-
- 10 sha-kalmasha[h || 3\*] Śrī-**Vidyādhara**bhañjadēvasya prapautrah<sup>6</sup> śrī -**Si(Śi)[lā]bhañja**-<sup>7</sup>

#### *Second Plate ; First Side*

- 11 dēvasya sutah paramavaishṇavō mūtā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Bha-
- 12 ṅj-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śrī-**Sa(Śa)trubhañjadēva**[h\*] kusa(śa)-
- 13 lī **Ramalava-vishaya-Paśchima-khaṇḍa**-yathānīvāsī-sa-kara-
- 14 ṇa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān yathārhi(rharṇ) mānayati vō(bō)dha[ya\*]ti

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. XXVIII, pp. 278 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *va* had been at first omitted and was later inserted below the line.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that in some records of the family the word *asti* forms the first word of the third stanza while in others (as in this case) it does not form a part of the verse.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading may be *pautrah*.

<sup>7</sup> The *akshara lā* had been originally omitted but was later engraved below the line.

TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA (II)

B. DASPALLA PLATES OF SATRUBHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA; YEAR 198

i,

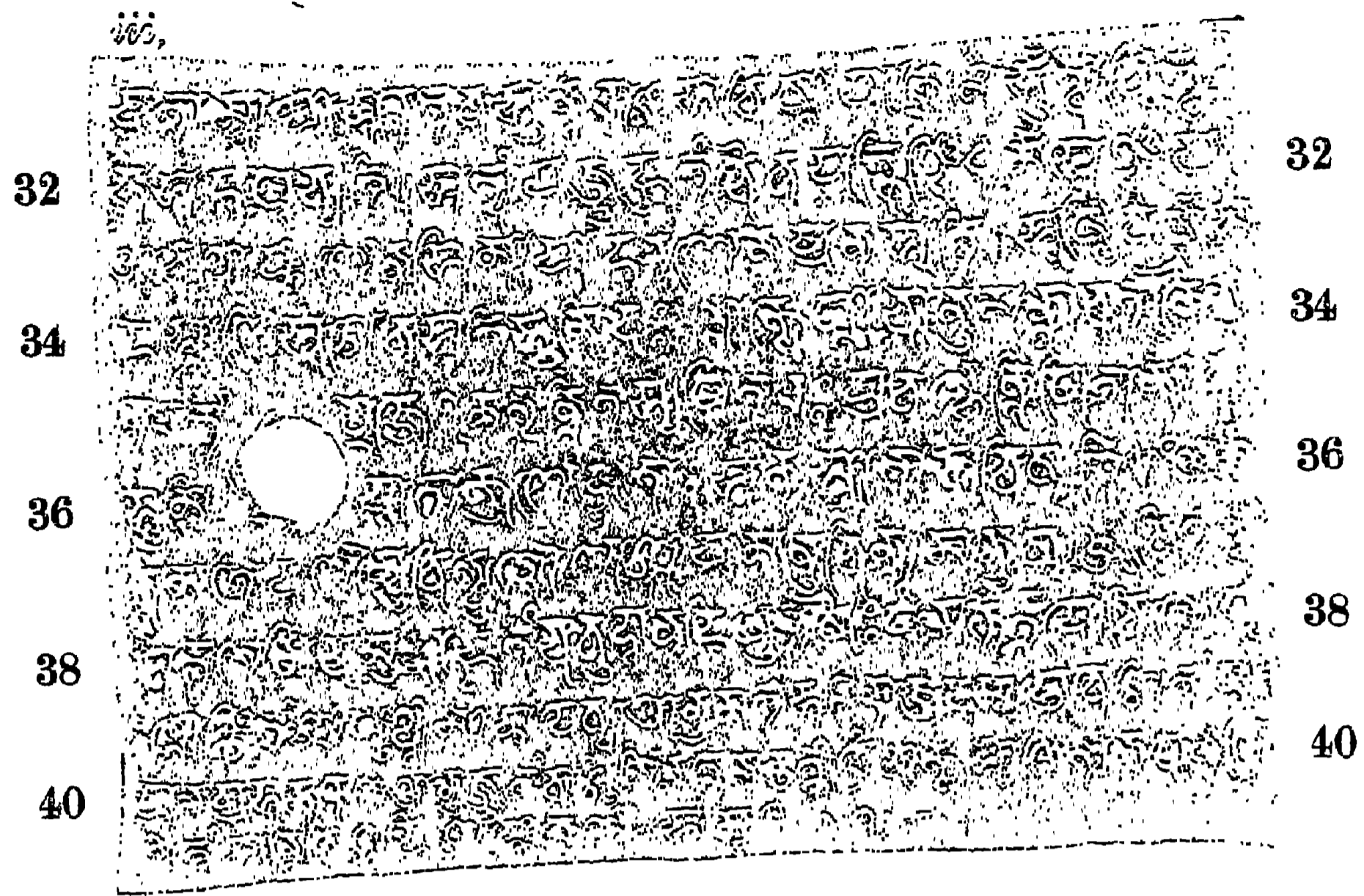
2  
4  
6  
8  
10

ii,a

12  
14  
16  
18  
20

ii,b

22  
24  
26  
28  
30



SEAL OF A - DASPALLA PLATE OF DEVANANDA; YEAR 184



SEAL OF

B. - DASPALLA PLATES OF SATRUBHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA; YEAR 198

- 15 samādisa(śa)ti [cha | \*] viditam=astu bhavatām sarvata[h\*] śivam=a-  
 16 smākañ(ka)m=anyat ētada(tad)-vishaya-saniva(mba):ldha-~~Ṛcā~~kañrā-grā-  
 17 ma[h\*] chatu[h\*]-si(sī)mā-parichchhina(nnaḥ) mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-ābhivṛidha-  
 (ddha)-  
 18 yē salila-dhārā-pura[h\*]śa(sa)rēṇa vidhinā Maūdgalla<sup>1</sup>-gōtrāya  
 19 Vaidhavya<sup>2</sup>-pravarāya Vājasēna<sup>3</sup>-charaṇāya Mādhnā<sup>4</sup>-śākh-ādhyāya-  
 20 ni Maūdhya<sup>5</sup>śa-pratīva(ha)ddha-bhaṭa(tṭa)grāma-Khaḍuvāvallī-vinirggataḥ(ta)-

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

- 21 Santōshamūdhava-vāstavya-bhaṭa(tṭa)-Madhusu(sū)danasya naptā(ptrē) bhaṭa(tṭa)-Nīla-<sup>5</sup>  
 22 kaṇṭhasya suta(tāya) bhaṭa-Ājapālāḥ<sup>6</sup> Viśu(shu)kha(va)-samkrānti-pañchamyā[m\*] Ra-  
 23 vi-dinē Mṛi[ga\*]śira(rō)-nakshatrēṇa grāmō=yam<sup>7</sup> tāmvrā(mra)-śāsani(nī)kritya prada-  
 24 ta(tta)ḥ yāvata(vach)-chandrar-ka-tū[ra\*]kaḥ ā(a)-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśēna sarv-āvā(bā)-  
 dhā-  
 25 varjitēn=ākaratvēna bhuñjadbhi[h\*] dharma-gauravāt pratipāla-  
 26 nīya[h | \*] ā(a)smat-kula-kramam=udārhadbhi<sup>8</sup> ānaiś=cha dānam=i-  
 27 dam=asmad=anumōdanīyam(yam | ) uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrēshuḥ(shu | ) . Va(Ba)hubhir=  
 vasu-  
 28 dhū dattā rājabis=Sagar-ādibhi[h\*] | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya  
 29 tasya tadā phalam(lam || 4) Mā bhū[d=a\*]-phala-śānkā vaḥ para-datē(tt=ē)ti pāthivā[ī , \*]  
 30 sva-dānāt phalam=ānantya[m\*] para-datā(tt=ā)nupālanē [|| 5\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-

*Third Plate*

- 31 dattān=vā(ttān vā) yō harēta vasundharām(rām | ) sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhu(r=bhū)tvā  
 pitri-  
 32 bhi[h\*] saha pachyati(tē) || [6\*] Satyam yajña-hutam ch=aiva yat-kiñchi[d\*] dharma-saṅchaya-  
 [h\*] |  
 33 ārdha-āṅgalēna<sup>9</sup> simāyā haraṇēna prana(ṇa)sya(śya)ti || [7\*] Sa(Sha)shṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sa-  
 34 hasrūṇi svargē vasati bhu(bhū)midah | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tānai(ny=ē)va

<sup>1</sup> Read *Maudgalya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *try-ārshēya-pravarāya*. The Maudgalya *gōtra* has three *pravaras*, viz., Āngiras, Bhārmyasva and Mudgala.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Vājasaneyya*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Mādhyandina-śākh-ādhyāyinē*.

<sup>5</sup> Originally *nīla* was engraved.

<sup>6</sup> Read *bhaṭ-Ājapālaya*.

<sup>7</sup> The context does not require this expression.

<sup>8</sup> Read *udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *ardh-āṅgulēna simā*.

- 35 narakaṁ vrajēt [|| 8\*] Nandanti tasya pitarah̄ pravalganti pitāmā(ma)h[ā]h̄ [ |\*]  
 36 bhū(bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(ta)h̄ sa nas=trātā bhaviṣhyati || [9\*] Iti  
 37 kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[m\*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitāñ=cha [ |\*]  
 38 sakalam=idam=udāhṛitaṁ cha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyā-  
 39 ḥ [|| 10\*] Llā(Lā)ñchhitaṁ Śrī-Prithvimā(ma)hādēvyā [ |\*] ā(a)numataiḥ Bhaṭa(ṭṭa)-Rājaḍasya  
 [ |\*] pravēṣitaṁ prati-  
 40 hāra-Prabha(bhā)karēṇa [ |\*] ā(a)nujñātaṁ Vāguli-Ratnēna [ |\*] Utkīrṇaṁ(rṇam) ā(a)-  
 kshasālinā Napēna [ |\*] Li-  
 41 khitaṁ Sandhivigrahi-Śaṅkarēṇa || **Samva(Saṁva)t 198** [||\*]

### No. 27—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA ; YEAR 896

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

In September 1940, three sets of copper plates were unearthed from a field at the village of Paoni, about three miles from **Bilaigarh**, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. One set was passed on to the then *zamindār* of Bilaigarh. It belongs to the reign of the Kalachuri king Pratāpamalla<sup>1</sup> and is dated K. 969. Another set which fell into the hands of a *sūlhu*, was subsequently recovered by the same *zamindār*. Proceeding on this information furnished by Pt. L. P. Pandeya, the plates were secured for examination in April 1945 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, through the good offices of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Raipur.<sup>2</sup> With the kind permission of the former, I edit the inscription<sup>3</sup> here.

The set consists of **two** oblong copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring passes through a hole cut at the centre of one of the edges of the longer sides of the plates. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and their rims are slightly raised to protect the writing. The plates measure  $11\frac{5}{8}$  inches in length and  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth each approximately. The inscribed faces of the plates contain marginal decorative designs on three sides save the upper one. The diameter of the ring is about  $1\frac{5}{8}$  inch. The ring is flattened at the top and given the shape of a round thin disc. This disc comprises the **seal** which has marginal decoration all around. In its upper half is carved in relief a crude figure of Gajalakshmi in the usual fashion. The lower half contains the following legend engraved in two lines in Nāgarī characters: 1 *Rāja-śrīma-2 t-Prithvidēvaḥ*. The seal measures two inches in diameter. The weight of the two plates together is 137 *tolas* and the ring with the seal weighs 8 *tolas*.

The inscription consists of 36 lines which are distributed equally on the two plates. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The *daṇḍas* and other punctuation marks are used in their proper places; for instance, to mark the halves and ends of verses, etc. The *avagraha* sign is generally indicated; e.g., *-anvayē=’bhūt*

<sup>1</sup> This epigraph is edited in this journal, above, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For more details about the discovery of these copper plates see above, p. 97 n. 5. It is not known what happened to the third set referred to above.

<sup>3</sup> This is registered as C.P. No. 50 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for 1945-46, p. 12.

in line 3. The sign for *ṇ* is invariably the one made up of three vertical stokes, the first being curved at the lower end. *Y* as the second component of a conjunct letter looks more like *p*. The use of *b* proper is detected in two places, viz., *babhūvar-* in line 6 and *babhūva* in line 13. This *b* is almost like *p* except that its box is more angular at the bottom.<sup>1</sup> In regard to orthography, with the exception of the two instances noted above, *b* is invariably substituted by *v*. *S* is used for *ś* in some cases ; e.g., *sudhyati* and *prasasti* in line 34. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled, there being a few exceptions ; e.g., *Kārttavīrya* in line 3, *sau(śau) rya* in line 6 and *sūrya* in line 27. The language is Sanskrit and the composition, except for the salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, is in verse. There are 24 verses in all and they are duly numbered.

Like other inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the epigraph opens with an obeisance to Brahman and recounts the genealogy of the family commencing with the sun god. Prithvīdēva II, son of Ratnadēva II, is the last king eulogised (verse 11), and to his reign the record pertains. Verses 1-10 with the exception of one narrating the exploit of Kārttavīrya against Rāvaṇa,<sup>2</sup> which is omitted, are identical with those in other charters of the family.<sup>3</sup> Next comes the description of a distinguished family of learned Brāhmaṇas of the Vatsa *gōtra* (verses 12-15). Three members of this family are described ; viz., Hārūka, his son Jīmūtavāhana, and the latter's son Dēlhūka. In regard to Dēlhūka we are told that he was a master of the *Sākambharī Vidyā* and that learning the secret of this lore from him, the famous feudatory chief Brahmādēva vanquished all his enemies on the fields of battle. The object of the epigraph is to register the gift of the village Pamḍaratalāi situated in the Eṇḍādi *maṇḍala*, made in favour of Dēlhūka by Prithvīdēva II (verse 16). Verses 17-22 contain the usual exhortations for the protection of such gifts and the imprecation. The charter was drafted by Malhaṇa son of Śubhamkara, who was learned and had earned reputation on account of his many compositions (verse 23). The copper material was put into shape by Vāmana. The record was written on the plates by the son of Kīrti and engraved by the son of Lakshmīdhara (verse 24).

The date as cited in the last line (line 36), is *Samvat* 896, evidently referring to the Kalachuri era. After these numerals are engraved the three *aksharas*, *a mi nē*, the significance of which is not clear.<sup>4</sup> In line 27 there is a statement to the effect that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse. If we take 247-48 A.C. as the beginning of the era, K. 896 would correspond to 1144 A.C. In this year there was a solar eclipse on December 26, Tuesday, in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Māgha. We may note the occurrence of solar eclipses in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Āshāḍha in the following two years, viz., on June 22, Friday, 1145 A.C., and on June 11, Tuesday, 1146 A.C. The Rājīm stone inscription of this king's reign is dated K. 896, Māgha śu. 8, Wednesday, and this date has been shown to correspond regularly to January 3, 1145 A.C. by Kielhorn.<sup>5</sup> In view of the identical Kalachuri year cited in these two epigraphs, it seems reasonable to assume that December 26, 1144 A.C. is the date of the present inscription.

Verse 11 narrates an historical event relating to Prithvīdēva II, when it states rather poetically that, by crushing Chakrakōṭa, he made the illustrious Gaṅga-king feel frightfully anxious, since the

<sup>1</sup> Compare similar form and use of *b* occurring in the Daikonī plates of this same king, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 153, verse 3.

<sup>3</sup> Compare for instance the two sets of Amodā plates of Prithvīdēva II, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, 405 ff.

<sup>4</sup> To venture a conjecture, the expression *aminē* may be taken to be a contraction for *Ashāḍhasya* or *Āśvinasya mitra-dinē*. But this presumption would not solve the difficulties in the calculation of the date.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 136. In the Rājīm inscription Māgha śu. 8 is mentioned as *rathāshṭamī*. The significance of this name, as noted by Kielhorn, cannot be explained satisfactorily. We may incidentally note another tradition according to which this *tithi* is termed *Bhīshmasṭamī*; *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 64 and 67.



only measure of safety now left to him was to cross the waters of the sea. From the Rājim stone inscription noticed above, it is known that Prithvīdēva II conquered the country of Bhramaravādra,<sup>1</sup> otherwise styled Bhramarakōṭya and identified with Chakrakōṭya or modern Bastar District.<sup>2</sup> The same victory must evidently have been referred to in the above verse.<sup>3</sup> The Gaṅga king who is said to have been terrified by this conquest which he apparently considered to be the precursor of the Kalachuri king's expedition against his own kingdom, might be Jaṭēśvara, son of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, mentioned in other inscriptions of the family.<sup>4</sup> Another piece of historical information is contained in verse 15 which incidentally alludes in general terms to the victories of the renowned feudatory Brahmadōva. This chief is obviously identical with his namesake figuring in the Ratanpur stone inscription of this king.<sup>5</sup>

Two places are mentioned in the record. One is the region called Śivādi-maṇḍala wherein the gift village was situated. I am unable to identify this tract. The other is the gift village Paṇḍaratalāi. It appears to be fairly certain that this is identical with the present-day Pandritarai in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the Raipur District.<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, we may note the relationship between the writer and the engraver of this inscription with those of the two sets of Amodā plates of this ruler. The scribe of the latter, as stated therein, was Śrīvatsarāja, son of Kīrtidhara,<sup>7</sup> of the Vāstavya family.<sup>8</sup> It is not unlikely that the son of Kīrti of the present record, whose proper name is not mentioned, was identical with this Śrīvatsarāja. In like manner it is probably that Lakṣmīdhara who engraved the first set<sup>9</sup> of Amodā plates was the father of the engraver of the present inscription.

#### TEXT<sup>10</sup>

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 16-22 and 24 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2 and 5 *Uṣṭubh* ; 3, 9 and 13 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 4, 6, 7, 10, 13-15 and 23 *Vasantatilakā* ; 11 *ambikāśatā*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 सिद्धं<sup>11</sup> [।\*] ॐ नमो व्र(व्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं निर्यं जिवं परमकारणं(णम्) ।  
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै मद्(द्)ह्म-
- 2 णे नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमंत्र(व)रन्व्य ज्योतिः स पूया पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य  
पुत्रो मन्त्रा-
- 3 दिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभद्भुवि कान्तवीर्यः ॥ २ ॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा नरेन्द्रपत्न्यः श्याताः क्षितौ हैहया-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-79 ; Vol. XXVIII p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Chakrakōṭya, as the name of the country, must have been derived from Chakradota, its chief town. It may be compared with Chakrakōṭarāhtra mentioned in the *Tenāra* inscription ; above, Vol. X, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 257.

<sup>6</sup> *List of Villages in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 125.

<sup>7</sup> This Kīrtidhara is apparently identical with his namesake of Jaṅgaṅgaṅga, who wrote Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 411 and 414.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411.

<sup>10</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>11</sup> Expressed by a symbol.



Seal





From a Photograph

- 4 स्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः स(श)-  
स्व(श्व)त्सतां सौख्य-
- 5 कृत्प्रेयान्सर्वगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमानसौ कोवकलः ॥ ३ ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुंभ-  
विभंगसिंहा-
- 6 :<sup>1</sup> पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसी-  
त्पास्वै(श्वै) च मंडलपतीन्स
- 7 चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥ ४ ॥ तेषामनूजस्य<sup>2</sup> कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षपितारिराजः ।  
जातोऽन्वये द्वि-
- 8 ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोरुहपावर्षणेंदुः । ५ ॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो  
जा-
- 9 तः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकज-  
10 वनानि विकासभांजि ॥६॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोऽजनि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकरुणार्ज्जि-  
11 तपुण्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हुयुगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य  
श-
- 12 त्रून् ॥ ७ ॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृप-  
श्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो
- 13 बभूव ह ॥ ८ ॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवीसुतः शूरः सज्जन-  
वांच्छि(च्छि)तार्थफल-
- 14 दः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वेषामुचितोर्चने सुमनसां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पस्य-  
(द्य)त्कान्त-
- 15 तरांगनांगमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः  
श्रीमा-
- 16 न्समाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्वक्षितीश्वरशिरोविहितांहिसेवः सेवाभृतां  
नि-
- 17 धिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १० ॥ पुत्रस्तस्य प्रथितमहिमा सोऽभवद्भूपतींद्रः  
पृथ्वीदे-
- 18 वो रिपुनृपशिरःश्रेणिदत्तांहिपद्मः । यः श्रीगंगं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रकोटोपम-

<sup>1</sup> These two dots denoting *visarga* go with the *akshara hū* in the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> The *akshara nū* in the expression *anūja* here is obviously lengthened for the convenience of metre.

## Second Plate

- 19 द्वाचिचन्ताक्रान्तं जलनिधिजलोल्लङ्घनैकाभ्युपाये ॥ ११ ॥  ॥<sup>1</sup> गोत्रे  
वत्समुनेरनल्पमहिमा हा-
- 20 रूकनामा पुरा विप्रोऽभूद्भुवनप्रियः श्रुतिविदामाद्योऽनवद्योन्नतिः । यस्यासो(शो)-  
भियशोभि-
- 21 रम्ब(म्ब)रतलं कर्पूरपारिप्लवं श्रीखंडद्रवसोदरैरिव सदा लिप्तं समन्तादपि  
॥ १२ ॥ जीमूतवा-
- 22 हन इति प्रथितस्तदीयः पुत्रः पवित्रितधरित्रि दधच्चरित्रं(त्रम्) ।  
आसीदसीमगुणगौरवगुं-
- 23 फितश्रीः श्रीरेव यत्र च मुमोच निजं चलत्वं(त्वम्) ॥ १३ ॥ देल्हक  
इत्यभवदस्य सुतो मनीषी वे-
- 24 दान्ततत्व(त्व)निपुणा धिषणा यदीया । स्फूर्तिः स्मृतावनुपमा महिमा  
च यस्य विश्वोपकारचतुरो(रा)
- 25 चतुरोन्नतस्य ॥ १४ ॥ सा(शा)कंभरीमनुपमां भुवनेषु विद्यां ज्ञात्वा यतो युधि  
विजित्य समस्त-
- 26 शत्रून् [1\*] यं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव इति विश्रुतमांडलीको जानाति निज्जंरगुरु(रू)-  
पममेकमुच्चैः ॥ १५ ॥
- 27 पंडरतलाइग्रामं ख्यातमेवडिमंडले । पृथ्वीदेवो ददौ तस्मै सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १६ ॥
- 28 सि(शि)रस्तंभसहस्रेण यावद्धत्ते महीमहिः । तावत्ताम्रमिदं पाल्यमेतदन्वय-  
जन्मभिः ॥ १७ ॥ का-
- 29 लान्तरेपि यः कश्चिन्नृपोऽमात्योऽथवा भवेत् । पालनीयः प्रयत्नेन धर्मोयं मम तैरपि
- 30 ॥ १८ ॥  ॥<sup>3</sup> व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा  
भूमिस्तस्य त-

<sup>1</sup> The floral figure and the double *danḍas* here are significant. They show that one topic is over, viz., the genealogical account and the *prāśasti* of the king.

<sup>2</sup> A top *mātrā* is engraved above this vowel *ī*, which has perhaps to be ignored. Or it may have been used to make the letter long *ī*.

<sup>3</sup> As in line 19 the floral design and the double *danḍas* here indicate that the topic dealing with the grant is over.

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No. 28]

TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

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- 31 एव तदा फलं(नम्) ॥१६॥ पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । महीं  
महीभृतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 32 च्छभो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥२०॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां स  
विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृ-
- 33 भिः सह मञ्जनि ॥२१॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)तेन च । गवां  
कांठिप्रदानेन भूमि-
- 34 हर्ता न सु(वृ)ध्यनि ॥२२॥ ताम्रप्रस(श)स्तिरचनेयमकारि तेन श्रीमत्सु(शु)भंकर-  
मुनेन व(व)दृशु-
- 35 तेन । श्रीमल्लणेन कविकैरवषट्पदेन भूरिप्रवं(बं)घरचितार्थलभ(स)त्पदेन ॥२३॥  
घटिनं वा-
- 36 मनेनात्र निखितं कीर्त्तिसूनुना । लक्ष्मीधरमुतेनेदमुत्कोर्णं ताम्रमुत्तम[म्\*]<sup>1</sup> ॥२४॥  
संवत् ८६६ अमिने ।

### No. 28--TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

While surveying the epigraphical sources for my work on Jainism in South India,<sup>2</sup> I had to go through the Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country critically. In the course of this study I noticed certain peculiar features regarding the religious history of Jainism in this region, which had a characteristic development of its own. One of them is the evolution of the Yakshī cult. With a view to illustrating this particular point I select here two typical inscriptions<sup>3</sup> and try to explain their significance briefly.

#### INSCRIPTION I

This inscription is engraved on a boulder of the hillock called Āṇḍimalai near the village Chōlavārāḍipuram in the Tirukkivilur taluk of the South Arcot District, Madras State. It was copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in the field season of 1936-37.<sup>4</sup> The boulder containing this inscription leans against another boulder thus forming

<sup>1</sup> This verse makes it clear that the record was first written on the plate with ink or similar material and then engraved.

<sup>2</sup> This volume comprises a detailed survey of the Jaina inscriptions selected from the three main regions of South India, namely, Āndhradēśa, Tamiḷnāḍ and Kārṇāṭaka. The book which is now in an advanced stage of printing is being published as the third issue of the series Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālī, Sholāpur.

<sup>3</sup> My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to edit these records here.

<sup>4</sup> It is registered as No. 251 of the year's epigraphical collection.

a cavity which may be considered to be a natural shrine. On the inner sides of these two boulders facing each other are carved the figures of two Jaina deities, Gommaṭa and Pārśvanātha. "In the recess between them is found a loose slab about 4 feet high with a fairly archaic sculpture of the Jaina goddess **Padmāvati** cut on it in high relief."<sup>1</sup>

The inscription comprises four lines. The letters in the first line of the record are bigger and the medial *i* signs of the *aksharas sti*, *śrī* and *li* are extended above their tops. In spite of the rough surface of the boulder the inscription is neatly engraved and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are Tamil of about the 10th century A. C. They stand fair comparison with those of the Tirukkōvalūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated in his 21st year.<sup>2</sup> The tripartite form of *y*, which is sometimes looped in the inscriptions of the earlier period,<sup>3</sup> may be noted herein. The form of the letter *tē* in the expression *tēvāram* in the 4th line is peculiar. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the medial *e* sign, which is normally separated and placed before the main letter as in *che* in the same line, is joined to the bottom of the letter *t*, the left side loop of which is consequently dropped. *Svasti* and *śrī* in the first line are inscribed in the Grantha alphabet.

The language is Tamil. The epigraph states that the *tēvāram* was caused to be made by Śrīvēli Koṅgaraiyar Puttaḍigaḷ. No date is mentioned in the record. We may, however, assign it approximately to the 10th century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. The epigraph reads thus :

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti [ |\* ] Śrīvēli
- 2 Koṅgaraiyar
- 3 Puttaḍigaḷ
- 4 śeyvitta tēvāram [ ||\* ]

The main component of the rather longish name of the author of the *tēvāram* is Puttaḍigaḷ. He appears to have been a person of some importance and the suffix *ḍigaḷ* denotes his respectable status.<sup>5</sup> A good number of Jaina inscriptions similarly carved on the rocks of hills have been found in close association with Jaina sculptures in the Tamil districts.<sup>6</sup> A study of these in comparison with the present one, the Jaina associations of which are quite marked, should leave no doubt in our mind in regard to the nature of the record under study and the identity of Puttaḍigaḷ who might be a Jaina devotee.

An expression of some interest in the epigraph requiring comment, is the word *tēvāram*. Its two familiar meanings are well known, viz., 1) worship and 2) a collection of devotional

<sup>1</sup> *Ann. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1936-37*, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VII, inscription G, plate facing p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the looped form in inscription A and the tripartite one in B and D; above, Vol. III, plate facing p. 284.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression.

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that Putta is the Tamil version of the Sanskrit name Buddha. This does not necessarily mean that the individual should be a follower of Buddhism. Buddha is one of the terms denoting the higher status attained by an enlightened soul according to the Jaina philosophical concept. Vide *Pravachanasāra* (edited by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1935), Introduction, p. XXXIV.

<sup>6</sup> Compare for instance the Jaina rock inscriptions at Pañchapaṇḍavamalai (above, Vol. IV, pp. 136 ff.); the same at Vallimalai (ibid., pp. 140 ff.); Mad. Ep. Coll., Nos. 67-74 of 1905.

songs in honour of Śiva, composed by Appar and others.<sup>1</sup> But here it appears to have been used in a somewhat different sense, viz., a group of sculptures for worship as indicated by the context.<sup>2</sup>

Having examined the meaning of the term *tēvāram*, we may now ascertain its nature as designed by Puttaḍiḡal. As seen above, the two boulders meeting each other with intervening space, have themselves improvised a natural shrine. Then we have to turn to the Jaina vestiges therein. These are the figures of Gommaṭa carved near the present inscription on one boulder, and of Pārśvanātha on the other; and the fairly big sculpture of Padmāvati placed in the intervening hollow. From its very nature, size and the central position, the icon of **Padmāvati** assumes the principal role among these Jaina relics. We can now see the part played by Puttaḍiḡal in the making of this *tēvāram*. Being a natural formation, he, of course, had nothing to do in its creation. He simply incised the figures of Gommaṭa and Pārśvanātha on the adjoining boulders to represent the side deities and installed the main image of **Padmāvati** in the intermediate spot. It is for doing these things that he takes credit in the epigraph as the maker of the *tēvāram*. We may note here with interest the position of vantage enjoyed by Padmāvati; for she is the **Yakshī** of Pārśvanātha and thus occupies a subordinate place in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.<sup>3</sup>

Happily, another similar instance has come to our notice. It is an inscription at Vallimalai. This record,<sup>4</sup> which is styled 'A', is similarly carved on the rock of a natural cave, below a group of sculptures, and speaks of the foundation of the Jaina shrine (*vasati*), evidently referring to the cave itself with Jaina relics,<sup>5</sup> by the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla

## INSCRIPTION II

This epigraph<sup>6</sup> is incised on a beam of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Ādinātha Tīrthaṅkara at Ponnūr, a village in the Wandiwash *taluk* of the North Arcot District. The inscription is slightly damaged and comprises two lines. The **script** is both Grantha and Tamil. The **characters** are late. Medial short and long *e* are distinguished. Medial *ai* is denoted by placing either single-looped two spirals or one double-looped spiral behind

<sup>1</sup> *Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras, 1929), p. 2060.

<sup>2</sup> As the precise significance of the expression *tēvāram* used here is not certain, we may take into consideration other possibilities. According to the lexicographer *tēvāram* also means 'deity worshipped privately in a house.' Further, it may not be unreasonable to connect it with the Sanskrit *dēvāgāra*, in which case it would mean 'a shrine'. Use of the word *dēhāra* in the sense of 'a shrine' is found in an 11th century Kannada inscription in the Bellary District; *SI*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 115. The expression *dēvāgāra* is current in the Marāṭhī language in the sense of 'a shrine for private worship.'

<sup>3</sup> B. C. Bhattacharya: *Jaina Iconography*, p. 82.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 140-41.

<sup>5</sup> This was one of the peculiar aspects of Jainism in the Tamil country, as I have noticed in the course of my survey of the Jaina antiquities. The hill tracts with natural caverns and rocky shelters had a great attraction for the Jaina teacher and the devotee who transformed them into sacred resorts and centres of religious practices. Besides the two places dealt with above, a large number of hill spots invested with Jaina relics has come to light so far; see *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 3; above, Vol. IV, p. 136; *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1887, p. 3; etc. From the association of the 'triple umbrella,' which is a characteristic emblem of the Jina, with the rocky beds at Sēdaraṅpaṭṭu in the North Arcot District (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 11), it can now be safely asserted that at least some of similar couches, popularly known as the 'Pañchapiṇḍava beds', found in a large number in many parts, were the creations of Jaina monks who were pioneers of the faith in the Tamil country. For a detailed description of these relics see *Proceedings and Transactions of Third Oriental Conference*, pp. 275 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This was copied by the Madras Epigraphist's office in 1929. It is registered as No. 416 of Appendix B in the year's collection and briefly noticed on p. 88 of the year's *Report*.



the consonant. The **language** is Tamil, though a few expressions like *Kalyāṇalaḥ* and *Śakāḥalaḥ* are used with Sanskrit case endings. Occurrence of familiar abbreviations for *varuṣam*, *mūḍam*, etc., may be noted in more than one place. The date is cited thus: Kali year 4831, Śālivāhana Śaka 1655, year 46 starting with Prabhava, namely Pramūḍiḥa, Vaigāśi 17. Though agreement prevails among these details, the date is not capable of verification, as the week-day, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra* are not mentioned. The said day corresponded with Tuesday, May 15, 1733 A. C. While engraving the above date the symbol for ten is consistently omitted.

The inscription purports to lay down a rule for the guidance of the Jaina community residing in the village of Svarṇapura. It is thus specified. The Jainas of this locality should take in procession the images of Pārśvanātha and **Jvālāmālinī** from the temple of Ādiśvara (i.e., Ādinātha), every Sunday, for being worshipped on the occasion of service to Hēlāchārya on the Nilagiri hill in the north-western quarter. Svarṇapura is evidently identical with modern Ponnūr. The Nilagiri hill which also figures in the legend of Hēlāchārya, has still retained the name, being three miles away from Ponnūr. The icons of Pārśvanātha and **Jvālāmālinī** mentioned in the epigraph are probably the metallic images preserved in the temple of Ādinātha to the present day<sup>1</sup> or their earlier substitutes. These are evidently intended for being displayed on ceremonial occasions. The specific mention of **Jvālāmālinī** alongside of Pārśvanātha in the inscription is noteworthy; for the former was originally the **Yakshī** or the attendant deity of Chandraprabha Tīrthanikara<sup>2</sup> and attained unusual importance in later times. Judging from the earlier Jaina inscriptions found here and the tradition connecting it with Hēlāchārya,<sup>3</sup> Ponnūr appears to have been a renowned stronghold of Jainism from earlier times.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Svasti śrī [i\*] Śālivāhan-Śak-ābalaḥ 1655 Kaly-ābalaḥ 4831 kku mūḍ chellā niyga Prabavādi ga(Śa)k-ābalaḥ varuṣam<sup>5</sup> 46 [k] ku Pramūḍiḥa varuṣam<sup>6</sup> Vaigāśi mūḍam<sup>7</sup> 17 [U]<sup>8</sup> eḷudiya śūsanam = āvadu [i\*]  
Svasti [i\*] śrī-Sva[rṇa]pu[ra]-Kanakagiri Ādiśvara-svāmi-chaityālaya sambandamāna Vāyu<sup>7</sup>-mūlaiyil=i-
- 2 rukkum Nilagiri Hēlāchārya-pūḍa-pūjai<sup>9</sup> Ādivāra(n)-tōṇum mēppēḷi<sup>10</sup> ālayastir śrī Pārśva-nātha-svāmi[ya]i\*[y]um Jvālāmā[li]ni-ammanaiyum uerpaḷi<sup>10</sup> Svarṇapura-Jainargal eḷuttu[k\*]koṇḍu pōy p[ū]jippadu [i\*] Inda sū(sā)śatsayam Ananta śna kva[ṇā]=e-ḷudapaṭṭadu [i\*]

We might in this context take note of one more epigraph, as it is helpful in our study. This is an archaic inscription from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai, dated in the 50th year of the Pallava king Nandipōttarasar, which speaks of the creation of an image of a Golden Yakshī on the hill. It is significant to observe that neither the epigraph nor the sculptures that illustrate its contents have any place for the Jina.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1928-29, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaina Iconography* (op. cit.), p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1928-29; Nos. 415 and 417 of Appendix B. The legend of Hēlāchārya is related on p. 88 of the same *Report*.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression.

<sup>5</sup> Familiar abbreviation is used here for this expression.

<sup>6</sup> This sign is the symbol *U* denoting abbreviation for the expression *ūḍi*.

<sup>7</sup> *Vāyu* here stands for the Sanskrit *Vāyavya*.

<sup>8</sup> There is a syntactical flaw here. An expression like *samayattil* is necessary to connect this word with the following.

<sup>9</sup> This letter looks more like *ne*.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 136-37 and the plate.

These facts are revealing. They show that the Yakshī had gained popularity among the followers of Jainism from very early times and that her images, like those of the Jinas, were installed independently in shrines created for the purpose and placed under worship. This should appear strange if we examine the original status of a Yakshī in the Jaina pantheon. A Yaksha and a Yakshī are the devotees of the Jina and their function is to attend on him. These are depicted in sculptural representations in small figures at the corners of the pedestals adorned by their masters, the Jinas.<sup>1</sup> It thus becomes clear that the Yakshī is a subservient deity and can claim no independent place for herself. The above epigraphical notices therefore go contrary to the original conception of the Yakshī and provide instances of the characteristic evolution of the Yakshī worship.

Inscription II contains reference to Hēlāchārya, which name devoid of phonetic accretion would be Ēlāchārya. Ēlāchārya was an eminent teacher of the Draviḍa-gaṇa and he is regarded as the innovator of the cult of Jvālāmālinī.<sup>2</sup> This deity, though a Yakshī in the beginning, was, with the passage of time, attributed mysterious powers including those of the fire-goddess. She was involved in the practices of Tantric worship and works like the *Jvālāmālinīkalpa* were composed around her. It is of interest to note that in an inscription at Sēdam in the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State, the *Mahājanas* of the place are described as performing mystic rites for propitiating this deity.<sup>3</sup>

## No. 29 TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

(1 Plate)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, OOTACAMUND and D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, MYSORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at **Talangere** near Kasaragod, the headquarters of the *taluk* of that name in the South Kanara District of the Madras State. It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1952-53 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and are engraved in **Grantha** characters. The rest of the inscription is in **Kannāḍa** characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A. C. The **script** does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 23), *ā* (lines 16, 21), *i* (line 7), *ī* (line 20), *u* (line 9) and *ū* (lines 9, 26). The shape of the long *ū* is particularly noteworthy. The form of final *l* (line 6) may also be noted. The specimens of Grantha and Kannāḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayēndiram Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya<sup>4</sup> and the Kannāḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvīhosūr inscription of Śaka 884<sup>5</sup> and the Sogal inscription of the reign

<sup>1</sup> *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>2</sup> *Pravachansāra*, Introduction pp. 4 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> Author's own epigraphical collection. This epigraph which belongs to the 12th century, is under publication in my *Jainism in South India* mentioned above.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 285 ff. and plate.

of Taila II : Śaka 902.<sup>1</sup> That the Grantha and the Kannaḍa scripts of the inscription under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the 10th century A. C. leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period. Except palaeographical indications the record does not afford any clue for fixing its date ; it bears no date nor does it refer itself to the reign of any king, whose dynasty is specified.

Among the **orthographical** features may be noticed the use of a superfluous *anusvāra* in the following cases : *taninna* (line 18), *=ettuvodaṇṇim=ēnānūvaṇṇim* (line 24). The class nasal is used in *kanda* (line 7), *nandana* (line 12), etc., while it is replaced by the *anusvāra* in *akkum=emdu* (line 9), *pancha* (line 17), etc. The consonants following the *rēpha* are doubled in *=ā-chandr-ārkkam* (line 6), *dharmma* (line 17), *ūrmme* (line 26).

The chief importance of the record lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the state of **Kannaḍa language and prosody** in the period to which it belongs, i.e., 10th century A. C. Consequently, the special linguistic and metrical features and peculiarities found in the record are discussed at some length here.

The language of the inscription, except that of verse 1 which is in Sanskrit, is old Kannaḍa interspersed with a few forms of middle Kannaḍa, viz., *-aḍe* (line 7), *ippa* (line 10), *toṛeya* (line 13). Of these *-aḍe* comes from the older morpheme *-oḍe* and *ippa* is derived, through assimilation from *irpa*, of old Kannaḍa. The accusative morpheme *-am* of old Kannaḍa has dropped its final nasal in *toṛeya*. The retroflex mid-palatal *ḷ* characteristic of Dravidian, is correctly employed. The retroflex *r* occurs quite regularly. In *beḷḷam* (line 12) the nominative is used instead of the accusative *beḷḷam-am*. *ḷḷudam* < *irḷudam* towards the end of line 11 is a case of back-formation based on analogy and is obviously not correct. Such wrong usages are frequently seen in inscriptions as well as old Kannaḍa manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> Kēśirāja (1260 A. C.) expressly prohibits the pronunciation of *r* + consonant as *ḷ* + consonant while admitting that older poets have used the two for the purpose of rhyme.<sup>3</sup> This suggests that there was a widespread practice among the common folk of pronouncing the *r* + consonant cluster as *ḷ* + consonant group and it may be this that has prompted the composer, the scribe or the engraver, or possibly all the three, to use the form *ḷḷudam* in the present record.

*-Um* and *-am*, the conjunctive morphemes of old Kannaḍa are seen here in more than one context. One of them attaches itself to all the members entering into a conjunction and the last one takes on the required case suffix, the rest being in the nominative. While interpreting, the case suffix must be deemed to be present in all the other members also. As instances (1) *nana-gu nandana-vanavun-am māḷisi* (ll. 12-13), (2) *pasuvam brāhmaṇaruma* (l. 19), (3) *pullaḷakkaṇ ettuvodaṇṇim m=ēnānūvaṇṇim-bididoda* (l. 21) may be quoted from the inscription. In the first two the particle *-um* is used and in the third the particle *-am* is used in *ettuvodaṇṇim* and is absent in *bididoda*, the second member. Such usage as this is rather rare in Kannaḍa, more so in verse than in prose.<sup>4</sup> According to the grammarians, though not expressly so stated, all the members in conjunction must have the conjunctive particle as also the case suffix.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 1 ff. and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Adaḷḷe < adarḷe* : A Grammar of the Oldest Kannaḍa Inscriptions by Dr. A. N. Narasimha, p. 256, No. 21 of about 700 A. C., *peḷḷage < perḷage*, ibid., p. 256, l. 8 of about 675 A. C., *peḷḷor < perḷor*, above, Vol. XII, p. 294, *ḷḷa < irḷa*, above, Vol. XIII, Nijugundi inscription, l. 16, of 1107 A. C., Ed. G. D. Banerji, etc., manuscripts of *Vaḍḍārādhane* : earliest date 1403 A. C., *peḷḷidom < perḷidom*.

<sup>3</sup> *Śabdamanidarpana* (Ed. Kittel, Rev. 1920), sūtra 21.

<sup>4</sup> See *Vaḍḍārādhane* (Prose work of the 10th century) Ed. D. L. Narasimhaachar : *balmeḷḷam valitannamūṇ sāsasamūṇ gaṇḍa-guṇṇamū-man-aziyal-akkaṇ* p. 29, lines 25-26, *Paripḷe-mūṇḷam Belvoṇ-mūṇḷam Banarase-pannarchchāsiramūṇ Kundūr-sāsiramūṇam* : *Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, part II (S. I I. Vol. XI, part II) Ed. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, No. 127, line 8.

In the sentence *Ūrmme Jōgavveya vaṁśadol-peṇ-gūsugaḷ=allade gaṇḍu-gūsugaḷa vaṁśakḷe-aḍihāram=allade salladu*, the second *allade* appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of *mēṇ* (meaning 'or' and later on 'and') occurring in the sentences given below: (1) *osege mēṇ munige mēṇ*,<sup>1</sup> (2) *paḷige mēṇ pogalḷge mēṇ*,<sup>2</sup> (3) *ose mēṇ muni mēṇ*,<sup>3</sup> wherein the use of *mēṇ* twice is analogous to that of 'either' and 'or' occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study: (1) *mōṛa* (line 9) seems to be connected with *moṛaḍi*<sup>4</sup> and *mōḍu* (Tulu) both meaning 'a hillock'; (2) *ovaḷ* from the contexts (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean 'brackish'. It appears to be related to the first member *uḷai* of the Tamil compound word *uḷai-man*, *uḷa-man*, meaning 'salty or brackish soil'; (3) *chāṇuyāmi* (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit *chatur-grāmin*; (4) *ūrmme* (line 26) has been translated as 'excellent'. This seems to descend from the Dravidian root *ūru* meaning 'to increase', by the addition of the suffix *-me* used to form abstract nouns. As the final *-u* of the root is unstable and not radical the noun *ūrme* is directly formed, meaning 'increase, abundance'. It is in this sense that Pampa has employed the word in the phrase *vilāsad-urmegaḷ-oḷ*<sup>5</sup> and the reading here with short *u* in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading *perme* found in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of the meaning deduced above. (5) *Aḍihāra* (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word *adhikāra*.

The importance of this record to the student of Kannada prosody cannot be overstated. The *Sūribūlavikrīḍita* of the first verse and the *Kaṇḍas* following are quite familiar in Kannada metrics; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called *utsāha* by the composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgavarma has defined the metre and the definition itself is the illustration.<sup>6</sup> According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting of seven *Brahma-gaṇas* plus one *guru*, with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of the *Brahma-gaṇa* (— —, ∪ ∪ —, — ∪, ∪ ∪ ∪) only two containing three syllables or *mātrās* are used here and the other two consisting of four syllables or *mātrās* are eschewed altogether. The iambic variety (∪ —) though containing 3 *mātrās* does not enter into the scheme of *Brahma-gaṇa*. The *utsāha* of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st, 3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scansion of one of them: viz., the first line.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Ūra	kaḍeya	toṛeya	taḍiya	kariya	kalla	mōṛa	diṁ
— ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	∪ ∪ ∪	— ∪	— ∪	—

The *tāla* or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra long syllable in the first foot:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Puttūra	poleya	r-ippa	kēri	y-ovaḷa	nīra	bhūmi	yaṁ
— — ∪							

<sup>1</sup> *Kavirājamārgu* (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), I-134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I-135.

<sup>3</sup> *Pampa-Bhārata* (Kannada Sāhitya Parishad ed.), VI-26.

<sup>4</sup> Kittel has spelt this word with a cerebral or alveolar *-ra-* in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janna, a famous poet and composer of the Tarikere inscription of 1197 A. C. has in verse 52 definitely used the word with a retroflex *-ṛa-* in the rhyming place.

<sup>5</sup> *Pampa-Bhārata* (Kannada Sāhitya Parishad ed.), I-106.

<sup>6</sup> *Chhandōmbudhi*: Kāvya Kalānidhi edition, verse 258.

Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nāgavarma. Instances of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Pampa (941 A. C.)<sup>1</sup>:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<i>Naneya</i>	<i>koneya</i>	<i>talira</i>	<i>muguḷa</i>	<i>vana-la</i>	<i>tā ni</i>	<i>kuṅja</i>	<i>diṃ</i>
	1	2	3				
	<i>Prasūna</i>	<i>rajada</i>	<i>puṅja</i>		<i>diṃ</i>		
	—	—	—				

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudēndu (c. 1275 A. C.) has composed a *ragale* comprising 49 such couplets.<sup>2</sup> The following is a sample:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
<i>Janaka</i>	<i>tanaye</i>	<i>-yāga</i>	<i>-agra</i>	<i>uṅ-a</i>	<i>tira</i>	<i>harsha</i>	<i>diṃ</i>
	1	2	3				
	<i>Mudakru</i>	<i>pāra</i>	<i>varsha</i>		<i>diṃ</i>		
	—	—	—				

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the rules regulating this metre; his is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannada metrics. The *utsāha* verse found here is the only one of its kind known so far in Kannada literature and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gautama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Śaradvat. Śaradvat's brother was Śantanu whose son was Kṛipa. After many kings born in the lineage of Kṛipa down to Śalya had passed away, **Jayasinha**, the crest-jewel among the *Kshatriyas*, is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to **Mōchabharasi** a *kampūbhāsi*, i.e., gift to a dancer. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile field by Mōchabharasi. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. After the usual imprecation on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent **Jōgavve** and not on the male offspring; and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasinha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasiṅgarasa whose inscription is found at Kari-mgaḷa (Amantgaḷe) near Mangalore.<sup>3</sup> He bears the titles *Sōmakulatilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramesvara* and *Paravabhaṭṭāraka*. As these titles are usually associated with the later Āṅgas, the chief Jayasīṅgarasa of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call

<sup>1</sup> *Pampa-Bhārata*, I-58.

<sup>2</sup> *Kumudēndu Rāmāyana*, IV—after 98.

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, Vol. IX, part i, ins. No. 399.

him an Ālupa. Since Talangere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Kariāṅgaḷa, the findspot of Ālupa Jayasiṅgarasa's record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasiṅha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgaḷa record did. But, on account of the fact that the Kariāṅgaḷa record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Talangere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Vinayāditya<sup>1</sup> of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi the Ālupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered<sup>2</sup> it would appear that the Ālupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Ālupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kumkuma-Mahādēvī, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the *Jinabhavana* at Purigere constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Ālupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavāsi to visit the Ālupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III<sup>3</sup> it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Ālupakhēḍa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Ālupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing.<sup>4</sup> This was about 800 A. C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasiṅha is, as suggested above, an Ālupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Ālupas continued to be vassals either of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of their power after overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgaḷa inscription, i.e., 11th century A. C., the Ālupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.<sup>5</sup>

Besides Jayasiṅha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., **Mōchabbarasi** and **Jōgavve**. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasiṅha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how Mōchabbarasi and Jōgavve were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that Mōchabbarasi was either the sister or the niece of Jayasiṅha. If she is to be considered the niece, Jōgavve might have been the king's sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of *alīya-santāna* is in vogue even today in that area.

The only **place** mentioned in the record is **Puttūr**. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Talangere, the findspot of the inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 571, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 66.

<sup>2</sup> C. P. No. 49 of *ARIE* for the year 1945-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> A later Jayasiṅha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Dvaita teacher Madhvāchārya in the literary work *Madhvavijaya* (sarga 13, verses 21 ff.). He was a ruler of Kuṁbḷa. Madhvāchārya is stated to have visited a place called Vishṇumaṅgaḷa, about three miles from Kāsaragōḍ, where Jayasiṅha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasiṅha of Kuṁbḷa. Perhaps he was also an Ālupa chief.

## TEXT

- 1 <sup>1</sup>Svasti Śrī [||\*] <sup>2</sup>Āsīch=Chitraśikhaṇḍishu tri-bhuvana-khyātō munir=Gautamas=tat=sūnōś=cha  
2 Śaradvataḥ Kṛipa iti bhṛā[tu]s=sutaś=Śantanōḥ [||\*] tad-vaṁśyēshv=adhunā ga-  
3 <sup>3</sup>tēshv=amaratām Śaly-ānta-bhadr-ādishu śrēsthāś=śrī-Jayasinhha  
4 ēsha jayati kshatr-aika-chūdāmaṇiḥ || [1\*]  
5 Śrī chapalateya[m] Vachana-śrī Chaturānana-virāmamaṁ bisuṭu Jaya-śrī-chāru-  
6 nētre-y=ōḍa-nered=ā-chandr-ārkkam virājisal Jayasinhhaṁ || [2\*] Vachana [||\*] Kanyādāna-  
maṁ nina-  
7 g=ittan<sup>4</sup>=endode pettu Mōchabbarasi santōsa[m]-baṭṭ=int=endade | Kanda | Inn=appa  
bhūpar=ellam  
8 ninnorega[m] dorege vārar=adaṛim̄d=ārum mannisad=ūram guṇa-saṁpanna samant-ivud=  
enaga<sup>5</sup> kanyā-  
9 dānam || [3\*] Akkum=em̄du || Utsāham̄ || Ūra kaḍeya toṛeya taḍiya kariya kalla mōṛadim̄  
10 Puttūra poleyar=ippa kēriy=ovaḷa nīra-bhūmiyam̄ sāra-bhūruhaṁgaḷ=ōḷiy=olage nere-  
11 da keṛeyan=am̄bhōruhākshi tanna dhanadin=oppe māḷis-iḷḷudam̄ || [4\*] Vachana ||  
12 <sup>6</sup>Nintārum=ollada kalkāda beṭṭam̄ sava-talaṁ māḷiy=ōḷila maneyu nandana-  
13 vanavumam̄ māḷisi keṛeyam̄ kaṭṭisi toṛeya seṛey=itt-ovaḷa nela-  
14 nam̄ piridum=āyāsadin̄ sukshōtram̄ māḷisidud=adu munna<sup>7</sup> mūde-  
15 y=ikkuv=ovaḷ-uppu-neladā bhūmiyan=olakoṇḍ=agaḷan=agali-  
16 si āsanna chāvugāmigaḷ=arīye kanyādānam̄-gōṭṭa bhūmiyam̄  
17 kāla-kālāntaradoḷ=ārānum=i dharmmaman=alidu koḷal=āṭisida paṁcha-mahā-pāta-  
18 kam̄ tanna tāyam̄ koḷal=endu <sup>8</sup>tam̄na tandeyam̄ kondu <sup>8</sup>tam̄na makkala nettaram̄ kuḷi-  
19 du pasuvum̄ Brāhmaṇaruma Kurukshōtradōḷ=alid=ātana puguva nara-  
20 kamam̄ puguvan=akke [||\*] i kanyādānamam̄ koṇḍātan=alpāyushyanum=a-  
21 putrikanum=appan=akke || Kandam̄ || Ārūdoḷ=akke dhātri-bhārama-  
22 n=ārāntōr=āntara kayy-āntā bīranan=irad=ūm̄ bēḍiden=ōraṁtir[ē] kāvu-  
23 d=i vyavastheyin=ūram || [5\*] Vachana [||\*] Adem̄t=em̄dode [||\*] Arasāḷgaḷ=ūram̄ pokkam̄du  
24 pullaḷakkam̄=ettuvoḍam̄am̄(ḍam̄) ēnānavam̄ biḷidoḷa<sup>9</sup> kolege sāltar=ent=appa  
25 drōham̄=geydu bam̄d=ūram̄ pokkoḷ=avanam̄ mūgu-divasam̄ sarvva-parihāram̄ kādu  
26 kaḷipuvudu [||\*] [Ū]rmme Jōgavveya vaṁśadoḷ=peṇ-gūsugaḷ allade gaṇḍu-gū-  
27 sugaḷa vaṁśakk=adīhāram̄=allade sulladu peṇ-gūsugaḷ=illadoḷa<sup>9</sup> gaṇḍu-makkaḷga<sup>10</sup> salkum̄-  
(lgum̄) [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> Floral design.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*. Lines 1-4 are written in Grantha characters.

<sup>3</sup> The medial *ē* sign of *tē* is written at the end of the previous line.

<sup>4</sup> Read: =ittan=.

<sup>5</sup> Read: enage.

<sup>6</sup> Read: int-ārum=.

<sup>7</sup> After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.

<sup>8</sup> Read: tanna.

<sup>9</sup> Read: °ode.

<sup>10</sup> Read: °ge.

TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

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## TRANSLATION

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitrasikhaṇḍins<sup>1</sup> there existed Gautama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kṛipa, son of Śantanu who was the brother of Śaradvat, the son of Gautama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śalya had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasimha, the sole crest-jewel of the Kshatriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-9. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken (*her*) fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up (*her*) resting-place in Chaturānana (i.e., Brahmā) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun (*endure*); Jayasimha, having said to Mōchabbarasi "I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl<sup>2</sup> (*of the family*)", she received (*it*), felt glad and said thus: "All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! (*you*) rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift (*called*) *kanyādāna* a locality which none would value". He replied "Be it so".

Lines 9-11. The brackish<sup>3</sup> water-logged land (*adjoining*) the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttūr (*which was situated at some distance*) from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees—(*these two*) the lotus-eyed (*lady*), by her own wealth had caused to be finely constructed;

Lines 12-23. thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired (*to have*), having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug (*around*) the land, comprising the brackish salty soil (*used for*) keeping bundles of grain<sup>4</sup>, made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of (*endless*) time, whosoever having destroyed this pious (*deed*), desires to appropriate (*it*) for (*himself*), may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children (*and*) by destroying cows and Brāhmaṇas in Kurukshētra enters; may he who takes over (*to himself*) this gift to a damsel become short-lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth (*in future*), I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., *prevents*) those who carry away (*the gift*), to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 23-26. If it be asked how it is (*the reply is*): When the king's men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters (*it*) must be protected for three days after exempting him from all imposts and (*then*) sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve the right (*of succession*) goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issues it goes to the male children.

<sup>1</sup> These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marīchi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Aṅgiras and Kratu.

<sup>2</sup> *Kanyādāna* is a compound word which is usually taken to mean "making over an unmarried girl to a bridegroom in marriage". In this sense the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be the meaning of the word *ovaḷ*.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the meaning of *mūde-yikku*.

## No. 30—TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHĀDEVĪ FROM BAUD

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

Two single copper plates of Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa were received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, **Baud**, as exhibits for the Historical Exhibition organised on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress in December 1949. They were discovered some years back in a place near the town of **Baud** and were lying in the treasury. The exact place and the date of their discovery could not be ascertained. I propose to edit them here with the kind permission of Mr. A. Das, the Sub-Divisional Officer, **Baud**.<sup>1</sup>

Of the **two** plates, one is bigger than the other, the bigger one, to be termed hereafter as plate **A**, measuring 14.2" × 11.3", and the smaller one, plate **B**, 12.7" × 9.8". Both of them are in a fair state of preservation. A circular **seal** of the form of a full-blown lotus is soldered at the centre of the left side of the plates. The counter-sunk surface enclosed within the rows of petals is circular in shape. The diameter of the counter-sunk space is 3.3" in plate A and 3" in plate B. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double-petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it, the legend *Tribhuvanamahādēvyā(vyāh)* is neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript *y* in *vyā* is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the figure of a couchant bull with the symbols of the crescent, conch and sun above it. There are two floral designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull.

The **characters** closely resemble those of the Dhenkanal plate<sup>2</sup> of Tribhuvanamahādēvī and the Talcher plates<sup>3</sup> of Śivakaradēva (III). As a matter of fact, the Dhenkanal plate and our plate B were both incised by the same person, Harivardhana, while the Talcher plates were engraved by his father Rahasavardhana. On **palaeographical** grounds the plates may be assigned to the 9th century of the Christian era at the earliest. Both the plates are dated in the year 100 50 8 (i.e., 158) of the era which is known to have been used by the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The text of both the plates is practically identical, except for the grant portion. The composition is a mixture of prose and poetry. The descriptive portion consists of fifteen verses in addition to the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. There are a few **orthographical** or grammatical mistakes and these have been corrected in their proper places. The words *gōhērī*, *jōṭa*, *valitvū*, etc., occurring in the grant portion, seem to be Sanskritised Oriya expressions.

The documents open with the description of the charms of Guhēśvarapūṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Next follows the genealogy of the family. In the Kara dynasty there flourished a powerful king named Unmaṭṭasiṃha. His son was Śubhākara who erected many lofty *vihāras*. His son was Gayāḍa who was succeeded by Kusumahāra. Gōsvāminīdēvī succeeded Kusumahāra who had left no son. The kingdom thrived under her rule, people lived in peace and prosperity. On her grandson, Lōṇabhāra, attaining majority, she retired making over the charge of the kingdom to him. Lōṇabhāra was blessed with two sons, Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra. The two sons succeeded their father one after another. But, both of them having died childless, **Prīthvīmahādēvī** (the wife of Kusumahāra), whose father was Svabhāvatuṅga of Kōsala and mother Nṛittāmahādēvī, the daughter of Yaśovṛiddhi, ascended the throne, and was known to the world under the name **Tribhuvanamahādēvī**. She is styled *Paramabhāṭṭārikā*, *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvarī* and *Paramavaiṣṇavī*. At the request of Śāsi-

<sup>1</sup> The plates are now preserved in the Orissa Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 419-27 and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-50.

lĕkhā, the moon of the **Vrāgaḍi** family of **Virāṭa** lineage and wife of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* Maṅgalakalaśa, Pṛithvīmahādēvī made the following grants in the year 158 for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc., to the deity Umāmahēśvara installed in the temple constructed by Śaśilĕkhā and named Nānnēśvara after her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to Brāhmaṇas and for the maintenance of the family of the *dānapati*.<sup>1</sup>

The grant in plate A consists of a village named **Kōṭṭapurā** together with the Nānnēśvara *talapāṭaka* in the district of **Tamālakhanda** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** situated in **Uttara-Tōsalā**. The grant recorded in plate B is a plot of land called *Utthukā-khaṇḍakshētra* in the district of **Dakṣiṇakhanda** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** of **Uttara-Tōsalā**.

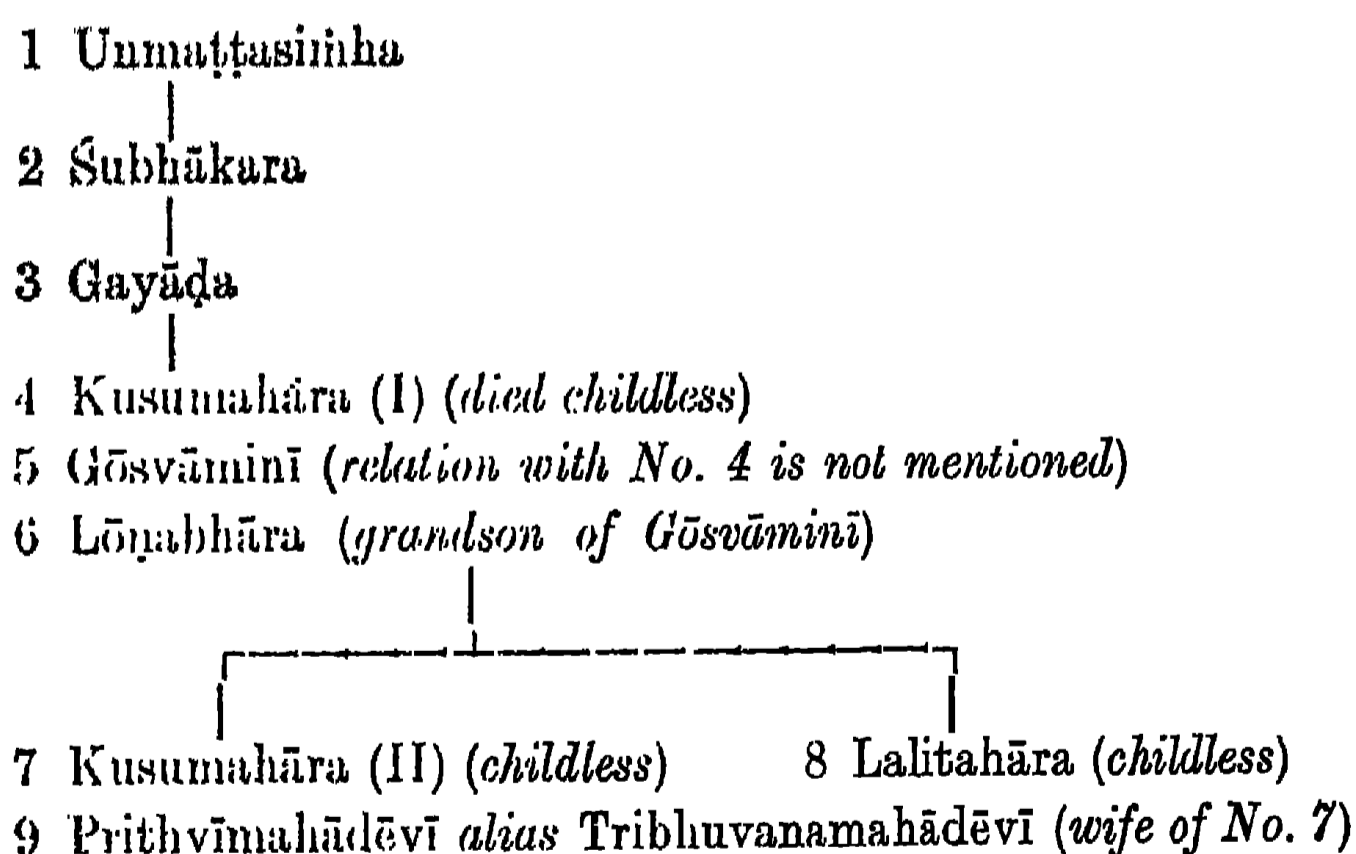
I may here point out that some portions of the text of the records under discussion occur in others as indicated below. Verse 6 of our plates occurs in the Talcher plate of Śubhākaradēva of the year 141.<sup>2</sup> Again verse 15 of our records occurs in the same plate with reference to the mother of Kusumahāra or Śubhākara III. The *birudas* of Tribhuvanamahādēvī as given in the Dhenkanal plate<sup>3</sup> and in the plates under discussion are identical and the issuer is called *Sindagaurī* in both. The passage dealing with the boundaries of the gift land in the present plates is almost the same as that in the Talcher plates of Śivakaradēva III of the year 149.<sup>4</sup>

*Mahākshapaṭalūdhikṛita Rāṇaka* Śrī-Mallōka acted as the *dūtaka*, *mahākshapaṭalika bhōgin* Śakrasēna as the writer and *pāṭakapāla* Dēvadēva as the heater in case of both the records under study. Plate A was incised by the brazier Amṛitavardhana, son of Īśvaravardhana, while plate B was incised by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. From the four copper plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, viz., the two Talcher plates of Śivakara III, the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādēvī and our plate B, we learn that Harivardhana was the son of Rahasavardhana and the grandson of Rāmavardhana.

These plates are very important for the study of the history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa as they bring to light many new facts. Firstly, they reveal that Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala was included in the kingdom of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. Secondly, they throw new light on the genealogy of that dynasty. Thirdly, they reveal that the later Bhauma-Karas were matrimonially connected with the Sōmavaiṅśī kings of Kōsala.

The genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas obtained from the present plates and that obtained from other plates are given below for a comparative study.

*Plates under discussion*

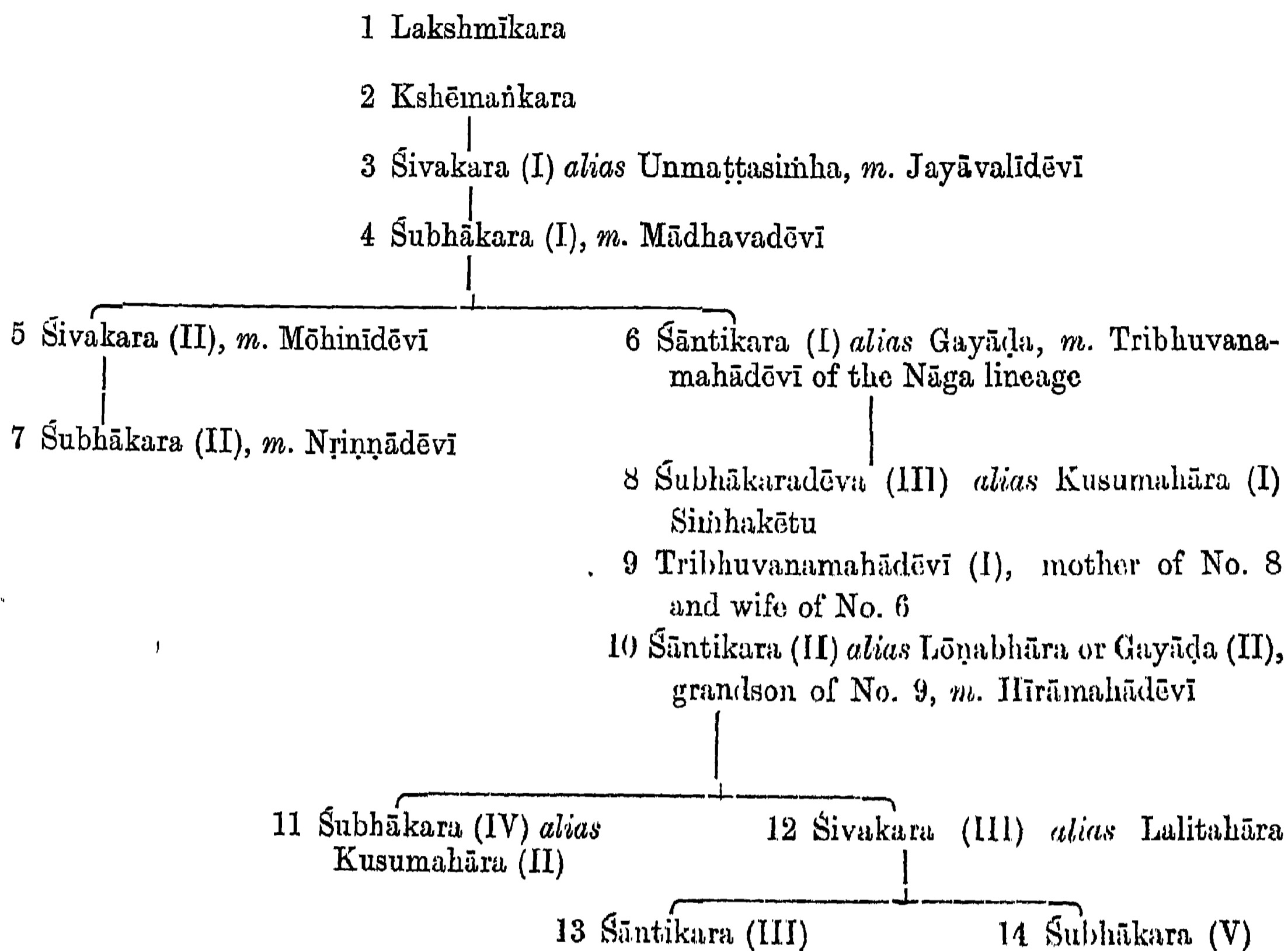


<sup>1</sup> I.e., a Brāhmaṇa in charge of all functions connected with the making of grant by the King.

<sup>2</sup> Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 46.

*Plates so far published*

A study of the above two genealogies would show that there are certain points of wide and uncompromising difference between them. Firstly, it is stated in the present plates that Kusumahāra(I) died childless and Gōsvāminī took upon her the burden of the realm until she made it over to her grandson Lōṇabhāra. In the Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there is no mention of Śubhākara (III) *alias* Kusumahāra (I) as having died childless. They simply state that after the death of Śubhākara (III) his mother took up the charge of the kingdom. In the Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV) it is definitely stated, in the same way as in the present plates, that Tribhuvanamahādēvī made over the charge of the realm to her own grandson Lōṇabhāra on his attaining majority. But in the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III) Lōṇabhāra is not mentioned and so the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvī and Lōṇabhāra is not ascertainable. It is simply stated that Gayāḍa became king after her (*tasya babhūva . . . . . nripatir Gayāḍaḥ*, lines 12-13). It would appear to mean that Gayāḍa was born to her; but it was probably meant to convey the sense that Lōṇabhāra-Gayāḍa succeeded Tribhuvanamahādēvī. In the two Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there are no details explaining the reasons for Tribhuvanamahādēvī's assumption of the government after her son; in the present plates it is definitely stated that Gōsvāminī succeeded Kusumahāra (I) as he had died without leaving any issue (lines 8-9). So far it was believed that Tribhuvanamahādēvī assumed the reins of the government during the minority of her grandson Lōṇabhāra. But that assumption is no longer tenable in view of the clear mention of the fact in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless. This fact conflicts with the relationship between Gōsvāminī and Lōṇabhāra since the latter is described in the present plates as the grandson of the former. Since Śubhākara (III), identical with Kusumahāra (I) of our plates, was childless, Lōṇabhāra was either the son of a brother or sister of the former; otherwise he could not have been called the grandson of his predecessor. It,

however, appears more probable that Lōṇabhāra was the son of a brother of Śubhākara (III). This brother had probably predeceased Śubhākara (III), after whose death his nephew became the sole heir. Tribhuvanamahādēvī ruled the kingdom on behalf of her grandson who was still minor at the time of the death of Śubhākara (III). This assumption alone can explain away the inconsistency of the facts stated above.

As regards the identity of Gōsvāminī it may be noted that she is stated in the present plates to have succeeded Śubhākara (III) *alias* Kusumahāra (I) and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōṇabhāra on his attaining majority. In the Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV), the mother of Śubhākara (III) is described as having succeeded her son and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōṇabhāra. She was also known as Tribhuvanamahādēvī. Thus both Gōsvāminī and Tribhuvanamahādēvī were successors of Śubhākara (III) and grandmothers of Lōṇabhāra. So they cannot but be identical. Gōsvāminī was probably the original name of the wife of Śāntikara (I) *alias* Gayāḍa and mother of Śubhākara (III), and Tribhuvanamahādēvī was her assumed name. This assumption is corroborated by the allusion to Gōsvāminī as having ruled in the past in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādēvī.

I may here point out that Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate is not the wife of Śāntikara (I), as assumed by Pandit Misra, for the following reasons. For one thing, nowhere is Śāntikara (I) called Lalitahāra. As pointed out above, the name of Śāntikara's wife was, in all probability, Gōsvāminīdēvī. Tribhuvanamahādēvī was an assumed name as is evident from the passage : *gā jagatsa Tribhuvanamahādēvī itī vikratā* occurring in Śubhākara (IV)'s Talcher plate, the same passage being employed in the present plates with reference to Prithvīmahādēvī. Thus, both Gōsvāminīdēvī and Prithvīmahādēvī had the assumed name Tribhuvanamahādēvī. The date of the Dhenkanal plate is clearly 160, as it is represented by the letter symbols *lu* and *chu* which stand for 100 and 60 respectively.<sup>1</sup> Śāntikara (I)'s wife was the first queen in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to rule over the kingdom, and the reference to Gōsvāminī as having ruled the kingdom in the Dhenkanal plate proves that another queen had reigned prior to Tribhuvanamahādēvī of that plate; hence she must have been the wife of Śāntikara (I). That Gōsvāminī is not a fictitious figure but the grandmother of Lōṇabhāra is proved by the plates under discussion. As stated before, the inciser of the Dhenkanal plate and the plate B under discussion is the same person, Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. In view of the above facts, Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate cannot be regarded as the wife of Śāntikara (I). She was the wife of Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra. So it would be quite natural to identify Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal plate with Śivakara (III), the younger brother of Śubhākara (IV) *alias* Kusumahāra (II). Thus there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādēvī. Śāntikara (I)'s wife was Gōsvāminīdēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī (I), Śubhākara (IV)'s wife Prithvīmahādēvī was Tribhuvanamahādēvī (II) and Śivakara (III)'s wife (original name not known) was also Tribhuvanamahādēvī (III).

After Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) their wives ascended the throne under the names Tribhuvanamahādēvī. The former was ruling in the year 158 and the latter in 160. This gives credit to the assumption that, after Śivakara (III) there was a quarrel for succession. Prithvīmahādēvī ascended the throne probably with the aid of her father Svabhāvatuṅga and, after her, Śivakara (III)'s wife became queen. Her claim was probably backed by her father Rājamalla. The hints of a state of chaos befalling the Bhauma-Kara family are there in the Dhenkanal plate (lines 9-10). Further, it is stated therein that Tribhuvanamahādēvī was approached by the ministers for her accession to the throne (line 20). These hints confirm the belief that there ensued a civil war for succession after Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra, and the two queens of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra ascended the throne one after another. Then came Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara

<sup>1</sup> *Bühler's Tables*, Pl. ix.

(V). Between the year 149, the date of the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III), and the year 180, the date of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādēvī, we get four rulers, viz., wives of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra, Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). Each ruled for about 8 years on average. This quick succession corroborates the suggestion of a civil war.

The most uncompromising point of difference between the two genealogies given above lies in that, while in the present plates Kusumahāra (II), i.e., Śubhākara (IV), and Lalitahāra, i.e., Śivakara III, are said to have died childless, in the copper-plate grants of Dharmamahādēvī and Daṇḍimahādēvī, Śivakara (III) is said to have had two sons, viz., Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). This difference can be reconciled if it is assumed that Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V) were sons of Śivakara (III) by a second wife of his, the legitimacy of their birth being either not acknowledged by the queen of Śubhākara (IV) and by at least one of the queens of Śivakara (III), or was deliberately ignored. However, there can be no satisfactory solution to this mystery until further discoveries throw more light on the later history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Some scholars refer the dates in the Bhauma-Kara plates to the Harsha era. The date of the present plates calculated according to that era will be 764 A. C. But on palaeographic consideration this date will be rather too early. As already noted, the present plates can not be assigned to a date earlier than the 9th century. Similarly, if the Neulpur plate<sup>1</sup> is referred to the Harsha era and the numerical figures in it be read as 54, the date of the plate will be 660 A. C. The forms of the signs of medial vowels in this record, as also of some letters like *s*, *n*, *bh*, etc., are more developed as compared with those of the Ganjam plate of Mādhavarāja of G. E. 300. As such the plate can be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century at the earliest. R. D. Banerji assigned it to the latter half of the 8th century on paleographic considerations. Thus the date arrived at by referring the plate to the Harsha era seems too early for it. Hence we may examine the possibility of referring the dates in the Bhauma-Kara records to a later period.

From the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara (I) we know that he was ruling over Northern Tōsalā. The same region was governed by Sōmadatta on behalf of Śaśāṅka, the celebrated king of Karṇasuvarṇa. Since the plates<sup>2</sup> of Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta are assignable to a date earlier than the Neulpur plate, it may be presumed that the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti was established subsequent to the rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta. In order to ascertain the time of the establishment of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā we have to find out the probable date of the end of the rule of the Datta family in that area.

Sōmadatta was a feudatory under Śaśāṅka. He or his successor, if there was any, must have remained in the feudatory status till the death of Śaśāṅka who is presumed to have maintained his empire to the last. We do not know for certain when Śaśāṅka's death took place; but, from certain references to his anti-Buddhist actions in Magadha as found in Hieuen Tsang's account, it is believed that Śaśāṅka died shortly before the year 637 A. C.<sup>3</sup> So up to that date, or thereabouts, the Bhauma-Kara rule had not been established in Northern Tōsalā. After Śaśāṅka's death Bhāskaravarman and Harsha conquered his dominions in and outside Bengal. Harsha led an expedition against Kōṅgōda in 642 A. C. On his way to Kōṅgōda, he would not have left the Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti regions unconquered. The rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta in the Northern Tōsalā-Daṇḍabhukti region might have come to an end in this way. Whether Harsha appointed the Bhauma-Karas as his agents in that region or they acquired the kingdom with their might following Harsha's departure cannot be determined. But it seems fairly certain

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 197 ff.; *JRASB, Letters*, Vol. XI (1945), p. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

that their rule was established in North Orissa region in 642 A. C. or thereabouts. Thus the era used in the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings probably started from the date of the establishment of their rule in Northern Tōsalā, that is, from about the year 642 A. C. The date of the Neulpur plate and the present plates calculated from 642 A. C. will be 696 and 800 A. C. respectively. These dates are quite in accord with those arrived at on paleographical considerations.

Svabhāvatūṅga is mentioned as the father of Tribhuvanamahādēvī. He was the ruler of Kōsala, evidently South Kōsala, and belonged to the lunar dynasty. In the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti,<sup>1</sup> his father is said to have acquired the title of Svabhāvatūṅga by his valour (*Sōmakul-ābja-bhūnuḥ Svabhāvatūṅgō nija-paurushēṇa*). Svabhāvatūṅga of the plates under discussion and of the Patna plates seems to be one and the same person; as such Pṛithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the daughter of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya, king of Kōsala. From this we come to know for the first time that the Sōmavarṁśī kings of Kōsala and the Bhauma-Karas of Guhōśvarapātaka were matrimonially connected.

In regard to Maṅgalakalaśa, we have so far not come across any such name. We only know that some members of the Bhañja dynasty had surnames like Kalyāṇakalaśa, Amōghakalaśa, etc. In view of this we may tentatively assume that this Maṅgalakalaśa belonged to the Bhañja dynasty. It may be pointed out here that one Śatrubhañja had the surname Maṅgalarāja. Paleographically his Jangalapāḍu plates, in which the above surname occurs, are assignable to about the same period as that of the present plates. It is possible that the fuller form of the surname was Maṅgalakalaśarāja. Śaśilēkhū, the wife of Maṅgalakalaśa, is stated to have come of the Vrāgaḍi family of the Virāṭa lineage. The village of Koinsari in Mayurbhanj is still known as Virāṭapura. "The Nāga family of Mayūrabhañja was known by the name Virāṭa Bhujāṅga, or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family.....the power of Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayūrabhañja dates from the seventh century A. D."<sup>2</sup> Koinsari was probably the capital of the Virāṭa dynasty of Mayūrabhañja. The whole tract from Koinsari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Virāṭa family.<sup>3</sup> Some descendants of the old Virāṭa family are still living and they call themselves Bhujāṅga Kshatriya. Vrāgaḍi might have been a section of the Virāṭa family. It is not improbable that marriage connections between the two royal families of Mayūrabhañja, the Virāṭas and the Bhañjas, were established in course of time.

I have not been able to identify the districts **Tamālakhanda** and **Dakshinakhanda** and the village **Kōṭṭapurā**. I may only suggest that the first may be identified with Tamluk, headquarters of a sub-division of the Midnapore District, and the second with Dakinmal (Dakshin Mahal?), a *pargana* in the Contai sub-division. Tamluk and Dakinmal are mentioned as *parganas* in the Mughal revenue accounts.<sup>4</sup> The Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* probably comprised the major portion of the Midnapore District.

<sup>1</sup> *JASB*, Vol. I (1905), p. 14 ff. (Plate iii a, line 4). I am indebted to Sri S. N. Rajaguru for this reference.

<sup>2</sup> *JKIRS*, Vol. I, p. 181 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

<sup>4</sup> Vasu, *Viśvakōśa*, Vol. XVIII, p. 693.

<sup>5</sup> *Fifth Report*, Vol. II, p. 457.

<sup>6</sup> *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 7.



## TEXT

## PLATE A

[Metres : Vv. 1, 6, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 23 *Sragdharā* ; v. 3 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 4, 5 *Vasanta-tilakā* ; v. 8 *Drutavilambita* ; v. 9 *Śikhariṇī* ; vv. 10-16, 18-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 17 *Mālinī* ; v. 22 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

## Obverse

- 1 ओं<sup>1</sup> स्वस्त्याशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितैः सर्वतः संसर्पद्भिरितस्ततोऽपरिमितैर्द्धा-  
तृज्ज्वलैः पी-
- 2 लुभिः । गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवार्थमभ्यागतैर्भूभृन्नामभयादिव क्षितिधरैः  
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात् ॥[१\*]
- 3 श्रीगुहेश्वरपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात् ॥ आसीद्वंशे करणां(णा)मकलितमहिमा-  
जल्पसत्व(त्त्व)ः प्रतापी ।
- 4 [भूभृ]त्तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गाक्रमणकृतरतिः श्रीमदुन्मट्टसिंहः । राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)ज्जितश्रीः  
स्फुरदसिनखरोत्खातमाद्यद्विपक्ष-
- 5 क्षमाभृन्मातङ्गकुम्भोच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः ॥[२\*] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य समाश्रय[ः\*]  
श्रियः प्रशासदुर्वीं शुशु-
- 6 भे शुभाकरः [१\*] कलेरलंघ्यं सुकृताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिलामयं(यम्) ॥  
[३\*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंसं(स)-
- 7 सेव्यो गयाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥(१) यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां  
नेमुः शिरांसि न धनूषि विरोधभाजां(जाम्) ॥[४\*] तस्मा-
- 8 त्त्रिवर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरासीन्नृपः कुसुमहार<sup>2</sup> इति प्रतीतः । तस्मिन्नजाततनुजन्मनि  
कीर्त्तिशेषे गोस्वामि-
- 9 नी चिरमुवाह धुरन्धरायाः ॥[५\*] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यशः प्रकटितं जाताः  
प्रजाः सुस्थिता भू(भु)क्ता श्रीरतुला किमन्यदुचित का-
- 10 र्यं मयास्मिन्निति । वोढुं प्रौढ इति स्वनप्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभारे भुवो  
विन्यस्यातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा
- 11 हरे ॥[६\*] तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपालमौलिस्फुरच्चूडोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहितल-  
सत्पादारविन्दद्वयः ॥(१)
- 12 तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे धर्मधनाविरोध-  
सुभगैर्भोगैरनासक्तधीः ॥[७\*] अथ स राज-

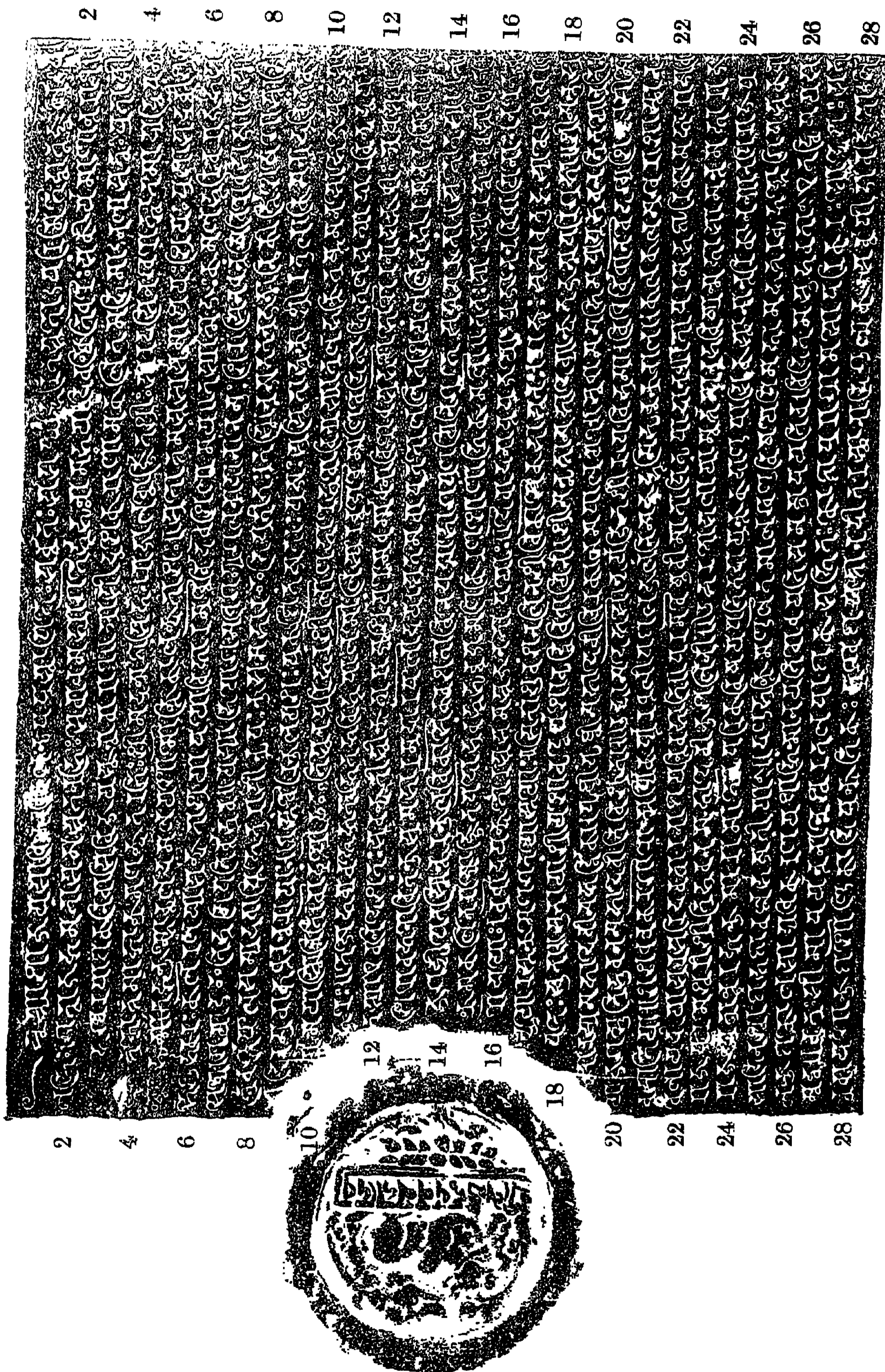
<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol which is also regarded as indicating *siddham*.

<sup>2</sup> [In the names *Kusumahāra* and *Lalitahāra*, occurring several times in both the plates, what has been read as *h* seems to be really *bh*.—D.C.S.]

TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

BAUD PLATE OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI - A

Obverse





- 13 शिरोवहनोच्चितं कुसुमहारमुदारफलोदयं(यम्) । सुतमवाप ततो ललितश्रियं  
ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्) ॥[१८\*]
- 14 जगद्दीपे तस्मिन्करकुलविकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्माभोगप्रणयिनि गते सद्य  
मरुतां(ताम्) ॥(१) सुतौ तस्याधत्तां
- 15 क्रमकलितराज्योर्ज्जितपदौ भुवं भूमृच्चूडामणिकिरणशोणांहिकमलौ ॥[१९\*] ततः  
स्फारस्फुरद्भामध्वस्तारितिमि-
- 16 रौघयोः । वु(बु)धोदयकृतोरस्तसमस्तजनतापयोः ॥[१०\*] दैवादनाप्तप्रजयोः  
प्रजानन्दविधायिनोः । नरेन्द्रच-
- 17 न्द्रयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः ॥[११\*] सितांशुवंशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः ।  
राज्ञः स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधि-
- 18 पतेः सुता ॥[१२\*] सुतायां श्रीयशोवृद्धेर्यशोवृद्धिविधायिनी । श्रीमन्नृत्तामहा-  
देव्या(व्यां) कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा ॥[१३\*] श्रीमत्कुसु-
- 19 महारस्य महादेवी महर्द्धिका । पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी चिरकालमपालयत् ॥[१४\*]  
स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवनत्रितयोन्नतिः ।
- 20 या जगत्सु त्रिभुवनमहादेवीति विश्रुता ॥[१५\*] उद्दामदेहसौन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा ।  
विधि(धे)विधानवैदग्ध्यशिक्षासीमे-
- 21 व भाति या ॥[१६\*] शशधरकरगौरोत्सर्पिकर्प्पूरधूलीपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमिभृच्चक्रवाला ।  
कलकलमुखराशास्थान-
- 22 वेला यदीया सुरसरिदव[त]ारं नाटयन्ति(न्ती)व भाति ॥[१७\*] परमवैष्णवी  
मातापितृपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधि-
- 23 राजपरमेश्वरी श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी ॥ उत्तरतोसलायां म्व(व)र्त्तमान-  
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराज-
- 24 राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामा[त्यौ]परिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपासि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्या-  
नपि राजप्र-
- 25 मादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान् ॥ दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले तमालखण्डविषयेपि महामह-  
त्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपा-
- 26 लकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाह्निन्मा(हं मा)नयति वो(बो)धयति सम(मा)ज्ञापयति च ।  
विदितमस्तु भवतांम्(ताम्) एतद्विषयस-
- 27 म्व(म्व)द्ध॥(द्धः) चतुःसीमापर्यन्तः[\*] नान्नेश्वरतलपाटकसहितः कोट्टपुराग्रामः[\*]  
सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः सत-
- 28 न्तुवायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्ज्जिताऽले-

## Reverse

- 29 खनीप्रवेस(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं महामण्डलाधिपति  
श्रीमङ्गलकलशस्य म-
- 30 हादेव्याः ।<sup>1</sup> विराटवडशो(वंशो)द्भवत्रागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशिलेखाया  
विज्ञप्त्या स्वर्गीभूतनिजतात-
- 31 स्य श्रीनाम्नाभिधानस्य धर्म्मयि स्वकारितश्रीनाम्नेश्वरनामायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य  
भगवत उमामहेश्वरभट्टा-
- 32 रकस्य सततस्नपनगन्धपू(पु)ष्पदीपधूपनिवेद्यव(व)लिचरूपूजादिप्रवर्तनार्थं खण्डस्फुटित-  
संस्करणार्थं महाव्रतधारि-
- 33 गां तपस्विनां सत्रकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभैषज्यार्थं पाटकसहितस्य ग्रामस्यैको भागः ।  
एवं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां ग्रासा-
- 34 छा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः । पादमु(मू)लादीनां जीवनभुक्तिपरिधानार्थं  
तृतीयो भागः । तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो दा-
- 35 नपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्चा)स्माभिस्तां(स्ता) अशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्म्मणाक-  
रत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तदेषाऽस्म-
- 36 दति(दत्तिः) धर्म्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया ॥ सम्वत् १०० ५० ८ कार्तिक-  
शुदि ७ । उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशो(शा)स्त्रे [१\*] व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राज-
- 37 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥  
[१८\*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदते(त्ते)ति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
- 38 लमानन्त्यं परदता(त्ता)नुपालने ॥[१९\*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा(त्तां वा) यो हरेत  
वसुधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
- 39 च्यते ॥[२०\*] व(व)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन स(सं)क्षेपादिदमुच्यते । स्वल्पमायुश्चला  
भोगा धर्म्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥[२१\*] इति कमल-
- 40 दलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(वि)न्दुलोलां शि(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अखिलमिद-  
मुदाहृतञ्च वु(वु)द्ध्वा [न] हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो वि-
- 41 लोप्याः ॥[२२\*] यावन्मौलीन्दुलेखोज्ज्वलितसुरसरिद्वीचिहारावलीभिर्भस्ममेरां स्मरा-  
रेद्धवलयतितरामंशुभिः का-
- 42 यकान्ति(न्तिम्) । आसा(शा)चक्रैकचूडामणिरपि तरणिद्योतते यावदुच्चैर्देव्याः  
श्रीसिन्दगौर्याः प्रभवतु भू(भु)वने शासनं ताव-

<sup>1</sup> The *danda* is superfluous.

- 43 देतत् ॥[२३\*] दूतकोत्र महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीमल्लोकः । लेखको  
महाक्षपटलिकभोगी स(श)क्रशे(से)नः । ता-
- 44 पितम्पे(म्पे)टकपालदेवदेवेने(न) । उत्कीर्णं तट्ठकार(रेण) अमृतवर्द्धनेन इ(ई)श्वर-  
वर्द्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ ग्रामस्य सीमा
- 45 लिख्यते । पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं शाखोटकविटपेन स्तोकं  
गत्वा किञ्चित्पश्चिमाभि-
- 46 मुखं मृगजानुना वलित्वा गोहेर्या स्तोकं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां  
यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि प-
- 47 श्चिमाभिमुखं प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा वक्रेण दक्षिणाभिमुखं वलित्वा पुनः  
पश्चिमाभिमुखं न्यग्रोधवृक्षेण गत्वा शिला-
- 48 कुण्डजोटाद्धन्वोत्तमा सर्पगत्या गत्वा कोट्टपुराधारं प्रविश्य तज्जलाद्धेन गत्वा  
दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्त-
- 49 शिलां यावत् । ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं शिलाख[नि]काप्रगुणेन शरक्षेपमात्रं  
गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रो-
- 50 प्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं नरकाधारेण स्तोकं गत्वा  
वि(वि)ल्ववृक्षेण वक्रातिवक्रेण गत्वा प्रथम-
- 51 संसूचितसीमां यावत् ॥

## PLATE B

## Obverse

- 1—24 ... ..<sup>1</sup>
- 25 सि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान् ॥ दण्ड-  
भुक्तिमण्डले दक्षिणख-
- 26 ण्डविषयेपि महामहत्तरवृ(बृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथार्ह(र्ह)म्मानयति  
वो(वो)-

## Reverse

- 27 धयति समाज्ञापयति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धा।  
(द्धम्) उत्थुकाक्षण्डक्षेत्रं सोपरिकरः(रं) सोदेशः(शं)
- 28—44 ... ..<sup>2</sup>
- 45 देवदेवेन । उत्कीर्णं तट्ठकारहरिवर्द्धनेन ।<sup>3</sup> रहसवर्द्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ खण्डक्षेत्रस्य सीमा  
लिख्यते । पु(पू)र्वदिश्युत्तर-

<sup>1</sup> The text of these lines is the same as in lines 1-25 of plate A with negligible variations.

<sup>2</sup> The text of these lines is the same as in lines 27-44 of plate A.

<sup>3</sup> The *danda* is superfluous.

- 46 पूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं क्षेत्राल्या गत्वा गणेश्वरखातकपश्चिमाल्या गत्वा  
वक्रातिवक्रेण दु(दू)रं गत्वा पू-
- 47 र्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभिमुखं क्षेत्राल्या  
स्तोकं गत्वा मृगजानुना शा-
- 48 खोटकवितपेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे गोहेरिकां यावत् । ततः पश्चिम-  
दिश्युत्तराभिमुखं गोहेर्या
- 49 प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि  
पूर्वाभिमुखं क्षेत्राल्या प्रगुणे-
- 50 न दूरं गत्वा प्रथमसंमु(सू)चितसीमां यावत् ॥<sup>1</sup>

### No. 31—NOTE ON TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Mr. S. C. De's paper on the inscriptions in question has been published above.<sup>2</sup> We find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. De's suggestions. In the following lines, some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the Bhauma-Kara queen who issued the Dhenkanal plate.<sup>3</sup>

In the Hindol<sup>4</sup> and Dharakota<sup>5</sup> plates of Śubhākara III, both dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the said king is described as the son of Śāntikara I from *Mahādēvī* Tribhuvanamahādēvī who was *śrīman-Nāg-ōdbhava-kula-lalāma-bhavā*, i.e., 'born in the eminent family sprung from the illustrious Nāga.' All the three Talcher plates<sup>6</sup> of the great-grandsons of this queen, viz., Śubhākara IV (one grant dated in the year 145, usually read as 141) and Śivakara III (two grants both dated in the year 149), clearly state that Tribhuvanamahādēvī ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Kusumahāra or Śimhakētu, i.e., Śubhākara III. The Talcher plate of Śubhākara IV further says that, when Tribhuvanamahādēvī's *naptā* or grand-son, named Lōṇabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II, became sufficiently aged, she abdicated the throne in his favour. The corresponding portion of the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which seems to be corrupt in the original and more so in the published transcript, does not specify the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvī and her successor Gayāḍa II, i.e., Śāntikara II.

The Dhenkanal plate, issued by Tribhuvanamahādēvī as a ruling queen, bears a date which looks like 160 but may also be read as 120.<sup>7</sup> The queen, whose other name is given in her record as Sindagaurī and who was the queen of Lalitahāra, is stated to have been the daughter of Rājamaḷlādēva described as the ornament of the southern quarter (*dukshīṇ-āśū-mukha-tilaka*). It is further stated in the record that the queen ascended the Kara (i.e., Bhauma-Kara) throne after the circle of the *Mahāsāmantas* (feudatories) had pointed out to her the case of an ancient queen

<sup>1</sup> I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Pandit Banambar Acharya in editing the inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 210 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff., 40 ff., 51.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 81, note 3.

named Gōsvāminī and requested her to assume the reins of Government in the manner of that old ruling queen.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Misra identifies queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī who issued the Dhenkanal plate with the Bhauma-Kara queen of the same name mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 103, 145 and 149, referred to above. Mr. De on the other hand thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate ruled in the year 160 immediately after Prithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī who issued the Baud plates in the year 158. We are inclined to favour Mr. Misra's identification as Mr. De's suggestion appears to be doubtful in view of the following facts.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gōsvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Had there been two other queens previously ruling in the family within less than half a century before her age and had one of them ruled immediately before herself, the reference to an earlier queen's rule by way of illustration was certainly uncalled for and meaningless. Even if such an illustration was necessary at all to induce a third queen of the family to the throne, it is no doubt strange that the ruling queen who flourished immediately before should have been passed over in silence and the case of another reigning more than quarter of a century earlier would have been cited.

Secondly, according to Mr. De, Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate was the wife of Śivakara III who issued his grants in the year 149. If she was thus the mother of Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V, it is only natural to expect a prominent mention of her name in the grants of queen Daṇḍimahādēvī who was the daughter of Śubhākara V. But her name is conspicuous by its absence in the later records of the family. This difficulty has been explained away by Mr. De who thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate was a step-mother of Daṇḍimahādēvī's father and that she, like Prithvīmahādēvī, did not recognise her step-sons' title to the Bhauma-Kara throne. If such was the case, Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate is expected to have been a partisan of Prithvīmahādēvī in her struggle with the lawful claimants of the throne and the non-mention of the latter's name in her record becomes doubly inexplicable.

Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādēvī, mother of Śubhākara III of the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated 103), was born in the Nāga family and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādēvī *alias* Sindagaurī of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country appear to suggest that the two were one and the same person. The name Sindagaurī (*i.e.*, Sinda-Gaurī or Gaurī of the Sindas) shows that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was born in the Sinda family while it is well known that the Sindas who originally belonged to Karṇāṭaka claimed Nāga origin.<sup>2</sup> We are inclined to believe that Tribhuvanamahādēvī, who was the mother of Śubhākara III and has to be identified with the ruling queen of the Dhenkanal plate, was the daughter of a Sinda king bearing the name or *biruda* Rājamalla.<sup>3</sup> It has to be noticed that Prithvī-

<sup>1</sup> "Dēvi pur=āpi dēvyā śrī-Gōsvāminyā...chiraṁ dhārit=aiv=ēyam vasundharā tad=adhun=āpi prasīda tath=aiva suchiraṁ dhāray=aināṁ kriyatām lōk-ānugrahaḥ svikriyatām=vā(tām vā) prakram-āgata-Kara-rājya-śrīr"=itī sa-rabhasam=abhiskōka-maṅgala-pratipād-ōnmukhēna mahatā mahāsāmanta-chakrēṇa nivēdyamānā...simhāsanaṁ=ārūḍhā (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, text lines 17-21). An alternative interpretation of this passage may be that the queen's other name was Gōsvāminī and that she had ruled the kingdom for sometime on a previous occasion before the accession of her son (or step-son) Śubhākara III, although there is no indication in favour of such a possibility in the inscriptions of the family.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 573 ff.

<sup>3</sup> We have no knowledge of a Sinda-Nāga ruler named Rājamalla who flourished in the tenth century. But the said name is known to have been popular in the Sinda family. An inscription of 1148-49 A.C. mentions a chief named Irmādi-Rāchamalla (*i.e.*, Rājamalla the Second, showing probably that there was a Rājamalla I among his predecessors) who claimed the Nāga lineage and enjoyed the *biruda* Sinda-Gōvinda that reminds us of Sinda-Gaurī. See *ARSIE* for 1904, p. 9 (*cf.* Nos. 56 and 69 of 1904); Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 253.



mahādēvī in her Baud plates not only assumes both the names as well as the epithet *Paramavaishnavī* enjoyed by the earlier queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī *alias* Sindagaurī but refers to the latter not as Tribhuvanamahādēvī (as in the Talcher plates of her husband and the latter's younger brother) but as Gōsvāminī. The foot of the stanza applying the name Sindagaurī to the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate has been actually appropriated by Prithvīmahādēvī in the similar verse quoted in her Baud plates. This attempt on the part of Prithvīmahādēvī to pass herself as the shadow of and at the same time to distinguish herself clearly from the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī, whom she represents as Gōsvāminī, is not entirely unintelligible. This may have been partly due to her eagerness for strengthening her position against the lawful claim of the sons of her husband's younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne. Apparently, she claimed her position on the Bhauma-Kara throne to be exactly similar to that of her earlier namesake although she felt the necessity of avoiding any confusion between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvīs. It is interesting to note that Prithvīmahādēvī is silent in regard to Gōsvāminī's relation with her predecessor. The facts that Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate was induced by her feudatories to assume the burden of government by citing the instance of Gōsvāminī and that Prithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Baud plates applies the name Gōsvāminī to her earlier namesake (apparently to make a distinction between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvīs to avoid confusion) appear to suggest that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was called Gōsvāminī II after an ancient or legendary female ruler of Orissa probably having nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It may be pointed out that the assumption of the name Sindagaurī, pointing to an association with the Sinda Nāgas, by Prithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī, who is known to have been born in a royal family other than that of the Sindas, seems to be explainable only by the suggestion that she adopted it rather arbitrarily just to pass herself as the shadow of an earlier ruling queen of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. It seems therefore that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was the real and original Sinda-Gaurī and that she flourished before the imitation Sinda-Gaurī who issued the Baud plates.

Fourthly, Mr. De thinks that the real names of the mother of Śubhākara III and the wife of Śubhākara IV were respectively Gōsvāminī and Prithvīmahādēvī and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvī, although he cannot say what the original name of Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate, whom he regards as the third ruling queen of that assumed name, was. We find at least two difficulties in accepting this suggestion. The first is that, if the mother of Śubhākara III assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvī when she ascended the throne after her son's death, she could not have possibly been mentioned by that name, as she really is, in the records of her son who preceded herself on the throne. In the second place, if Tribhuvanamahādēvī of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, it is rather strange that she, unlike Prithvīmahādēvī, did not feel the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes. This no doubt looks especially dubious when she is supposed to have been immediately preceded by another ruling queen of the same name, because the possibility of confusion in such a case was greater. If her real name was Tribhuvanamahādēvī, it must be regarded as a strange coincidence that she succeeded another Tribhuvanamahādēvī. But if her real name was different, she would have hardly chosen Tribhuvanamahādēvī as her coronation name, because that would lead to a confusion between herself and her predecessor on the throne. That the female rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family had no special liking for the name Tribhuvanamahādēvī is shown by the fact that none of the four later ruling queens of the dynasty (*viz.*, Gaurīmahādēvī, Daṇḍimahādēvī, Vakulamahādēvī and Dharmamahādēvī) assumed that name. If the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate flourished immediately after Prithvīmahādēvī, she could have hardly called herself only by the name assumed by her predecessor without any attempt to distinguish herself.

Fifthly, the Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī give the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara family in which the long line of rulers from Unmaṭṭasimha (the second king of the dynasty) down to the ruling queen herself are named and, in the description of the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī *alias* Gōsvāminī, they actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher plate of her husband Śubhākara IV. The Dhenkanal plate on the other hand mentions only Unmaṭṭakēsarin and Gayāḍa I (the second and fifth rulers of the family) in the reference to the past monarchs of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and gives the impression quite clearly that the issuer of the charter has to be placed in the earlier part of the genealogical tree. This no doubt goes in favour of the identification of the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate with the mother and successor of Śubhākara III who was the great-grandson of Unmaṭṭakēsarin (°simha) and the son and successor of Gayāḍa *alias* Śāntikara I. If the Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 160, that is to say, shortly after the reign of Prithvīmahādēvī of the Baud plates, it is difficult to explain why the description of the Bhauma-Kara genealogy quoted in it does not resemble in any way the same as found in the Baud plates of the year 158 as well as the Talcher plates of the years 145 and 149. As already indicated above, the fact that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate does not mention Prithvīmahādēvī, who was her immediate predecessor according to Mr. De, but states that the queen was induced to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an earlier female ruler named Gōsvāminī is inexplicable and renders Mr. De's suggestion unconvincing.

One of Mr. De's arguments in favour of assigning the Dhenkanal plate to the year 160 seems to be that it was engraved by the brazier Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana, while the two Talcher plates of the year 149 were engraved by the brazier Rahasavardhana, son of Rāmavardhana, and one of the Baud plates of the year 158 by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. His identification of Harivardhana, engraver of the Baud plates of the year 158, with Harivardhana who engraved the Dhenkanal plate appears to support his contention assigning the latter record to the year 160. But considering the difficulties in ascribing the Dhenkanal plate to such a late date, which have been detailed above, as well as the fact that several records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty mention the Vardhana family of braziers and the very name Harivardhana occurring in the Chaurasi plate assigned to the year 73,<sup>1</sup> it does not appear improbable that the engraver of the Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved one set of the Baud plates.<sup>2</sup>


It may be noted here that the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhuvanamahādēvī I, surnamed Sindagaurī and Gōsvāminī (II), as given in the records of the years 145, 149 and 158, which have been discussed above, are not clearly described in the Dhenkanal plate. The Talcher plate of the year 145, as we have seen, says that Tribhuvanamahādēvī ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Śubhākara III but abdicated in favour of her grandson as soon as the latter passed over his minority. This gives the impression that the queen ruled for a short period during the minority of her grandson, although, in ancient India, minority was never a bar to one's accession to the throne.<sup>3</sup> On this point the Baud plates, which are silent on the relation between Gōsvāminī (Tribhuvanamahādēvī I) and her predecessor Kusumahāra (Śubhākara III), add that Śubhākara III died without leaving any heir. It seems therefore that Śāntikara II, sur-

<sup>1</sup> Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> The two may also be one and the same person. The case is similar to that of Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, who engraved some, but not all, of the Eastern Gaṅga charters bearing dates between the Gaṅga years 28 and 91. See *IIIQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 235; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.

<sup>3</sup> See *JRASBL*, Vol. XII, pp. 71 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 75 ff.

named Lōṇabhāra and Gayāḍa II, may have been adopted as the son of Śubhākara III by the latter's chief queen sometime after his death and his mother's accession to the throne. Mr. De's speculation in regard to the relation between Tribhuvanamahādēvī I and her successor does not appeal to me.

In our opinion therefore the known inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara family reveal the existence of two and not three ruling queens named Tribhuvanamahādēvī. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī I was the mother of Śubhākara III and ruled for some years after her son's death when her Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 120. She was the daughter of a Sinda king enjoying the name or *biruda* Rājamalla. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvī II was the daughter of the Sōmavaiṅśī king Svabhāvatuṅga of Kosala (South Kosala) who, as we have seen elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> seems to be no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (circa 970-1000 A.C.<sup>2</sup>). It has also been noticed how Pṛithvīmahādēvī secured the Bhauma-Kara throne in a temporarily successful contest against the lawful claims of the sons of her husband's younger brother with the active help of her father sometime before the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and how this fact helps us in locating the commencement of the said era about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.<sup>3</sup> We have also shown how the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhaṅja of Vañjulvaka, who was a descendant of Raṇabhaṅja of Dhṛitipura (about the third quarter of the tenth century<sup>4</sup>) and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century, bear the date : year 198 (apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era), Vishuva-saṅkrānti, Pañchamī, Sunday and Mṛigaśirō-nakshatra, suggesting March 23, 1029 A.C., and how this fact helps us in tracing the initial year of the era in 831 A.C.<sup>5</sup> The date of the Baud plates of the year 158 thus appears to be 988 A.C. 

The epithet *Virāṭavamśōdbhava-Vrāgaḍikulakumudaśasīlēkhā*, applied to the lady Śasīlēkhā at whose request the grants recorded in the Baud plates were made, seems to suggest that she was born in the Virāṭa dynasty but was married into the Vrāgaḍi family. Her husband Maṅgalakalasa therefore does not appear to have been a Bhaṅja prince of the Mayurbhanj region as suggested by Mr. De. The identification of Maṅgalakalasa, taken to be a Bhaṅja prince of Mayurbhanj, with Śatrubhaṅja Maṅgalarāja of the Jangalpāḍu plates is unlikely as the findspot and style of this record show that the chief ruled in the Ganjam region and belonged to the house of the Bhaṅjas of Vañjulvaka.<sup>6</sup> In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to connect him with the Bhaṅjas of Mayurbhanj. The facts that the temple built by Śasīlēkhā was called Nān-*nēsvarāyatana* after her deceased father Nāna and that a village granted in its favour included a locality called Nān-*nēsvaratalapāṭaka* appear to suggest that both the temple and the gift village were situated in the same area of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* (modern Danton region of the Midnapur District, West Bengal). As Śasīlēkhā may have built the temple and arranged for the gift of land in its favour in the area under the jurisdiction of her husband who enjoyed the gubernatorial status of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* under the Bhauma-Karas, it is not improbable to think that Maṅgalakalasa was the ruler of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*.

<sup>1</sup> *JASL*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1953, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> See above, . . ; *JASL*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. . . ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 229-30.

## No. 32—NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA : ŚAKA 1091

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDRY

These plates were found in the village of *Nanḍūru* in *Bapatla taluk*, Guntur District, about fifty years ago and were forwarded by the Tahsildar of *Bāpaṭla* to the Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, early in 1917. They were examined and numbered as C. P. No. 23 of 1916-17, and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1917*, pages 118-119. The following description of the plates appears in the *Annual Report*.<sup>1</sup>

“The plates are 5 in number and are hung on a big ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a seal which bears the legend ‘śrī-Tribhuvanāṅkuśa’ between two lines with the symbols of the sun, the moon and star, two parasols, the Chōḷa Tiger, *aṅkuśa*, lotus and the *svastika* (?) above, and the Chālukyan boar, the disc (*chakra*), sandals, drum, double-conch, lamp stands and a few other unintelligible symbols below”.

It is said that the ring was not cut when the plates reached the Epigraphist's office. The Epigraphist, the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, observed, therefore, “it is curious how despite this the set is incomplete commencing as it does with No. 3, marked on the second side of the existing plate and stopping abruptly with the mention of the donee, omitting the usual imprecations, etc.” He, therefore, assumed that the plates had been examined sometime before that and that the now missing plates were lost on that occasion. I am, however, of a different opinion. The two outer plates must have been completely worn out and corroded on account of their extremely bad preservation. They would have crumbled down to pieces and powder at the first touch when they were discovered. The worn out condition of the writing on the inner plates must be due to the bad preservation of the plates. Whatever that might be, it is true as Krishna Sastri observed, “the information conveyed by the existing plates is very interesting, giving us, as they do, an account of the later Chālukya sovereigns who held sway over the Vēṅgi country down to the time of Rājārāja (II) and of their subordinates the Velanāṅḍu chiefs down to Rājendra-Chōḍa”. The importance of the plates is further enhanced by the fact that it is the only copper-plate grant of the kings of the Velanāṅṭi family who controlled and guided the destinies of the Chōḷa-Chālukya Empire and the fortunes of the country of Vēṅgi for nearly a century and half, from about 1070 to about 1210 A.C.

I undertook the editing of these plates several years ago but continued preoccupation with other matters from time to time had prevented me from carrying out the work entrusted to me in 1927 by the then Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri. I now edit the inscription from the ink impressions supplied to me by him. As the ink-impressions are not clear in some places and as the original plates were not available to me for examination, the reading of the inscription in some portions had to be supplemented with the help of some lithic records<sup>2</sup> of the family found at *Drākshārāma* and other places.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the five plates which are roughly 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " long and 5" wide, and rectangular in shape. The writing on the plates is very clumsy. Often the letters are found crammed into one another; they are also irregular and much worn out on account of the bad preservation of the plates. The number of lines on each plate is not uniform: the number varies from twelve to fourteen and even to seventeen lines. The available text of the inscription runs into 137 lines; out of them, however, the last two lines on plate *V-b* (lines 108-9) are wholly unintelligible.

<sup>1</sup> The *Annual Report* states that the original plates were returned to the owner through the Tahsildar. I have tried in vain to trace them.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry is fairly good, though the language contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. Thus for instance : line 4 has *pañcha-Pāṇḍav=ākhaṇḍal-ōpamāḥ* ; line 9 has *pravaktun=naraḥ* ; lines 14-15 have *vallabhān-nirbbhara-garbbha-bhārām* ; and line 27, *suḥnētrā*. The inscription is written in **characters** which are regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 12th century A.C. According to Dr. Burnell, such characters belong to what he called the "transitional period". The following **orthographical** peculiarities may, however, be noticed. Vowels *a* and long *ā*, short *i* and *u* and long *ē* occur in the inscription. The long *ā* is distinguished by a vertical stroke at the right side. Vowels *i* and *u* have reached their final forms, and are fully developed. No distinction is yet drawn between *e* and *ē* long. Both are written alike. There is no vertical stroke on the head of *e* to denote the long *ē* as we find at the present day. There is not much distinction between *ḍ* and *ḍh* ; and final forms of *m*, *n*, and *t* are used in the inscription. The *vargānumāsika* is substituted by the *anusvāra* which is denoted by a *bindu* throughout. Sometimes words like *vaṁśa* and *dayitā* are written as *vaṁśya* and *dayityā*, which is apparently in accordance with the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words in the Krishna and Guntur Districts, where the sibilant *ś* is always joined with *y*. The scribe has not followed any principle in doubling the consonants.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Inuṁgarṛu** as an *agrahāra* to a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, on an auspicious occasion by king Rājendra-Chōḍa II, who is stated to be ruling over Andhra-maṇḍala as commissioned by Rājarāja, i.e., Rājarāja II of the Chālukya-Chōḷa family (Lines 133-4). The name of the donee and the district in which the village was situated have been unfortunately lost on the missing last plate. The village Inuṁgarṛu granted in the record may be identified with Inugurtipāḍu<sup>1</sup>, a village in the vicinity of Naṇḍūru, the findspot of the present plates, in the Bapatla *taluk*, Guntur District. At the time of making the grant, Rājendra-Chōḍa is stated to be staying in his capital, **Dhanadapurī**, i.e., Chandavōlu in Repalle *taluk*, Guntur District. The **date** of the grant is given as Śaka 1091 (*indunanda-viyach-chandra-gaṇitī*) and as the 23rd year of Rājarāja, i.e., Rājarāja II (lines 133-134). The Śaka year which is an expired year corresponds to 1169-70 A.C.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part (lines 1-67) contains the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas, treating of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I and his successors down to Rājarāja II as Chālukyas and not as Chōḷas. The second part (lines 68 ff.) describes the history of the Chiefs of Velanāṇḍu or, members of the Velanāṇḍi family, who enjoyed the position of subordinate kings under the Chōḷa-Chālukyas. There are many new statements in the account relating to the Eastern Chālukyas, which differ from what we know hitherto. Some of them may be explained as errors committed by the scribe who engraved the inscription on the plates. Thus, for example, Narēndra, i.e., Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya II is called the son of Vijayāditya I, or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka (line 38), while in fact he was the son of Vishṇuwardhana IV. In a similar manner a Vishṇuwardhana is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya II, and is given a reign of thirty-six years (lines 39-40). This king must be Vishṇuwardhana IV, the father of Narēndramṛigarāja, and not his son as wrongly described here. Apparently the order in the narration is confused. Again the son of Vishṇuwardhana IV is said to be Kālī-Vishṇuwardhana or Vishṇuwardhana V, and is given a reign of half a year (line 41) while it is known from other records of the dynasty that he reigned for one and a half years, or twenty months according to some, and that

<sup>1</sup> Usually when a village is deserted and disappears for a period, the site is denoted by the term *pāḍu* ; and when a new village springs up on the spot after an interval, it is called with the suffix *pāḍu* super added to the old name. So it must be with Inugurtipāḍu, (lit. the *pāḍu* of Inu(in)gurru, or Inugurru).

he was the son of Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II and not of Vishṇuwardhana V. It would seem that the engraver, while copying the grant on copper-plates, got confused and changed the order or sequence of the verses on the plate. He should have written verse 19 after verse 17 ; in other words, the proper order of the verses should be, first, verse 17, then verse 19 and lastly verse 18. If the inscription is read in this order the apparent confusion disappears. Krishna Sastri's observation,<sup>1</sup> viz., that " The reign of Vishṇuwardhana IV is altogether omitted and a new Vishṇuwardhana, a son of Vijayāditya (II), is mentioned with a rule of 50 years, followed by Kali-Vishṇuwardhana ", need no longer be held as complicating the genealogical position. Another discrepancy is in respect of the reign of Dānārṇava who is said to have ruled for 30 years (line 50), instead of 3 years. The reign of Vīra-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya VIII,<sup>2</sup> younger brother of Rājarāja I is altogether omitted. Yet another erroneous statement is that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I is said to have ruled for twenty-five years (line 58) instead of fifty as known hitherto. Except for these errors the genealogical account is accurate. It is noteworthy that the historical account contains some new information about a few kings. Chālukya-Bhīma I is said to have destroyed his enemies on numerous battlefields, and to have built several temples of Mahādēva (Śiva) at sacred spots (lines 42-43). His son Vijayāditya IV who is well known by his surname Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa from the records of the family, is stated to have obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Virajāpurī, captured the city and went to heaven (line 44), a statement which may be taken to indicate that he died shortly after the battle, a fact not known hitherto. Virajāpurī may be properly identified with Jajpur (which is apparently a variant of Virajāpurī) the chief town of the Jajpur *tahsil* of the Cuttack District, Orissa. It lies on the Vaitaraṇī, a tributary of the Mahānadi situated about fifty miles due north-west of Cuttack. During the ancient period, it was a great and renowned *tīrtha*, " a place of pilgrimage," according to the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>3</sup> Virajā or Virajāpurī was for a long time a provincial capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Utkala and the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala who bore the epithet, *Trikaliṅgādhipati*.<sup>4</sup> Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa's son was Amma I who is said to have performed many *Tulāpurusha-dānas* (gifts) year after year during his brief rule of seven years (line 44). Vikrama-Chōḷa, son and successor of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, is given the correct period of rule, viz., seventeen years (lines 60-61), which is in conformity with the regnal years recorded in some of the inscriptions of the Andhra country and in Tamil inscriptions as well. His son Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II is said to have reigned for fifteen years in succession (lines 64-65). Lastly, the relationship between Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II and Rājarāja II, which has not been hitherto correctly known, is clearly stated in the present record as that of father and son (lines 65-66).

The second part of the inscription contains a brief account of the Velanāṅṭi family. It gives a complete genealogy which in some respects supplements the account given in the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Velanāṅṭi Prithvīśvara.<sup>5</sup> The following genealogical table represents the information that is contained in the present inscription.

<sup>1</sup> *ARSI*, 1917, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Fleet was not aware of Bādapa the usurper, who was also a Vijayāditya and therefore would be Vijayāditya VII. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Itihāsa-Parvan*, 83, v. 6.

*Patō Vaitaraṇīm gatvā nadīm pūpa-pramōchanīm |  
Virajam tīrtham=āsadya virajāti yathā śaśī ||*

<sup>4</sup> *Abote*, Vol. LI, p. 327.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 131, text-line 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.



The account given in the Piṭhāpuram inscription differs slightly from the pedigree given above. The differences are discussed below. Besides the Piṭhāpuram inscription there are numerous other inscriptions on stone found particularly at Drākshārāma<sup>1</sup> in East Godavari District, at Siripuram<sup>2</sup> and Chēbrōlu in Guntur District and other places<sup>3</sup> which give additional historical information about the family. A stone inscription at Drākshārāma<sup>4</sup> gives a genealogical account which not only completely agrees with the present record but gives additional information. The historical details found in these inscriptions have not been arranged so far in their proper perspective which I now propose to do.

The first known historical person in the Velanāṅṭi family, who may be regarded as the founder of the line in the rulership of Velanāṅḍu is Malla-bhūpa or Malla I. Velanāṅḍu or Velanāḍu is the name of the region now covered by the Repalle and Tenali *taluks* of the Guntur District. The region acquired the name probably because it lay on the sea coast (*vēlā*), the Sanskrit word being pronounced as *vela* with short vowels by the inhabitants of that region during the early period.<sup>5</sup> The term *Velanāṅṭi* is the genitive form of Velanāṅḍu (nominative form) and means "of Velanāṅḍu" in Telugu. Malla I, it is stated, received as a reward the rulership of Velanāṅḍu with the insignia of a vassal king from Tryambaka-Pallava who was pleased with him for military services rendered for a long time on battlefields. Malla I was probably a soldier of fortune, who came from the north in search of a kingdom, and thus acquired a small kingdom for himself. Several Durjaya chieftains, too, similarly claimed to have obtained from king Tryambaka-Pallava, military fiefs on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river as rewards for their military services. King Tryambaka-Pallava, Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkaṅṭi-Kāḍuveṭṭi may not, therefore, be a doubtful historical person as some scholars opine; he need not be regarded as a mere fictitious person, brushing aside a large volume of historical tradition embodied in numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates and scattered all over the country. Elsewhere<sup>6</sup> Tryambaka-Pallava has been identified with the powerful king Vijaya-Skandavarman IV, and allotted a reign period of thirty-five years (c. 460-495 A.C.). Malla I, therefore, would appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Malla-bhūpa I, until we come to Malliya II who is described as a renowned soldier. It is said that he was a follower of Narēndra, who may be identified with Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II. Malliya II, it is stated, rendered great assistance to king Narēndra (on the battlefields) with the sharp edge of his fierce sword which was like a thunderbolt (v. 36 : lines 72-75). According to Dr. Fleet,<sup>7</sup> Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II reigned from 799 to 843 A.C., for forty-four years, while according to my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas*,<sup>8</sup> the king's period is only forty years, from 808 to 847 A.C. Malliya II would thus appear to have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. In the lineage of Malliya II was born Piḍuvurāditya, or Piḍuvulāditya as the Drākshārāma stone inscription<sup>9</sup> calls him. The son of Piḍuvurāditya was Eṛiya (I), and his son was Malliya III. In the Drākshārāma inscription the name of Malla or Malliya is lost in the lacuna. It is stated in that inscription that Malla III (Malliya III) was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma who may be identified with Chālukya-Bhīma II (933-945 A.C.). Malla III married Kollapāmbā according to

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1041, 1094, 1113, 1147, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1153, 1104; 1182, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. X, Nos. 177, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 123, 124, 144, 181, 224, 239, 1200, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

<sup>5</sup> [This derivation is doubtful.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *A History of The Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 281.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of the Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 27-32.

<sup>9</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.



the present plates but the Drākshārāma inscription gives her name as Koṭyapāmbā. The reading of her name as Kollapāmbā (line 77) in the present charter seems to be rather doubtful, for the second letter in the name is indistinct on the plate. It is probable, therefore, that her name as written there is Kō[ṭya]pāmbā. There is a marked divergence in the genealogical portion between the account of the Piṭhāpuram inscription and the information given in the present plates. According to the Piṭhāpuram inscription,<sup>1</sup> the founder of the family was No. (1) Malla I, his son was No. (2) Eṛiyavarman and his son was No. (3) Kuḍiyavarman. The son of No. (3) was No. (4) Malla II surnamed Piḍuvarāditya and the latter's son was No. (5) Kuḍyavarman or Kuḍiyavarman II, who was a vassal of the emperor, Vimalāditya (1011-1019 A.C.).<sup>2</sup> The Piṭhāpuram inscription thus omits three or four generations, and mentions all the princes from No. 1 to No. 7 Nannirāja in the relationship of father to son. Its information is thus rendered comparatively less probable and not so trustworthy. Its evidence may, therefore, be rejected in preference to the information furnished by the present inscription which agrees in full with the accounts given in the Drākshārāma record that belongs to a period much earlier than the Piṭhāpuram inscription. Malla III, who was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma II is altogether omitted in the Piṭhāpuram inscription. The Drākshārāma inscription is contemporaneous with the present record.

To return to Malla III of the present record. He married Koṭyamāmbā (Koṭyapāmbā) and had two sons by her, Eṛriya II who is described as *ḷyēsh!ha* 'the elder' and *vaṁśakartā*, 'the progenitor of the family', and Kōrapa. Eṛriya II married Kaṭṭāmbā and had six sons by her, Malla IV, Kuḍiya, Gaṇḍa, Paṇḍa I, Nanna and Kāpana, every one of whom resembled Shanmukha, the six-faced war-god. Kuḍiya, it is said, was a vassal of the emperor Vimalāditya, and received from him the rulership of the province, *Gudravāra-vishaya*. This prince is evidently the same as No. 5 Kuḍyavarman II or Kuḍiyavarman, of the Piṭhāpuram inscription in which he is stated to have rendered assistance for a long time on battlefields to Vimalāditya who then having been pleased bestowed on him the territory, *Gudravāra-dvaya*, "the two provinces of Gudravāra" (vv. 16-18). The two Gudravāras may be identified with the Gudravāra<sup>3</sup> corresponding to the Gudivada *taluk* and with the Pallapu-Gudravāra<sup>4</sup>, 'low lying Gudravāra', corresponding to the Kaikalūru *taluk*, of the Krishna District. Nanna, the younger brother of Kuḍyavarman, is described as a great hero and as a prince of praiseworthy character. It is said that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Vishṇuwardhana, i.e., Rājarāja-Narēndra or Rājarāja I (1022-1061 A.C.). Nanna's son was Paṇḍa I, whose wife Guṇḍāmbikā resembled Kuntī of epic fame. While in the present record Paṇḍa I and Guṇḍāmbikā are stated to have had five sons, Vedura, Gaṇḍa II, Goṅka I, Malla V and Paṇḍa II who were like the five Pāṇḍavas, the Piṭhāpuram inscription, on the other hand, makes these five princes the children of Nanna. There is another discrepancy between the Piṭhāpuram inscription and the present record. Kuḍyavarman II, it is stated in the former (v. 25), had a son named Eṛraya to whom he transferred his kingdom after having ruled the earth for a long time; and the latter, however, does not mention any son of Kuḍiya, vassal of Vimalāditya. It is, therefore, probable that Kuḍyavarman II or Kuḍiya was succeeded by his younger brother Nannarāja in the rulership of his vassal kingdom. The Drākshārāma record, too, does not mention that Kuḍyavarman II transferred his kingdom to his son Eṛraya, a fact mentioned only in the Piṭhāpuram inscription. Nanna, the Piṭhāpuram inscription states, had destroyed a crowd of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> All the records of the family beginning with the reign of Rājarāja I (1022-1061 A.C.) state that Vimalāditya reigned for only seven years. The date of his coronation is known to us from his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 341-361). Hence it is assumed that his seven year's rule came to an end in 1019 A.C.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 135-39, *SII*, Vol. V, No. 211.

<sup>4</sup> C. P. No. 5 of 1937-38 : Kalidiṇḍi grant of Rājarāja-Narēndra. See above, p. 69 text-line 75.

enemies, and ruled a kingdom which he acquired by the strength of his arm. There is no agreement, however, between the Drākshārāma inscription and the present record with regard to the order of the five sons of Paṇḍa I. The former record mentions Malla V as the second and Gaṇḍa II as the fourth son, while the latter makes their position *vice versa*. This small discrepancy may be ignored. Of the five sons of Paṇḍa I, Goṅka I was the most distinguished and is also described as the *varṇśakartā*. The Drākshārāma inscription calls him a great hero. He was a trusted vassal of the emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. The Piṭhāpuram inscription (v. 27) states of prince Goṅka I that he was the most distinguished of his brothers and that he ruled the Andhra-maṇḍala as a vassal of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. The present record, too, corroborates that account by stating that Goṅka I having pleased that emperor by his services on the battlefields and by destroying hosts of his enemies, obtained as a reward from him, the rulership of the province known as *Shatsahasrāvanī*, 'the Six Thousand District' on the southern bank of the river Kṛishṇā (v. 46). Goṅka I was appointed *Samasta-sēnādhipati* by Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I according to a stone inscription at Chēbrōlu<sup>1</sup> in Guntur District, dated Friday, the 12th February, 1077 A.C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa I called merely Chōḍa in the present record, son of Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja I and Sabbāmbikā, was the next illustrious prince of the family. Though the present plates do not mention much about him the Piṭhāpuram inscription on the other hand states that he was adopted as his own son by the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, who furnished him with emblems befitting his own sons and made him the ruler of the kingdom of Vēngimaṇḍala-sixteen-thousand (vv. 35-36). The reason for the Chōḷa king's adoption of a prince of the *Chaturthakula*, apparently a well grown up person, himself being a full-blooded *kshatriya* emperor, would seem to lie imbedded in the history of that troublous period. Perhaps Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I had no grown up son at that juncture to take up the burden of ruling the disturbed kingdom of Vēngi, apparently in succession to Vīra-Chōḷa. This event would seem to have taken place in 1094 A.C., immediately before the expedition against Kaliṅga was undertaken. And it would appear that within a short time Rājendra-Chōḍa had brought the Kaliṅga war to a successful close. In the words of the Piṭhāpuram inscription prince Chōḍa "resembled the terrible Bhīma in uprooting crowds of hostile kings (v. 36).") While the *Kaliṅgattupparani* makes the Pallava chief, Karuṇākara Tonḍaimāṇ, the sole hero of the Kaliṅga war, the inscriptions of the Andhra country on the other hand reveal altogether a different story. There are reasons to believe that the supreme command of the imperial forces was assumed by Rājendra-Chōḍa himself. All the inscriptions of the Andhra country which refer to the war with Kaliṅga unmistakably bear testimony to this fact.<sup>2</sup> The stone inscription at Drākshārāma<sup>3</sup> of the vassal chief Pallavarāja surnamed Tiruvarāṅga, gives a vivid account of the Kaliṅga war. It states that Pallavarāja who bore the secondary name Paṇḍuvarāja had obtained prosperity by his devotion to the feet of king Rājendra-Chōḍa who rewarded him with the insignia of royalty and made him a vassal king. The inscription states that Pallavarāja<sup>4</sup> who is also called Chōḍachandra, having reduced to ashes the whole of Kaliṅga, subdued the Gaṅga king in battle, and having destroyed Dēvēndravarmaṇ and others together with their vast armies

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 109. There seems to be a slight error in the date. There was no eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Māgha, Śaka 988, when Goṅka I is stated to have made a grant to the temple of Mūlāsthāna-dēva at Chēbrōlu. If, however, we assume that Phālguna was intended and that the scribe by mistake engraved Māgha for Phālguna, the date would be regular.

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 662 (vv.8-9), Vol. X, No. 107, Vol. IV, No. 1153, Vol. X, No. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1239. This has been published with notes and translation. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 138 ff. In my opinion Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not properly interpreted the inscription. He has made many doubtful identifications.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer thinks that this Pallavarāja was the same as the hero of Jayamṅgōḍār's *Kaliṅgattupparani*. The identification is improper. There might have been several Pallavarājas in the Chōḷa army. Moreover Jayamṅgōḍār's hero does not bear any of the names, Tiruvarāṅga, Paṇḍuvarāja or Chōḍachandra.

from Kōsala, planted a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*<sup>1</sup>) at the meeting place of the boundaries of Ōdra and Andhra countries in order to proclaim the glory and fame of his overlord, Rājēndra-Chōḍa. Dēvēndravarma may be identified with Dēvēndravarma the usurper who, taking advantage of the infancy of Anantavarma-Chōḍagaṅga on the death of Rājarāja-Dēvēndravarma in 1077 A.C., occupied Kaliṅga ; he was the donor of the Kambakāya plates, dated Śaka 1003 expired,<sup>2</sup> and he was the same as king Dēvēndravarma mentioned in the Gāra stone record.<sup>3</sup>

It is not known when Rājēndra-Chōḍa I died ; he was certainly living on the date of the Drākshārāma inscription of Pallavarāja, wherein he is referred to as living at that time. His death may have occurred, therefore, about 1104 A.C. Rājēndra-Chōḍa ruled over Vēṅgimaṇḍala from about 1094 to 1104 A.C. He was a devotee of Mukunda or Viṣṇu according to the present record (v. 49) and the Pīthāpuram inscription (v. 36), unlike his natural father Goṅka I and his adoptive parent, the emperor, who were both *parama-māhēśvaras*, i.e., staunch worshippers of Śiva. Rājēndra-Chōḍa I married Guṇḍāmbikā and had two sons by her, Goṅkarāja II, who resembled Guha or Kumārasvāmin, and Paṇḍa IV.<sup>4</sup> On the death of Velanāṅṭi Rājēndra Chōḍa I the emperor was once more confronted with the problem of finding a successor to administer Vēṅgi. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I did not, however, nominate Goṅkarāja II but appointed another trusted and powerful vassal, Kōna Rājēndra-Chōḍa,<sup>5</sup> the Haihaya ruler of Kōnamaṇḍala, the territory that lay between the two branches of the lower Gōḍāvarī, the Vāsishṭhī and the Gautamī.

The next important member of the family, perhaps the most illustrious of all, mentioned in the present plates is Velanāṅṭi Goṅka II, or Goṅkarāja II, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅkarāja or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa-Gāṅgēya-Goṅkarāja as he is also called in some inscriptions. He appears as the foremost soldier and powerful vassal in the kingdom during the viceroyalty of prince Parāntaka. A stone record from Tripurāntakam<sup>6</sup> dated Śaka 1028 in the cyclic year Sarvajit, of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Velanāṅṭi Goṅka II, registers the gift of the village of Cheṭlapāḍu in Kammanāḍu on the banks of the river Guṇḍēru, to the god Tripurāntakēśvara-Śiva, on the occasion of the full-moon day of Kārttika. The record is interesting : it gives Goṅka II the title *Chālūkyarājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, " the chief pillar supporting the edifice which is the kingdom of the Chālukyas ", and the epithet, *Sāmadhigata-pāñcha-mahāśabala*, " one who has attained (*the status of having*) the five great sounds ", and speaks of him as the ruler of the *Triśat-ōttara-śat-sahasr-āvanti-vishaya*, i.e., " the six-thousand and three hundred country ". The date is irregular ; the cyclic year Sarvajit did not coincide with the Śaka 1028 expired, but with the following year 1029 expired, corresponding to 1107-08 A.C. Be that as it may, from this date roughly till the day of his death half a century later, Goṅkarāja II remained the most important person in the kingdom. He was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom which extended from the Mahēndragiri on the north to Kālahasti on the south, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Chōḷa-Chālūkyā emperor. The kingdom of Vēṅgi which almost slipped out of the hands of the Chālūkyā-Chōḷas after the death of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I would appear to have been re-conquered by Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja II from the commanders of the Western Chālūkyā emperor Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI who had earlier occupied the country, after a protracted struggle, towards the close of the reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned in *SMI*, Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.

<sup>2</sup> *Bhārati*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 115 ff., where Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma edits the record, C.P. No. 9 of 1927-28. The chronogram recorded in the inscription has to be interpreted as yielding the Śaka 1003 and not 1103 as Mr. Sarma believes.

<sup>3</sup> No. 391 of 1932-33 : *ARSIE*, 1932-3, p. 56, para, 9. See also *ARSIE*, 1936 p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 text lines 4 and 16, and the present plates.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 83, text line 48.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. X, No. 63.

It would appear that during the last years of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I almost every one of the vassals of Vēṅgi became hostile to the Chōḷa-Chāḷukyas, opposed the policy of the emperor and only eagerly waited for a favourable opportunity to overthrow the Chōḷa-Chāḷukya suzerainty. On the other hand, the Durjaya and other clans of the *Chaturtha-kula* holding fiefdoms and military holdings in the region lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā river would appear to have remained loyal to the imperial throne of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas and proudly called themselves, *Chāḷukya-rājya-bhavana-mūla-stambhāyamānulu*,<sup>1</sup> *Vēṅgi-Chāḷukyan-aṅkakāra*,<sup>2</sup> "the champion warriors of the Chāḷukyas (of Vēṅgi)," and lastly *Chāḷukya-rājya-samuddharulu*,<sup>3</sup> "the uplifters of the sovereignty of the Chāḷukyas." Those who proved refractory and sought opportunity to put an end to the Chāḷukya-Chōḷa domination, were the Telugu (Tenugu) Chōḷa clans of the Southern Andhra country, the Haihaya feudatories and other Kshatriya vassals including the descendants of the junior branches of the Imperial Chāḷukyas who held principalities all over the country.

Shortly before the death of the aged emperor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, it would appear, Parāntaka, his surviving eldest son, returned to the Chōḷa country. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva<sup>4</sup> states that when Vikrama-Chōḷa, whose other name was Tyāgasamudra, had gone to protect the Chōḷa-maṅḍala, the country of Vēṅgi became devoid of a ruler. At that juncture, the kingdom of Vēṅgi, it would appear, was divided against itself. The Chāḷukya emperor, Tribhuvanamalla, who was evidently watching the turn of events in Vēṅgi despatched armies to invade and occupy the country. There are reasons to believe that some of the powerful Kshatriya vassals in Vēṅgi openly joined the invading armies, now led by *Mahāsūmantādhipati Mahāprachanḍa-danḍanāyaka* Anantapāla,<sup>5</sup> and welcomed them. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably *Mahāmaṅḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīma or Bhīmanāyaka, the Haihaya ruler of the Kolanu *vishaya*, or Sagara *vishaya* which was the other name for the region round the Kollēru lake. He and his confederates particularly the Haihayas of Palnāḍ and Kōna-maṅḍala acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chāḷukyas and quoted the Chāḷukya-Vikrama year in their records. But Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja II, as the commander-in-chief (*samasta-sēnādhipati*) of the king of Vēṅgi, soon assumed the authority of the ruler of Vēṅgi and stoutly opposed the invading armies. The Western Chāḷukya invasion resulted in the temporary occupation of the kingdom, from about 1117 to 1135 A.C., roughly for a period of two decades.<sup>7</sup>

During the period of confusion and anarchy an Eastern Chāḷukya prince, Vishṇuvaidhana, probably lord of Niravadyapura (modern Niḍadavōlu), or Rājahmahēndravaram, crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed imperial titles.<sup>8</sup> His coronation would seem to have taken place about Śaka 1046 corresponding to 1124 or 1125 A.C.<sup>9</sup> It would appear that he was soon brought to subjection and pardoned.<sup>10</sup> Yet another prince, Vijayāditya, lord of Piṭhāpuram and a descen-

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 668, 796018, 986, 1127, 1128 and 1138.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., Nos. 717, 762.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV Nos. 1167, 1177 and 1242.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verse 24, text lines 60-62.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 193 and 196.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. III, Part II, No. 79, text line 8; *ARE*, No. 49 of 1909, Above, Vol. IV, p. 32, verse 45.

<sup>7</sup> There are numerous records on stone dated in the C.V. era scattered all over the Eastern Andhra country which prove the Western Chāḷukya occupation of Vēṅgi. Notable among them are those found at Tripurāntakam (*SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 213), Kollūru (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 193 and 196), Gurizala (*ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 27) and Drākshārāma (*ibid.*, Vol. IV., Nos. 1356 (1120 A.C.), 1308 and 1310 (1121 A.C.), Nos. 1216, 1250, 1311 (1122 A.C.), No. 1357 (1123 A.C.) No. 1255 (1124 A.C.) No. 1264 (1125 A.C.), and 1229 (1126 A.C.) and again, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1156, 1156, 1082 and 1090 dated in the years C.V. era, corresponding to 1133-34 and 1135 A.C., and lastly at Chāḷukya-Bhīmavaram (*SII*, Vol. V, No. 68).

<sup>8</sup> *Annual Report on S.I. Epigraphy*, 1912, para 66, page 79.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> The (Rajahmundry) stone inscription in question is dated the 21st year of his rule, Śaka 1067.

dant of Kaṅṭhikā-Bēta crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chālukya title Sarvalōkāśraya-Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja.<sup>1</sup> His coronation took place on the 14th February 1128.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of Mallapadēva II, and his mother Chandalladēvī was the daughter of Kolanu Brahmarāja<sup>3</sup> and probably, therefore, a sister of *Mahāmāṅḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīmarāja, the lord of Sagara *vishaya*, whom the Tamil inscriptions call Teluṅga-Bhīman.<sup>4</sup> It would appear that Vijayāditya was defeated and reduced to submission after a short time, but restored to his principality by Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja II.

It would appear that at this period the operations against *Mahāmāṅḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīma or Kolanāṅṭi Bhīma<sup>5</sup> as the present record calls him (v. 55 : lines 111-14.), who was the most formidable opponent of the Chōḷa-Chālukyas, were directed by prince Rājēndra-Chōḍa, afterwards Rājēndra-Chōḍa II, son and successor of Goṅkarāja II. Unable to oppose Rājēndra-Chōḍa in the open field, Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken up his position inside the famous *jala-durga* 'fortress in the water', of Kolanupura or Kollēṭi-kōṭa as it is called even to-day, in the middle of the lake, Kollēru.<sup>6</sup> Rājēndra-Chōḍa II invested the impregnable fortress, captured Kolanu-Bhīma alive and put him to death instantaneously together with all his sons and other near relations (vv. 55-56). The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Prithivīśvara<sup>7</sup> gives a graphic description of the storming of Kolanupura. It is stated that Rājēndra-Chōḍa II dried up the water of the lake Kollēru and presumably, by constructing a causeway across the water, reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhīma and killed him just as Rāghava killed Rāvaṇa who terrified the worlds. The present record speaks of Kolanu-Bhīma as haughty and cruel, full of pride, as a thorn to the gods and *Brāhmanas*, a man of massive strength, of great prowess and fierce frame of body and as resembling Rāvaṇa. The slaying of Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken place about the beginning of Śaka 1053 corresponding to about April, 1131 A. C., which was the thirteenth year of Vikrama-Chōḷa's reign.<sup>8</sup> This event paved the way for the final victory of Goṅkarāja II. It enabled the Velanāṅṭi chief to crush the enemies of Vikrama-Chōḷa completely, put an end to the Western Chālukya occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Chālukya-Chōḷas in Vēṅgi (c. 1135 A.C.)

*Mahāmāṅḍalēśvara* Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja was a great soldier, perhaps the greatest military genius of his day. He is said to have defeated and slain a certain Siddhi-Bēta and acquired the title *Siddhi-Bēta-Chīrpuli-hariṇa-mṛigēndraṅḍa*, "a lion to the deer Siddhi-Bēta of Chīrpuli."<sup>9</sup> Siddhi-Bēta would appear to be a Telugu Chōḷa prince of Chīrpuli in Rēnāḍu and a subordinate of Tribuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Chīrpuli (now called Chippili) is an obscure village in Chittoor

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff, verses 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., verses 32-34. The date is expressed as *nīthi-jaladhi-riyach-chandrayē*. Dr. Hultzsch shows his preference for 7 to 4 instead of as the intended meaning of the numeral *jaldhi*, on the ground that 'if he (Vijayāditya) had been crowned in 1049 his reign would have lasted for the unusually long period of 75 years. Dr. Hultzsch's view need not be taken as conclusive. For the word *jaldhi* is more often used to denote number 4 in preference to 7. Moreover two inscriptions found at Drākshārāma (*SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1201 and 1201) dated the 2nd and 6th regnal years respectively of his son Rājanārāyaṇa-Vishṇuvardhana, show that Vijayāditya ruled for about 50 years and that his death took place in or about 1178 A.C. Vijayāditya was perhaps 20 or 25 years old at the time of his coronation in 1128 A.C.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verso 32.

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68 and *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Kolanāṅṭi* is a Telugu expression meaning *Kolanunāṅṭi*, "of the *nāḍu* (subdivision) of Kolanu. To meet the exigencies of metre the poet distorted the word into *Kolanāṅṭi* dropping the intermediate syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 1. v. 28. Here the poet distorted the word *Kolanu* into *Kaunāla*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 32, v. 45.

<sup>8</sup> *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68.

<sup>9</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 675 ; *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 89.

District, lying within a distance of two miles from Madanapalli. In the numerous inscriptions found at Niḍubrōlu, Drākshārāma and other places, Velanāṅṭi Goṅkarāja II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Marāṭa, Lāṭa, Karnāṭa, Kuntala, Andhra, Kāṭaka and Trikaṅga, and acquired the rulership of the Andhra country with the insignia of a paramount sovereign (*sāmrājya-chāhnaik*) and enjoyed it.<sup>1</sup> A Drākshārāma inscription<sup>2</sup> states that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II raised Goṅkarāja II, who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the *Tri-sat-ōttura-shaḷ-sahasrāvanī-vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river, to the rulership of the Andhra country which was bounded by the Mahēndragiri on the north-east and Śrīśaila on the south-west, with the insignia of a subordinate king. The former statement is also borne out by the Telugu poem, *Kēyūrabāhu-charitramu* of Mañchana.<sup>3</sup>

Goṅkarāja II married several wives but the chief queen was Sabbāmbikā. To them was born Rājēndra-Chōḷa who is described as resembling Kumārasvāmin, the leader of the armies of gods.

It would appear that the latter part of the reign of Goṅkarāja II was peaceful and prosperous, i.e., from 1135 to 1161 A.C. Goṅkarāja was a great builder: he founded temples, established *sat-trālayas* 'charitable feeding houses'; he encouraged learning and granted innumerable *agrahāras* to the learned and the twice-born, i.e., *Brāhmanas*. He placed pinnacles over temples all over the land.<sup>4</sup> He set up a massive golden pinnacle for the *gōpura* of the temple of Bhīmanātha at Drākshārāma which he had built in 1133 A. C., evidently after he became the king of Vēṅgi.<sup>5</sup> Goṅkarāja II made a rich offering to god Bhīmanātha for a perpetual light of camphor and for five perpetual lights of ghee; for that purpose and for the purpose of *kshīrābhishēchana*, or ceremonial bath to the god with milk, every day, he gave away 500 cows to the temple.<sup>6</sup> Roughly ten years later, in Śaka 1064, corresponding to 1142-43 A. C., he made a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Drākshārāma, accompanied by his wives, younger brother Paṇḍarāja, his son, prince Rājēndra-Chōḷa II and other members of the royal family. On that memorable occasion, every one of the royal household placed four perpetual lights in the temple.<sup>7</sup> And roughly six years later, Goṅkarāja II visited the temple of Bhīmanātha again and made a grant of 25 gold coins to be paid annually from out of the royal treasury to the temple for the celebration of the annual festival *daman-ōtsava* for three consecutive days ending with the full-moon day of Chaitra.<sup>8</sup> On that occasion, probably he built a *gōḷaka* (a globular roof studded with various kinds of gems in the inner shrine of the temple), a *kōshṭhāgāra*, 'store-house', and a beautiful *mandapa* 'assembly hall' for the god Bhīmanātha. Further, for burning 25 perpetual lights more, with ghee, Goṅkarāja presented as many as 1000 she-buffaloes to the temple. The occasion for these priceless gifts was the *Karkāṭaka-samkrānti*, which occurred on the 25th June 1158 in the sixteenth or the closing year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga II. Goṅkarāja II also placed pinnacles of gold on the temples of Purushōttama at Purī in Orissa and Śrī Mallikārjua-Mahādēva at Śrīśailam on the south-west, which shone like *jayastambhas* proclaiming his victories. On yet another occasion, Goṅkarāja II gave away unlimited number of golden utensils for daily use in the worship of the god Bhīmanātha, and covered the roof of the temple *vimāna* with a plate of gold.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1113, No. 1164 (Drākshārāma); *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 123 (Niḍubrōlu).

<sup>2</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1182, text line 12 (verse 28).

<sup>3</sup> *Sarasvatī-grantha-mālā*: Kākināḍa, (1902), canto I, (verse 18).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1138.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1137.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1140.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1184.

The successor of Goṅkarāja II in the rulership of the Andhra country was his son prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the donor of the present plates. In the records of the family as well as in the present inscription (lines 102 ff.) it is stated that emperor Rājarāja II was pleased to appoint him ruler of the Andhra country which is said to have extended at this time from Mahēndragiri on the north to Kālahasti on the south. It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa's accession took place towards the end of Śaka 1082 or the beginning of 1161 A.C. For, the last known date on which Goṅkarāja II is said to be alive was the *Uttarāyana-samkrānti*, Śaka 1082, corresponding to the 25th December, 1160 A. C., according to a stone record of his minister at Bāpaṭla, Guntur District.<sup>1</sup> It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom from about Śaka 1058 corresponding to 1136-37 A. C.<sup>2</sup> The subordinates and other vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḷas in the Andhra country would seem to have recognised Rājendra-Chōḍa as their future sovereign even during the rule of Goṅkarāja II and frequently made grants to the temples in the country for his merit as well as for the merit of his father. A stone record from Pamiḍipāḍu-agrahāra, Narasaraopeta *taluk*, Guntur District, dated Jyēshṭha, śu. 5, Śaka 1077 expired, corresponding to 8th May, 1155 A. C., records the grant of a piece of land for the temple of Chennakēśava at the village for the merit of the kings Goṅkarāja II and his son Rājendra-Chōḍa, and incidentally states that the latter granted the tolls of the village Pamiḍipāḍu (Pamiḍipāḍu) and the tax on marriages for the benefit of the temple.<sup>3</sup>

Though the reign of Rājendra-Chōḍa II appears to have commenced in peace, within a short time it soon became troubled and engulfed in internecine wars among his feudatories and wanton incursions by hostile neighbours. About the beginning of Śaka 1085, i.e., about March 1163 A.C., it would appear, a civil war broke out in Kōna-maṇḍala, between the two rival branches of the ruling family, which soon threatened to assume large proportions. Kōna-maṇḍala is the ancient name for the region of the lower branches of the Gōdāvarī, comprising the *taluks* of Amalapuram and Razole, in the East Godavari District. At the time of the civil war, Kōna-maṇḍala was ruled by a powerful clan of Haihayas of the Ātrēya *gōtra*.<sup>4</sup> After the death of Kōna Rājendra-Chōḍa I which would seem to have occurred shortly after 1137 A. C.<sup>5</sup>, his elder brother Kōna Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and his younger step-brother Kōna Satyāśraya I, according to the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II,<sup>6</sup> divided the principality among themselves but ruled it conjointly in peace for a long time. Mummaḍi-Bhīma II was succeeded by his son Lōka-Bhūpa, who died apparently without leaving an heir to succeed him. Lōka-Bhūpa's death would seem to have taken place just about the same time as the accession of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. There are reasons to believe that Bhīma (III) the younger son of Kōna Satyarāja I occupied the whole of Kōna-maṇḍala to the exclusion of his cousins Bēta and Mallidēva, sons of Kōna Rājendra-Chōḍa I,<sup>7</sup> who would seem to have succeeded to or claimed the principality held by Lōka-Bhūpa. This led to a civil war which necessitated the intervention of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. A large army was despatched under the command of the *Brāhmaṇa* general Dēvana-preggaḍa of Amṛitalūru, early in Śaka 1085 corresponding to 1163 A. C., with instructions to put down the insurrection and

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 181. The earliest known date for Goṅka II is Śaka 1029 according to a record at Tripurāntakam. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 160. See also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C., and *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 109 (Śaka 1063 or 1141-42 A. C.), No. 112 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C.), No. 118 (Śaka 1068 or 1146-47 A.C.) and No. 135 (Śaka 1077 or 1155-56 A. C.)

<sup>3</sup> *ARSIE*, 1916, para 49, page 124.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 83 ff. The inscription contains a detailed account of the Haihaya chiefs of Kōna-maṇḍala.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1145 dated Śaka 1059 (1137 A. C.) seems to be the last known date of the prince.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 83, verses 18 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, page 85 (for the pedigree).

restore peace.<sup>1</sup> The military operations in Kōna-maṇḍala lasted about two years. The fragmentary record at Drākshārāma<sup>2</sup> dated Śaka 1087, i.e., 1165-66 A. C., reveals that, "having been commanded by his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, general Dēvana-preggaḍa burnt down the disdainful country (Kōna-maṇḍala) of the enemy with the flames of the fire that was his valour". It would appear that he defeated and killed Bhīma (III) and once more restored peace in the region by settling the country between the lawful claimants. The poem *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu* which has been already referred to and a number of inscriptions reveal the fact that an army of the *Sāmantas* of the Karṇāṭa king, apparently taking advantage of the political unrest in Kuntala and the rise of Kākati Prōla II, in the western Andhra Country, made incursions into the kingdom of Vēṅgi, and that the invaders were completely defeated and forced to retire in a sanguinary battle that was fought at a place called Krottacheṇuvulakōṭa, Cheṇuvulakōṭa or simply Kochcherlakōṭa, a village in Vinukonda *taluk*, Guntur District. These events may be placed about 1164-65 A. C. The king of Karṇāṭa was doubtless Kalachuri Bijjala who usurped the Western Chālukya sovereignty overthrowing his overlord, Nūrmaḍi Taliapa III (1149-1161 A. C.). Stone inscriptions refer to Chaṇḍarāya, a feudatory of the king of Karṇāṭa who was slain in the battle of Krottacheṇuvulakōṭa, who may be identified as the Sinda chief of Yelburga, who was the husband of Siriyādēvī, a daughter of Bijjala.<sup>4</sup>

The Telugu poem, *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu* gives a vivid account of the reigns of Goṅkarāja II and his illustrious son Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, and of the greatness of their successive ministers Naṇḍūri Gōvinda and his son Naṇḍūri Kommana, and the prosperity of the Andhra country. According to a stone record at Bāpaṭla, and the present plates (v. 56) the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa II extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kaliṅganagara on the north to Kālahasti on the south and to Śrīśailam on the west and was bounded by the sea on the east.<sup>5</sup> It appears that the province of Kaliṅga was governed by the *Brāhmaṇa* general, Meṇṭana-preggaḍa under the orders of the king, Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa in Kaliṅga.<sup>6</sup> It would appear that on the death of Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍagaṅga, c. 1142 A.C., the kingdom or at any rate the southern portion of Kaliṅga extending as far as the Mahēndragiri was annexed to Vēṅgi. It is stated in the poem that the king's treasury always contained nine crores of gold (*coins*), that ninety-nine elephants which looked like huge black clouds roamed about the city of Chandavōlu, that a cavalry force of forty-thousand was always ready for service on the field and that seventy-five candies of rice<sup>7</sup> were cooked every day for the army and king's household. Such was the prosperity of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The poem gives an account of the king's chief *Brāhmaṇa* minister Kommana-mantrin of the Kauśika *gōtra*, who was a great soldier. Kommana was a worshipper of Vishṇu; he built thirty-two temples of Vishṇu, at the beautiful towns of Śrīkūrmam, Guruduṛti, Krottacharla, Tripūtāntakam, Koṭyadona, Boggāram, Yelamañchili and other places. Every day he fed a thousand *Brāhmaṇa* guests with *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk and sugar) at his house, throughout his life, with a religious zeal and devotion. He governed in addition to his office, the province of Pāka-nāḍu twenty-one-thousand. On the battlefield at Krottacherlakōṭa, it is said, he displayed marvellous strength and heroism.

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos., 1086 and 1083.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1083.

<sup>3</sup> *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*, Introduction, verses 22-23. *SII*, Vol. X, No. 151, text lines 31-41., *ibid.*, No. 171; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1053.

<sup>4</sup> *JBBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 259; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 477.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1200. The inscription is dated Śaka 1097 (1175-76 A. C.)

<sup>7</sup> One *candy* or *barua* is equal to 500 lbs. in weight but as a measure of capacity, roughly 14,000 cubic inches.



Like his illustrious father Goṅkarāja II, Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva. He made liberal grants to temples of Śiva all over his vast kingdom. He made even richer gifts than his father to the god Bhīmanāthēśvara at Drākshārāma. He presented golden utensils for the daily worship of the god in commemoration of his victories over his enemies.<sup>1</sup> He gave away on one occasion a *prabhā* (aureola) made of solid gold to god Bhīmanātha and covered the huge *linga* with a splendid armour of massive gold. On another occasion he presented a *makara-tōraṇa* of gold, studded with priceless gems.<sup>2</sup> He built a temple for Śiva under the name of Rāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Siripuram in Śaka 1093, i.e., 1171 A. C., and granted the village of Siripuram together with its twelve hamlets and some more land as *dēvabhōya* for the worship of the deity.<sup>3</sup> On the banks of the Tuṅgabhadrā, a small stream flowing by the side of Appikaṭṭa, a village in Tenali *taluk*, Guntur District, he built another temple for Śiva under the name Viśvēśvara-Mahādēva and made large grants of land in Appikaṭṭa, Maṅṅipūṇḍi and other villages in the sub-division known as Ōṅṅerumārga, for the worship of the god.<sup>4</sup>

Rājendra-Chōḍa II would seem to have reigned till a very ripe old age and died about the beginning of 1182 A. C. The last known inscription which mentions the king as still living on that date but indicating his impending death is a record of his *Brāhmaṇa* officer Mādharma-mantrin of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra* at Drākshārāma.<sup>5</sup> It is slightly damaged; it registers the gift of a perpetual light to god Bhīmanātha on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Pushya in Śaka 1003, which corresponds to Monday, the 22nd December, 1181 A. C., when there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Rājendra-Chōḍa's death may, therefore, be placed sometime in January or February, 1182 A. C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also called Vīra-Rājendra-Chōḍa.<sup>6</sup> According to the family records found at Drākshārāma and Palacole (Pālakolanu) Rājendra-Chōḍa had at least four queens, Guṇḍāmbikā, Kuppamā, Paṇḍamā (daughter of the chief of Kōṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi) and Akkamahādēvī or Aṅkamahādēvī; the first would appear to have been the consort during the early part of Vīra-Rājendra-Chōḍa's life.<sup>7</sup> Akkamahādēvī was the daughter of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Manma-Manḍa or Maṇḍarāja II<sup>8</sup> who took a heroic part<sup>9</sup> in the war against Kaliṅga as a follower of Velanāṅṅi Rājendra-Chōḍa I, and the younger sister of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja III.<sup>10</sup> To King Vīra-Rājendra-Chōḍa and Akkambikū was born Goṅkarāja III. His son was Prithvīśvara of the Piṭhāpuram inscription.

TEXT<sup>11</sup>*Second Plate; First Side<sup>12</sup>*

1 १३ज्जितारिस्त्रपुरारितुल्यः यद्भोगिभीगोपमबाहुसंगाज्जराद्दि-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 37, verses 47-48.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> No. 49 of 1909, (same as *SII*, Vol. X, No. 177).

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI Nos. 124 and 125. Ōṅṅeru-mārga appears to be the ancient name for the region lying between Tenali, Guntur and Bapatla *taluks* extending towards south as far as Ongole, Guntur District.

<sup>5</sup> *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1366, *Ibid.*, No. 1037. The last digit in the date of the record is lost but may be read as 3. The details of the date then would yield the equivalent, viz., 25th December, 1181 A. C.

<sup>6</sup> No. 181 of 1897.

<sup>7</sup> *SII*, Vol. V, No. 161, Vol. IV, No. 1137.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 268 (274).

<sup>9</sup> *SII* Vol. IV, No. 662, Vv. 7-8.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 274.

<sup>11</sup> From the ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

<sup>12</sup> The first plate of this set is lost.

<sup>13</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*. The first *pāda* is lost on the first plate.

- 2 तो यो वसुमभ्युपैति । [॥१॥\*] <sup>1</sup>ततो विचित्रवीर्योभूतस्मात्पांडुर-  
 3 जायत । येनेयं पृथिवी सर्वा पालिता धर्मतः पुरा [॥२॥\*] युधिष्ठि-  
 4 रादयः पंच पांडवा<sup>2</sup> खंडलोपमाः [१\*] अभूवन्विनयोपैताः  
 5 खंडितारातिमंडलाः [॥३॥\*] तेषु वंशस्य कर्त्तासीदज्जुनस्सज्जनप्रियः ।  
 6 सुमूर्तिः पुण्यचारित्रः कीर्त्तिव्याप्तजगत्रयः [॥४॥\*] <sup>3</sup>तुष्टो य-  
 7 स्य पराक्रमेण भगवान्युद्धे पुराणां रिपुस्त्रैलोक्यैकगुरु-  
 8 र्गुरुस्समभवत् बालेंदुचूडामणिः [१\*] सारथ्यन्नरकारिरादिपुरुष-  
 9 श्चक्रे च विष्णुः स्वयं । को वा तस्य धनंजयस्य विभुतां शक्तः <sup>4</sup>प्रवक्तुन्नरः  
 [ ॥५॥\* ] त-  
 10 स्मादभिमन्युः [१\*] अभिमन्योः परीक्षित् [१\*] ततो जनमेजयः । अथ चतुरद-  
 11 धिपर्य्यतवसुंधराधुरंधरेषु दिशाहस्तिमस्तकविन्यस्तजयस्तंभे-  
 12 षु एकोनषष्ठिवसुधाधिपेषु तद्वश्येषु गतेषु तत्कुलजो विजिगीषु-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 13 व्विजयादित्यो नामं महीपतिस्त्रिनयनपल्लवेन युद्धा विधिनि-  
 14 योगात्त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥ <sup>5</sup>आनीतवंतस्तदनु प्रधानां तद्वल्लभान्नि-<sup>6</sup>  
 15 [बर्भ\*]रगवर्भभाराम् [१\*] तन्मन्त्रिमुख्या मुडुवेमुनाम भूदेवजुष्टं  
 16 वरमग्रहारम् [॥६॥\*] <sup>7</sup>तद्ग्राममुख्यः खलु विष्णुभट्टः पुष्टस्समृद्ध्या निज-  
 17 विद्यया च [१\*] ज्ञात्वा याधा(यथा)वृत्तमतिप्रयत्नात्सम्यग्ररक्ष क्षितिपालपत्नीम् [॥७॥\*]  
 18 <sup>7</sup>रक्षिता तेन विप्रेण कुमारं लक्षणान्वितम् [१\*] सुषुवे वासवप्रख्यं  
 19 ग्यातं वंशकरं वरम् । [॥८॥\*] जातकर्म्मदिकं सर्वन्निर्ममे कर्म्मकर्म्मठः ।

<sup>1</sup> This and the two following verses are in *Anvashṭubh* metre.

<sup>2</sup> Rule of *sandhi* is sacrificed here for the sake of the metre.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>4</sup> Read ° प्रवक्तुं नरः °.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>6</sup> Read ° तद्वल्लभां निबर्भर °.

<sup>7</sup> This verse and the next two are in *Anvashṭubh* metre.

- 20 विप्रो नृपकुमारस्य कुमारसदृशद्युतेः [॥६॥\*] अथ जननीमुखाज्जनकस्य वृ-  
 21 तांतं विदित्वा तपःकृतनिश्चयस्स कुमारश्चालुक्यधरित्रीधरमारुरो-  
 22 ह । तत्र देवन्नारायणं कुमारं दिवाकरम्(रं) भगवतीन्नदां गौरीं चारा-  
 23 [ध्य\*] वराहलाञ्छनपिच्छकुंतपंचमहाशब्द<sup>1</sup>डक्कामकरतोरणश्वेत-  
 24 [च्छ\*]त्रसितचामरपालिकैकशंखसिंहासनादीनि चक्रवर्तिचिह्नान्यवाप्य

*Third Plate ; First Side*

- 25 विंध्यसेतुमध्यं दक्षिणापथम्(थं) परिपालयामास । अथ पल्लववंश-  
 26 संभवा या गुणरत्नाकरविष्णुवर्द्धनस्य महिषी । सुषुवे सुतं सुः  
 27 नेप्रा विजयादित्यमद[भ्रशु]भ्रकीर्तिम् । [॥१०॥\*] ततः पुलकेशी तस्मात्की-  
 त्तिवर्मा  
 28 ततस्सत्याश्रयो विष्णुवर्द्धनश्च बभूवतुः । सत्याश्रयः कुंतविभिन्नवैरि-  
 29 मत्तेभकुंभो युधि कुंतलानाम् [१\*] साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमधिगम्य सम्यक् पृ-  
 30 थ्वीं शशास प्रधि(थि)तप्रतापः [॥११॥\*] तयोरवरजो वेंगीमंडलं चंडवि-  
 31 क्रमः [१\*] ररक्षाष्टादश समा विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [॥१२॥\*] जयसिंहस्त्र-  
 32 यस्त्रिंशदब्दान्सम्यक्तदात्मजः [१\*] अनुजस्तस्य सप्ताहर्मिदि(द्र)राजो विधेर्वशा-  
 33 त् [॥१३॥\*] नववर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [१\*] [तत्पुत्रो\*] मंगियुवराट् पं-  
 चविंश-  
 34 ति वत्सरान् । [॥१४॥\*] त्रयोदशाब्दान्तत्सूनुरथालयदिलां बली [१\*] सिंहविक्रमसं-  
 35 पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभुजः । [॥१५॥\*] तत्कनीयान् क्षितिं वीरो ररक्ष  
 क्षत्रियाग्रणी-  
 36 [१\*] षण्मासान्कोक्किलिः पृथ्वीम्मत्तमातंगविक्रमः । [॥१६॥\*] ज्येष्ठोस्या(स्य)  
 कोक्किलेः पृथ्वीं विष्णु-

<sup>1</sup> Read ° ढक्का °.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Anpachchhandasiku*.

<sup>3</sup> Read सुनेत्रा .

<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>5</sup> This and the next six verses are in *Anushūbh* metre.

<sup>6</sup> Read ° ज्येष्ठोस्य °.

37 वर्द्धनभूतिः । षट्त्रिंशदब्दान्बुभुजे भुजवीर्यान्महाभुजः [॥१७॥\*] <sup>१</sup>तत्पुत्रो  
[वि\*]-

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38 जया[दित्य]नामाष्टादशवत्सरान् [१\*] तत्तनयो [नरेंद्रो] नृपतिरष्टा चत्वारिं-  
शद्वत्सरानि (णि) . . . . .

39 समरशिरसि [वैरिनिकरं विजित्य] तावन्ति गौरीपतेरायतना[नि] यश्चक्रे । [॥१८\*॥]  
<sup>२</sup>तत्सूनुरेना[मथ] विष्णुवर्द्ध-

40 नः षट्त्रिंशदब्दा[न्निजवंशवर्द्धनः [१\*] संग्रामरंगे रिपुभीतिवर्द्धनः क्षोणीमरक्षत्क्षितिपो  
[यशोधनः] । [॥१९॥\*] [त]-

41 त्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोध्यर्द्धवर्षम् तत्तनयो<sup>३</sup>गुणांकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि  
। तद्भ्रातुःक-

42 नीयसो विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः पुत्रश्चालुक्यभीम[स्त्रिं]शदब्दान् . . . . .  
. . . . . संग्रामशिरसि रिपुगणं जित्वा-

43 नेकपुण्यस्थानेषु भगवतो महादेवस्यालयान्निर्ममे । त[त्सूनु]विजयादित्यो नाम  
मास[षट्कमथ]

44 परिपाल्य विरजान्नामपुरीं विजित्य त्रिदिवमगमत् [१\*] तदात्म[जोम्मराजः] प्रति-  
संवत्सरं तुला[पूरुषान्]

45 कुर्वन्सप्तहायनमवनीमपालयत् [१\*] तद्दायादस्ताड[पो मा]समेकम्महीं [श\*]शास  
[१\*] चालु]क्यभी-

46 मसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तु स्ता(ता)डपं जित्वा एकादशमासान् क्षितिं ररक्ष [१\*]  
ताडगस्यात्मजो युद्धम-

47 ल्दम्पत्संवत्सरान् । अम्मराजानुजो राजभीमस्समरशिरसि युद्धमल्लं परिजित्य  
द्वादश

48 गमा वसुमतीं शशास [१\*] <sup>४</sup>तस्यात्मजौ दीर्घ<sup>५</sup>भुजावभूतां दानार्णवाम्मक्षितिपो  
सुरूपौ [१\*] पंचो-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh, only one pāda.

<sup>२</sup> Metre : Indravajrī.

<sup>३</sup> Read 'गुणांक' or 'गुणग'.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>५</sup> Read दीर्घ.

- 49 त्तरान्विंशतिमत्र सोब्दान् क्षोणी शशासाम्मनृपः कनीयान् । [॥२०॥] <sup>१</sup>द्वैमातुरोम्म-  
राजस्य ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठो) दानार्णवो नृपः [१\*] र-
- 50 रक्ष क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठस्त्रिंशत्संवत्सरान् क्षितिम् । [२१॥\*] <sup>२</sup>तस्यानु दानार्णवभूमिपस्य वेंग्युर्वरेयं  
रहितेव भ-
- 51 त्त्रा [१\*] रिपुक्षमापालकुलाविलासीत्तदा समास्सप्त च विंशतिश्च । [॥२२॥\*] ततस्सुतो  
दाननृपस्य पृथ्वीं श्रीशक्तिवर्मा
- 52 श्रितराज्यलक्ष्मीः [१\*] संग्रामरंगे स विजित्य शत्रून्संवत्सरान् द्वादश संशशास । [॥२३॥\*]  
<sup>३</sup>अनुजस्तस्य वर्षाणि सप्त सप्ता-
- 53 श्वसन्निभः । विमलादित्यभूपालोपालयत्सकलामिलाम् । [॥२४॥\*] <sup>४</sup>तस्मादासीद्राज-  
राजस्तनूजो राजीवाक्षो
- 54 निज्जितारातिराजः [१\*] कीर्तिं शुभ्रां दिक्षु [सम्यक्प्रसार्य लक्ष्म्या युक्तः] <sup>५</sup>कांच[णः]  
कल्पवृक्षः [॥२५॥\*]

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- 55 <sup>१</sup>एकादशाधिकत्रिंशद्वर्षाणि <sup>६</sup>सन्निपाग्रणीः [१\*] पालयामाम बलवानिला-  
मुदधिमेखलाम् [॥२६॥\*] <sup>४</sup>तस्मादासीदचिर्वताद्धेदुचूडः पादाक्रान्तद्वेषिभूपाल-  
चूडः[१\*] नानारत्नश्रेणिनद्धात्मचूडः श्रीमान्वी[रः] श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडः [॥२७॥\*] <sup>१</sup>हि-  
मवत्सेतुपर्य्यतां पञ्चविंशद्व(ति व)त्सरान् [१\*] <sup>७</sup>वसुधां वसुधानाथः शशास  
रिपुशासनः [॥२८॥\*] <sup>८</sup>तदात्मजो विक्र[म\*]चोडदेवः पराक्रमे शक्रममस्समासी-  
त्[१\*] विनम्रभूपालविलोलमौलिमणिप्रभाभासितपादपीठः [॥२९॥\*] <sup>१</sup>म सप्त-  
दश वर्षाणि दधे भारम् भुवः प्रभुः[१\*] उवाह बाहुवीर्य्येण निहताराति-  
मंडलः [॥३०॥\*] <sup>९</sup>तदनु शशिवदुच्चैस्सत्समेतः कलावानुदयमगमदस्मा-  
दस्तदोषांधकारः [१\*] अधिकमखिललोकन्नन्दयन्वर्णनीयस्सहजनितजय-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>२</sup> This and the next verse are in *Upajāti* metre.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : *Sālinī*.

<sup>५</sup> Read °कांचनः °.

<sup>६</sup> Read स नृपाग्रणीः °.

<sup>७</sup> One letter was written and erased before *ra*.

<sup>८</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>९</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.

- 64 श्री<sup>1</sup> श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडः [॥३१॥\*] <sup>२</sup>संतप्स्य वसुधाराभिर्व्व[सु]धां वसुधाधिपः[।\*] स पं-  
 65 चदश वर्षाणि शशास <sup>३</sup>[शिव]किंकरः [॥३२॥\*] <sup>४</sup>तस्माद्भूदंबुधिमेखलाया वसुन्धरायाः  
 66 पतिरप्रकंप्यः[।\*] श्रीराजराजो रजनीशवक्त्रस्संराजराजीवसमाननेत्रः [॥३३॥\*]  
 67 <sup>५</sup>लक्ष्मीपति (ते)र्भुवनपावनपादपद्माद्गंगाप्रवाह इव कीर्तिकरः [प\*]वित्रः[।\*] आ-  
 68 सीत्त्रिलोकजनकस्य चतुर्थवंशः (।) पादारविंदयुगलात्कमला-

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- 69 सनस्य [॥३४॥\*] <sup>६</sup>वंशेस्मिन्नजनीशनिर्मलमणि[स्स]द्वंश्यचूडामणिः.....  
 70 [प्र]पराक्रमो जितरिपुः श्रीमल्लभूपोभवत्[।\*] येनेयं वेल[नांडुना]-  
 71 मविषयस्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह [प्रा\*]प्तस्त्र्यंबकपल्लवाद्रणशिरस्स(स्सा)-  
 72 हाय्य[सं]तोषितात् [॥३५॥\*] गतेषु तद्वंश्येष्वनेकेषु जितारिषु  
 73 मंडलेशेषु पृथिवीमंडनेषु यशोर्द्धिषु । <sup>७</sup>नरेद्रानुचरः शूर-  
 74 स्तद्वंशे मल्लयोभवत् । चंडासिनाशनिर्य्येनाखंडि खंडित-  
 75 वैरिणा [॥३६॥\*] तस्मात्पिडुवुरादित्यनामास्य<sup>७</sup> गुणतोभवत् [।\*] ए<sup>८</sup>यस्त-  
 76 त्सुतो जज्ञे ततोभून्मल्लियो नृपः [॥३७॥\*] <sup>९</sup>चालुक्यभीमानुचरेषु  
 77 मुख्यो यः को[ल्ल]पांबां<sup>८</sup> विधिनोपयेमे [।\*] ताभ्यामभूतां विनयो[प]-  
 78 [पन्नौ] वीरौ सुता[वे]यकोरपौ तु [॥३८॥\*] <sup>९</sup>ए<sup>८</sup>योभूतयोज्येष्ठो वंश-  
 79 कर्त्ता सुकीर्त्तनः [।\*] पत्नी प्रिया<sup>१०</sup> तस्य कट्टांबासीन्मनोहरा [॥३९॥\*] <sup>९</sup>ताभ्यामभूवन् ष-  
 80 ट्पुत्राः षण्मुखप्रतिमा भुवि [।\*] मल्लियो कुडियो गंडः पंडो नन्नश्च  
 81 कापनः [॥४०॥\*] <sup>९</sup>कुडियाय ददौ तेषु विमलादित्यभूपतिः [।\*] मंडलं गु-

<sup>१</sup> Read ° श्रीः.

<sup>२</sup> Metre : Anushṭubh.

<sup>३</sup> These two letters शिव are written beneath the line.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>५</sup> Metre : Vasantatilakā.

<sup>६</sup> Metre : Śardūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>७</sup> Read ° सुगुणतो °. Here the letter ण is written below the line after the letter गु.

<sup>८</sup> This name may also be read as कोत्यपांबां .

<sup>९</sup> This and the next four verses are in Anushṭubh metre.

<sup>१०</sup> Two letters are wanting in this pāda.

82 द्रवाराख्यक्षिति मंडलमंडनम् । [१४१॥\*] नन्नोपि नुतचारित्रः . . . . .

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83 मंडलः [१\*] विष्णुवर्द्धन[भू]पालसेनापतिरभूद्भुवि [१४२॥\*] पंडयो..

84 [..याधिप]स्तस्य गुंडांबिकाभवत् [१\*] दयिता ।<sup>१</sup> पांडुराजस्य कुंतीवात्यं-

85 तसुंदरा<sup>२</sup> । [१४३॥\*] तयोरधा(था)सन्समरैकशौंडावंडप्रतापा इव पांडु-

86 पुत्राः[१\*] पंचेंद्रकल्पा वेदुरश्च गंडो गोकश्च मल्लश्च तथैव पंडः [१४४॥\*]

<sup>४</sup>निज-

87 वंशकरस्स तेषु शूरः क्षपितारातिकुलः कुलाणर्वेदुरक-

88 लंकमृगांकनुत्यकीर्तिस्समभूद्गोकमहीपतिगु(र्गु)णांकः [१४५॥\*] षट्स-

89 हस्त्रावनीशत्वं श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडतः[१\*] येन संग्रामसा-

90 हाय्यतुष्टात्प्राप्तं जितारिणा [१४६॥\*] तस्य गोकक्षितीशस्य मृ[गां]-

91 कवदना वरा [१\*] सव्वांबिकाभूद्दयिता मर्व्वलक्षणलक्षिता [१४७॥\*] <sup>६</sup>पु-

92 त्रस्तयोरप्रतिमप्रतापः श्रीचोडभूपः कुलरत्नदीपः [१\*] जातस्सतां

93 रक्षणदक्षदक्ष(?)बाहुर्मुकुंदापिर्पितचित्तवृत्तिः [१४८॥\*] <sup>७</sup>तस्य चंडप्रता-

94 पस्य मंडलेशशिखामणेः [१\*] गुंडांबिकाभूद्दयित्या<sup>८</sup> चारित्र[गुण]-

95 मंडिता [१४९॥\*] <sup>९</sup>अजनि गतकलंकश्शंकरश्रीपदाब्जद्विनय[भजन]-

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side*

96 <sup>१०</sup>[भ्रित्य]स्तत्सुतो गोकभूपः [१\*] [विभव]जितधनेशः पालिताशेष[देशः

97 समरसमय[शौ]ंडो [दंडिता]रातिराज..[१५०॥\*]. . . . .

98 <sup>७</sup>विमानशिखरेषु यः(१\*)शातकुंभमयान्कुंभान् जयस्यं(स्तं)भानि-

<sup>१</sup> *Danda unnecessary.*

<sup>२</sup> Read ° सुंदरी °.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Upajāti.*

<sup>४</sup> Metre : *Anpachchhandasika.*

<sup>५</sup> This and the next verse are in *Anushṭubh* metre.

<sup>६</sup> Metre : *Indravajrū.*

<sup>७</sup> Metre : *Anushṭubh.*

<sup>८</sup> Read ° दयिता °.

<sup>९</sup> Metre : *Mālinī.*

<sup>१०</sup> Read ° भृत्य °.

- 99 वाकरोत् ॥[१५१]\* १तद्वल्लभा सकलसद्गुणपात्रगोत्रा सब्बांबिका विकसदं-
- 100 बुजपत्रनेत्रा [१\*] लक्ष्मीरिव प्र[ण]तलोकसमग्रदक्षा — — — — [वि]-
- 101 मलचंद्रममानवक्त्रा [॥१५२\*] २ताभ्यामुमाशंकरसन्निभाभ्यां कुमारतुल्यः
- 102 प्रभुशक्तियुक्तः [१\*] जातो महासैन्यपतिर्महीपो राजेंद्रचोड[श्चि\*]-
- 103 तचंद्रचूडः ॥[१५३\*] १[य]श्शंखचक्रकलशांकुशकल्पवृक्षवज्राब्जमत्स्य[म\*]-
- 104 करांकितपाणिपादः [१\*] षट्चक्रवर्ति[सद्रि(दृ)श]श्शतपत्रपत्रनेत्रस्सुपूर्ण(र्ण)[श]-
- 105 रदिंदुसमानवक्त्रः [॥१५४\*] ३यस्मिन्जाते सुखी जातो लोको वृद्धिमुपा<sup>४</sup>-  
..... [धर्म]-
- 106 श्च वृद्धिमगमत्त्रिविक्रमपराक्रमे । [१५५\*] ५.....<sup>६</sup>सदृशो को-
- 107 दंडशिक्षा.....क्षितितलत्राणोन्मुखे यत्करे[१\*] सेतोर्भीत....
- 108 .....चोरस्तदा.....[॥१५६].....
- 109 .....

*Sixth Plate ; First Side*

- 110 ७ह्यादपि यन्नसाव्यम् [१\*] अंभोधिगंभोरमनंतसत्वम्म<sup>८</sup>संप्राप्य तोये-
- 111 न बलाद्रसार्द्धम् । [॥१५६\*] ९देवब्राह्मणकंटकः पृथुतरः[शौ]य्येण मानी ख-
- 112 लो दुर्गातिर्निलयो भयंकरवपुः[ः] श्रीरामतुल्यौजसौः<sup>१०</sup>[१\*] येनाजौ-
- 113 कोलनांतिभीमनृपतिः[\*] पुत्रै[श्च] मित्रैस्सह क्रुद्धो[ः] रावणसन्निभो भुज-
- 114 बला[न्नि]र्मूलमुन्मीलि[तः] ॥१५७\*<sup>११</sup> पूर्वाभोनिधिकालहस्तिशिखरि[श्रीमन्म]-

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

<sup>२</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>३</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>४</sup> The missing letters may be read as गमत्.

<sup>५</sup> This may be a verse. Metre cannot be distinguished.

<sup>६</sup> The reading is doubtful.

<sup>७</sup> Metre : *Indracujrā*.

<sup>८</sup> Read °सत्वं संप्रा°.

<sup>९</sup> Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīṭi*.

<sup>१०</sup> Read °ह्यौजसः.



- 115 हेंद्राचलश्रीशैली<sup>1</sup> व्वलैकृतांध्रविषयं श्रीराजराजस्व-<sup>2</sup>
- 116 यं [1\*] यस्मै विक्रमविस्मितस्समदिशत्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह श्रीम-
- 117 च्चामरयुग्मसुंदर<sup>3</sup>वियच्चं[द्रोद]याद्यैर्मुदा [॥१५८॥\*] अत्युत्तमो[त्तु]ग्गतु-
- 118 रंगयूध(थ)खुराग्रसम्मूर्च्छितरेणुजालं [1\*] ग्रामत्तमातंगमदां-
- 119 बुद<sup>4</sup>[सेकैः] प्रशाम्यते यस्य जयप्रयाणे [॥१५९॥\*] काठिन्यं कुचकुंभयो-
- 120 स्तरल[ता हा]रे भ्रुवोर्वक्रता मंदत्वं गमने वरांघ्नितलयोर्निर्भ-  
र्भ-
- 121 त्सनं क्षामतां [1\*] वाण्यां तैक्षणमपांग]योश्च समभूत्संग्राम — —
- 122 क्षितिः श्रीचोडक्षितिपालकीर्तिरशना यस्मिंश्चिरं शासति [॥१६०॥\*]  
लक्ष्मीर्व-

*Sixth Plate ; Second Side*

- 123 क्षसि दक्षिणे भुजतटे वी[र]श्रियं यः परां [1\*] वामे चैव [भुजोत्त]-
- 124 मे [जय]रमां वाग्देवतामान[ने ] शत्रुध्वंसनकारिणीं — —
- 125 शिरस्यत्यंत — — बिभ्रन्माधवपंकजासन-
- 126 पुरःप्रख्यश्चिरं राजते [॥१६१\*] प्रादाद्यश्च महाग्रहारनिकरं संवर्द्धि[भि]-
- 127 स्संयुतं विप्रेभ्यः कविपुंडरीकनिकरप्रद्योतनश्शत्रुहा [1\*] भद्रां]
- 128 राजशिखामणिः क्षितिमिमां शश्वत्समृद्धां जनैर्म्माधाता नृप-
- 129 तिर्य्यधा(था) च मकरश्रीधर्मपुत्रो यधा(था) [॥१६२\*] दानं यस्य समाग-
- 130 [तार्थि]ज[न]तादारिद्र्यविद्रावनं(णं) शौ[र्य्य] यस्य विरोधराजवनि-
- 131 तावैधव्यदीक्षागुरुः[ः] कीर्त्तिर्दिव्यनदीव यस्य विमला व्याप्तत्रिलोकी-

<sup>1</sup> Read °श्रीशैलैर्व्वलयी°.

<sup>2</sup> Read °राजराजस्व°.

<sup>3</sup> Read °सुंदर°.

<sup>4</sup> Metre : Upajāti.

<sup>5</sup> Read मदांबुसेकैः.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita. Read °लक्ष्मीं व°.

<sup>8</sup> Read सगरः°.

132 [स्थिता] श्रीचोडक्षितिपस्य तस्य महि[मा न]स्याद्वचोचरम् [॥६३॥\*] <sup>1</sup>राजेन्द्रचोडभूपा-

133 लस्सोयं परपुरंजयः [।\*] नियोगाद्राजराजस्य पालयन्नध्रमंडलम् [॥६४॥\*].  
इंदुनंद(द)-

134 वियच्चंद्रगणिते शकवत्सरे [।\*] श्रीमतो राजराजस्य त्रयोविंशकवत्सरे [॥६५॥\*] कदाचित्पु-

135 न्ये(ण्ये)[हनि] धनदपुय्या [स्थितः] [इनुंगु~~ण्ण~~नामग्रामं] वेदवेदांगपाशुगा-

136 य मीमांसा . . . . . निजमानसाय षट्कर्क . . .

137 [Damaged. The rest is lost.]

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh.



## INDEX

By A. N. LAHIRI, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages and *n.* after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.* = author ; *ca.* = capital ; *ch.* = chief ; *ci.* = city ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *engr.* = engraver ; *ep.* = epithet ; *f.* = family ; *fe.* = female ; *feud.* = feudatory ; *gen.* = general ; *ins.* = inscription ; *k.* = king ; *l.* = locality ; *l.m.* = linear measure or land measure ; *m.* = male ; *min.* = minister ; *mo.* = mountain ; *myth.* = mythological ; *n.* = name ; *N.* = Northern ; *off.* = office or officer ; *peo.* = people ; *pr.* = prince or princess ; *q.* = queen ; *rel.* = 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.]

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