

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXV (1939-40)



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**EPIGRAPHIA INDICA**

VOL. XXV

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EDITED BY  
**N. P. CHAKRAVARTI**



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# CONTENTS

*The names of the contributors are arranged alphabetically.*

	PAGE.
<b>CHAKRAVARTI, N. P., M.A., PH.D.—</b>	
No. 1. Rewah Plates of the time of Trailokyamalladeva : [ Kalachuri ] Year 963 . . . . .	1
„ 18. A note on the Halayudha Stotra in the Amareesvara Temple . . . . .	183
<b>CHHABRA, B. CH., M.A., M.O.L., PH.D.—</b>	
No. 24. A note on the Chronology of the Gangas of Svetaka . . . . .	240
„ 35. Kasayapa Image Inscription from Silao . . . . .	327
<b>DIKSHIT, M. G., B.A.—</b>	
See under Mirashi, V. V., M.A., Prof.—, and M. G. Dikshit, B.A. . . . .	..
<b>DIKSHIT, S. K., M.A.—</b>	
No. 4. Ellora Plates of Dantidurga : Saka 663 . . . . .	25
<b>DISKALKAR, D. B., M.A.—</b>	
See under Madho Sarup Vata, M.A., and D. B. Diskalkar, M.A. . . . .	..
<b>GHOSH, A., M.A.—</b>	
No. 9. Nalanda Plate of Samudragupta : The Year 5 . . . . .	56
„ 26. Date of the Pandava Kings of Southern Kosala . . . . .	266
„ 36. A Bronze image Inscription from Nalanda . . . . .	334
<b>GHOSHAL, R. K., M.A.—</b>	
No. 20. Santa-Bommali Plates of Indravarman : [ Ganga ] Year 87 . . . . .	194
„ 29. Jirjingl Plates of Ganga Indravarman : The Year 39 . . . . .	281
<b>KRISHNAMACHARLU, C. R., B.A., RAO BAHADUR—</b>	
No. 8. Epigraphical Notes . . . . .	47
„ 23. A note on the Ragola Plates of Saktivarman and the Chalukyan Conquest of Kalinga . . . . .	238
<b>KULKARNI, M.A.—</b>	
See under Mirashi, V. V., M.A., Prof.—, and L. R. Kulkarni, M.A. . . . .	..
<b>LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, N., M.A.—</b>	
No. 19. Two Inscriptions on Copper Plates from Nutimadugu . . . . .	166
<b>LAW, BIMAL CHUBEN, M.A., B.L., PH.D.—</b>	
No. 5. Bikshunis in Indian Inscriptions . . . . .	31
<b>MIRASHI, V. V., M.A., PROF.—</b>	
No. 21. Purnbhattampuri Plates of Ramachandra : Saka 1232 . . . . .	199
„ 28. Bargaon Temple Inscription of Sabara . . . . .	278
„ 33. <del>Sa</del> ulpore Stone Inscription of Vimalasiva : The [ Kalachuri ] Year 926 . . . . .	309
<b>MIRASHI, V. V., M.A., PROF.—, and M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.—</b>	
No. 15. An Incomplete Grant of Sinda Adityavarman : Saka 887 . . . . .	164
<b>MIRASHI, M.A., PROF.— and L. R. KULKARNI, M.A.—</b>	
No. 2. Ramtek Stone Inscription of the time of Ramachandra . . . . .	7
<b>MAJUMDAR, R. C., M.A., PH.D.—</b>	
No. 14. Three Copper-plate Grants from Mayurbhanj . . . . .	147
<b>NABARIMHANWANI, H. K., B.Sc.—</b>	
No. 13. Koduru Grant of Ana-Vota Reddi : Saka 1280 . . . . .	137

	PAGE
<b>NILAKANTA SASTRI, K. A., M.A., PROF.—</b>	
No. 32. The Punjai Inscription of Krishnadevaraya . . . . .	297
<b>PANCHAMUKHI, R. S., M.A.—</b>	
No. 7. Kanteru Plates of Salankayana Vijaya-Skandavarman . . . . .	42
„ 27. Nilgavavaram Inscription of Ambadeva-Maharaja : Saka 1212 . . . . .	270
<b>PANIGRAHI, KRISHNA CHANDRA, M.A.—</b>	
No. 16. Adipur Copper-plate of Durjyabhanja . . . . .	172
<b>RAMANATHA AYYAR, A. S., B.A.—</b>	
No. 6. Ambasamudram Inscription of Solasuralaikonda Vira-Pandya . . . . .	35
„ 34. Conjeevaram Inscription of Brahma-Tantra-Svatanttra-Jiyar : Saka 1282 . . . . .	318
<b>RAMANATHA AYYAR, A. S., B.A., and V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A.—</b>	
No. 25. Charala Plates of Chola Virarajendra : Saka 991 . . . . .	241
<b>SOMASEKHARA SARMA, M.—</b>	
No. 37. A Note on the Panchadharla Pillar Inscription of King Visvesvara . . . . .	335
<b>SUBRAHMANYA AYYER, K. V., B.A.—</b>	
No. 11. Tiruppuvanam Plates of Jatavarman Kulasekhara I . . . . .	64
„ 12. Tiruppuvanam Supplementary Plate . . . . .	130
<b>SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, P. P., B.A. (OXON.), M.A., PROF.—</b>	
No. 17. Halayudhastotra from the Amaresvara Temple . . . . .	137
<b>UPADHYAYA, S. C., M.A., LL.B.—</b>	
No. 3. A Grant of the Western Chalukya Vijayaditya : Saka 653 . . . . .	21
„ 10. A Copper-Plate Grant of Mummuniraja : Saka 971 . . . . .	53
<b>VATS, MADHO SARUP, M.A.—</b>	
No. 30. Poona Plates of Chalukya Vinayaditya : Saka 612 . . . . .	289
<b>VATS, MADHO SARUP, M.A., and D. B., DISKALKAR, M.A.—</b>	
No. 22. Two Grants of Prithvichandra Bhogasakti . . . . .	225
„ 31. Anjaneri Plates of Gurjara Jayabhata III : K. 461 . . . . .	292
<b>VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, V., B.A.—</b>	
See under Ramanatha Ayyar, A. S., B.A., and V. Venkatasubba Ayyar, B.A. . . . .	..
<b>INDEX—By H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc.</b> . . . . .	337
<b>Title Page, Contents, List of Plates and Additions and Corrections</b> . . . . .	..

## LIST OF PLATES

No. 1.	Rewah Plates of the time of Trailokyamallaadeva : [ Kalachuri Year ] 963	to face page	5
" 2.	A Grant of the Western Chalukya Vijayaditya : Saka 653	between pages	22 & 23
" 3.	Ellora Plates of Dantidurga : Saka 663	to face page	29
" 4.	Ambasamudram Inscription of Solanralaikonda Vira-Pandya	to face page	40
" 5.	Kantera Plates of Salankayana Vijaya-Skandavarman	between pages	46 & 47
" 6.	Nalanda Plate of Samudragupta : the year 5	to face page	52
" 7.	A Copper-Plate Grant of Mummuniraja : Saka 971	between pages	56 & 57
" 8.	Tiruppuvanam Plates of Jstavarman Kulasekhara I (I)	" "	108 & 109
" 9.	Do. do. (II)	" "	112 & 113
" 10.	Do. do. (III)	" "	116 & 117
" 11.	Do. do. (IV)	" "	120 & 121
" 12.	A. Adipur Copper-plate of Narendrabhanjadeva	to face page	156
" 13.	B. Adipur Copper-plate of Narendrabhanjadeva	" "	160
" 14.	C. Kesari Copper-plate of Satrubhanjadeva with seals of A, B and C.	" "	163
" 15.	An Incomplete Grant of Sinda Aditya-varman : Saka 887 and Adipur Copper-plate of Durjayabhanja	between pages	170 & 171
" 16.	Two Inscriptions on Copper-plates from Nutimadugu. A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II)	to face page	191
" 17.	Purshottampuri Plates of Ramachandra : Saka 1232 (I)	between pages	210 & 211
" 18.	Do. do.	" "	216 & 217
" 19.	Two Grants of Prithivichandra Bhogasakti (I)	" "	230 & 231
" 20.	Do. do. (II)	" "	236 & 237
" 21.	Charala Plates of Virarajendradeva . Saka 991 and 7th year (I)	" "	256 & 257
" 22.	Do. do. do. (II)	" "	260 & 261
" 23.	Do. do. do. (III)	to face page	264
" 24.	Palaeographical Chart relating to the date of the Pandava Kings of Southern Kosala	" "	268
" 25.	Jirjingi Plates of Ganga Indravarman : the year 39	" "	286
" 26.	Poona Plates of Chalukya Vinayaditya : Saka 612	between pages	290 & 291
" 27.	Anjaneri Plates of Gurjara Jayabhata III : K. 461	" "	294 & 295
" 28.	Seal of the Anjaneri Plates of Gurjara Jayabhata III : K. 461	to face page	296
" 29.	Kasyapa Image Inscription from Silao	" "	333





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 6, text l. 14—*for Alira read Alirā.*
- „ „ text l. 15—*for yavadhīranasya read yāvadhīranasya.*
- „ 20, f. n. 5—*for Māidēva read Māidēva.*
- „ 32, f. n. 13—*insert 12 for 13.*
- „ „ „ „—*for Devabhāgā read Dēvabhāgā.*
- „ 40, f. n. 5—*for Māḍakkulakkīl read Māḍakkulakkīl.*
- „ 52, text l. 2—*for Antaka read Anta[ka\*].*
- „ „ text l. 4—*for -uptannaḥ= read -utpannaḥ=.*
- „ 59, text l. 40—*for ओदपेय read ओदपेय*
- „ 61, text l. 64—*for सूदरेय read सूदनय*
- „ „ text l. 68 and f—*for दीम्बेया° read दीचैया°*
- „ 70—*for Dēḍa(va)kōṭṭai read Dēḍa(va)kōṭṭai.*
- „ „—*for Iḍaikkāṭṭōr read Iḍaikkāṭṭōr.*
- „ 98—*for Rājēndraśiṅgaṅkulakkīl read Rājēndraśiṅgaṅkulakkīl.*
- „ 99—*for Poyyamōḷidēvar read Poyyamōḷidēvar.*
- „ 123, l. 2—*insert comma after Karumākulam.*
- „ „—*for puravavarikaṅkāni read puravavarikaṅkāni.*
- „ 155, text l. 11—*for Yudhiṣṭhira read Yudhiṣṭhira.*
- „ 160, f. n. 1—*for Allivādraha- read Allivādraha-.*
- „ 162, text l. 3—*for gaṇa-danḍō °read Gaṇa-danḍō°.*
- „ 164, text l. 2)—*for bhaviśya(sya) read bhaviśya(shya).*
- „ 166, last line but one—*for Bāgaḍagē read Bāgaḍage.*
- „ 172, f. n. 5—*for Majumder read Majumdar.*
- „ 177, text l. 18—*for तारेदिश्य° read तारेदिश्य°*
- „ 185, text l. 55—*for etat(ch)- read ētat(ch)-.*
- „ 191, text l. 8—[ *for chatuśchatvāriṁśad read chatuśchatvāriṁśad-. N. L. R.]*
- „ 193, text l. 25—[ *for Triyambaka[s\*]- read Triyambaka[s\*]- N. L. R.]*
- „ „ text l. 50—*take the syllable ram at the end of the line to the beginning of the next line. [N. L. R.]*
- „ 216, text l. 93—*for °सनाभमहसता° read सनाभमहसुती°*
- „ 217, text l. 112—*for स्याति° read स्याति°*
- „ „ text l. 113—*for स्याता° read स्याता°*
- „ 221, f. n. 6, last line—*for -etat- read -ētat-.*
- „ 225, f. n. 2 last line—*for Three read There.*
- „ 238, 7th line from the bottom—*for kudubika read kudubika.*
- „ 252, f. n. 1—*for Chōja-gōṇḍa- read Chōjam-gōṇḍa-.*
- „ „ „—*for S. I. I., Vol. XII read S. I. I., Vol. XI.*

- Page 256, text l. 36—*for Tāsmīn= read Tasmin=.*  
 „ 265, text l. 175—*for Chōṅam read Chēṅām.*  
 „ 266, end of the page—[*for Kuvallāam in Kuvallāa-nādu read Kuvallāam in Kuvallāa-nādu*  
*N. L. R.*].  
 „ 271, para. 3.—[The term *Kumārakṣitibhyṛit* in the verse under reference has been misconstrued to refer to Kumāra Pratāparudra. As a matter of fact it stands for the hill *Kumārādi* or *Kumārāgiri* on which the temple of Tripurāntakēśvara is built (*vide* Nos. 223, 268 and 273 of 1905 ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. X, Nos. 340, 465 and 241 respectively). As regards Dōchaya, after whom the steps referred to in the verse were named, attention may be drawn to an inscription from Kāśhasti (No. 201 of 1892 ; *S. I. I.* Vol. IV, No. 649) wherein is mentioned a minister named Dōchi, the father of Sāmanta Bhōja who was the minister of Kākatīya Gaṅaptai, and to another inscription from Conjeeveram which again refers to Sāmanta Bhōja as belonging to the family of Dōchi (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI, p. 197)].

The following corrections may be made in the verse :—

- text l. 61—*for (svakiyam) read (svakiyām).*  
 ll. 62-63—*for [ddha] . . taram= read [sphu]tataram=.*  
 l. 66—*for pratijñam read pratijñam(jñām).—N. L. R.]*  
 „ 276, 7th line from the bottom—*for Kanāla read Kānāla.*  
 „ 308, f. n. 14—*for rājyam= read rājyam=.*  
 „ 311, f. n. 4—*for Samudrapātaka read Samudrapāṭa.*  
 „ 335, f. n. 2—*for samvat 19 read samvat 9. [A. Ghosh]*  
 „ „ last line—*for Śasi read Śaśi.*

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

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## VOLUME XXV.

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No. 1.—REWAH PLATES OF THE TIME OF TRAILOKYAMALLADEVA : [KALACHURI ] YEAR 963.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

This set of two copper-plates was found in 1929 at Dhureti, a village about 7 miles from the Rewah town, by a cultivator while ploughing his field, and is now preserved in the Treasury at Rewah. During my visit to Rewah early in 1936, I came to know of this find and later in the same year the Political Minister of the State very kindly sent me the plates for examination and taking impressions. The record has already been noticed by me in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India*, 1935-36, pp. 90-91 and I am now editing it in the *Epigraphia Indica* with the kind permission of the Rewah Darbar.

The plates measure  $15\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$  each and are strung together by means of a ring, passing through a hole pierced about the middle of each plate. They are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. They have highly raised rims which have protected the writing beautifully. There is a seal attached to the ring, bearing at the top the figure of Gaja-Lakshmi in relief, rather crudely executed. Below the figure is a legend in one line which reads *Śrīmat-Trailokyamalla*. When the plates were received by me the ring was found already cut but there can be no doubt that both the ring and the seal belong to the plates under discussion. The seal measures  $6\frac{3}{4}'' \times 4\frac{1}{4}''$  and the plates including the ring and the seal weigh 419 tolas.

Each plate has 11 lines of writing, the letters being approximately  $\frac{1}{4}''$  in height. The engraver appears to have left too much margin between the lines in the second plate and had to engrave the last two lines in slightly smaller characters so that the record could be completed in this face of the plate. The engraving was done rather carelessly. Some of the letters are ill formed and while syllables have been dropped in many places, only in two cases the missing letters have been supplied at the top of the line concerned. The characters are Nāgarī, the language being Sanskrit. The whole record with the exception of three verses in ll. 1-5 is in prose. Several mistakes in grammar and syntax show that though the record was composed by two Pandits, neither of them was a proficient scholar in Sanskrit. The script does not call for any special remarks but attention may be drawn to the following minor points. The *anuvāra* has sometimes been represented by a circle above the syllable to which it belongs, e.g., *śimha* (l. 8), *Śrīchanda* (l. 9), *paṇḍita* (l. 11), etc., and sometimes it has been written in an ornamental way, e.g., *om* (l. 1), *maṁti*, *maṁḍalaka* (l. 8), *śaṁdhi*<sup>o</sup> (l. 8), etc. In writing *ś* sometimes a cross bar has been used joining the two limbs of the letter thus making it look like *s*, cf. *Śivāya* (l. 1), *śaranyah* (l. 4), *śrī-Maloyasimha* (l. 8), *Śaiv-āchāry*<sup>o</sup> (l. 11), etc. Due to shabbiness in writing it is sometimes hard to distinguish between *v* and *ch*. For the same reason *pra* in *pravarddhamāna* and *tha* in *Jyēshtha* (l. 7), look like *vra* and *va* respectively. As

regards **orthography** the following points may be noted : (1) The same sign has been used for writing *v* and *b*, e.g., *Kanyakuvj*° (l. 6). (2) While consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those joined with a superscript *r* have sometimes been doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *sarva*- (ll. 4, 5, etc.), *pravarddhamāna* (l. 7), *chakravartti*- (l. 11), *Durvāsā* (l. 12), etc., as against *samarthō* (l. 3), *Chaturmukha* (l. 4), *dharmā*° (l. 9), *kārya* (l. 19), etc. (3) *Anusvāra* has invariably been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., *namdanō* (l. 1), *kōmal-āṅgō* (l. 2), *Nilakamṅha* (ll. 2-3), *-āmbhōja* (l. 4), etc. (4) *Rēpha* has been wrongly dropped in *Tipura* (l. 3) and *visarga* in *Nilakamṅha* (ll. 2-3), *tapa*, *kuśala* (l. 11), *Sēvarāja* (l. 14), etc. (5) While *ś* and *s* cannot always be distinguished for reasons stated above, *ś* has been definitely used for *s* in *hamśa* (l. 4), *sandhi*° (l. 8), *-āśvāśa* (l. 17) and *vice versa* in *Sēvarāja* (l. 14) if it stands for *Śivarāja*. (6) *Sandhi* has not been observed in many places, sometimes not even between members forming a compound, e.g., *°ra-aśvapati* (l. 5), *Vāhaḍa-arthalēkhī*- (ll. 8-9) and wrong *sandhi* is found in *-sutō Sānta*° (l. 13). In l. 13 though honorific plural has been used in *Sāntaśiva-charaṇāḥ*, all the qualifying epithets have been left in singular. The genitive in *Dharēkasya* (l. 14), however, has been correctly used, as this person was not the recipient of a permanent gift.<sup>1</sup> The term *vittava(ba)māha* (ll. 13, 19) which I have taken in the sense of 'mortgage, or pledge for money received' is of lexicographic interest. All the errors occurring in the record have been corrected either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The inscription opens with the sacred syllable *ōm* and obeisance to Śiva and Gaṇapati which are followed by three invocatory verses. The first two of these verses are in praise of Kṛishṇa and Śiva respectively and the third is a quotation of the verse found at the commencement of Daṇḍin's *Kāvya-darśa*. A similar instance is found in the Rewah Plates of the Mahārāṇaka Kumārāpāla (V. S. 1297) and the Mahārāṇaka Harirājadēva (V. S. 1298)<sup>2</sup> where the last of the three introductory verses is taken from the introduction to Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The record (ll. 5-7) refers itself to 'the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious **Trailōkyamalladēva**, who was endowed with all the royal titles commencing with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i.e., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*), who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), who was the lord over three *rājas* (viz.), the lord of horses, the lord of elephants and the lord of men, who was a veritable Vāchaspati in the investigation of the various (branches of) knowledge, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious Vāmadēva, (and) who was the lord of Kanyakubja'. In l. 12 he is also called *trīśatī-rājy-ādhipati*, an epithet not met with elsewhere.

The date of the record is given in l. 7 as **Sarhma(va)t 963 Jyēshṭha-śudi 7 Sōmē dīnarh-(nō)**, i.e., on Monday the 7th day of the light half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 963, which must be referred to the Kalachuri era. The date is, however, irregular, unless *Sōmē* is an error for *Saumyē* in which case it would regularly correspond to Wednesday, the 9th May A.D. 1212.

Lines 7-9 mention some of the officers of the king and the offices they held. **Malayasimha** who bears the titles *Mahāmahattaka* and *Manḍalika* was the minister (*mantrin*) of the king. The other officers mentioned are : **Ṭhakkura Haripāla**, the *Sandhivigrahika* or the minister of Foreign Affairs, **Vāhaḍa**, the city-prefect (*Kōṭṭapāla*) and **Sricamaṇḍa**, who was a merchant (*śrēṣṭhīn*), the writer of deeds (*arthalēkhin*). The last three among others appear to have been the members of the *pañchakula* and the *dharmādhiparāṇa*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tattvabodhinī* on the rule *Karmanā yam-abhipraiti sa sampradānam* (Pāṇini, 1-4-32) : *dānom cā-āpunar-grahaṇāyā eva-śvato-nivṛitti-pūrvakam para-śvato-āpādānam*.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and 235 ff. For another inscription where the benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* is cited as an introductory verse, see above, Vol. XI, p. 65.

The record is interesting in that it is not the usual land-grant but is a *vitta-bandha* or ' deed of mortgage '¹ for the village **Alirā**, situated in the **Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattana** of the **Dhanavāhi-pattalā**. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher **Śāntaśiva**, son of the royal preceptor (*rājaguru*) **Vimalaśiva**, to the Rāṇaka **Dharōka**, but no mention is made of the actual amount of money that was taken as loan. The mortgagee, who belonged to the *Vatsa-gōtra*, was a son of **Sēvarāja** (*Śivarāja*) and grandson of **Rāsala**. The document is said to have been issued from a camp in a certain auspicious place, apparently in the city of **Dhōvahaṭṭa** (ll. 10-14). The deed was executed by **Nādaśiva**, another son of **Vimalaśiva**, on the authorisation of his elder brother **Śāntaśiva** (ll. 15-18). The mortgagee was given all the rights of collecting taxes. As far as it can be made out from l. 19, the meaning of which is not quite clear, he also appears to have been given the right of holding the village in pledge as long as he wished, probably meaning thereby till all the dues were cleared. There were seven witnesses to the deed, *viz.*, the *Paṭṭakila* **Madanē**, **Śīlē**, **Ṭhākur Sūpaṭa**, **Ṭhākur Gāṃgē**, **Raṇadhavala**, **Gaṃgadēva** and **Kavita** (? ll. 19-20). It appears from the use of punctuation marks in lines 20-21 that **Ṭhākur Gōllana**, probably an additional witness, was also authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee. The document was drawn up by the Pandits **Viśvēśvara** and **Gaṃgādharma** and engraved by **Śiruka**. As it is not a land-grant, it naturally does not contain any imprecatory and benedictory verses at the end.

In connection with the identification of **Trailōkyamalla** mentioned in the present record we may observe that most of the *birudas* used by this ruler were used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri and also by the *Gāhaḍavāla* rulers of Kanauj. But though places in the neighbourhood of Rewah were within the Kalachuri territory we do not know of any Kalachuri ruler of this name. I would therefore identify this **Trailōkyamalla** with the homonymous ruler mentioned in the Rewah Plates of **Harirāja** of V. S. 1298.\* **Cunningham** and **Kielhorn** have already suggested that he is no other than the Chandēlla ruler **Trailōkyavarman** for whom we have records dating from V. S. 1261 to 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241). But while **Trailōkyavarman**, like his predecessors, calls himself *Kālañjarādhipati* in both the sets of *Garrah* plates of V. S. 1261\* and *Trikaliṅgādhipati* in the Rewah plates of the *Mahārāṇaka Kumārāpāla* dated V. S. 1297,⁴ he is called *Kanyakubjādhipati* in the present inscription, a title used by the *Gāhaḍavāla* rulers of Kanauj. Though this last-mentioned title is not found in any other Chandēlla record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of the *Gāhaḍavāla* power, **Trailōkyamalla** assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* borne by the Kalachuris of *Dāhala*. Many years ago a hoard of 48 silver coins of the Chandēlla **Madanavarman** was found at **Panwar** in the *Teonthar Tahsil* of the Rewah State.⁵ This find tends to show, as has been already suggested by **Dr. H. C. Ray**⁶, that even in the time of this ruler the Chandēlla power penetrated into *Bāghelkhand*, north of the *Kaimur range*. But that the country around Rewah still continued to be under the Kalachuris for several decades is certain. We have two inscriptions of the Kalachuri **Vijayasimha**'s time to support this view. The first is the Rewah plate of **Salakshaṇavarman**, the chief of **Kakarēḍi** (modern **Kakreri** on the border of Rewah and Panna States) and still a feudatory of

¹ For a deed of mortgage engraved on brick which was found in a village near Jaunpur, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 454-56. It is dated *Samvat* 1273 *Aśvāḍha-sudi* 6 *Bavau* (=Sunday, 11th June, A.D. 1217) and records the loan of 2,250 *dramma*s on the pledge of certain fields.

\* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 235 f.

² Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 274 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff.

⁴ See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. X (1914), pp. 199 f.

⁵ See his *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 727 f.

Vijayasimha in V. S. 1253 (A.D. 1195),<sup>1</sup> the date of the record, and the second, the Rewah inscription of Malayasimha<sup>2</sup> dated K. 944 (A.D. 1192-93). Verse 24 of the latter record seems to show that already before K. 944, Salakshana had tried to throw off the yoke of subordination of these rulers, probably by joining hands with the Chandēllas, an attempt in which he was not apparently successful. I have noticed elsewhere a damaged inscription of the reign of Vijayasimha,<sup>3</sup> the date on which seems to read (Chēdi year) 962. Unfortunately the provenance of this record, which was issued from Tripuri, is not known. But as it is now deposited in the Rewah Treasury, it is likely that it did not come from a place far from the Rewah town. If that is so, it is clear that the Kalachuris were still holding sway in this part of Bāghelkhand in K. 962. The record under consideration, however, shows that in K. 963, *i.e.*, only a year later, their territory contiguous to the Rewah town had passed under the Chandēllas.

In the inscription of Vijayasimha of K. 962 referred to above, we find the name of one Maṇḍalika Malayasimha mentioned among the officers of this ruler. The Rewah inscription of K. 944 also mentions a Sāmanta Malayasimha who was responsible for the excavation of a tank and also for the setting up of the record in the reign of the very same Kalachuri ruler. Now there is nothing against our taking Malayasimha mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasimha, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalachuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasimha sometime between K. 944 and K. 962. But what is surprising is that the record under consideration also not only mentions a Malayasimha bearing the titles *Mahāmahattaka* and *Maṇḍalika* but in addition calls him a *mantrin* or minister of the ruling king, *viz.*, Trailōkyamalla. As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasimha mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person. If this view is correct, then we have to admit that one of the chief officers of Vijayasimha not only transferred his allegiance to the conquering ruler but was also appointed a minister under him. It is reasonable to assume that he had to accept the Chandēlla suzerainty to save himself and his estate. We have a parallel instance in the history of the chiefs of Karkarēdi. We know from his Rewah plate that in V. S. 1253 Salakshavarman was still a feudatory of the Kalachuri Vijayasimha. But in the Rewah plates of Harirāja (V. S. 1298) and his son Kumārapāla (V. S. 1297) we find these chiefs owing allegiance to the Chandēlla ruler Trailōkyavarman. But what is puzzling in the present record is the appointment of Malayasimha as a minister by the Chandēlla ruler. It may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration his services were utilized in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Chandēlla supremacy.

In conclusion it would not be out of place to say a few words about the Śaiva teachers mentioned in the record. As I have already pointed out<sup>4</sup> Vimalaśiva mentioned in the record is no other than the *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva of the Jubbulpore Kotwali Plates of Jayasimhadēva of K. 918.<sup>5</sup> Though the name is not found elsewhere it is probable that he belonged to the line of the ascetics of the Mattamayūra clan who were held in great reverence by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri. We know from the present record that Vimalaśiva had two sons, the elder being Śantaśiva and the younger Nādaśiva. The epithets applied to the latter two teachers show that they, like their father, were also held in high estimation. Śantaśiva is said to be the incarnation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 228 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 93 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1935-36, p. 91.







sage Duvāsas in the Kali age. The interpretation of another phrase used in connection with him is rather puzzling. It is *trisatī-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla-pād-ārchchana-rataḥ* (l. 12). Probably this has to be translated as 'whose feet were devotedly worshipped by the illustrious Trailōkyamalla, the lord of the kingdom (consisting) of three hundred.' If that is so, it is reasonable to conclude that this teacher was getting some patronage from the new ruler as well, who also calls himself a *Paramamāhēśvara*. It is not clear under the circumstances why he should have to alienate what was apparently one of the gifts these teachers received from the Kalachuri rulers. Probably the Chandēlla conquest was very recent and as such these teachers did not get the same patronage as was hitherto extended to them by their former patrons and as a result they had to mortgage one of their gift villages to raise funds. A somewhat similar instance is provided by the Bengal Asiatic Society's Plates<sup>1</sup> of the Gāhaḍavāla Gōvindachandra which record that in V. S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in presence of this ruler, the village of Karaṇḍa in the Antarāla-pattalā which was originally given to the Rājaguru-Śaivāchārya-Bhaṭṭāraka Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri ruler) Yaśaḥkarṇa was transferred to Ṭhakkura Vasishṭhaśarman. Dr. F. W. Hall, who edited this record, suggested that the village which changed hands lay in the country conquered by Gōvindachandra from Yaśaḥkarṇa.

Of the localities mentioned in the record *Dhōvabaṭṭa* which was a *pattana* at the time is identical with the village of Dhureti where the plates were found. The other localities mentioned in the record, viz., *Dhanavāhi-pattalā* and the village *Alira*, I am unable to identify.

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

##### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Gaṇapatryē namaḥ || Jayatu jayatu devō Dēvakī-naiḍdanō-  
yam<sup>3</sup> jayatu jayatu Kṛiṣṇō Vṛiṣṇi-vamśa-pradipaḥ || (l) ja-
- 2 yatu jayatu mēgha-śyāmala[h\*] kōmal-āmgō jayatu jayatu pṛithvi-[bhā]ra-nāsō(śi) Mu-  
kuṇḍaḥ || [1][\*]<sup>4</sup> Avatu sakala-lōkān=Nī-
- 3 lakamṭha[h\*] Smarāris=Ti(Tri)pura-dahana-samarthō mūrṇni(rddhni) bhāsva-  
[ch\*]-chhasāmkaḥ<sup>5</sup> Tuhinagiri-sutāyā vallabhāḥ Śūlapāṇiḥ<sup>6</sup>
- 4 sakala-jana-śaraṇyaḥ sarvva-lōk-aika-nāthaḥ [[2][\*]<sup>7</sup> Chaturmukha-mukh-āmbhōja-vana-  
hamśa(sa)-vadhūr=mama [\*] mānasē ramatām ni-
- 5 tyam sarvva-śuklā Sa[ra\*]svatī || [3][\*]<sup>8</sup> Paramabhāṭṭāraka(k-ē)ty-ādi-samasta-rājāvali<sup>9</sup>-  
virājamāna-Paramamāhē[śva\*]ra-aśvapati<sup>10</sup>-gajapati-
- 6 narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vīvidha-vidyā-vichāra- Vāchaspati-śrī- Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyātā-  
(ta)-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipati-mahī-
- 7 [pra]varddhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrīmat-Trailō(1ō)kyamalladēva-rājyē Sarṅ-  
ma(va)t 963 Jyēṣṭha śudi 7 Sōmō dinarḥ(nō) mahā-
- 8 mahanna(tta)ka-manṭi(mantri)-manḍala(li)ka-śrī-Malayasimha-vyāpriyamānē śam(sarṅ)-  
dhi[vi\*]grahika-ṭhakkura-Haripāla-kōṭṭapāla-Vāhaḍa-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI (1862), pp. 123 f.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions and the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> Deḍḍe unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.

<sup>5</sup> There is an excess of a *redrē* in the second *pāda*. Read *dahana-śakti mūrṇni*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> The letter *es* which was at first omitted is written above the line between *jā* and *k*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *\*-śivapati*.

- 9 arthalēkhi<sup>1</sup>-Śrī[cha]nda-śrēṭhi<sup>2</sup>-yethāvarttamāna-samasta-vaṇig-jana-vyavrihi(vyavahri)-yamāṇ<sup>3</sup>-a-paṁchakula-dharmādhikarāṇa-chintāyām
- 10 Dhōvahaṭṭa-pattanē Dhanavūhi-pattalāyām yatra kva[cha]na-śubha-pradēsa-samā-vāsita-katakāta(t) yama-niyama-svādhyāya-
- 11 dhyān-ānushṭhāna-tapa[ś\*]-chakravartti-paṁḍita-chakra-chūdāmaṇi-śaiv-ā[ch]āry-ādhipati-sarvva-vidyā-kuśala[h\*] Ka-

*Second Plate.*

- 12 lau Durvvāsā(ō)-vatārah(ras)=trīsatī(i)-rājy-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkymalla-pād-a(ā)rohchana-rataḥ dhyānam kurvvāpō(ṇa)
- 13 śk-āgra-chittatayā bhāṭṭānaka-śrīmad-rājaguru-Vimalasīva-sutō(tas=) Śāntasīva-charaṇāḥ Vatsa-gōtr-ānvayē vita(ta)-vaṇ(bam)dha-
- 14 [sva]rūpatayā ṭha Rāsala-suta-Sā(Śi)varāja[s\*]=tat-suta-Rāṇaka-śrīmad-[Dha]rēkasya Alira<sup>4</sup>-grāmasya bhāga-bhōga-pravaṇi-
- 15 kara-sarvv-ādāya-sahitam yāvadhiraṇasya<sup>5</sup> dattam=iti || gūruṇām<sup>6</sup>=anuñyām(jñām)
- prāpya yam-ādi-guṇ-ōpēta[s\*]=samasta-
- 16 prakriy-ānvita[s\*]=trī-kāla-śnāna-dēv-ārechhana-rataḥ agni-pūjā-rataś=[cha] sarvva-bhūta-dayā-paraḥ sarvvēshām vaṁdi-janā-
- 17 nām-ādharabhūtaḥ jaṁtūnām=āsvāsa(sa)-bhūmi[h\*] sarvvāsu kalāsu chaturah ||<sup>7</sup> śāstra-śāstra-vīśāradaḥ bhāṭṭa(ṭṭā)ra-śrīma-
- 18 d-rājaguru-Vimalasīva-sutaḥ Śāntasīv-ānujō Nādasīva[s=tē\*]na paṭṭasya [ha]rsha-rūpatayā yāva[d\*]=dīyatē tāvad=avā-
- 19 pitam<sup>8</sup>=iti ||[\*] Vitta-vaṇ(bam)dhatayā kiṁchi[t\*]-kārya-kāraṇitāpi vā<sup>9</sup> Rāṇa-śrīmad-[Dha]-rēkasya yāvad<sup>10</sup>=i[ch\*]chhā pratipadyatē || Atr-ā-
- 20 r[th]jē sākshīṇah || Paṭa(ṭṭa)kila-Madanē tathā Śīlē tathā ṭha Sūpaṭa ṭha Gāṁgē vi<sup>11</sup> Raṇadhavala<sup>12</sup> vi<sup>11</sup> Gāṁgadēva pa[ṭṭa] vi Ka[vi]ta || ṭha Gōlla-
- 21 ṇa iti kṛtvā pravi[shṭē] sati grī(gṛa)hītavyam || śubham bhavatu lēkhaka-pāṭhakayōḥ || Svalpa-vudhyā<sup>13</sup> maṁda-matir=aham ya[t\*]=tu vālyāti-
- 22 mu[dg]kṛitam<sup>14</sup> [\*] śuddham=asuddham vā paṁ[ḍita\*]-Vīsvēśvarēṇa likhitam=iti ||<sup>15</sup> paṁ Gāṁgādhareṇa cha [\*] utakṛitam(utkṛitam) Śīrukēna(ṇa) || ||<sup>16</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *Vāśa-śrīchalēkhi*. There is a superfluous medial *l* sign at the top of *a* in *artha*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Śrīchandra-śrēṭhī*.

<sup>3</sup> The *anusvāra* meant for *pa* has been wrongly placed on *ṇa*.

<sup>4</sup> It seems that *lau* was first engraved which was then corrected into *li*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *yāvad=dhiraṇyam* ?

<sup>6</sup> Read *gūruṇām*.

<sup>7</sup> *Daṇḍas* unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> Read *=avāptam*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-kāraṇatō=pi vā*.

<sup>10</sup> *Va* is written at the top of the line, above *ṇa*. If we read *paḥ-ichōḥā*, then *Vitta* etc. will form a stanza in the *Anuśṭubh* metre.

<sup>11</sup> I am unable to state what the abbreviation *vi* stands for. In the grant of Mahārāṇaka Harīśjadēva it stands for *visuā*. But in the latter record as this term is always followed by certain figures, it apparently indicates shares in the donated property. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 231 and n. 62.

<sup>12</sup> *I. e.*, *Raṇadhavala*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-buddhyā* or *-buddhīr*.

<sup>14</sup> The intended reading may be *bālyāt-kim=udgṛitam*.

<sup>15</sup> This portion appears to be in *Āryabṛī* though the metre is faulty.

<sup>16</sup> There is an ornamental mark between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

## No. 2.—RAMTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAMACHANDRA.

By Prof. V. V. MIBASHI, M.A., AND L. R. KULKARNI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Rāmṭēk is the head-quarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Nāgpur District of the Central Provinces. It is situated 28 miles North by East of Nāgpur and derives its name from the temple of Rāma on a hill close to the town. The place is regarded as very holy on account of a number of temples and *tīrthas* on the hill and in its vicinity. A fair is held in the month of Kārttika, which attracts thousands of people from even far-off places. The sanctity of the place can be traced back to the fourth century A.D. at least; for the Riddhapur plates, which were issued from the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri<sup>1</sup> (modern Rāmṭēk), record a grant of the Vākāṭaka dowager queen Prabhāvatiguptā on the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. Kālidāsa also mentions in his *Mēghadūta* that the hill was marked with the foot-prints of Rāma<sup>2</sup>. These references indicate that the shrine at Rāmagiri at first contained only the foot-prints of Rāma. Later on the images of Rāma and Sītā appear to have been installed there and another temple dedicated to Lakshmaṇa was built. This is probably the reason why the temple of Lakshmaṇa is at present situated in front of that of Rāma and Sītā. The present images of these deities are said to have been found in the Dudhālā tank at Rāmṭēk<sup>3</sup> and were substituted some years ago for the earlier ones which had been mutilated. These temples are surrounded by a number of smaller shrines. They are situated in the innermost of three enclosures on the hill and none but caste Hindus get access to them.

The present inscription is incised on a large slab let into the wall on the right hand side of the door of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmaṇa. It was first referred to by General Cunningham's Assistant Beglar,<sup>4</sup> who visited Rāmṭēk in 1873-74. He was not admitted to the innermost court-yard of the temple, but he got the inscription copied by his Hindu servant and noticed in it the name of Rāmadēva.<sup>5</sup> He could not, however, offer any conjecture about the identification of this Rāmadēva. Subsequently from a faint rubbing of it supplied by Dr. Fleet, Prof. Kielhorn first noticed in it the names of Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra whom he identified with the homonymous princes of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty<sup>6</sup> mentioned in the Khalāri and Raipur stone inscriptions. In 1904-05 Mr. Cousens visited the place, but he too was not admitted inside<sup>7</sup> and was therefore unable to give any account of the contents of the inscription. Finally Rai Bahadur Hiralal briefly noticed the inscription in his *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*<sup>8</sup> and identified many of the *tīrthas* mentioned in it in an informative article entitled 'A visit to Rāmṭēk', published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202-08. Though referred to or noticed several times the inscription has remained unedited so far. In the absence of a reliable edition it has given rise to some misconceptions about its historical contents. We have, therefore, edited it here from the original stone which we could examine several times during our visits to Rāmṭēk:

<sup>1</sup> रामगिरिसागिन) (पादमूलाद्- J. P. A. S. B., Vol. XX, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> कव्यैः पुंसां शशुपतिपदैरहितं मेघलाघु । (Verse 12.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII (1908), pp. 207 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>5</sup> This occurs in lines 54 and 61 but there it denotes the deity Rāma.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. II, p. 230.

<sup>7</sup> *P. R. A. S.*, Western Circle, for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 125.

<sup>8</sup> First Edition (1916), pp. 3 f.; Second Edition (1932), p. 3.

As stated above, the record is inscribed on a stone fixed in the front wall of the *garbhagriha* in the temple of Lakshmana. It now contains 75 lines of writing covering a space 2' 9" broad and 3' 3" high, but a few lines may have been lost at the top. The extant portion falls into two parts, separated by some ornamental figures in lines 31 and 32, the first part comprising ll. 1-31 and the second ll. 31-75. As the surface of the stone has flaked off in several places the record has suffered very much, especially in its upper and lower portions and on the left hand side. The loss of the upper portion is very much to be regretted; since, judging from the fragments still extant, it seems to have contained a description of the exploits of the reigning king and his ancestors.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, we find that the vowel *ri* is in some places wrongly written for *ri*, see *tribhuvana* l. 31; *v* is throughout used for *b*, see *vāla* for *bāla* l. 26; *sh* is employed for *kh* and vice versa, see e.g., *vishanḍita* l. 13 and *namaskarikhyē* l. 54; the *visarga* before *k* and *p* is changed to *sh*, see *tushṭuvush=kalp-āntē* l. 47 and *nṛipash=Paṁktirathō* l. 48, etc.<sup>1</sup> The sign of *aragraha* is also noticed in some places.

The first four lines of the inscription are too much mutilated to yield any coherent sense. The fifth line contains the words *Yādavo vamsaḥ* and *Yadu-vamsajaḥ* evidently indicating that the reigning king called himself Yādava and traced his descent from the legendary hero Yādu. The exploits of some king of this family are next described, but the only names of his adversaries that can be made out are Rudra in l. 7, the lord of the Andhras and Chōḍa in l. 8 and possibly the lord of the Gurjaras in l. 9. The syllables *Jaitra* which occur at the end of l. 9 probably denote some name like *Jaitrapāla*. The name of the king *Simhāna* occurs in l. 15 in the course of the description of his successor, who is said to have made the Earth forget her grief on account of separation from the illustrious king *Simhāna*. This name seems to have occurred at the beginning of l. 13 also, but the first two *aksharas* of it have now been broken away. Line 16 mentions the genealogy of a person named Śrī-Rāghava. He was a descendant of one Vāyīnāyaka. From l. 17 we learn that the king, the illustrious Rāmachandra, bestowed on him (i.e., Rāghava) fortune which appeared lovely owing to the prosperity of his empire and himself enjoyed the company of ladies skilled in all arts. This means that the king entrusted the government of his kingdom to him and being free from care gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures. This Rāghava is probably referred to again in ll. 18 and 21 as *Sayyāpāla* (guardian of the royal bed-chamber). His wife Rājāyī is mentioned in l. 19. Once upon a time Rāghava asked his preceptor how he could cross the ocean of worldly existence. In answer to this the latter seems to have given a description of the hill as well as of the temples and *tīrthas* situated on it and in its vicinity. The first part of the record seems to have described the hill and the temples on the four sides of it, viz., Ghaṇṭeśvara, Sudhēśvara, Kēdāra and Āñjanēya. The second part, which is better preserved, names and describes the temples and *tīrthas* on the hill and in the town of Rāmtēk after the manner of the *tīrtha-māhātmyas*. As a matter of fact many of them find mention in two *Sindūragiri-māhātmyas*, one of sixteen and the other of forty-five *adhyāyas*<sup>2</sup>. The description and topography of these temples and *tīrthas* given in the present inscription agree with those in the *māhātmyas*. Some of them are again mentioned in a work of the Mahānubhāva sect<sup>3</sup> in connection with the itinerary of Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, who lived in the

<sup>1</sup> [Probably this *sh* is intended to represent the sign for both *jīhvāmālīya* and *upadhānīya*.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Of these the former was published together with a Marāṭhī translation some years ago at Nāgpur, but the latter is still unpublished.

<sup>3</sup> An extract from this work called *Sihānapāthī* was kindly supplied to us by our friend Mr. H. N. Nene.

time of the Yādava king Rāmachandra (13th century A.D.). Most of these temples and *tīrthas* can even now be identified at Rāmṭēk. The traditions about them are thus at least seven centuries old.

As stated above, Prof. Kielhorn, in his article on the Khalāri stone inscription, expressed the opinion that the kings Śirhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription were identical with the princes of the same names who were respectively the grandfather and father of Haribrahmadēva, a Haihaya or Kalachuri prince who ruled in Chhattīsgarh in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> From this he concluded that the rule of the Kalachuris extended in the west as far as Nāgpur. An examination of several Kalachuri dates had led him to the conclusion that the Kalachuri year commenced on the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, but he had no evidence of the actual use of the Āśvinādi year in any territory under the rule of the Kalachuris. This was subsequently furnished by the remark of Colebrooke in his *Journal of Occurrences at Nagpur* that the year at Nāgpur commenced on the first of the bright half of Āśvina.<sup>2</sup> Kielhorn thought that this usage was reminiscent of the use of the Kalachuri era in the territory round Nāgpur, which on the evidence of the Rāmṭēk inscription he believed to have once been under the rule of the Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur.<sup>3</sup> The identification of the family to which the princes Śirhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the present inscription belonged is, therefore, important not only for the interpretation of the record, but also for the determination of the beginning of the Kalachuri year.

Kielhorn had no opportunity to examine the inscription *in situ*. He had before him only a faint rubbing of it. The characters of the inscription have become very shallow, being choked up with oily dust and white-wash. It is therefore extremely difficult to decipher the record from rubbings or inked estampages. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, who personally examined it, read the words *Yādavō vaṃśah* (l. 5), but he chose to stick to Kielhorn's view that the kings Śirhāṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned therein belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, because he thought that the Haihayas being descended from Yadu could be called Yādavas<sup>4</sup>. It is no doubt true that the Haihayas were descendants of Yadu; for their ancestor Haihaya was, according to the Purāṇas, a grandson of Sahasrajit who was himself a son of Yadu<sup>5</sup>. But the name Yādava was by usage restricted to the descendants of Krōṣṭhī, another son of Yadu<sup>6</sup>. Nowhere in their numerous inscriptions have the Haihayas or Kalachuris called themselves Yādavas. Besides, in the genealogy of the Haihayas there occurs nowhere any name like Jaitrapāla, which, as shown above, appears at the end of line 9 of the present inscription. But the most important objection to the identification of the kings Śirhāṇa and Rāmachandra with their namesakes who ruled in Chhattīsgarh is that neither these latter kings nor any of their immediate ancestors achieved any victories over Rudra, the lord of the Āndhras, the Chōla and the lord of the Gurjaras; for they were petty princes, whose rule did not extend much beyond the modern district of Raipur. Besides, there is no king of the name Rudra known from history as ruling in the fourteenth or fifteenth century

<sup>1</sup> His Khalāri stone inscription is dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1470 (for 1471), corresponding to A.D. 1415.

<sup>2</sup> 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> See his article entitled 'Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera' in the *Festgruss an Roth* (1893), pp. 53 ff.

<sup>4</sup> In the second edition of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (p. 3) he has admitted the possibility of Śirhāṇa being a king of the Yādava dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> See *Harivamśa* (Bombay Ed.), *adhyaḃya* 33, vv. 1-2. Compare also the Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II, above, Vol. IV, p. 89.

<sup>6</sup> See Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 87.

A. D., who may have been defeated by these kings. It is therefore difficult to uphold the identification first proposed by Kielhorn.

We find, on the other hand, the names Jaitrapāla, Simhāṇa and Rāmachandra in the genealogical list of the Later Yādavas of Dēvagiri, who flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D. Jaitrapāla, whose name seems to have occurred at the end of line 9, is probably identical with the homonymous king who was the father of Simhāṇa. The names of Rudra, the kings of Āndhra and Chōla in ll. 7-8, seem to have occurred in the course of the description of Jaitrapāla's victories; for we know from the introduction to Hēmādri's *Vratākhaṇḍa*<sup>1</sup> as well as from the Paithan plates<sup>2</sup> and other Yādava grants that Jaitrapāla killed the Kākatiya king Rudra. This latter king is in some places called the king of Āndhra. We can therefore unhesitatingly identify the kings mentioned here with the Yādava kings of Dēvagiri. That the kingdom of the Yādavas extended in the East as far as Lānji in the Bālāghāṭ District is known from a stone inscription of the dynasty found at Lānji<sup>3</sup> which mentions the Yādava king Rāmachandra.

We know from other records that Simhāṇa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛishṇa, but his name does not occur in the extant portion. We can, however, conjecture that he must have been described in line 15, which speaks of a king having made the earth forget its grief due to separation from Simhāṇa. The names of Kṛishṇa's brother Mahādēva and his short-lived son Āmaṇa may have been omitted in the present record. As no successor of Rāmachandra has been mentioned here, it seems that the inscription was put up during his reign. It may, therefore, be referred to the last quarter of the thirteenth century A. D.

As the kings mentioned in the present inscription are thus proved to be of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri and no inscriptions of the Kalachuris are found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces, Kielhorn's view that the Kalachuri year commenced in the month of Āśvina cannot be supported by any usage current in the territory round Nāgpur<sup>4</sup>.

The mutilated condition of the inscription makes it difficult to say what it was intended to record. But the fact that the genealogy of a personage named Rāghava is given in lines 16 and 17 where he is also said to have been entrusted by Rāmachandra with the government of his whole empire combined with the statement in l. 63 that this Rāghava felt gratified on doing something seems to show that the object of the inscription was to record some service rendered by Rāghava to the deities at Rāmṭēk—perhaps some repairs done to the temple of Lakshmaṇa where the inscription is put up. Mādeva, who is mentioned in ll. 70-71, seems to have been a local official in charge of the work.

The hill on which the main temples of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa are situated is called Sindūragiri and Tapaṅgiri<sup>5</sup> (for Tapōgiri) in the present inscription. The tradition about the former

<sup>1</sup> Cf. तिळंगाधिपतिः पद्मोर्विजयसुतं रौद्रस्य रौद्राकृतेः

कृत्वा पुरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना सत्यस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥३१॥ See R. G. Bhandarkar's *Early History of the Deccan*, Appendix C.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> See Hiralal—*Inscriptions, etc.* (Second Ed.), p. 20. Lānji is about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur. Hiralal remarks that 'some passages of this record correspond exactly to those given in the Rāmṭēk Lakshmaṇa temple inscription'. We have examined the Lānji inscription in the Nāgpur Museum, but have failed to notice any such passages.

<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact Colebrooke was mistaken in supposing that the year commenced in Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina. As shown elsewhere (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 122), the era current at Nāgpur in Colebrooke's days was the so-called Śālivāhana or Saka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina. For the commencement of the Kalachuri year, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>5</sup> In the larger *Sindūragiri-māhātmya* the name occurs in the correct form Tapōgiri.

name was apparently given in line 23 which is partly mutilated. What remains of it is, however, sufficient to show that the hill was called Sindūragiri, because it was reddened by the blood flowing from the breast of Hiraṇyakaśipu which was torn by Narasiṃha with his sharp claws. There are two temples on the hill containing huge images of the man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. As conjectured by Cousens<sup>1</sup> the name Sindūragiri may have been originally given to the hill because of its red stones which when broken or newly dressed appear blood-red. The second name of the hill Tapāgiri (for Tapōgiri, penance-hill) which occurs in this very form in one of the *Sindūragiri-māhātmyas* owes its origin to the tradition that Śambūka, a Śūdra ascetic, practised penance here. He was afterwards killed by Rāma with his sword called Chandrahāsa. But, the Māhātmya says, he asked for three boons from Rāma, viz., that his mortal remains should be transformed into a *liṅga in situ*, that Rāma should live on the hill for ever and that he himself should be worshipped before Rāma. In accordance with this, pilgrims first worship the *liṅga*, now called Dhūmrēśvara, situated on the southern plateau of the hill outside the citadel, before they proceed to the temples of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. The story of Śambūka is given in line 45 of the present record, which mentions the *liṅga* Dhūmrākṣha.

The story of Śambūka occurs also in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. It would, therefore, be interesting to see how far the topography of the place where Śambūka was practising penance suits Rāmṭēk. According to the Epic the Śūdra ascetic was engaged in austerities on the bank of a large lake to the north of the mountain Śaivala.<sup>2</sup> This mountain is not mentioned anywhere else. But from the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself we learn that a king named Daṇḍa was ruling over the territory between the Vindhya and Śaivala mountains.<sup>3</sup> His rape of a Brāhmana girl led to the devastation of the country measuring a hundred *yōjanas* round the Śaivala mountain and this country came consequently to be known by the name of the Daṇḍaka forest.<sup>4</sup> This Daṇḍa or Dāṇḍakya is called Bhōja elsewhere<sup>5</sup> and it is well known that the Bhōjas were ruling over Vidarbha. So the site of Śambūka's penance must have been situated in Vidarbha to the south of the Vindhya mountain. The *Rāmāyaṇa* tells us that after killing Śambūka, Rāma went in his aerial car to the hermitage of Agastya which was situated not very far from the Gōdāvari,<sup>6</sup> but it gives us no idea of the distance between the site of Śambūka's penance and the hermitage of Agastya. Still the description in the epic shows clearly that the former lay somewhere in ancient Vidarbha between the Vindhya mountain and the Gōdāvari. The description in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the site of Śambūka's penance suits Rāmṭēk where there is a large tank at the foot of the hill. As there is no hill in Vidarbha where there is such a tradition connecting it with Śambūka's penance, it would not be wrong to identify Rāmṭēk with the Śaivala mountain.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. R. A. S., W. C. for 1904-05, p. 41, para. 127.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhyāya 75*, verses 13-14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *adhyāya 79*, verse 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *adhyāya 81*, verse 8.

<sup>5</sup> See Kaṇṭilya's *Arthasūtra, adhyāya 1, prakaraṇa 3*.

<sup>6</sup> *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttarakāṇḍa, adhyāya 76*, verses 16-20.

<sup>7</sup> The larger *Sindūragiri-māhātmya* mentions Mahāśaivala as a name of the hill at Rāmṭēk in addition to the two names noticed above, and explains it as being due to Śiva bringing the Śaivas to the hill. According to the colophon the Māhātmya has been taken from the *Kaumārakāṇḍa* of the *Paṇḍapurāṇa*; but the portion dealing with Śambūka's story seems to have been copied *verbatim* from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki. We have not been able to trace the *Kaumārakāṇḍa* in the printed edition of the Purāṇa. Still this description corroborates our inference that Śaivala was one of the old names of the hill at Rāmṭēk. For the identifications of the *śrīthas* mentioned here see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 202 ff.



TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . . २ण . . . . . ३मवाक्षु . . . . . ४
- 2 . . . . . पूजित . . . . . स्तत्वे(चे)न . . . . .
- 3 . . . . . देवासुरोर[ग\*] . . . . . वचरितो . . . . .
- 4 . . . . . ५कः सुकविसार्थपथे प्र[विष्टः\* ?]<sup>6</sup> . . . . . ७न्यो-  
त्ताम- . . . . . ८
- 5 . . . . . युग्मः ॥ ततोभूयादवो वंशः<sup>9</sup> . . . . . ॥ किं  
वक्षतेऽ[यं य\*]दुर्वंशजः<sup>10</sup> . . . . .
- 6 . . . . . क्षीणपालकाः<sup>11</sup> प्रोक्ष्यद्वैरिवीरत्र<sup>12</sup> . . . . . जंभ-  
शुः ॥ भ्रम्यत्कालं कविधुमं<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 7 . . . . . १३ यस्यातिभीषणरणांगण<sup>6</sup> . . . . . १४ मंडलमिदं स्मरति स  
रुद्रको<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 8 . . . . . लीवनालीतलगभुज<sup>15</sup> . . . . . त्वमंभ्राधिप<sup>16</sup> त्वं रे चोड  
विमुंच द[र्प]- . . . . . धरानाथप्रबोध . . . . . १७
- 9 . . . . . ऽषि(स्त्रि)लभूपतीनां<sup>11</sup> शिर[स्स ?] . . . . .  
[गुर्ज\*?]रिन्द्रः पराक्षुखो यस्य पुरो रणेऽभूत्<sup>18</sup> . . . . . हेपु महा-  
महौन्द्रे जैच- . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> From the original stone.<sup>2</sup> From 15 to 18 *aksharas* are lost in the beginning of ll. 1-3.<sup>3</sup> About 25 *aksharas* are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 1-3.<sup>4</sup> About 45 *aksharas* are gone at the end of ll. 1-3.<sup>5</sup> About 13 *aksharas* are gone in the beginning of ll. 4-6.<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>7</sup> From 23 to 27 *aksharas* are lost here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 5-6.<sup>8</sup> From 35 to 45 *aksharas* are lost at the end of ll. 4-7.<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Anushubh*.<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>11</sup> Read क्षीणपालः कालः. [See above, p. 8, n. 1.—Ed.]<sup>12</sup> Metre: *Śālinī*.<sup>13</sup> About 18 *aksharas* are lost in the beginning of ll. 7-14.<sup>14</sup> From 18 to 22 *aksharas* are broken off here and in the corresponding portion of ll. 8-14.<sup>15</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavakriṣṭa*.<sup>17</sup> About 5 *aksharas* are lost at the end of ll. 8-14.<sup>18</sup> Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

- 10 . . . . . र्यदसप्रभिन्नप्रतिभटविका<sup>1</sup> . . . . . [मौक्ति\*]-  
 कौचैर्गगनमिव सतारं संध्या स<sup>2</sup> . . . . . [क]रोत्कराणां<sup>3</sup> सौंदर्य . .  
 . . . . .
- 11 . . . . . [चो]णपतेरस्य<sup>4</sup> भूमिपालोऽ . . . . . हासि-  
 निहतोत्कटप्रतिभटेभकुंभहयी<sup>5</sup>पटुद्यु(?) . . . . . कसुक्ताच्छलात् ।  
 षमु[ष्य] . . . . .
- 12 . . . . . महीरुहस्य यग्रसा ष[द्र] . . . . .  
 वाचस्यतेः । <sup>6</sup>तेजोभिर्दिनकद्रुचामपि षठादा[धि]क्य . . . . . द्वालय-  
 भोगभूमिरभवत्काल . . . . .
- 13 . . . . . [घ]षदेवनामा<sup>7</sup> गुणाभि . . . . . [॥\*] — — —  
 — — — चंडकोदंडसुकैः शितकांडदंडै<sup>8</sup>विष(ख)ण्डितारक्त — — —  
 देहष(ख)डैरमंडि क्षितिराहवस्य<sup>9</sup> ॥ . . . . .
- 14 . . . . . [मा]साद्य शान्तिं परमामवाप<sup>10</sup> । . . . . .  
 . . . . . जगतीं क्षितौशः । शशाश(स) विश्रामतरुस्ततो यष्फलेग्रहि<sup>10</sup>र्याचक-  
 पचिपंक्तैः<sup>7</sup> ॥ <sup>11</sup>धराचक्रं भ्रात्वा त्व(चि)दश . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . <sup>12</sup>धिष्ठाय रचयत्यहो नृत्यत्क[बंध\*] . . . . .  
 [॥\*] अपारसंसारसमुद्रसारैर्यशःसुधीचैर्वसुधा यदीयैः श्रीसिंहणक्षीणपतेर्वियोगताप  
 जही<sup>13</sup> [॥]ष . . . . .<sup>14</sup>
- 16 . . . . . [म\*]हौतले ॥ वायिनायक इति क्षमातले नि  
 — — — द्यशोभरैः । तस्मृतः सकललोकविश्रुतो न श्रुतः  
 क्वचिदपौह यत्समः<sup>15</sup> ॥ तस्याप्ययं राघवदेव[नामा]<sup>16</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Prithvi*.<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Sārūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Upēndravajrā*.<sup>6</sup> Read शितकांडदंडैः । विखण्डि<sup>9</sup>.<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.<sup>8</sup> Read यः फलेग्रहि-<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Sikharinī*.<sup>10</sup> From 20 to 24 *akṣaras* are lost in the beginning of ll. 15-20.<sup>11</sup> The metre of this verse is irregular. The first hemistich is in *Upēndravajrā*.<sup>12</sup> From 5 to 8 *akṣaras* are lost at the end of ll. 15-20.<sup>13</sup> Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.<sup>14</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Mālinī*.<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

- 17 . . . . . [गु]णगौरवप्रणयिनं श्रीरामचंद्रः प्रभुर्यं साम्राज्यसमृद्धि-  
सुंदररुचः पाशं विधाय श्रियः । क्रीडोद्यानतलेऽपि(खि)लोञ्जलकलालीलागृह-  
स्त्रौजनालाप<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 18 . . . . . श्रीरामभूपत्वधरस्य शय्यापालीकतात्मानममानसत्वं-  
(चम)<sup>2</sup> ॥ श्रीवैद्यनाथशिवपादपयोजभक्ति संपादितापि(खि)लमहत्व(त्व)पदाय तस्मै ।  
के के नृपा ज<sup>3</sup> . . . . .
- 19 . . . . . तिर्हीरं चातिरपि प्रधानकुलजं यद्वा यथा सात्वि-  
(त्वि)कं(कम) । तद्ब्रूषयति स्म यं पृ(प्रि)यतमा सौभाग्यसौंदर्यभू राजायीति गुणा-  
श्रया गुणगणाधारं धरा<sup>4</sup> . . . . .
- 20 . . . . . दिनकृद्दिनकृद्युतिं(तिम्) । गुरुमात्मीयमित्येष पप्रच्छ  
तदनु द्विजम्<sup>5</sup> ॥ जानासि सर्वं भगवंस्तत्स्वां पृच्छामि पर्युत्सुकतामुपेतः ।  
अगाधसंसारपयोधि<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 21 . . . . . १पि(खि)लपारदृष्ट्वा ॥ शय्यापालकुलाधीश निबोधेदं  
वचो मम । संसारसागरोत्तारकारणं न हरेः परं(रम्) ॥<sup>7</sup> अवतारा दशाप्यस्य  
रामस्ते[षां ?] . . . . .<sup>8</sup>
- 22 . . . . . वायुपुत्रयुक्तो वसत्युत्तमयोगिचिन्धः ।  
महौधरस्यास्य तर्पगिरेस्तं प्रभावमधरा किमुदाहरामि<sup>9</sup> ॥ विहाय मे . . . . .
- 23 . . . . . साद्य रघूदृष्टस्य<sup>10</sup> ॥ प्रागत्र देवी  
नृहरिः सुरारेर्वि(र्वि)भेद वक्षः करजैः शितामैः । तद्रक्तपूराकणितस्ततोऽयं<sup>11</sup>  
. . . . .
- 24 . . . . . [गु]णकथां सौंदर्यसारेः पुनस्तद्वक्तुममं  
व(व)हस्यतिसमोऽप्यन्यो हि जानाति कः<sup>12</sup> ॥ यपौ समुद्रं पुलुकेन यस्तं  
सुनौ[श ?]<sup>13</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Vasantiatilakā*.<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.<sup>6</sup> From 29 to 34 aksharas are gone in the beginning of ll. 21-25.<sup>7</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>8</sup> From 9 to 11 aksharas are lost at the end of ll. 21-25.<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Upēndravajrā*.

- 25 . . . . . मनो मृदु . . . [रा\*]मिखर इतौह  
कीर्त्तते ॥ श्रीरामाय सुनीश्वरः कलशभूर्मध्येसभं व्र(व्र)ह्मणः शुत्वैतस्य  
गिरिः प्र[भाव\*]<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 26 . . . . . <sup>2</sup>विलोक्य सादरं जन्तुर्मुच्यते व्र-  
(व्र)ह्महृत्या<sup>3</sup> ॥ गोविप्रवा(वा)लप्रमदावधादिपापौघपूर्णा अ<sup>4</sup> . . . . .<sup>5</sup>
- 27 . . . . . लयपव्वंतेद्रे ॥ कृतोपवासा हरिवासरे  
ये कुर्वन्ति राशौ रघुनन्दनाद्ये । तपंगिरौ<sup>6</sup> जागर[ण\*] . . . . .
- 28 . . . . . मराधिकामैः ॥ घंटेश्वरं चैव सुधेश्वरं  
च केदारमीशं च तथाजनेयं(यम्) । हरिश्वरं<sup>1</sup> . . . . .
- 29 . . . . . [म\*]व्जनेन दुरितं निर्धूय वं(वं)धच्छिदा  
स्वाच्छंभं मनुजा भर्जति भवने भर्गस्य यस्तत्परं(रम्)<sup>1</sup> ॥ म . . . . .
- 30 . . . . . प्रभावं शक्तोतिवक्तुं न गुरुः सुराणाम-  
न्यस्य<sup>7</sup> तत्कस्य<sup>4</sup> . . . . .<sup>8</sup>
- 31 . . . . . ओशंष(ख)नाच्च ॐ ॐ ॐ ढ(त्रि)-  
भवनजनतापूज्यपादारविंदं ज्ञात्वा श्री-<sup>9</sup>
- 32 . . . . . ॐ ॐ ॐ<sup>10</sup> लत्यनलां समयस[प\*]भयः  
शंखपाण्यंतिकस्यः ॥ तामग्नितीर्थप्रभवां विभूतिं<sup>4</sup>
- 33 . . . . . [प\*]म्ब(म्ब)तीर्थे नरः ज्ञात्वा पूजयित्वा-  
वि(वि)कापतिं(तिम्) । चंवि(वि)कानाथसदने याति भोगैकभूमितां(ताम्)<sup>3</sup> ॥  
चधिगम्य वरुणतीर्थं

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>2</sup> About 45 letters are gone at the beginning of ll. 26-31.<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.<sup>5</sup> About 9 letters are broken off at the end of ll. 26-29.<sup>6</sup> Read तपंगिरौ. Metre : *Upajati*.<sup>7</sup> Read सुराणाम् । अन्यस्य.<sup>8</sup> About 20 *akṣaras* are gone here.<sup>9</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.<sup>10</sup> From 50 to 60 *akṣaras* have been lost in the beginning of ll. 32-33.

- 34 . . . . .<sup>1</sup> वरुणादिलोकपालैर्व्यदितचर[ण] . . . .  
 रिशरर्ष(चम)<sup>2</sup> ॥ यत्शुक्लतीर्थे<sup>3</sup>ऽप्यभिषेकभाजां जायेत पुन्यं(स्य) नरपुंग-  
 वानां(नाम) । तदश्वमेधादमहामघा(खा)नामोचैर्न लभ्यं न तपोभि-
- 35 कथैः<sup>4</sup> ॥ तीर्थे<sup>5</sup> वृत्तिहस्त कथं[चि\*]दाद्यैः पु[ण्यैः\*] समासाद्य विशुद्धमूर्त्तेः ।  
 नरस्य लोकठ(चि)तये करस्यं किमीषितं नास्ति दुरापमन्यैः ॥ अष्टमे च  
 कुक्षेचनान्नि तीर्थवरे नरः । निमज्ज(ज्य) ब्र(ब्र)ह्महत्यादिमृजा शुची  
 दिवं ब्र-
- 36 जेत्<sup>6</sup> ॥ तीर्थपंचकमिहाचलराजे यत्रिलोकविदिते विदि[ता]ख्यं(स्थम) । तत्रभाव-  
 कथने न समर्थो देवसार्थगुह्यरस्ति न सोऽपि<sup>7</sup> ॥ लक्ष्मीतीर्थं तेषु मुख्यं दुरापा  
 लक्ष्मीर्न स्यान्नक्षतां यत्र तूर्णै(र्णम) । यावज्जीवं पातकोद्भूतिहेतुप्रोथ[दु]ष्यो(ःखो)-  
 द्रेकदारिद्र्यभाजां(जाम)<sup>7</sup> ॥
- 37 किं हंसतीर्थस्य तथा प्रभावः प्रभूतपुण्योच्च(ज्ज)लकेतनस्य । व्या[ख्या]यते यज्ज-  
 लपानतोऽपि हंसो हृदिस्थो विमलत्वमेति<sup>8</sup> ॥ श्रीचक्रतीर्थमहिमानममानमूर्ध्यां  
 गुर्वीं प्रवक्तुमपि कस्य नरस्य शक्तिः । यस्य स्वयं भगवता हरिणा स्वचक्रं  
 रक्षार्थमुद्यतमक्षयि
- 38 सुदर्शनाख्यं(स्थम)<sup>9</sup> ॥ स्नात्वा धनुस्तीर्थजले धनुश्च प्रदाय हेमादिकृतं स्वशक्त्या । नरो  
 विदूरीकृतपापराशिः श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणः सदनं प्रयाति<sup>10</sup> ॥ तीर्थे पितृणां पिढतीर्थ-  
 नाञ्च स्नात्वा च कृत्वा पिढतर्पणादि । कोटिं पितृणां नियतः(तं) पवि-  
 चीकृत्ये(त्यै)ति दिव्यं हि पदं पितृ-
- 39 णां(शाम)<sup>11</sup> ॥ गिरिरपाण्यां दिशि वाजिमधतीर्थे समर्थेऽखिलतीर्थसार्थात् । नरो  
 निमज्जगमया समेतस्तनूभवानाश समेत घन्यान्<sup>11</sup> ॥ या ररञ्च कलि-  
 कासतो बलाहर्ममूर्मिकरपंकजैर्नदी । सा तथाञ्च कलिपेति विन्धुता संनिधौ  
 कलिमलं हरत्यलं(लम)<sup>11</sup> ॥ सुरनदी च सुरीघ-

<sup>1</sup> About a dozen aksharas may have been lost here.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Gāi*.

<sup>3</sup> Read यच्छुक्लतीर्थे-

<sup>4</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Upajāti*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Anuakṣubh*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Subgātā*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Śālinī*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Vaṅkātālikā*.

<sup>10</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: *Rāhōdhatā*.

- 40 समाश्रिता निकटतोऽस्य दहत्यचलस्य सा । सुरनिकेतनभोगसमृद्धिदा सकृदिवाच-  
मनादिकतां नृणां(णाम्)<sup>1</sup> ॥ कलिपासुरनद्यंबु(बु)संगादेगार्हजांबु(बु)भोः । संगं न  
गणयंत्युच्चैर्मनुष्य(स्य)मुनिदेवताः<sup>2</sup> ॥ नाहर्गमस्त्रिभुवःका कुंडं तीर्थोत्तमे प्राप्य  
समस्तसिद्धीः ।
- 41 प्राप्नोति मर्त्यः खलु मुक्तिरस्य प्रसादतः साऽपि न दूरसंस्था<sup>3</sup> ॥ [मो]क्षकुंडं  
समासाद्य दक्ष(क्ष)णस्यां महीभूतः । दुर्लभाऽपि भवेन्नोक्षः सुलभः प्राणिनां  
क्षणात्<sup>4</sup> ॥ श्रीरामतीर्थं यदिहास्ति तीर्थं साक्षात्सदर्यप्रथितप्रभावं(वम्) । तस्या-  
भूतिप्रोक्तवपुन्य(स्य)राशिफलप्रदाता<sup>4</sup> दशकंधरा-
- 42 रिः<sup>5</sup> ॥ एकादशीवासरवासभाजां तीर्थं शुभार्थे दशकंठशब्धोः । मुक्तिर्वराको करपंज-  
रस्था करोति सेवां गृहसारिकेव । यत्कार्तिके मासि नरो निमज्य(ज्जप)  
श्रीरामतीर्थे दशकंधरारिं(रिम्) । भक्त्या प्रपश्यन्न शरीरकोशे कोटत्वमायाति तदस्त-  
रात्मा<sup>6</sup> ॥ सकृद्रामगयाश्चाहं गिराविह क-
- 43 रीति यः । लभन्ते पितरस्तस्य मुक्तिमत्यन्तदुर्लभां(भाम्)<sup>7</sup> ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य समीपतोऽस्ति  
सिंदूरवापो सुकृतप्रपा सा । यस्या विशुद्धेन विलोकनेन विजित्य नाकं  
समुपैति मुक्तिं(क्तिम्)<sup>8</sup> ॥ कर्पूरवापो सुकृतप्रवाहपूरणं पूर्णं किमु वर्णनीया ।  
देवस्य सौतादयितस्य पार्श्वे दास्यं हि यस्याः कुरुतेऽपि
- 44 मुक्तिः<sup>9</sup> ॥ काशो नोज्जयिनी न चापि मथुरा नो द्वारका नो पुरी तद्वत्पुण्य-  
भरं प्रयच्छति नृणां वासेन नित्यायुषा । यद्दहासरमेकमष्टिति(?)कतां सिंदूर-  
भूमोधरः श्रीरामस्य पदारविंदयुगलस्यर्गेन सर्वोत्तमः<sup>7</sup> ॥ जगन्मंगलमाधत्ते  
यस्य कुंभहयी क्षृता । गजेन्द्रवदनः
- 45 साक्षादश्वास्ते रामकांक्षया<sup>9</sup> ॥ आस्ते धर्मेश्वरो नित्यं स रामस्य गिराविह ।  
पौडितं कलिना धर्मं यः कृपालुरपालयत् ॥ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य करेण चंद्रहा-  
साहतः प्राप्य पदं पुरारिः । स शम्बु(स्व)कः शूद्रमुनिर्महोभ्रराजेऽत्र धूम्राच्च  
इति प्रसिद्धः<sup>9</sup> ॥ पश्यन्ति मुक्तौश्वरनामधेयं शिवं शिवा-

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Drulavilambita*.<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Anushubh*.<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.<sup>4</sup> Read राशेः फलप्रदाता<sup>5</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Upajāti*.<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.<sup>7</sup> Metre of this and next verse : *Anushubh*.<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sardūlavikrīḍita*.<sup>9</sup> Metre of this and the next three verses : *Upajāti*.

- 46 नाथमिहाचलेन्द्रे । शिवव्रतस्थाः शिववासरे ये शिवत्वमायाति शिवालये ते ॥  
गोपीजनानंदसमुद्रपूर्णचंद्रो विनिद्रोज्ज्वलपद्मनेत्रः । गोपालमूर्त्तिर्जगदेकमू-  
र्त्तिर्ध्वंसत्यसावत्र धराधरेन्द्रे ॥ अतीव तेजःप्रसरप्रतप्तं जगत्समग्रं कृपया ररक्ष ।  
योऽयं चतुर्थोऽवतरोऽच्युतस्य श्री-
- 47 मातृसिंहोपि वसत्यमुष्मिन् ॥ सप्तभिनिधिपूरदूरपिहितं वि(वि)भ्रहरां दंष्ट्रया  
योऽयं भाति सरोजनीदलनिभो दन्तेन यद्वन्द्ययन्<sup>1</sup> । यं रोमान्तरगुप्तवास-  
सुखिनो देवर्षयस्तुष्टुवृष्कल्पान्ते<sup>2</sup> दशकंधरारिसदने सोऽत्रादिकीलः प्रभुः<sup>3</sup> ॥ अन-  
न्यलभ्यामतुलां सपर्यां नित्यं
- 48 परित्यज्य महेन्द्रदत्तां(त्ताम्) । श्रीमान्पृथक्किरयोपि<sup>4</sup> पुत्रप्रीत्या वसत्यत्र गिरीन्द्रसानौ ॥<sup>5</sup>  
सुतौ श्रीरामचंद्रस्य गिरी कुशलवाविह । दधाते कल्पवृक्षत्वं भक्तिभाजां जगत्प्र-  
भू<sup>6</sup> ॥ मातरोऽष्टौ महासिद्धिनामधेयोपलक्षिताः । अत्र तिष्ठति भक्तानामणि-  
माद्यष्टकप्रदाः ॥ कल्पान्ते कवली-
- 49 करोति सकलं शैलोक्यमत्येतरज्ज्वालालालकारालकालवदनो यष्कालिकाकेलिभूः<sup>7</sup> ।  
सिन्दूराचलमीक्षणं क्षणमपि क्षीणान्यवासस्यूहः श्रीरामस्यूहया करोति भगवान्किं  
वा महाभैरवः<sup>8</sup> ॥ पंचास्यं चंद्रमौलिं दशभुजमुदयत्कोटिभानूप्रभासं अर्चं  
वृक्षा ◡ —
- 50 — सिवरशरधनुःशूलधर(रु)ङ्गांगहस्तां(स्तम्) । हृत्पद्मे भक्तलोकाभयवरदकरं चिन्तयन्धं नरः  
स्थाशैलोक्ये सिद्धिसम्प्राप्तसति पवनजः सोऽत्र रामैकभृत्यः<sup>9</sup> ॥ भालां पुष्पमयी-  
मिव क्षितिमिमां वि(वि)भ्रच्छिरोभिर्विभुः श्रीरामावतरे हरेः सहचरः शंखोऽ-  
प्यशंखात्मकः । आस्ते सोऽत्र] स-
- 51 मस्तभक्तजनतातत्तन्मनीर्वाच्छि(च्छितं) संयच्छन्ज(ञ्ज)नकाधिराजतनयानायातिके लक्ष्मणः<sup>10</sup> ॥  
यन्नामस्मरणात्प्रयाति निधि(वि)लः पापाद्विरुद्धैः क्षयं या विश्वैकपतिव्रताध्वनि  
गुरुदेवौ दयैकापगा । या शपेन निनाय भस्मकणिकाभूर्यं न लंकापतिं  
कर्त्ता मे दयिताऽ[स्य]

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps उन्मत्त्ययन् is intended here. [This reading would involve a *sandhi* with the preceding word which would spoil the metre. I would suggest -*alam=ibhō dantēna yadvan=nayan* as the intended reading.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Read सुष्टुतः कल्पान्त.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

<sup>4</sup> Read श्रीमान्पृथक् पंक्तिरयो-

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Upajāti*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre of this and the following verse: *Anuśūbh*.

<sup>7</sup> Read यः कालिका-

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Sragdharā*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre of this and the next verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 52 नाशमिति साय्यत्रास्ति रामान्तिके ॥ इहाचलेन्द्रे दशकंठशचीर्बिलोक्ष्य मूर्तिः खलु  
— ७ मर्त्यः । परत्र काले न करोति भीतिं कातास्तम(?)संहतिघोर-  
मूर्तेः<sup>1</sup> ॥ भक्त्या सहत्या प्रभुमादिरामं जगत्सुषा(स्वा)रामतनुं निरीक्ष्य । नरः  
सुरेन्द्रादिकरोपनीतपूजाग्रपात्रत्वमुपैति] नि-
- 53 त्वं(त्वम्) ॥ श्री[भो]गराममभिरामतनुं निरीक्ष्य क्षोणाधि(स्त्रि)लाघसरणिः शरणे सुरारिः ।  
भोगा[नभंगुररसा]न्मुचिरं विचिन्तान्प्राप्नोति कल्पशतमल्पितदेवराजः<sup>2</sup> ॥ दृष्ट्वा प्रकृष्ट-  
महिमानमनस्तभक्त्या तं गुप्तराममतिगुप्तपदं च किञ्चित् । प्राप्नोति यत्तदिह  
किं ननु देवरा[जो] — — ७
- 54 तद्गुरुरथागिरसोऽपि सोऽपि ॥ श्रीशंखरामं प्रणिपत्य मर्त्यः पदं समभ्येति हि शंख-  
पाणिः । विशुद्धभावेन हृदा महेंद्रमुख्यादिदेवैरभिवंद्यमानः<sup>3</sup> ॥ जगन्महानंदनि-  
दानमीशं श्रीमैथिलीलक्षणदेवयुक्तं(क्तम्) । श्रीरामदेवं प्रणिपत्य मूर्ध्ना नमस्करित्ये-  
(थे)त्यतरैर्व्व[चोभिः\*] ॥
- 55 देव श्रीरघुनंदन त्व(चि)जगतामहैतवादप्रभो भास्वहंशमहाविभूषणमणे कारुण्यरत्नाकर ।  
त्रैलोक्यारिदशास्यकंठदशकच्छेदोक्तसत्याण्ये पा — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७  
ते त्रैलोक्यगोष्ठे नमः<sup>4</sup> ॥ देव क्षीरसमुद्रसांद्रलहरी[नि]र्मथ्य हृत्कीर्तये तत्ताड-  
नम् — ७ — ७
- 56 ७ ७ — विश्वैकभर्त्रे नमः । श्रीरामाय हनूमदादिवदनांभोजनमर्षणप्रभाभर्त्रे श्री-  
जनकक्षितींद्रतनयानंदैक[कं]दाय च ॥ देव त्वां स्फुरदुग्रशीषण ७ — — —  
७ — — ७ — — — दारचटुसुतिप्रशमितक्रोधं नमस्कुर्महे । तत्का[ला]प-  
चितिक्रियार्थमिलिताशेषाम्ब — — ७
- 57 — धत्ता(?)त्यस्तसुजात्यरत्नचयभाभ्राजिष्णुपादांबु(वु)जं(जम्) ॥ देव त्वां गिरिपादपेषि(स्त्रि)-  
लभुजासुष्टिप्रहारी ७ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — — — ७ —  
— ७ — । — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ निषि(स्त्रि)लं त्रैलोक्यनाशचमं धाम्ना  
— ७ सहस्रपूर्णरुचिम — — ७ — मं नुमः ॥ — — — ७

<sup>1</sup> Metre of this and the following verse : *Upajāti*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Vasantutitakā*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre of this and the next verse : *Upajāti*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of this and the next seven verses : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.



- 58 विसर्परोगजगतीनाथारिदारिद्र्यभूर्भित्तजनस्य संमदपदं रामेति नामश्रुतेः । गव्य-  
तिप्र ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ  
— ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — ॥ देव त्वां करुणा  
ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — सामन्तसिन्दूरजं रेणुं संशमयन्तम ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
- 59 लोभुजां तेजसां(साम्) । कुर्वाणे जगदिष्टदृष्टिमन्मृताक्षरां भवोन्माधिनीं — — प्राथितट-  
प्रभाक ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — [१\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ  
ॐ — — — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ — खिन्कासन ॐ — — — ॐ  
— — ॐ — [१\*] सिंदूराचलमौलिकल्पि ॐ ॐ — — —
- 60 प्रतिष्ठं विभुं कंभोद्धृतसुनोखरेण भगवन्वदे मुदे नित्यशः ॥ देव त्वां पुरुषं  
पुरातनमजं तत्त ॐ — — ॐ — — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — —  
— ॐ — — ॐ — [१\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ —  
— ॐ — — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — — — भगवते भक्त्या नमोऽस्तु प्र[भो ॥\*]  
ॐ ॐ
- 61 रामदेवं य स्तौति मर्त्यः पवित्रधौः । सिंदूराचलमौलिस्यं भजते तस्य य ॐ  
ॐ<sup>१</sup> ॥ कशोप्रभ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ [१\*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ  
ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ<sup>१</sup> [॥\*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ  
ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — कल्यांतावधिनिर्मलाषि(खि)लजला वृक्षा  
ॐ — — ॐ
- 62 लः । आस्ते वा(वा)लसमुद्र एष विलमद्देवालयालौमिल — — — ॐ जलो जले-  
क्षणकृतां देवा ॐ — — ॐ — <sup>२</sup>[॥\*] . . . . .  
<sup>३</sup>धन्यः ॥ समभ्यर्च्य नरो भक्त्या न ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —
- 63 ॐ ॐ । दुर्लभां लभते कां कां न हि सिद्धिं विशुद्धधौः<sup>१</sup> ॥ — — ॐ — —  
ॐ वराणि तानि देवांशु — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [१\*] — — ॐ — —  
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [॥\*] — — ॐ — —  
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [१] — — ॐ — —  
भक्तं गरीयः श्रीराघवोऽमस्त क्तार्थमुच्चैः<sup>४</sup> ॥<sup>५</sup>

<sup>१</sup> Metre : *Anushūbh.*

<sup>२</sup> Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita.*

<sup>३</sup> About 40 aksharas are gone here.

<sup>४</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā.*

<sup>५</sup> Lines 64-75 are too much mutilated to be transcribed here. Lines 69 and 71 mention one Māidēva and line 70 has आह्वय सत्वरमुवाच वाः स . . . . . मैथिलीनायक्यति देव मे कुर्व . . which shows that the inscription was intended to record something done by Māidēva by the order of Rāghava—perhaps some repairs to the temple of Lakshmana.

No. 3.—A GRANT OF THE WESTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA : SAKA 653.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of **three copper-plates** was presented by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society to the Archæological Section of the **Prince of Wales Museum**, Bombay, and is now exhibited in the Epigraphical Gallery.

These plates have not been published so far nor have they been noticed anywhere. Their authenticity is, however, unquestionable and therefore they are taken up for publication in this journal.

Each plate is 10"×5½" in size. The whole grant runs into 45 lines. A circular hole with a diameter of about ¾" is found in all the three plates. There is neither any ring nor any Royal seal attached to the set at present. The first and third plates are written on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both the sides. As regards **orthography** the record has no peculiarity worth mentioning.

**Vijayāditya**, the donor of the present grant, seems to have ascended the throne in 618-619 Śaka as the Bādāmi Sanskrit and Kanarese inscription is dated Śaka 621, in his third regnal year.<sup>1</sup> The present grant was made in his **36th regnal year** when **653 Śaka** had passed. His reign seems to have ended in 654-655 Śaka as his son Vikramāditya II issued from Raktapura a grant in his 2nd regnal year in 656 Śaka expired.<sup>2</sup>

The donation was made on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha to Bhavasvāmi-Bhaṭṭa of the Viśvāmītra-gōtra, who was well versed in the Vaidika literature and who was the son of Paśupatiśarman and grandson of Yajñāśarman. The donation was of a village (?) in a certain *vishaya*<sup>3</sup>. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Raktapura**.<sup>4</sup>

The writer was **Niravadya-Punyavallabha**. We know that in the reign of Vinayāditya the *Mahāsāmdhivigrahika* was one Rāma-Punyavallabha.<sup>5</sup> But in the reign of Vijayāditya there was one Niravadya-Paṇḍita *alias* Udayadēva-Paṇḍita, a Jaina to whom Vijayāditya granted a village.<sup>6</sup> Niravadya-Paṇḍita who was of the Mūla-Saṅgha was the spiritual guide of Vinayāditya.<sup>7</sup>

The inscription opens with *Scasti* followed by a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then it successively refers to the famous Mānavya-gōtra, the descent from **Hārīti** of the **Chalukyas** who were guarded by the Seven Mothers, the receipt of a banner bearing the figure

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> [According to my reading of lines 35-37 the name of the village granted would be Tārāvadra which was situated in Tēllād-āhāra, a district in Navasāri-*vishaya*. I read the portion as follows :—

35 भवस्वामिभद्राय नवसारिविषयी तन्नादाह्वरी

36 कोचलत्यातेन्नादपठमत्याणवैसीमायामाणां भद्रैः तारा[व]द्रना-

37 भद्राम(नी) वायुद्यमने विजयादिखेन दत्तः etc.—N. L. R.]

<sup>4</sup> This Raktapura was a famous place in the times of the Western Chālukya kings. Vinayāditya issued a grant from this place. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 112. Vikramāditya II issued one more grant in 656 Śaka, cf. *ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

<sup>7</sup> [The late Prof. Pathak has suggested (above, Vol. X, p. 15) that the name Niravadya, which seems to have been a *bīruḍa*, originally of Vijayāditya, was assumed by the writer of his grants.—N. I. R.]

of a Boar on it through the favour of Vishṇu, etc., as found in most of the other grants of this dynasty.

The genealogy begins with **Pulakēśi-Vallabha (I)**<sup>1</sup> who had purified his limbs with the holy waters at the time of the horse sacrifice performed by him. Then his son, the famous **Kirtti-varman(I)** who had defeated the kings of **Vanavāsī**, is referred to. Then we find mentioned his son **Satyāśraya** otherwise famous as **Pulakēśin (II)** who bore the additional titles *Mahārājā-dhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*; the last-mentioned title he obtained by defeating **Harshavardhana**. Then comes his 'favourite' son **Vikramāditya (I)**. Mounted on the back of his favourite steed **Chitrakaṇṭha** and with only a sword in hand he is said to have retrieved the fortune of his father which had been taken away by the alliance of three kings. He also broke down the power of the **Pāndyas, Chōlas, Kēraḷas** and **Kaḷabhras**, and made the king of **Kāñchī** bow down in reverence to him. Then is mentioned **Vinayāditya**, who is also stated to have subdued the triple alliance. He subdued the kings of **Kavēra, Pārasika** and **Sirīhaḷa** and by defeating the king of the north acquired the emblems of greatness such as the *Pālidhvaja*, etc.

His favourite son was **Vijayāditya-Samastabhuvanāśraya**, the donor of the present grant. He secured peace at home while his grandfather carried on wars with the southern kings and he assisted his father in a campaign in the north and going further to the north (more than what his father had done) he acquired for himself the emblems of **Gaṅgā, Yamunā, the Pālidhvaja** banner and the *Dhvaṇī* drum. He was once caught by the enemies but he skilfully contrived to escape and brought peace and order unaided by others in the provinces where disorder reigned supreme for a while.

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

#### First Plate.

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥\*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षाभितारण्वं(वम्) [१\*] दक्षिणोत्त-  
दंष्ट्राग्रविश्रान्तभुवनं वपुः [॥\*] श्री-
- 2 मतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगोत्राणां सप्तलोकमातु-
- 3 भिस्सप्तमातृभिरभिवर्द्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगव-
- 4 न्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां
- 5 चलिक्यानां कुलमलंकरिष्णोरश्वमेधावभृथस्नानपवित्रीकृतगावस्य श्रीपुलकेशि-
- 6 वल्लभमहाराजस्य सूनुपरक्रमाक्रान्तवनवास्यादिपरनृपतिमण्डलप्रणिव-
- 7 हविश्रुद्धकीर्त्तिः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्मपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजस्तस्यात्मजस्समर-<sup>4</sup>
- 8 संसक्तसकलोत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनापराजयोपात्तपरमेश्वरशब्दा-

<sup>1</sup> His title *Satyāśraya* is not given here, unlike in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-bhuvanam*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *\*sya samara-*. [This emendation is unnecessary as the reading of the text in ll. 8-9 is correctly *-paramēśvara-śabdāsa-śaya-*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> Read *śri-Harshavardhana-*.

- 9 [ङ्]स्य सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्य प्रियतनय-  
 10 स्य प्रज्ञा[त]नयस्य खड्गमात्रसहायस्य चित्रकण्ठाभिधानप्रवरतुरङ्गमेणै-  
 11 केनैवोत्सारिताशेषविजिगीषोरवनिपतित्रितयान्तरितां स्वगुरो<sup>1</sup> श्रियमात्मसा-  
 12 त्कृत्य(त्वा) प्रभावकुलिशदलितपाण्ड्यचोळकैरळकळभ्रप्रभृतिभूभृददभ्रवि-  
 13 भ्रमस्यानन्यावनतकाञ्चीपतिमुकुटचुंबितपादांबुजस्य विक्रमादिस्थ-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 14 सत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य प्रियसूनो<sup>2</sup>पि-  
 15 तुराज्ञया बालेन्दुशेखरस्य तारकारातिरिव दैत्यबलमतिसमुद्धतं चैरान्यका-  
 16 ञ्चीपतिबलमवष्टभ्य करदीकृतकमे(वे)रपारसौकसिंहकादिहीपाधिपस्य सक-  
 17 लोत्तरापथनाथमथनोपार्जितोर्जितपाकिध्वजादिसमस्तपारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य  
 18 विनयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्य  
 19 प्रियात्मजशैशव एवाधिगताशेषास्त्रशास्त्रो दक्षिणाशाविजयिनि पितामहे  
 20 समुन्मूलितनिखिलकण्ठक<sup>3</sup>सह[ति\*]रुत्तरापथवि[जि\*]गीषोर्गुरोरग्रत एवाहव-  
 21 व्यापारमाचरन्नरातिगजघटापाटनविशोर्थ्यमाणकृपाणधारस्त्रमप्रविग्रहा-  
 22 षेसरस्स[त्सा]हसरसिक<sup>4</sup>पराङ्मु(ङ्)खीकृतशत्रुमण्डलो गंगायमुनापाकिध्वज-  
 23 पट[ह\*]ठक<sup>5</sup>महाशब्दचिह्नमाणक्यमर्तगजादौग्निपु(त्)सात्कुर्वन्प[रि]पलायमानै-  
 24 रासाद्य कथमपि विधिवशादपनौतीपि प्रतापादेद<sup>6</sup> विषयप्रकोपमराजक-  
 25 मुत्सारयन्वत्तराज इवानपेक्षितापरसहायकस्तदवग्रहाच्चिर्गत्य स्व-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 26 भुजावष्टंभप्रसाधिताशेषविश्वंभर<sup>7</sup>प्रभुरखण्डितशक्तित्रय-  
 27 त्वाच्छत्रुमदभंजनत्वादुदारत्वान्निरवद्यत्वाद्यस्त्रमस्तभुवना-

<sup>1</sup> Read °gurōb.

<sup>2</sup> Read śhaktā.

<sup>3</sup> Read viśhaya.

<sup>4</sup> Read sathkathir.

<sup>5</sup> Read °d=śva.

- 28 अथस्तकलपारमैश्वर्यव्यक्तिहेतुपालिध्वजाद्युज्व(ज्व)लप्राश्व-  
 29 राज्यो विजयादित्यसत्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवत्तममहाराजाधिरा-  
 30 जपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्वर्वात्त्रे(ने)वमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वोष्मा-  
 31 भि'चिपञ्चाशदुत्तरषट्(ट्)शनेषु शकवर्षेष्वतोतेषु प्रवर्द्धमानविजय-  
 32 राज्यसंवत्सरे षट्त्रिंशे वर्त्तमाने रक्तपुरमधिवसति विजयस्कन्धावारं  
 33 वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां विश्वामित्रगात्राय — — — <sup>2</sup>वे[द\*]वेदांगपारगाय  
 34 अशर्मपौत्राय <sup>3</sup>पटुपतिशर्मपुत्राय सकलविदितशास्त्रा-  
 35 य भवस्वामिभट्टाय — — — <sup>5</sup>विषये — — — <sup>5</sup>हारो

Third Plate.

- 36 — — — — लु<sup>5</sup> — पश्चिमे — — — <sup>5</sup> सीमा — — — — —  
 37 — — — — — — — <sup>5</sup> विजयादित्येन दत्तः तदागामिभिरस्मदं-  
 38 श्यैरन्यैश्च राजभिरायुरेश्वर्यादीनां विलसितमञ्चरांशुचक्ष-  
 39 लमव[ग\*]च्छन्निराचन्द्रार्कधराण्यवस्थितिसमकालयशस्विभिः[\*] स्वदत्ति-  
 40 नि[र्वि]शेषं परिपालनीयमुक्तश्च<sup>6</sup> भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [॥\*]  
 41 बहुभिर्बन्धुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य(भिः । य)स्य यस्य य-  
 42 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥\*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दुःखम-  
 43 न्यस्य पालनं(नम्) [॥\*] दानं वा पालनं चेति दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) [॥\*]  
 44 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुध्वरां(राम्) [॥\*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठा-  
 45 यां जायते कृमिः [॥\*] श्रीनिरवद्यश्रीपुण्यवक्त्रभेन लिखितमिदं शासनं [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read °*bhis-tri*°.

<sup>2</sup> Reading doubtful. [It is विदित°.—N. L. R.]

<sup>3</sup> Read *Paśupati*°.

<sup>4</sup> The order of the words in the compound is incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> [See note 3 on p. 21.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> Read °*yam/uktān=cha*.

## No. 4.—ELLORA PLATES OF DANTIDURGA : SAKA 663.

BY S. K. DIKSHIT, M.A., NEW DELHI.

The copper-plates which bear the subjoined inscription of the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Dantidurga were discovered at Ellora (ancient Ēlāpura) in Aurangābād District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They were handed over to Sir John Marshall by Major Garforth, Under Secretary, Public Works Department, in the year 1921, but originally belonged to a widow lady, by name Mrs. Plunkett, from whom they were subsequently purchased by the Archæological Department. Unfortunately they have somehow remained in oblivion for more than 17 years, until Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit happened to come across them. He has kindly lent them to me for editing, which I am doing under his guidance.

The plates are two in number, each measuring in the middle roughly 6 inches in length and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth. They are joined together by a copper ring which is oval in shape, being roughly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in breadth. The letters, which are engraved with fair accuracy, vary in size from  $\frac{1}{8}$ th to  $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of an inch. The plates are inscribed on one side only, and the engraving is fairly deep, though the letters do not appear on the other side except in a few cases. The edges of the plates are thickened only very slightly, so that the first plate is worn out in the middle of the upper edge though no damage is thereby caused to any letters. The copper ring which joins the two plates together has a seal attached to it, on which appears a winged figure sitting cross-legged. The figure must be of Garuḍa who usually appears on the Rāshtrakūṭa seals. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is throughout written in prose, except for the imprecatory and benedictory verses (lines 23 to 28) which are usually found near the end. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonant following *r* is generally duplicated (cf. *Dantidurgga*, l. 8; *antargata* and *vinirgata*, ll. 13 and 14; *Adhvaryu*, l. 14; *utsarppañārtham*, l. 17). A certain amount of laxity in rules relating to *sandhi*, etc., is also observable.

The palaeographical peculiarities found in this inscription mark it out from the Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions like the Multāi and Tiwarkhēḍ plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura,<sup>1</sup> the Bhāndak plates of Kṛishnarāja I<sup>2</sup>, which, according to Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, have characters belonging to the "Northern class of alphabets". On the other hand, a comparative study of this record with some of the Valabhī and Southern Gujarāt plates betrays their closest affinity in palaeographical details. Thus the Ilāō (Broach District) plates of Dadda II-Prasāntarāga,<sup>3</sup> Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhāṭa,<sup>4</sup> Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka II (dated Śaka 679)<sup>5</sup> and Baroda plates of Suvarṇavarsha (dated Śaka 734)<sup>6</sup> bear a much closer resemblance with the present record than the first-mentioned three grants from the Bētūl and Chāndā Districts. Special attention may be drawn to the form of the letter *ē* (l. 10), which could easily be mistaken for 'gu' or 'l', but is obviously meant to be of the same type as is found in *Ēlāpur-āchala*, etc., of the Baroda plates<sup>7</sup>.

The object of this inscription is to record the grant of a village called Pippalāla in the district of Chandanapuri-eighty-four, to certain Brāhmaṇas originating from Navasārikā, by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Dantidurga, son of Indrarāja and grandson of Karkkarāja. The grant was issued

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230 ff.; above, Vol. XI, pp. 276 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff. Also cf. the Valabhī plates illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, facing p. 328; above, Vols. XI, XIII and XXII, facing pp. 106, 339 and 118 respectively, etc.

<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 158, text l. 14.

from, and probably recorded at, Badarikā-vāsaka, though it was originally made at Ēlapura (Ēlapura) by the donor after bathing in the Guhēsvara tīrtha. Its chief importance, however, lies in the fact that it is the earliest dated record of the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty so far known. The inscription is dated in the (Śaka) Saṁvat 663, Āsvina Suddha trayōdaśī, Sōma-vāra. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* the date is not regular either for Śaka 663 current or for 663 expired. The details cited, however, regularly correspond to Monday, the 17th September 742 A.D., in the Śaka year 664 expired. The present inscription, whose authenticity can be borne out by the palaeographical test, is thus dated 12 years earlier than the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,<sup>1</sup> which are dated in the Śaka year 675. The genuineness of the latter has been called in question by scholars like Dr. Sukthankar<sup>2</sup> and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,<sup>3</sup> who base their arguments mainly on palaeographical grounds, which are, however, 'hardly convincing' to Dr. A. S. Altekar, 'when the difference is only of a few decades.'<sup>4</sup> One may not perhaps fully agree with Dr. Altekar in his doubts as regards the validity of the palaeographical test, which has always to reckon the district in which the inscription is found, the district in which the grant is given and the personality of the writer; but one cannot set aside the Sāmangaḍ inscription altogether, especially in view of the possibility that it might have been copied from an earlier and authentic inscription which really gave the correct date of Dantidurga (*viz.*, Ś. 675). The present record also bears out Dr. Altekar's suggestion that at any rate "there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga being a ruling prince in 753-4 A. D."<sup>5</sup>

Another point to be considered is regarding the titles that were borne according to this inscription by Dantidurga and his predecessors, Karka and Indra. All the three bear only feudatory titles, such as *Samadhigata-pancha-mahāsabha* and *Mahāsāmantādhipati*. Thus Dantidurga had not as yet assumed the imperialistic titles which appear in the Sāmangaḍ plates. No doubt, he bears in this record the title of *Prithivīvallabha*, but that may signify at best his increased importance. It is true that the title *Prithivīvallabha* was often borne, along with *Śrīvallabha*, by kings of the Imperial lines of the Chālukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas; but while the latter title, like the simpler *Vallabha*, was exclusively a suzerain's title, the former, *viz.*, *Prithivīvallabha*, was borne also by important feudatories. Thus in *circa* 645 A. D. Chandraditya, the eldest son of Pulakēśin II, is styled *Prithivīvallabha* and *Mahārāja*. About a century later, *i.e.*, in or before 739 A. D., the same title *Prithivīvallabha* was conferred upon Pulakēśin (the repeller of the Tājikas) along with other titles, *viz.*, *Avanijanāśraya*, *Dakṣiṇāpathasādhāra-Chalukyakulālamkāra*, etc., by *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* who evidently was his suzerain<sup>6</sup>. Dantidurga also seems to have defeated certain enemies, before 742 A. D., since he is said in this inscription to have obtained victory in many battles. One may therefore suggest that he too was honoured by *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* with the title *Prithivīvallabha* in recognition of his service in some battles, possibly fought in collaboration with Pulakēśin-*Avanijanāśraya*. The date of the present record is only three years later than the date of Pulakēśin's record. The connection of the Rāshtrakūṭa predecessors of Dantidurga with Gujārāt is borne out by the fact recorded in the Sanjān and other inscriptions that the mother of Dantidurga (called Bhavagaṇā in the Bhāndak plates of Kṛishṇarāja)<sup>7</sup> was a Chālukya princess who was carried away by Indrarāja from *Khēṭaka-maṇḍapa* in accordance with the *Rākshasa* form

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 121, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 238.

<sup>4</sup> *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 33-34, footnote 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 109, n. 2. Also cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 265, where Nikumbhallakṭi Sēndraka assumes the title *Prithivīvallabha*.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 124, text l. 19.

of marriage. Further, the connection of Dantidurga with Southern Gujarāt is perhaps betrayed by the fact that one or probably all of the donees of the present grant hailed from Navasārikā. Lastly, as shown above, close palaeographical examination of this inscription confirms this connection, for the inscription was probably engraved somewhere in South Gujarāt. Thus, there is nothing impossible in Dantidurga helping Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya*, when the Tājikas were penetrating into Dakshināpatha at Navasārikā, though it has to be admitted that this is nothing more than a supposition.

When did this scuffle between the Gujarāt Chālukyas and the Tājikas take place? Several scholars have averred that it must have taken place soon after 724 A.D., when Junayd<sup>1</sup> under Caliph Hisham carried raids into the dominions of the Hindu kings. But it seems to me that the Chālukyan skirmishes with the Tājikas did not take place before 731 A.D., since Pulakēśi-*Avanījanāśraya* who claims for himself the credit for repulsing the Tājikas, did not come to the throne till after A.D. 731, for an inscription of Vijayāditya Janāśraya Yuddhamalla Maṅgalarāja, the elder brother of Pulakēśin, is dated in that year.<sup>2</sup> Pulakēśin must have, therefore, encountered the Arabs sometime between 731 A.D. and 739 A.D., *i.e.*, probably in the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733 A.D. to 746 A.D. Thus Vikramāditya was probably the *Śrī-Vallabhanarēndra* who conferred titles on both Pulakēśin and Dantidurga. The assumption of the title *Prīthivīvallabha* and the *biruda Khadgāvalōka* on the part of Dantidurga shows, at any rate, that he had materially added to the dignity and prestige of the Rāshtrakūṭas before this grant was issued; while the issue of a land grant itself shows a certain amount of independence enjoyed by Dantidurga.

Dantidurga must have required some time to achieve victory in many battles as is claimed by him in the present record, or at least to add to the dignity and prestige of the family, as is indicated by the assumption of additional, if not higher, titles. Hence, Dantidurga's career probably began some time before 742 A. D. This would probably invalidate Dr. Altekar's supposition that Indra I married the Chālukya princess Bhavaganā in or after 725, when he "very probably served in this campaign (against the Valabhī king) as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king (Maṅgalarasa)"<sup>3</sup>. Another statement of Dr. Altekar that "Nanna Guṇāvaloka, a younger brother of Indra I, was still alive in 792 A.D., as the Daulatabad plates show",<sup>4</sup> also needs correction, since it is nowhere told in the original record that Nanna was still alive at that date, though his son who issued the grant was then certainly living. Hence, the dates suggested for Dantidurga and his ancestors by Dr. Altekar have to be revised in the light of this record and the suggestions made above and we have perhaps to assign the following approximate dates to Dantidurga and his ancestors :—

Dantivarman (A.D. 615-40).  
|  
Indra-Pichchhakarāja (640-65).  
|  
Gōvindarāja (665-90).  
|  
Karka I (690-715)  
|  
Indra I (715-35).  
|  
Dantidurga (A.D. 735-57) ; known dates, A.D. 742 and 754.

<sup>1</sup> Elliot : *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 125-26.

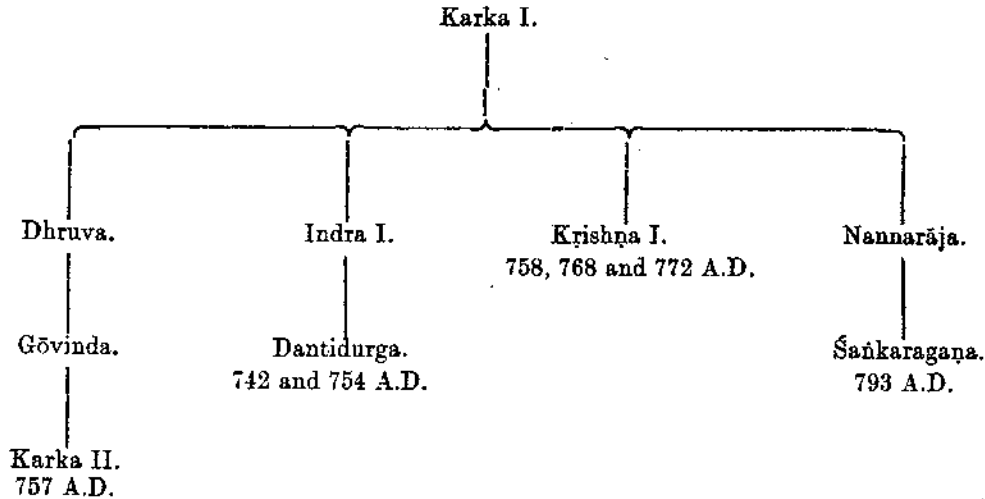
<sup>2</sup> See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 32.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10. See above, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.



Consideration of the above facts would make it clear that the suggestion of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji about the identity of Karka I of Āntrōli-Chhārōli plates with the grandfather of Dantidurga is more probable than Dr. Altekar is disposed to agree. According to him, "the drawback in this theory is the necessity of assuming that Dhruva, Govinda and Karka II were, all of them, the eldest sons of their parents."<sup>1</sup> This is because he would assign later dates to the predecessors of Karka I, and would place Nannarāja in 793 A.D., when he probably did not exist. Thus the various branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa family emanating from Karka I may be shown with their known dates as follows :—



As stated already, the palaeography shows a close similarity between the letters of this record and those of the Āntrōli-Chhārōli record of Karka II, which favours Dr. Bhagwanlal's hypothesis. Dr. Altekar, however, tries to connect the line of Dantidurga with Nannarāja Yuddhāsura of Multāi and Tiwarkhēd plates, which palaeographically differ from the present grant.

A verse in the Sāmangaḍ plates possibly connects early activities of Dantidurga with the Mahī and the Rēvā as also with the Mahānādī. But this does not necessarily show that he was connected with the Rāshtrakūṭas of Berār. He might have led an expedition and gained a victory on the bank of the Mahānādī. As regards Dantidurga's revolt against the Vallabha it is possible to hold that it did not take place till the death of Vikramāditya II who had bestowed on him the title *Prithivivallabha*, while the accession of Kīrtivarman II in circa 747 A.D. probably gave an impetus to his desire to catch hold of the royal sceptre, which he did, according to the Daśāvatāra cave, Sāmangaḍ and many other inscriptions, by means of *daṇḍa* or *daṇḍabala*. In view of this definite statement of the use of force, it is difficult to agree with Dr. Altekar's suggestion that 'the overthrow of the Chālukya emperor was brought about by strategem or treachery.'<sup>2</sup> The very fact that Kīrtivarman II was alive at least upto 757 A. D. shows that very probably there was no intrigue against him, but that he was defeated in a regular battle by Dantidurga, who had raised the standard of rebellion in consequence of the weakness of the central authority. Another fact that I should mention here is about the reading *Sandhubhūpa* found in l. 10 of the Daśāvatāra record, which Dr. Bhagwanlal reads as : *daṇḍēn-aiva jigāya Vallabha-balam yaḥ Sandhubhūp-ādhipam*. According to Dr. Altekar, *Sandhubhūpa* "is obviously a mistake for *Sindhuhūpa*"<sup>3</sup>. But

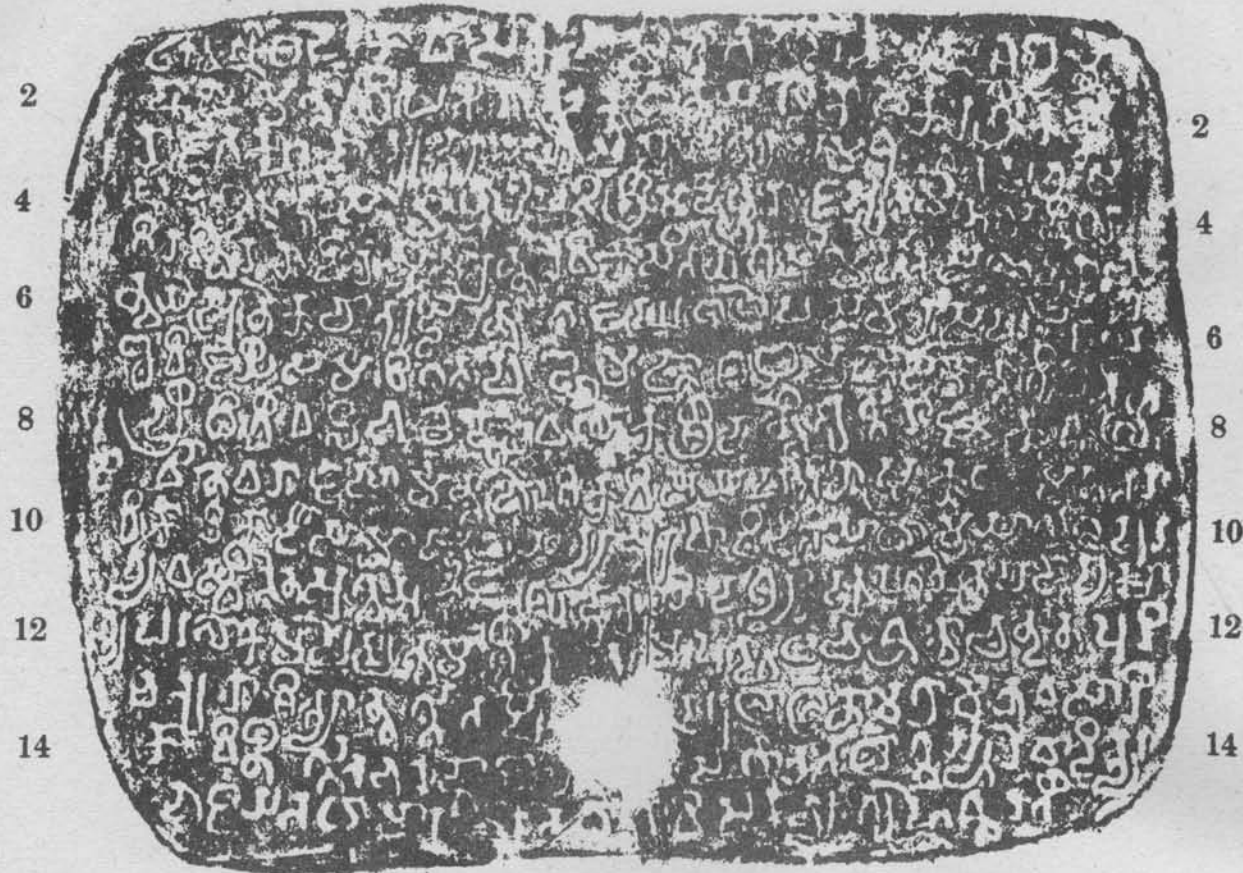
<sup>1</sup> Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.



i.



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then, it would mean that Dantidurga conquered "the overlord of the kings of Sind". The correct reading, so far as I can see from ink-estampages of the Daśāvatāra inscription, kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, is : *dandēn-aiva jīgṛya Vallabha-nripam (?) yaḥ sarva-bhūp-ādhipam*, etc., that is : "He conquered Vallabha, the king of all kings by means of force". We may here note that *Ballara* "signifies king of kings", according to Ibn Khurdabd, Al-Idrisi, etc.<sup>1</sup> There is thus no question of Dantidurga conquering Sind according to this reading.

Of the localities mentioned in this inscription, *Badarikā* whence this record was issued probably lies as indicated by the palaeography of the record, somewhere in southern Gujarāt, though an alternative that the writer who inscribed the record might have hailed from that region is not altogether barred out. *Navasārikā* is the famous Nausāri (Baroda), while *Ēlāpura*<sup>2</sup> is the famous Ellora, where Dantidurga built the Daśāvatāra cave temple as can be inferred from his inscription found in that cave, and where his successor Kṛishṇa built the Kailāsa temple. As regards the *Guhēsvara-tīrtha*, which, according to this inscription, seems to be in *Ēlāpura*, one may suggest that this *Īsvara* of the cave (*guhā*) is none else but *Gṛishṇēsvara* of Ellora,<sup>3</sup> one of the twelve *Jyōtir-līngas*. *Chandanapuri* is the same as the modern Chandanpuri a small town on the *Īrma* river, three miles to the south-west of Malegaum, and about forty-five miles to the north-west of Ellora while *Pippalāla* is the same as the modern Pimpral 12 miles south-east of Chandanpuri, and about 33 miles from Ellora. Since Pippala changes into Pimpal in *Marāṭhī*, there is little phonetic difficulty with regard to the equation Pippalāla=Pimpral. This geographical consideration therefore suggests that the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* territory included at least the Aurangābād District and parts of *Nāsik* and *Khāndesh* Districts as early as 742 A. D.

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

- 1 ॐ<sup>4</sup> स्वस्ति [।\*] बदरिकावासकात्मधिगतपंचमहाशब्दम-
- 2 हासामन्ताधिपतिराष्ट्रकूटान्वयगोचालंकारश्रीकर्क-
- 3 राज[स्\*]तत्पादानुद्धातपरममाहेश्वरसमधिगतपंचम-
- 4 हाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिश्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुत(राजस्तसुतो) मेरुमहीधर-
- 5 गिर(? विजर)खिररुचिरसमुद्रते विकसितयशसि महति स इन्द्रराज्ञा(ज्ञो)-

<sup>1</sup> Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 13, 75, 86, 88, etc. [To me the reading appears to be *Vallabha[ra]jam*. Is *arasa* here to be taken as the Kanarese form of *rāja* as in *Vittarasa* (= *Vishnurāja*)?—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> For the history of its name and the traditions connected with it vide *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 26, footnote. I may point out another tradition narrated in the *Brahmapurāna*, Ch. 108 (*Gautami-Māhātmya*), according to which *Ilapura* owes its name to king *Ilā*. The story says that *Ilā* changed his sex on entering the forest called *Umāvana* due to a curse of *Śiva* and came to be known as *Ilā*. Wishing to regain her former sex *Ilā* worshipped *Śiva* on the banks of the river *Gautami* (*Gōdāvari*) in the forests of *Danḍaka*. She succeeded and hence the town established there came to be known as *Ilapura*. The *tīrtha*, according to Dr. Burgess, "was originally at the caves" (*A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 4).

<sup>3</sup> I owe this suggestion to R. B. K. N. Dikshit, as also the reading *Ēlāpura*.

Vide : इमाख्ये तु केदारं वृषेयं तु शिवाख्ये ।

इलापुरीरव्यभिवाख्येऽभिन् समुद्रसत्तं च जगदरेख्यम् ।

वन्दे महीदारतरस्तभावं वृषेयराख्यं शरख्यं प्रपद्ये ॥

—*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 4-6.

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

- 6 अये अनेकचातुईन्तगजघटाटोपसमरसंघटल-  
 7 अविजयी(यः)<sup>1</sup> समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहासामन्ताधिपति-  
 8 प्री(पृ)थिवीवल्लभश्चक्रावला(लो)कश्रीदन्तिदुर्गराजः कुशली  
 9 सर्वानेव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रकूटमहत्तरा-  
 10 धिकारिकादौ[न्\*] समान्नापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया एल(ला)पुर-  
 11 व्यवस्थितेन अश्वयुजशुद्धचयोदश्यां स्वहस्तेन पादां(दौ) प्रक्षा-  
 12 ख्य परलोकमपेक्षत्वमंगौकृत्य(लोकमपेक्ष्य) महत्फलं च श्रुत्वा चन्दनपुरि-  
 13 चतुराश्रित्या(रशीत्य)न्तर्गतपिप्पलालं नाम ग्राम[:\*] नवसारि-  
 14 काविनिर्मातभरद्वा[ज]सगोत्र तथाध्वर्युरिवादित्य-  
 15 भद्राय तथा माडल तथा [गो]विसरेभ्य(भ्यो) गुहेश्वरती-

Second Plate.

- 16 र्यज्ञातेन बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रादिज्ञ(क्रि)यो-  
 17 स्पर्षणाल्यं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभि-  
 18 त्रि(वृ)हये पिप्पलालं ग्राम[:\*] प्रतिपादितः यत[:\*] अचाटभटप्रवेश्य[:\*] अ-  
 19 भ्यन्तरसिद्धिक[:\*] सर्वदानसंग्राह्य[:\*] यतोऽस्म[द\*]वंशै(शै)रन्वैर्वा भोगन्-  
 20 पतिभिः(भाविनृपतिभोगपतिभिः)<sup>2</sup> नलवेषुकादलौसारसंसारजलबुद्बुदोपमं जीवित-  
 21 मवधार्थ्य अस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य[:\*] प्रतिपालयितव्यश्च यो वाञ्छा-

<sup>1</sup> The epithet 'anēka-chāturdānta-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayāh' is also found in the Khāmkhēḍ plates of the time of Pratāpāsīla, edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi (*Supra*, Vol. XXII, p. 95). The letters being partly illegible, the editor has read them as: 'anēka-cha[*tu*]rddanta-[gaja-ghaṭā] . . . [prāpta\*]-vijayāh.' [In the Khāmkhēḍ plates there is no room for so many syllables after ghaṭā. - Ed.] But the present record has a greater similarity with the Bagumrā grant of Nikumbhallaśakti Sēndraka (Prithivī-vallabha) than with the Khāmkhēḍ plates. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267:—*Mērumahādihara-vijara-sthira-ruchira-samunnatē vikasita-mahati yaśasi (vikasita-yaśasi mahati) Sēndraka-rājñām-anvayē nāika-chānu(tu)rddanta-gaja-ghaṭ-āṭōpa-sama[rā]-saṅghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayō*, etc. (The reading cited here will be found slightly different from the one given by Bühler.) The writer of our inscription thus seems to have before him a Sēndraka record, which he blindly copied till he inscribed the words "vikasita-yaśasi mahati sa", as if he had to write 'Sēndraka-rājñām-anvayē.' Immediately after he wrote 'sa', however, it seems to have dawned upon him that this deed belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭae and not to the Sēndrakas. So he inserted an obviously unnecessary word "Indrarājñāt(jūō)-nvayē." After stating that Dantidurga belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family and that he was a son of Indrarāja it was certainly not necessary to add that he was a member of Indrarāja's family.

<sup>2</sup> The letter *la* is incised below the line. It was evidently omitted at first by mistake and was supplied later on. The *kākapada* sign over the foregoing *lā* indicates the omission.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhōgapati* is the same as *Bhōgika*, a governor of a *bhukti*.

- 22 नतिमिरान्वाद्यतमतिराह्नि(च्छि)न्द्यादाह्नि(च्छि)द्यमानं वानुमोदेत स
- 23 पंचभिर्महापातकैः[\*] संयुक्तु(संयुनक्तु) [1\*] उक्तं च भगवतो(ता) वेदव्यासेन [1\*]  
षष्टिं
- 24 वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्णि(र्णी) तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेता(त्ता) चानुमन्ता च
- 25 तान्येव नरके वसे[त्\*] ।[1\*] विन्ध्याटवीश्वतोयासु शुष्ककोठ(ट)रवासिनः [1\*]
- 26 क्रि(क्त)णाहयो हि जायते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [1\*] बहुभिर्वसु-
- 27 धा भुक्ता राजभिः[\*] सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि[स्\*] तस्य तस्य  
तदा फ-
- 28 लं(सम्) [1\*] सं ६०० ६० ३ अश्वयुज शुद्ध त्रयोदश्यां सोमवारे [1\*]
- 29 लिखितमिदं कुक्षुरेन(ण) गवंग[वाब्बा]भिहितेन(?)

## No. 5.—BHIKSHUNIS IN INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

BY BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

Here I am concerned to put together the evidences which Indian inscriptions bear to the existence of the Buddhist Bhikshunī order in India, and to examine how far they tally with the facts that may be gathered from literature and foreign travels.

It may be observed at the outset that the epithet *bhikshunī*<sup>1</sup> (*bhikhunī*<sup>2</sup>, *bhichhunī*<sup>3</sup>) is nowhere employed in Indian inscriptions to denote a religious woman other than a Buddhist female mendicant, sister or nun as she is usually represented. In rare instances *samanikā* or *pavajitīkā* is used as the epithet of a Buddhist nun.<sup>4</sup> This is, however, not to deny that Indian inscriptions are wanting in references to the female members of the Jaina Order, although they are not called *bhikshunīs*.<sup>5</sup>

The Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts of Aśōka go to prove that the Buddhist community was constituted in the 3rd century B.C., precisely as in the Buddha's time, of *bhikshus*, *bhikshunīs*, *upāsakas*, and *upāsikās*. The text of Aśōka's ordinance provides against schisms in the Saṅgha fomented by *bhikshus* as well as *bhikshunīs* (*e chum kho bhikkhū vā bhikhuni vā saṅgham bhākkhā*).<sup>6</sup> Thus the *bhikshunīs* had at that time to be reckoned with as equally powerful factors in the matter of unity or division in the Buddhist Fraternity.

The information about the *bhikshunīs* which may be gathered from Aśōka's edicts may be supplemented by the account of Saṅghamitrā's mission to Ceylon as met with in the *Dīparamsa*

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 38 (above, Vol. X, appendix).

<sup>2</sup> Aśōka's Bhābrū and Schism Pillar Edicts; Lüders' *List*, Nos. 175, 292, 341, 344, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 163, 168, 183, 187, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1240, 1242, 1315.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 16, 18, 21, 23a, 24, 32, 39, 39a, 45a, 48, 50, 59a, 67, 70, 75, 86, 99, 199, 121.

<sup>6</sup> Sārnāth Pillar Edict. Cf. also Sārnāth and Kauśāmbī Pillar Edicts.

and the *Mahāvamsa*. The *Dīpavamsa* informs us that Aśōka's son and daughter, Mahēndra and Saṅghamitrā, received the ordination as Buddhist monk and nun in the sixth year of his reign.<sup>1</sup> The renowned Dharmapālā was, according to the *Mahāvamsa*, Saṅghamitrā's preceptress (*upajjhāyā*), and Āyupālā her teacher (*āchariyā*).<sup>2</sup> The brother and the sister, Bhikshu Mahēndra and Bhikshuṇī Saṅghamitrā, both of whom belonged to the Theravāda school of Buddhism, were destined to illumine the doctrine of the Buddha even like the sun and the moon.<sup>3</sup> In about the 19th or 20th year of Aśōka's reign after his coronation, the wise Saṅghamitrā with ten other capable *bhikshuṇīs* went from India to Ceylon during the reign of King Devānampiya Tissa and taught the three Piṭakas in Anurādhapura. They succeeded in founding the Bhikshuṇī Order in the island of Lankā, Princess Anulā with her following having received the ordination from Saṅghamitrā.<sup>4</sup> The *Dīpavamsa* immortalises the names of a few other *bhikshuṇīs* who had then received the Upasampadā Ordination in Ceylon.<sup>5</sup> The nunnery (*bhikshuṇī-upassaya*) in which Saṅghamitrā dwelt with her company of *bhikshuṇīs* was known as the Upāsikā-vihāra consisting of twelve buildings.<sup>6</sup> King Devānampiya Tissa caused to be erected a suitable nunnery for Saṅghamitrā and other *bhikshuṇīs* round about the Thūpārāma, which came to be known by the name of Hatthāḥhaka-vihāra.<sup>7</sup>

The state of things which prevailed in India regarding the *bhikshuṇīs* after the reign of Aśōka, both before and during the Śuṅga-Mitra period, may be easily inferred from some of the donative inscriptions on the Sānchī Stūpa, the Bharhut Stūpa, and the Bodh-Gayā railings. These epigraphic records reveal the following facts concerning the Buddhist nuns, each of importance :—

- (1) That the nuns are mentioned generally as *bhikkhūṇīs* or *bhichhūṇīs*, while the monks are honoured with such epithets as *bhadamīta*, *bhayanīta*, *aya* (*ārya*) and *bhadavīntaya*, a fact which may not be unreasonably taken to indicate the inferior position accorded to the nuns as compared with the monks ;<sup>8</sup>
- (2) that there are instances where a senior nun had junior nuns as female pupils under her<sup>9</sup> or a nun was a female pupil of a monk,<sup>10</sup> but none where a monk was a pupil under a nun ;
- (3) that the nuns, precisely as the monks, either received Buddhist names at the time of initiation and ordination<sup>11</sup> or were allowed to retain their quondam names, the names given by their parents or guardians ;<sup>12</sup>
- (4) that the following localities are the various places or centres with which the nuns are associated : Ujeni (Ujjayinī), Kākandī, Kāchupatha (Kañchupatha, Kāñchipatha ?),

<sup>1</sup> *Dīpavamsa* (ed. Oldenberg), VII, 22 ; *Mahāvamsa* (ed. P. T. S.), V, 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, V, 208.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 211.

<sup>4</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 11-13, also XV, 79-80 ; *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 64-65 ; *Samantapāsādikā*, pt. I, p. 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Dīpavamsa*, XVIII, 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Mahāvamsa*, XIX, 68-71.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, XIX, 82-83.

<sup>8</sup> Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, p. 45.

<sup>9</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 573 (Dhamadevā, *antēvāsini* of Mitasiri), 589 (*Mūlā*, *antēvāsini* of Gaḍā).

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 38.

<sup>11</sup> Such names as Arahadāsi (*Arhadāsi*), Arahadinā (*Arhadattā*), Isidatā, Isidinā (*Rishidattā*), Isidāsi, Gotamī, Jitamitā (*Jitamitrā*), Digamāgā, (*Diānāgā*), Dhamarakhitā, Dhamaśiri, Budharakhitā, Sagharakhitā, Saṅghapālītā.

<sup>12</sup> Such names as Devabhāgā, Chapḍā, Kāḍī, Chirāḍī (*Kirāḍī*), Yakhī, Sagarinā, Girigutā, Pusā (*Pushyā*), Asabhā (*Rishabhā*), Gaḍā (*Gaḍā*), Vāsavā, Ratini, Siri, Sihā, Suriyā.

Kāpāsīgāma, Kurama, Kurara, Kuraraghara, Chudāthīla, Tumbavana, Nandīnāgara, Pemuta, Bhojakāṭa, Maḍalachhikāṭa (Maṇḍalākshikāṭa), Māhimsatī (Māhishmatī), Moragiri, Vāghumata, Vāḍivahana, and Vidiśā.<sup>1</sup>

In the two surviving inscriptions on the coping of the Bodh-Gayā railing Kuraṅgi is introduced as the elderly wife of King Indrāgnimitra,<sup>2</sup> while in all the fifteen shorter inscriptions on the uprights of the same railing she is honoured as *Ayā* Kuraṅgi (*Āryā* Kuraṅgi).<sup>3</sup> Having regard to the fact that in both Buddhist literature and inscriptions the epithet *ayya* or *ayira* (*ārya*) is applied to the name of a person who has attained Arhatship, it may be presumed that Kuraṅgi passed a retired life as a *bhikṣuṇī* in her old age and that she was found to be in an advanced state of spirituality.<sup>4</sup>

Coming to such later period of Indian history as the Kushāṇa we shall expect in vain to come across many references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in inscriptions. There is definitely one inscription only at Junnār Buddhist cave which records the erection of a nunnery (*bhikṣuṇī-upasaya*) in the town for the residence of the *bhikṣuṇīs* of the Dharmōttariya sect.<sup>5</sup> So far as Mathurā is concerned, we know of one inscription only, assigned to the reign of Huvishka, in which the *Bhikṣuṇī* Dhanavatī, the sister's daughter of the *Bhikṣuṇī* Buddhāmitrā, is said to have set up a Bōdhisattva image at Mādthuravanaka (Māthuravana). This *bhikṣuṇī* is praised as one who knew the *Tripitaka* (*Trepitākā*) and introduced as the female pupil (*antēvāsini*) of the *Bhikṣu* Bala who himself was a master of the three *Pitakas* (*Trepitāka*).<sup>6</sup> It needs no mention that the sphere of influence of the *Bhikṣu* Bala was not confined to Mathurā but extended to Śrāvastī and Sārnāth. At Amarāvati, however, one may obtain as many as eight inscriptions which, too, go to prove that the Buddhist community continued to be constituted of *bhikṣus*, *bhikṣuṇīs*, *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*. In all of them the *bhikṣuṇīs*, otherwise called *samaṇikā* and *pavaṇikā*, figure as female donors.<sup>7</sup> In one instance a *bhikṣuṇī*, called Budhā, is described as the sister of the Thera Chetiyavandaka Bhadanta Budhi,<sup>8</sup> and in two records the *bhikṣuṇīs* are introduced as the resident female pupils of two saintly *theras*, Budharakhitā of the Thera Bhadanta Budharakhita,<sup>9</sup> and Nandā of the Arahata Ayira Budharakhita.<sup>10</sup> One inscription speaks of Vasā (Vāśyā) as a *pavaṇikā* (*pravrajitā*) resident in Kevurura.<sup>11</sup>

The continuance of the *Bhikṣuṇī* Order at Mathurā up till the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era is clearly attested by the testimony of Fa-Hien and that of a Sanskrit inscription. In speaking of *Mo-tu-lo* (Mathurā) Fa-Hien observes: "The *bhikṣuṇīs* principally honour the tower of Ānanda, because it was Ānanda who requested the lord of the world to let women take orders; *śrāmaṇeras* mostly offer to Rāhula."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Almost all the places were situated near about Sānchi and Bharhut.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 943, 944.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 939-42.

<sup>4</sup> Berna, *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vol. II, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Lüders' *List*, No. 1152.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 38.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1223, 1240, 1242, 1252, 1257, 1264, 1280, 1315.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1223.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1250.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1234.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1240.

<sup>12</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. xxxix.



A Sanskrit inscription, dated in the (Gupta) year 230 (=A.D. 549-50), records the religious gift of the Śākya-bhikṣuṇī (Buddhist nun) Jayabhaṭṭā at a monastery called Yaśōvihāra.<sup>1</sup>

So far as our present knowledge goes, this is the latest epigraphic record having either mention of or any reference to the *bhikṣuṇīs*.

Hiuen Tsang who visited India during the reign of Harshavardhana has nothing whatever to say about the *bhikṣuṇīs* in his *Si-yü-ki*. But Bāṇa in his *Harshacharita* puts the following words in the mouth of Rājyaśrī and Harshavardhana, which may be taken to testify to the existence of the Bhikṣuṇī Order, however lingering it might be :

Rājyaśrī : " Let me therefore in my misfortunes be allowed to assume the red robe ".<sup>2</sup>

Harshavardhana : " At the end, when I have accomplished my design, she and I will assume the red garments (*kāshāyāṇī*) together."<sup>3</sup>

Even apart from the evidence of Bāṇa's *Harshacharita* it cannot be doubted that the Bhikṣuṇī Order continued to exist, in some form or another, in India, though not among all Buddhist sects. The continuance of this order is unmistakably proved by the following observation of I-ting whose visit may be assigned to the last quarter of the 7th century A.D. :

" Nuns in India are very different from those of China. They support themselves by begging food, and live a poor and simple life."<sup>4</sup>

At about this time, or a little later, flourished Bhavabhūti who included the Saugata-Parivrā-jikā Kāmandakī among the female characters in his famous drama *Mālatī-Mādhava*, together with her three female pupils, Avalōkitā, Buddharakṣhitā, and Sandāminī, and Subandhu who, in his *Vāsavadattā*, spoke of a *bhikṣukī* as devoted to Tārā and as wearing red garments (*bhikṣukīva Tār-ānurāga-rakt-āmbāra-dhāriṇī*). Bhavabhūti, be it noted, associates these Buddhist nuns with the Śrīparvata in South India, and describes them as female ascetics who put on yellow robes (*chīra-chīvara-parichchhadā*) and lived on *pinḍapāta* only.

Tatakaragupta of unknown but late date is the Buddhist author, who, while speaking of Vajrayāna or Agranaya Mahāyāna, observes that this school of Buddhism provided religious training for the *bhikṣhus*, the *bhikṣuṇīs*, the *śrāmaṇēras*, the *śrāmaṇēris*, the *upāsakas* and the *upāsikās*.<sup>5</sup> I do not know of any Indian work, Brahmanical or Buddhist, containing references to the *bhikṣuṇīs* in the 9th or 10th century A.D. It would seem that by that time the Bhikṣuṇī Order became defunct in India, or that even if it had continued, it was just dragging its existence here and there among certain sects of the Buddhists.<sup>6</sup> Eventually it ceased to be in India proper even prior to the Muslim conquest.

<sup>1</sup> Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.

<sup>2</sup> *Harshacharita* (ed. S. D. Gajendragadkar), p. 247 : *atoḥ kāshāya-grahaṇ-ābhyanujñāy-ānugrihyatām*. Translation by Cowell and Thomas, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* (translation), p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Practices*, p. 80.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by Haraprasād Śāstri in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, 1331 B. S., p. 62, from Tatakaragupta's *Adīkarma-rachanā* : *tatra upāsaka-upāsikā-śrāmaṇera-bhikṣu-śrāmaṇeri-bhikṣamānā-bhikṣuṇī-tri-saptānām stri-puruṣh-āśraya-bhēdāt-sapta-samvārāḥ*.

<sup>6</sup> This surmise is well borne out by the evidence of the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Chūlavamsa*. These two Pāli chronicles (*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. 18, v. 12 ; Ch. 19, v. 68 ; Ch. 20, vv. 21, 22, 49 ; Ch. 34, v. 36 ; Ch. 37, v. 43 ; *Chūlavamsa*, Ch. 39, v. 43 ; Ch. 46, v. 27 ; Ch. 48, vv. 36, 139 ; Ch. 49, v. 25 ; Ch. 54, v. 47) mention the pious work of erection of nunneries (*bhikkhuni-upassayā*) in Ceylon from the time of Devānampiya Tissa to that of King Bhūtiśāhanda (7th century A.D.), and nothing of the kind after that.

## No. 6.—AMBASAMUDRAM INSCRIPTION OF SOLANRALAIKONDA VIRA-PANDYA.

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

The subjoined inscription<sup>1</sup> is engraved on the south wall of the Eṛichchāvudaiyār shrine in the Śiva temple, situated on the northern bank of the Tāmraparṇi at **Ambāsamudram**, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in the Tinnevely District. This god who is called Tirupōt-tudaiya-Bhaṭāra (the god of the bull-vehicle) in early inscriptions, must have been the principal deity of the temple in the olden days, because several endowments of the Pāṇḍya kings Māraṅ-Jadaiyaṅ and Śaḍaiya-Māraṅ are found recorded on the walls of this shrine only.<sup>2</sup> But when the adjacent and more imposing Kāśi-Viśvanātha temple came into existence, apparently in the later Pāṇḍya times, this shrine appears to have shrunk into an insignificant auxiliary structure isolated in the north *prākāra* of the bigger temple. Further, during some extensive repairs carried out some fifty years ago, some of the engraved stones belonging to the present record have become disarranged, with the result that one piece containing the ends of lines 9 to 16 is now found embedded in the inner wall of the shrine, while another important slab which must have contained the ends of lines 1 to 8 cannot be traced at all.

The inscription is engraved in clean-cut **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters attributable to the 10th century A. D. **Grantha** letters have been used in the words *Svasti Śrī* (l. 1), *Sūrya-grahaṇa* (l. 11), and *Brahma*<sup>o</sup> (l. 12). The letters *ta* and *ṛa* and consequently *tu* and *ṛu* are written alike, without much differentiation. There are no special **orthographic** peculiarities noticeable in this record, except that some old forms of words occurring in other early Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya records of this period are also found here, such as, *i-ññāḍu* (l. 2) for *i-ññāḍu*; *paḍiṛṛu vēli* (l. 3) for *paṭtu-vēli* and *nāḷi-ūm* (l. 15) for *nāḷiyum*. The Sanskrit words *āchārya* and *śrīkārya* are transformed into *āchārchchiya* (l. 19) and *śrīkārchchiya* (l. 22); the colloquial form *ḷeyṣa* for *ḷeyḍa* is also used (l. 24).

The record is dated in the **15+5th year** of the Pāṇḍya king **Śōḷaṅ-ṛalai-koṇḍa Vira-Pāṇḍya**, when an order issued in the 12th year of his reign was engraved on stone on the wall of the temple by his officer **Chōḷāntaka-Brahmanārāya**. It is important in that it mentions the occurrence of a **solar eclipse in the month of Mithuṅa in the 12th year** of the Pāṇḍya king's reign, and enables us to fix that date.

From the inscriptions copied hitherto, it has not been possible to determine the exact years between which Vira-Pāṇḍya reigned. All that we know is that the Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman Āditya-Karikāla II claims to have cut off the head of a Vira-Pāṇḍya, in the title *Vira-Pāṇḍya-ṛalai-koṇḍu* assumed by him from the 2nd year of his reign<sup>3</sup>, and that the highest regnal year so far found<sup>4</sup> for Vira-Pāṇḍya is 15+5 or 20.

The predecessor of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1013) on the Chōḷa throne was Parakēsarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa, whose date of accession was A.D. 969-70<sup>5</sup>, and as he had a reign of about 16 years,<sup>6</sup> he must have ruled from A.D. 969-970 to 985-986. As both Āditya II and Uttama-Chōḷa had the same title of Parakēsarivarman, it had been inferred that they had ruled jointly in the interval

<sup>1</sup> No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 105 of 1905 and 86 of 1907.

<sup>3</sup> No. 472 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 199).

<sup>4</sup> No. 474 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909 is dated in the 15+4th year, while the present record quotes the 15+5th year.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 234 (No. 456 of 1908).

<sup>6</sup> No. 357 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 144)

between Rājakēsari Sundara-Chōla and Rājakēsari Rājarāja I. The Uḍaiyārguḍi record<sup>1</sup> dated in the 2nd year of Rājakēsari varman (Rājarāja I) states that the lands belonging to some persons who were implicated in the death of Āditya-Karikāla were confiscated by the king; and it is reasonable to consider, from the trend of political events that attended the succession of Uttama-Chōla, that he had himself countenanced this act of treachery, which led him a step nearer to the Chōla throne. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu<sup>2</sup> plates while slurring over the actual facts that culminated in Āditya's death make, however, the significant remark that 'Rājarāja did not wish to succeed to the Chōla territory, so long as his uncle Uttama-Chōla coveted it'. These facts suggest that Āditya must have been killed before Uttama-Chōla's actual succession, and so Āditya II must have lived and ruled before A.D. 969-70.

The Leiden plates<sup>3</sup> of Rājarāja I mention that while yet a boy, he (Āditya) 'played sportively in battle with Vira-Pāṇḍya, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant, proud of (*its*) strength' while the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>2</sup> are more explicit in stating that 'he killed the Pāṇḍya king (who must have been the same Vira-Pāṇḍya) in battle,' and 'having deposited in his (*capital*) town the lofty pillar of victory, (*viz.*), the head of the Pāṇḍya king, Āditya disappeared (*from this world*) with a desire to see heaven'. From these statements, we can infer that Āditya II had won his military spurs even during the reign of his father and that he did not live for a long time after his own independent victory over his Pāṇḍya adversary. Though the title *talai-konḍa* assumed by kings, has, in some rare instances, been interpreted<sup>4</sup> to connote a simple capture of the crown of their opponents, this specific statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates warrants the conclusion that Vira-Pāṇḍya literally lost his head, *i.e.*, met his death, in his encounter with Āditya.<sup>5</sup> The highest regnal year found for Vira-Pāṇḍya in the records so far copied is only 15+5, *i.e.*, 20, and it was probably the last year of his reign. As the earliest year in which the title *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-ralai-konḍa* is applied to Āditya is 2, we may assume that the 20th year of Vira-Pāṇḍya coincided with the 2nd year of Āditya's reign.

Of Āditya's father Rājakēsari varman Sundara-Chōla, it is stated in the Leiden plates<sup>3</sup> that he fought a fierce battle with his enemies at Śevvūr (Chēvūra), while the Kanyākumāri record<sup>6</sup> mentions that the Pāṇḍya opponent of this king fled from the field of battle and hid himself in a forest. The earliest record<sup>7</sup> of Sundara-Chōla crediting him with this achievement in the title *Pāṇḍiyanai-chchuram-irakkiṇa* is dated in his 7th year; and as he is considered to have reigned from about A.D. 956 to 973,<sup>8</sup> this conflict with the Pāṇḍya king, who must have been Vira-Pāṇḍya himself, could have taken place only in about A.D. 964. It seems probable therefore that the Pāṇḍya king was then simply defeated and routed, that he actually lost his life in another subsequent near engagement in which Āditya distinguished himself, and that this signal victory gave Āditya the title of *Vira-Pāṇḍiyan-ralai-konḍa*, in common with the two feudatories Pārthivēndravarmān<sup>9</sup> and Bhūti-Vikramakēsarin<sup>10</sup>, who must have both helped him in this exploit.

<sup>1</sup> No. 577 of 1920 and *ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 165.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 256.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 169. This is not convincing.

<sup>5</sup> No. 256 of 1907 from Tiruviḍaimarudūr, dated in the 4th year of Āditya, states that 'he destroyed Vira-Pāṇḍya and took his head' (*Vira-Pāṇḍiyanai erindu talai konḍu*).

<sup>6</sup> *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. III, p. 156.

<sup>7</sup> No. 291 of 1908; *ante*, Vol. XII, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, p. 180. No. 123 of 1895 is attributable to him and the astronomical details—17th year, Kumbha, Sunday, Rēvati—give the equivalent A.D. 973, February 9, Sunday.

<sup>9</sup> No. 223 of 1915. Pārthivēndravarmān's identity with Āditya II himself or with Pṛithivīpati II seems doubtful.

<sup>10</sup> No. 129 of 1907.

As stated already, a solar eclipse occurred in the month of Mithuna in the 12th year of Virapandya. In the period from A.D. 930 to 970, the only three years in which a solar eclipse occurred in Mithuna were :—

- (1) A.D. 950, June 18 (Mithuna 26), Tuesday,
- (2) A.D. 959, June 9 (Mithuna 17), Thursday, and
- (3) A.D. 960, May 28 (Mithuna 5), Monday.

If the week-day on which the eclipse occurred or the *nakshatra* which was current on that day had been specified in the present record, it would have been possible to verify the exact date referred to; but in their absence we shall have to select a plausible equivalent, only by a process of elimination.

If we suppose that A.D. 950 was the 12th year of Virapandya's reign, it would give A.D. 957 as his final<sup>1</sup> year, and as this will have corresponded to the 2nd year of Aditya, the Chōla king's date of accession would be A.D. 956. This would yield the inconsistent results that Aditya killed him in A.D. 957, and that his predecessor Sundara-Chōla defeated him in A.D. 963; so this date of accession for Aditya is not possible. Similarly, A.D. 960 which would yield A.D. 967 as the 20th year of Virapandya and the 2nd year of Aditya and A.D. 966 as Aditya's date of accession, may have also to be discarded, because in that case Aditya's reign which extended to the 5th year would overlap into the reign of his successor Uttama-Chōla (accession A.D. 969-70), which is not possible, since, as stated already, Aditya II should have passed away before Uttama-Chōla could have succeeded him. On the other hand, if we take A.D. 959 as the 12th year of Virapandya, his 20th year and Aditya's 2nd year would have corresponded to A.D. 966, giving A.D. 964-5<sup>2</sup> as Aditya's initial year. This date would satisfy the presumption that his fight with Virapandya could have happened in about A.D. 966, which would be only a year later than the defeat of the Pandya ruler at Sundara-Chōla's hands in about A.D. 964 before the 7th year of the latter's reign, and that a five-year rule for Aditya II could also be accounted for between A.D. 965 and 969. These results may be tabulated thus :—

	Virapandya's 12th year.	Virapandya's 20th year = Aditya's 2nd year.	Aditya's accession.	Virapandya's accession.
1	950	957	956	938
2	959	966	965	947
3	960	967	966	948

Of these three dates, No. 2 may therefore be considered as the best suited for the record under review, and it would yield A. D. 947 to 966 as the period of reign of Virapandya. His position in the Pandyan genealogy may be taken to be between Rajasimha<sup>3</sup>, who was defeated by Parantaka I before A.D. 922, and Amarabhujanga<sup>4</sup>, whom Rajaraja claims to have conquered.

The Pandya king himself claims to have taken the head of a Chōla, as evidenced by the title *Śōlan-ralai-kondu* assumed by him from the 6th year onwards (i.e., from A.D. 953-54).<sup>5</sup> Who

<sup>1</sup> As there is only one record of the 15+5th year, it has been inferred that he died in the beginning of that regnal year.

<sup>2</sup> Three records of Aditya II from Udayargudi in the South Arcot District furnish astronomical details which would approximately take the date of his accession to the end of A.D. 963. This point requires further examination in the light of future discoveries.

<sup>3</sup> Udayendiram plates of Prithivipati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387).

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 387, where he is taken to be a Pandya king. We have no means of determining this at present.

<sup>5</sup> No. 163 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894.

this Chōla king was, who was killed by Vira-Pāṇḍya the Chōlāntaka, has not been specified by name in any of his records. Sundara-Chōla was called 'Poṇmāligait-tuñjiṇa-dēva' (the king who died at the golden palace or at Chidambaram known as the *Kanakasabhā* ?)<sup>1</sup>, but he could not have been the victim, because records going up to the 17th year (=A.D. 973) are found for him. Ariñjaya, the predecessor of Sundara-Chōla, was called 'Āṇṇūr-tuñjiṇa-dēva' (he who died at Āṇṇūr); but the circumstances that led to his death at that place are not known. As a *pallippaḍai* was erected for him at Mēlpāḍi<sup>2</sup> in the Chittoor District, it may be inferred that he fell fighting in one of the skirmishes with the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III in that locality. There is reason to believe that he lived a few years later than A.D. 953. Gaṇḍarāditya was called 'Mēṅk-ḷundaruṇiṇa-dēva' (he who proceeded west)<sup>3</sup>, but he could not have been Vira-Pāṇḍya's adversary, because, having probably succeeded as *yuvarāja*-coregent soon after the death of prince Rājāditya in A.D. 949-50 and with records of the 8th year definitely assignable<sup>4</sup> to him, he would have lived up to A.D. 957-8 at least. In addition to all these, there was another Chōla prince of this time called Uttamaśīli, who is mentioned in two records<sup>5</sup> dated in the 24th and 26th years of his father Parāntaka's reign; but we know next to nothing about him and his career, except that a village<sup>6</sup> and a channel in the Trichinopoly District were named after him.

According to the calculation arrived at above, Vira-Pāṇḍya must have assumed the title of *Śōlaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* from about A.D. 953-54; and this date coincides with the 46th or 47th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. Parāntaka's records of the 46th year are only two in number and none of his 47th year has been discovered yet. It is therefore tempting to conclude that it was the last year of the Chōla king's reign and that it was Parāntaka himself who had **lost his life at the hands of Vira-Pāṇḍya**,<sup>7</sup> thus giving the latter an opportunity to avenge the defeat and possibly the death of his father (?)<sup>8</sup> Rājasimha at the Chōla king's hands, some years earlier. It was left to Āditya II to follow up the family vendetta by killing Vira-Pāṇḍya in his turn in about A.D. 966. These conclusions appear to be warranted by the sequence of events that happened in the eventful half-a-century preceding the accession of Rājārāja I in A.D. 985. There is, however, one solitary Kannada record<sup>9</sup> at Vanamaladinne in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, situated in the northern-most border of the Chōla dominion of the time, which quotes the 48th year of Parāntaka's reign; and this has perhaps to be explained by supposing that the recent news of the death of the Chōla king had not percolated so far north, at the time that record was incised. This need not surprise us, as such instances are not unknown in the history of this period.

As regards the **subject-matter** of the record, it is stated that in the 15+5th year of *Śōlaṅ-galai-koṇḍa* Vira-Pāṇḍya, **Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāyar**, the officer of the king (*adikāram-seykinra*) receiving the royal order relating to a gift of 10 *vēli* of land as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadānam*

<sup>1</sup> That tribute 'he who died in the Poṇmāligai' has no point, unless it be that some important fact connected with Sundara-Chōla's death was sought to be expressed by it. Could Uttama-Chōla have had any hand in his removal as certainly he must have had in Āditya II's death?

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 17.

<sup>3</sup> No. 540 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1920.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 570 and 574 of 1908. The dates suggested in *The Cōlas*, Vol. I, have been followed.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 446 of 1917 and 19 of 1895.

<sup>6</sup> Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimangalam (No. 359 of 1924) and Uttamaśīli-vāykkūl (No. 169 of 1907).

<sup>7</sup> Vira-Pāṇḍya must have encountered the Chōla king in some southern campaign only. It may also have to be noted that Vira-Pāṇḍya's records are not found very much to the north of Madura.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 122 of 1905 from Tiruppuḍaimarudūr in the Tinnevely District dated in the 2+18th year of a *Saḍaiya-Māraṅ* (Rājasimha), a servant of a Vira-Pāṇḍya is mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> This record (No. 200 of 1931-32) reads thus in its date portion—*Madura-koṇḍa G5-Parakēsari nālvattēṅṅe*

made by the king earlier in his 12th regnal year to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiya-Bhaṭāra, had it engraved on stone in that temple. This officer figures in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king dated in the 15+4th year at Suchindram in the Travancore State, where his name has been incorrectly read as Chērāntaka-Brahmārāyar. *Chōlāntaka* (Death to the Chōla) was evidently the title assumed by Vira-Pāṇḍya to commemorate the act of his having cut off the head of the Chōla king (*Sōlaṅgalai-konḍa*), and this may have been adopted by the officer Chōlāntaka-Brahmārāyar, either because he had also taken part in the encounter himself or simply after the title of his master. A liquid-measure called 'Chōlāntakaṅ-nāli' was also current in this period in the Pāṇḍya country. Vira-Pāṇḍya is said to have had also the title of *Pāṇḍimārttāṇḍa*,<sup>2</sup> 'the Sun of the Pāṇḍya family'; but this title was in vogue even earlier in the time of Śaḍaiya-Māraṅḍa<sup>3</sup> (*Rājasimha*).

The names of the several revenue officials who were cognisant of the endowment made to the temple of Tiruppōttuḍaiya-Bhaṭāra are enumerated:

1. The officer who was supervising the king's secretariat duties in the 12th year (*ei-karmam-ārāchchi mēl-ēluttu beykiṅṅa*)<sup>4</sup> was Tamiḷavēḷāṅ<sup>5</sup> belonging to *Kāḍaṇḍai* community (?);
2. the *ēvi-mudal* was Araiyaṅ Mānābharāṅḍa;
3. the *ōlai-ēluttu* was an officer, whose name is lost;
4. the *vāykēḷsi* was [Chō]lāmaṅi-kiḷavaṅ of Mēyūr *alias* Kuvilaiyēṅganallūr in Aṇḍa-nāḍu; and
5. the *baṇḍāra-ppottagam* was Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ *alias* Kaṭṭinakkaṅ Iraṅḍaṅ of Vēḷiyāṅṅūr in Kiḷ-Kuṇḍāṅḍu in Koḷuvūr-kūṅṅam.
6. The original document was attested and engraved by Pullaṅ-Koṅṅaṅ; and
7. the engraving of the record in the 15+5th year of the king was done under the supervision of Dēvaṅ-Kiriṅṅaṅ, the *śrikāryam* of the temple.

From the surnames of two of these officers (Nos. 2 and 5), we can infer that there were Pāṇḍya princes having the names of Mānābharāṅḍa<sup>6</sup> and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya even before Vira-Pāṇḍya's time. Another record<sup>7</sup> of this king testifies to the existence before this period of another prince Sundara-Pāṇḍya, in whose name a shrine called Sundarapāṇḍyēsvaram was erected at Paḷḷimaḍam in the Ramnad District.

The details of the scale of offerings, etc., that had to be provided for from the endowment registered in this document are given at some length:

For one day—

to god Tiruppōttuḍaiya-Dēvar . . . . .	32 <i>nāḷi</i> of rice (for four offerings),
for <i>aṅṅa-bali</i> . . . . .	6 <i>nāḷi</i> ,
for <i>kaṅi-amudu</i> . . . . .	1 <i>nāḷi</i> ,
to god Tiruvēṅkaṭaṅṅai-Dēvar . . . . .	4 <i>nāḷi</i> ,
to god Tirumūlattāṅṅattu-Dēvar . . . . .	4 <i>nāḷi</i> , and

<sup>1</sup> *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, p. 71. An officer called Chōlāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṅ *alias* Māraṅ-āchchaṅ of Pōḷiyūr is mentioned in another record from the same place (*ibid.*, p. 72).

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1932-3, para. 30; and No. 122 of 1905.

<sup>3</sup> The functions of the several officials are not clearly definable.

<sup>4</sup> An officer of the name of Teṅṅavaṅ Tamiḷavēḷi figures in records of this king from Kiḷmāttūr, Madura District (Nos. 624 and 628 of 1926), and he was probably identical with this officer.

<sup>5</sup> No. 26 of 1895 from Tillaisthānam (Tanjore District) mentions a Mānābharāṅḍa in the 8th year of a Parakēśvarīvarman. It may be noted that there were also later members of the Pāṇḍya family with the same set of names of Mānābharāṅḍa, Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and Sundara-Pāṇḍya, who were contemporaries of Rājādhirāja I in A.D. 1046.

<sup>6</sup> No. 421 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

to god Gaṇapatīyār . . . . .	2 nāḷi :
i.e., in all . . . . .	49 nāḷi of rice
or (its equivalent of) . . . . .	1 kalam, 9 kurunī and 2 nāḷi of paddy.
For one year—it will be	680 and odd kalam of paddy.
The land set apart for the several requirements of the temple were—	
for the stipulated quantity of paddy . . . . .	** + $\frac{1}{10}$ + $\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the āchārya Munṇūrruvan-Śendaṅ . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for the kaṇakka-bandāram Śōlai-Viru. . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for eight men-servants (māṇ) . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{4}$ + $\frac{2}{10}$ vēli,
for ten men (uvaichchar) . . . . .	$1\frac{1}{2}$ vēli,
for the śrīkāryam (for 4 nāḷi of rice per day) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the potter (kuṣavaṅ) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for the firewood supplier (virakiḍuvāṅ) . . . . .	$\frac{1}{10}$ vēli,
for sweeping (tirumeḷukkuppuraṃ) <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{2}{10}$ vēli,
for the washerman (iraṅgollī) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{2}{10}$ vēli,
for festivals (tiruviḷappuraṃ) <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	1 vēli,
and for the architect Māṅābharāṅaṅ-Śendaṅ who erected (?)	
the temple, as puḍukkuppuraṃ <sup>4</sup> . . . . .	$\frac{1}{2}$ vēli :
in all,—the extent of the land endowed was . . . . .	10 vēli.

At the end it is stated that this arrangement was made by Chōlāntakadēvar.

Among the place-names mentioned in the record, Iḷāṅōykkuḍi was the ancient name of Ambāsamudraṃ. It was a brahmadēya in Muḷḷi-nāḍu. Raṇasiṅga-maṅgalam, a village perhaps founded by or named after an unidentified Pāṇḍya king having the title of Raṇasiṃha, was situated in the sub-division called Maṅalūr-kkuḷakkī<sup>5</sup>, which was probably irrigated by the tank at Maṅalūr. Kuvalayaśiṅganallūr was in the sub-division called Aṇḍa-nāḍu which is represented by Periyakōṭṭai and its vicinity in the Madura District. The temple of Tirumūlanāthar referred to in this record is situated to the west of the Eḷichhāvudaiyār temple at Ambāsamudraṃ.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [r\*] Śōḷaṅ-[ra]lai-kōṇḍa Kō-Vira-Pāṇḍi[yadēvaṅku] yāṇḍu paṇṇiraṇḍu ivv-āṇḍu Mithuṅa-[nā]yirru Sūrya<sup>6</sup>. . . . .
- 2 Muḷḷināṭṭu brahmadēyam Iḷāṅōykkuḍi Tiruppōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra[r\*]kku i-ññāṭṭu Valudi-ūr . . . . .
- 3 āṅu-pāchchal nilaṅ paḍirru vēli pa[di]rru vēlium kuḍigaḷidu kārā[n\*]mai-āgavum Dēvaridu mi<sup>7</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Tirumeḷukkuppuraṃ—this duty included sweeping, as well as smearing the temple premises with the purificatory cowdung.

<sup>2</sup> Iraṅgollī is an interesting name for a washerman, 'he who takes off the wet from clothes'.

<sup>3</sup> Tiruviḷappuraṃ is the provision made for the conduct of festivals in the temple.

<sup>4</sup> Puḍukku means 'renovation'; but the architect is stated to have śeyśa or erected (?) the shrine. As earlier records are found in the shrine, the shrine was perhaps begun earlier and completed only at the time of the record.

<sup>5</sup> The expression 'Māḍakkulakkī Madurai' occurring elsewhere has been taken as 'Madurai to the east of Māḍakkulam'. But from similar expressions—Vēlūr-kulakkī Śrīkundaśvī-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (No. 740 of 1919), Māḍakkulakkī Kōḍimāṅgalam, and Viranāryaṅa-kulakkī Puḷiṅṅur (No. 49 of 1890), we have to infer that no directional significance is indicated, but that the particular villages were included in the ayacut of the respective irrigation sources, which gave their name to the sub-divisions. In the Siṅṅamaṅṅur plates also Rājasimha-kulakkī is mentioned as the name of a territorial sub-division (Rājasimhakkulakkī ityuktē rāshtrē)—S. I I., Vol. III, p. 453.

<sup>6</sup> Probably °grahāṇāṭṭi nāṅṅu.

<sup>7</sup> Probably miyāṭchiyāgavum dēva-.

- 4 tānamāga urubu[po]n<sup>1</sup> maṅṅavāri utpaḍa eṅ-karmam āraḥchi mēl-e]uttu-chcheykiṅṅa  
Ma[ha] . . . . .
- 5 rratu Kāḍandaikuḍippādi=tTami]avē]āṅ-āyi[ṅa] . . . . .
- 6 nāḍum Maṅalūr-kku]akki] Iraṅasiṅga-maṅgalattu-p . . . . .
- 7 ṅ Araiyaṅ Māṅābharāṅaṅ ēvi-[mu]dal-āgavum Iḍaiyāṅṅu-nāṅṅu . . . . .
- 8 m [ōlai-e]u]tt-āgavum Aṅḍa-nāṅṅu Kuvalaiyaṅgaṅanallūr āyiṅa Mēyūr Tiruppattār . . .
- 9 \*]āmaṅi-kilavaṅ vā[y\*]kē]vi-āgavum Ko]uvūr-kkūṅṅattu Ki]-Kuṅḍāṅṅu Vē]iyāṅṅur Vik[kira]-  
maṅpāṅḍiya-Mūvēnda-
- 10 [vē]lāṅ-āyiṅa Kattinakkāṅ Ira[ṅa]ṅ baṅḍāra-ppottagam-āgavum I]aṅḍōy]kkuḍi Tiruppō-  
ttuḍaiya [Pa]ramēsu[ra]-Paḍārar kōyilil irundu
- 11 [pa]ṅṅirāṅḍām-āṅḍu Mithuṅa-nāy]iṅṅu Sūrya-grahaṅḍatti[nā]ṅṅu<sup>2</sup> ivv-āṅḍiṅ edir-  
āṅḍu-mudal kuḍiṅṅā-ttē[va]tāṅa[m\*]-āga kuḍuttōm [i\*] tāṅga-
- 12 [um]<sup>4</sup> idu kaṅḍu pārpaḍuttu-kkuḍukka [i\*] Pullāṅ-Koṅṅaṅ e]uttu [i\*] eṅṅa i-ttirumugappaḍi  
koṅḍu adikāraṅ-šeykiṅṅa Chō]lāntaka-]Bra]hmamārāyar i-ppaḍiṅ-
- 13 ru vē]iyaiy nivandam aḍaichchapaḍi kalmēl e]uttu vē]tuga eṅṅu paḍiṅ-aḍ]ām yāḍḍiṅ  
edir aḍ]ām yāḍḍu śrikārya[m\*] peṅṅa Ba-
- 14 . . māṅṅaṅḍu amachchu i-tTiruppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku śrikārya[m\*] šeykiṅṅa Dēvaṅ-  
Kiriṅṅa šōlla kalmē[i\*] e]uttu vē]ṅṅapaḍi [i\*] Tiru-
- 15 ppōttuḍaiya-Dēvarkku nāṅṅu-pōḍaikkku ari[š]i\*] muppattiru-nā]iṅṅum aṅṅa-balikkku ariš]i aṅṅu-  
nā]iṅṅum kaṅi-amidukku ari-
- 16 [š]i nā]iṅṅum Tiruvē]nkaṅṅanilai-tTēvarkku nišadi ariš]i nā-nā]iṅṅum Tirumūlattāṅṅattu-  
tTēvarkku nišadi ariš]i nā-nā-
- 17 [i]iṅṅum Gaṅavatiyārkkku ariš]i iru-nā]iṅṅum ē[ṅ]i nišadi ari[š]i\*] nāṅṅpatt-onpadi-nā]iṅṅum āga  
o<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 18 . . . . . kku nel=kkalanēy onbaḍin-kuṅṅu iru-nā]iy-uri ōr-ā]ṅṅaikkku nel a[ṅu]ṅṅu-  
eṅbat-te<sup>6</sup> . . . . .
- 19 \*yē]ṅṅu mā-kkāṅiyum āchārchchiyāṅ Munṅūṅṅuvaṅ-Šēṅḍaṅṅakku nilāṅ araiyum [i\*] kaṅakka-  
baṅḍāram šeykiṅṅa Šōlai-Viru . . . . . periyāṅṅukku nilāṅ araiyu [m i\*] [mā]-
- 20 ṅ e]ṅṅukku nilāṅ oṅṅ=araiyē yiraṅḍu-mā [i\*] ivāṅṅu] Munṅūṅṅuvaṅ-Šēṅḍaṅ-uḍaiya māṅ  
mūṅṅum Munṅūṅṅuvaṅ-Periyāṅ māṅ=oṅṅum Kašānāk.<sup>6</sup>
- 21 kalaṅ-uḍaiya mā-ṅālum [i\*] Dēvar paduvāram ē]ill-oṅṅu uvaichchaga]ukkum puḍavai-  
mudal-āgavum [i\*] aṅṅu-kūṅṅum e]ṅṅu-māṅṅukku puḍavai-mudal-āgavum [i\*] uvaich[cha]-

<sup>1</sup> This expression is not understood. Can it be *āriš]u poṅ* ?

<sup>2</sup> The full name probably is Chū]āmaṅi.

<sup>3</sup> An alternative reading is *ā]iṅṅu pōḍu*.

<sup>4</sup> This was read on the stone.

<sup>5</sup> The missing letters are probably *ru nā]iṅṅu*.

<sup>6</sup> There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the annual requirements.

<sup>7</sup> Between lines 18 and 19 are visible the syllables *svasti śri* apparently belonging to another record, which apparently had been erased so as to make room for the present inscription.

<sup>8</sup> This word is written over an erasure.



- 22 n Gaṇapati Kumāraḍi mudal pattā|ukku nilam onre-kāl [!]\* śrīkā[r\*]chchhiyam āraivāṇukku  
niyadam ariṣi nā-nāliyiṇāl nilam ē|u-mā [!]\* kuśavaṇukku ni-
- 23 lam irāṇḍu-mā [!]\* viṛakiḍuvāṇukku nilam=irāṇḍu-mā [!]\* tirume|ukkuppura[m\*] nilam=  
irāṇḍu-mā [!]\* irāṇ[ko]llikku nilam=ira[ṇ]ḍu-mā [!]\* tiruvi|ḷappuraṃ ni-
- 24 laṇ vēli [!]\* pudukkuppīra[m\*] i-ttirukkaṛṛalai śeṣya āchāriyaṇ Mānābharaṇaṇ-Śēṇḍaṇukku  
nilaṇ kālum āga nilaṇ paḍiṛru-vē-
- 25 liyum chandir-ādittavalaṅ chelvadāga vaittār **Chō|āntakadēvar** [!]\* Idu paṇ-Māhēśvarar  
rakshai [!]\*

No. 7.—KANTERU PLATES OF SALANKAYANA VIJAYA-SKANDAVARMAN.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

In 1924-25, the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, secured three sets of copper-plates belonging to the family of Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārājas, of which two were received from Mr. Challa Jagannatha Pantulu, Assistant Editor, *Āndhra-Patrikā*, Madras and the third from Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopedia office.<sup>1</sup> The first two are stated to have been found buried underground in the village called **Kantēru** in the Guntur taluk, Guntur District, while the third was discovered underground at Pedda-Vēgi near Ellore in the Kistna (now West Godavari) District. Of the two records discovered at Kantēru, one is a charter of *Mahārāja* Vijaya-Skandavarman and the other of *Mahārāja* Nandivarman. The Pedda-Vēgi copper-plates belong to the Śālaṅkāyana-Mahārāja Nandivarman and give the genealogy of the king for three generations before him. This last-mentioned charter has been published with plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*<sup>2</sup> as well as in the Telugu monthly *Bhāratī* for Raktākshin, Śrāvaṇa (1924) in which the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas is discussed at some length. The two Kantēru plates have been published by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society*<sup>3</sup> but without facsimiles of plates and seal. None of the seals of this family known so far contains a clear relief figure of the emblem, and the quadruped faintly seen on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman has been surmised to be a tiger. But the seal of the present grant is fairly well-preserved and shows distinctly the figure of the animal on it as a couchant bull. As the genealogical arrangement and to a certain extent also the text of the inscription given by Mr. Rao require revision, I re-edit the Kantēru plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

While editing the two sets of Kantēru plates in the *Journal of the Āndhra Historical Research Society* Mr. Lakshmana Rao who was the first to examine the plates, with seal, assigned the seal of the present grant to the set of king Vijaya-Nandivarman instead of to that of Vijaya-Skandavarman as noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25. This raised a doubt about the correctness of the description given in the *Annual Report* and to clear it and make a comparative study of the known seals of the family, I obtained on loan, through the kind

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1-3 of Appendix A of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1924-25.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, pp. 92 ff. An indistinct plate of the seal of the present record is published here. But see foot-note 1, p. 43, below.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. V, pp. 21 ff.

offices of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, the original plates with seal of the two Kantēru sets as well as the Ellore Prākṛit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman from the Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras. On examination I found that the seal attached to the plates of Vijaya-Skandavarman bore the distinct figure of a couchant bull with a partially indistinct legend which, as stated below, indisputably mentions *Mahārāja* Skanda[varman]. Hence the description given by Mr. Lakshmana Rao has to be revised since the legend conclusively proves that the seal belonged to Vijaya-Skandavarman and not to Vijaya-Nandivarman.<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here that the seal of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates though badly worn out can be made out to represent a couchant bull with a seated figure at the top which looks like Śiva wearing a crown and with four (?) arms, while the figure on the seal of the Ellore Prākṛit plates looks like a tiger or lion. The wavy line representing the clouds which is prominently visible in the present grant is partially seen below the bull in the seal of the Kantēru plates of Nandivarman described above.

The subjoined grant consists of four thin copper-plates strung together on a ring of the same metal passing through a narrow hole at the proper right margin of the plates. To the ring is firmly attached a circular copper seal with the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right cut in relief on its slightly concave face. At the top of the bull is seen what looks like a *kīnga* sheltered by a triple-hooded serpent, with an *aṅkuśa*-like object to the proper left and a lamp-stand and a fly-whisk (?) to the proper right. Below the bull is a wavy line which may be taken to represent a cloud line as is conventionally done in sculptures and paintings. In the right portion of the seal along the fringe are some worn-out letters in relief of which the syllables *Mahā[rāja] [S]kanda* can be made out.<sup>2</sup> The plates are damaged on account of age and the first line at the top of the second plate has broken away. Also some small holes are found on the plates owing to the corrosion of the metal. The plates measure 5½ inches long and 1¼ inches broad. The hole through which the ring passes has a diameter of ¼ inch and the diameter of the ring holding the plates is 2 inches. The diameter of the seal is also 2 inches. The plates with ring and seal together weigh 36½ *tolas*. They are now purchased and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

The alphabet belongs to an archaic variety of the Kanarese and Telugu script prevalent in the east between 3rd and 6th centuries A.D. In general appearance, it resembles the one found in the Ellore Prākṛit plates<sup>3</sup> and the Ōṅgōḍu grant<sup>4</sup> of Skandavarman II and is more archaic than the writing of the three grants<sup>5</sup> of Śiṅhavarman. The following are a few noteworthy points in the palæography of the record : (1) there is no loop to distinguish *t* from *n* which is generally found in the three grants of Śiṅhavarman, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman II and the Viṣṇukunḍin charters. As in the Hīrahaḍagalli<sup>6</sup> and Ellore Prākṛit plates the *t* is distinguished from *n* by a slight curve at the right ; cf. *pādānudhyātasya* (l. 2), *°nupālītā* (l. 15), *tāny-ēva* (ll. 18 f.), etc. The Kantēru plates of Nandivarman, however, mark the loop both for *t* and *n* without distinction. As first members of a consonant group, both *t* and *n* of the present grant look the same as in the Hīrahaḍagalli and Ellore plates, see for instance, *dattā* (l. 15) and *°mantā* (l. 18). (2) The exceptionally looped archaic *y* from which the one with a small circle or curve at

<sup>1</sup> Mr. R. Subba Rao who has published an indistinct print of this seal along with his article on the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., follows Mr. Rao and wrongly considers the seal as that of Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates.

<sup>2</sup> [Except the syllables *mahā* and the bull and the line beneath it nothing else, including the name of the king, is visible in the photograph of the seal.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 249 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Pīkīra (above, Vol. VIII, p. 159), Uruvupalli (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50) and Māṅgaḷōr (*ibid.*, p. 154) grants.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

the left is apparently derived is found here alongside the unlooped linear *y* as in the plate of Vijaya-Dēvavarman; cf. *Śālaṅkāyana* (l. 3), *Śivāryyāya* (l. 8), *maryyādāyā* (l. 10), *vishaya* (l. 12) and *saḡārāya* (l. 7), *vāstavyāya* (l. 8), *niyukt-āyuktaka* (l. 11). The plates are numbered like the pages<sup>1</sup> of a modern book with the numerical symbols for 2 to 6 on the left margin, the first side of the first plate being marked with the symbol for *ōm* as in the Ellore plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman. The numerals 1, 2 and 3 appear also in the three grants of Simhavarman where they indicate a definitely later development in their shape. In the present set, each engraved side contains three lines of writing except that the first and the last plates are engraved on one side only, the latter having four lines.

The record is written in **Sanakrit prose** with two of the usual imprecatory verses at the end. The language is simple and business-like and the formula or the draft of the preamble, e.g., the passage *Mahārāja-śrī-Vijaya-Skandavarmanṇo vachanēna Kudrāhāra-Chintapurē grāmēyakāḥ vaktavyāḥ* (ll. 3-5), resembles closely that employed in the Ellore Prākṛit plates of Dēvavarman<sup>2</sup> and the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman<sup>3</sup> belonging to the period of transitional Prākṛit, as well as the one found in the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II<sup>4</sup> and the Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇugōpavarman,<sup>5</sup> which are assigned to the time of the earliest Sanakrit charters of the Pallavas. The inscription is dated on the **full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the first year** (in words, ll. 13 f.) of the *Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman* (ll. 3 f.) who issued this grant from **Vōṅgi** (l. 1) and addressed it to the villagers of **Chintapura** in the district of **Kudrāhāra** (ll. 4-5).<sup>6</sup> The donee was one **Śivāryya** of the *Maudgalya-gōtra*, a resident of the village **Lōkumāri** (ll. 7-8), who received the village (i.e., Chintapura) exempt from all imposts (ll. 8-9). The king is described as the **Śālaṅkāyana**, the meditator on the feet of the holy **Chitrarathasvāmin** and one devoted to the feet of **Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka**. He does not bear the epithet either **Parama-Māhēśvara** borne by Dēvavarman or **Parama-Bhāgavata** assumed by Nandivarman of the Kantēru<sup>7</sup>, Kollēru<sup>8</sup> and Pedda-Vēgi plates.

Of the five copper-plate records of the Śālaṅkāyana family known so far, the Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman alone give the genealogy for four generations as follows:—Hastivarman-Mahārāja, his son Nandivarman-Mahārāja, his son Chaṇḍavarman-Mahārāja and his eldest son Mahārāja Nandivarman II, Parama-Bhāgavata. Since the *ājñapti* in these as well as in the Kollēru plates is the same person Mūlakura-bhōjaka, the two Nandivarmans might be identical with each other. Now, Nandivarman of the Kantēru plates (Set II) may, from the likeness of names, be identified with either Nandivarman I or Nandivarman II of the above genealogy, preferably with the former, since the script employed in his charter is more angular and antique than the one found in the Pedda-Vēgi and Kollēru plates, which is rounded and more developed. Vaiṅgēyaka Hastivarman mentioned in the Allahābād pillar inscription as the contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the 4th century A.D.) might be Hastivarman, the great-grandfather of Nandivarman II mentioned above. He must have been preceded by Vijaya-Dēvavarman

<sup>1</sup> Other instances bearing numerical symbols on the margin of plates are: (1) The British Museum plates of Chārudēvi (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) of which iia and iib are marked by 2 and 3 like the pages of a book, (2) The Ellore Prākṛit plates (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 56), and (3) the Maṭṭēpāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman (*ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 327).

<sup>2</sup> Text, lines 8-8.

<sup>3</sup> Text, lines 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Text, lines 8-10.

<sup>5</sup> Text, lines 16-17.

<sup>6</sup> [See f. n. 5 on p. 46.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 125.

whose grant is worded in Prākṛit since the inscription of Samudragupta whose contemporary Hastivarman was, is couched in chaste classical Sanskrit. From the **similarity of script and phraseology** adopted in the present grant with those found in the Prākṛit plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman and the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II as well as the Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman II, it may safely be said that **Vijaya-Skandavarman of the present record flourished close after Vijaya-Dēvavarman and some time during the period of the above-mentioned Pallava Sanskrit charters, and was evidently a predecessor or an elder contemporary of Hastivarman.**<sup>1</sup> The arrangement of the Śālaṅkāyana genealogy given in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1924-25 which follows the one worked out by the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao is not tenable since Vijaya-Nandivarman (correctly Vijaya-Skandavarman) and Yuva-mahārāja Buddhavarman of the so-called Elliot's unpublished grant<sup>2</sup> accommodated in it, do not belong to the Śālaṅkāyana family.

The territory of the Śālaṅkāyanas consisted of Kudrāhāra-vishaya and Vēṅgī which lay to the north of the Kṛishṇā river. We know from the Mayidavōlu plates that Dhañṅakaḍa was included in the kingdom of Pallava Śivaskandavarman. The two Ōṅgōḍu grants of Skandavarman II and Simhavarman respectively and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāra-Vishṇu mention Kammarāshṭra in which some lands were granted, while according to the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Simhavarman, the Pallava territory contained a division called Vēṅgōrāshṭra. It is quite likely that during the time of Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavōlu plates also, the Andhrā-patha comprised the two divisions Vēṅgōrāshṭra and Kammarāshṭra. If Vēṅgōrāshṭra is identical with the Vēṅgī-vishaya of later inscriptions, the Pallava territory would, then, include the modern districts of Kistna, Guntur and Nellore, while the country to the north of the Kṛishṇā was for some time at least ruled by the Śālaṅkāyanas. The fact that Vijaya-Dēvavarman calls himself the performer of a horse-sacrifice points to his having raised himself to the status of an independent monarch after overcoming all his enemies among whom the Pallava must have been included. The rebellion of the Śālaṅkāyana king against the Pallava overlord appears to have synchronised with the rise of Kadamba Mayūrasarman in the vicinity of Śrīśailam and his carving out a semi-independent kingdom at Vajjayanti in the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

Among the places mentioned in the record, **Vēṅgī** is generally identified with Pedda-Vēḡi<sup>3</sup> near Elore; **Kudrāhāra** which is probably the same as Kudūrahāra of the Koṇḍamuḍi plates

<sup>1</sup> [As the palæography of the present plates of Skandavarman closely resembles that of the Pedda-Vēḡi plates of Nandivarman II, Mr. Panchamukhi's arguments, mainly based on palæography, for placing Skandavarman long before Nandivarman cannot be accepted as certain. Until more reliable evidence can be found, it will not be possible to determine the position of Skandavarman in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana family. (See also Mr. D. C. Sircar's 'Successors of the Śātavāhanas', pp. 59-60, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters of the University of Calcutta*, Vol. XXVI.)—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> While editing the Kollēru plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 175), Fleet considered it as a Śālaṅkāyana grant. But subsequently he edited it in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 100, where he corrected his first mistake by stating that Vijaya-Buddhavarman was a Pallava king and had, therefore, 'no genealogical connection with Vijaya-Nandivarman of the Vēṅgī grant (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 175) who was of the Śālaṅkāyana gōtra'. The grant has since been published in this *Journal* (above, Vol. VIII, p. 143) by Dr. Hultzsch under the caption "the British Museum Plates of Chārudēvi". Dr. Dubriol and the late Mr. K. V. Lakshmana Rao have, without noticing the subsequent corrections, followed Fleet's original suggestion (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 89; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, p. 27) and this mistake has crept into the writings of Mr. M. S. Sarma (*Bhārati* for Raktākshin, Śrāvāṇa), Mr. R. Gopalan (*Pallavas of Kāūchi*, p. 74) and Mr. K. R. Subrahmaniam (*Buddhist Remains of Andhradēva and Andhra History*, p. 89, f. n. 4 and p. 91). Mr. Sarma's placing Hastivarman before Vijaya-Dēvavarman, it may be observed, cannot be accepted since the latter, as stated above, lived during the period when Prākṛit was the documentary language before Sanskrit began to be used in inscriptions.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 58.

of Jayavarman<sup>1</sup> was the name of the district with its headquarters at Kudūra mentioned in the same plates and in the Amarāvati Buddhist sculpture inscription.<sup>2</sup> The district was apparently named after Kudūra the modern Kūḍūru in the Bandar taluk of the Kistna District; **Chintapura** may be identified with Chinnāpuram in the Bandar taluk and **Lōkumārī** with Lōkamūḍi in the Kaikalūr taluk of the same district.<sup>3</sup>

TEXT.<sup>4</sup>*First Plate.*

- 1 स्वस्थि(स्वस्ति) [॥\*] विजयवेष्ट्याः [१\*] भगवच्चित्रस्थामि-
- 2 पादानुध्यातस्य अप्यभट्टारकपादभ.
- 3 तस्य शालाङ्कायनस्य महारजश्रीविजय-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 4 स्कन्दवर्षणी [वचनेन कुद्राहा]रचिन्तपुरे
- 5 ग्रामेयकाः वक्तव्याः अस्वस्त्ताभि[र]स्म-
- 6 कुलगोत्रश्रीयशोभिष्टयै [एतस्मै]

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 7 मीहस्थसगोत्राय [ले]कुमारीग्रामवा-
- 8 स्तव्याय शिवार्याय सर्वपरि[हा]रिण
- 9 सा पत्निका दत्ता [१\*] [तद्विदित्वा भवन्ति]ः पूर्व-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 10 मर्यादया साधु प्रेमणा(प्रेम्णा) कर्त्तव्यमिति [१\*]
- 11 अपि च सर्व[र्]नियोगनियुक्तायुक्तक-
- 12 विषयपतिमित्रैः सा पत्निका परिहा(ह)र्त्तव्या [१\*]

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 13 प्रवर्द्ध[मान]श्रीविजय[रा]श्वसंवत्स[रे] प्र-
- 14 थने वैशाखपौ[र्ण]मास्यां दत्ता पत्निका [॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1295.

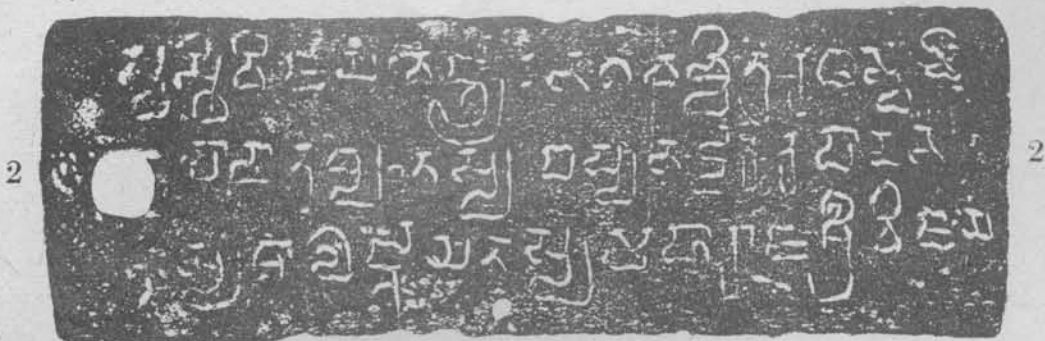
<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy for 1924-26*, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The letters enclosed within the brackets are partly preserved but they can be made out with certainty on the original. [I am not able to read the syllables *Kudrā* in the impression.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> The letter *ra* is very much worn out.

i.



ii, a.



ii, b.



iii, a.



iii, b.



iv.



Seal.



(From a photograph).

15 बहुभिर्बसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता [1\*]

*Fourth Plate.*

16 यस्य यस्य [यदा भूमि]स्तस्य तस्य त[दा]

17 फलम् [॥\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे क्रीड

18 [ति भूमिदः] [1\*] आचिन्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-

19 [व नरके] वसेत् ॥

#### TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail! From the victorious (*city of*) **Vēṅgī** by the word (*of command*) of the illustrious **Mahārāja Vijaya-Skandavarman**, a **Śālanākāyana**, a meditator on the feet of god Chitrarathasvāmin and one devoted to the feet of Bappa-Bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, father), the villagers of **Chintapura** in **Kudrāhāra** should be informed thus :

(Ll. 5-9) That small village (*pallikā*, *i.e.*, Chintapura) has been granted by Us to this<sup>1</sup> (**Brāhman**) **Śivāryya** of the **Maudgalya-gōtra**, a resident of the village **Lēkumārī**, free from all imposts, for the increase of the prosperity and fame of our family (*kula*) and clan (*gōtra*).

(Ll. 9-12) Knowing this, you should behave well (*with the donee*) with affection as hitherto (*pūrva-maryyādayā*). Further, that village should be exempted (*from imposts*) by all the presiding officers appointed to carry out (*Our*) command, agents (*āyuktaka*) and heads of districts.

(Ll. 13-14) The (*copper-plate*) charter<sup>2</sup> was issued on the **full-moon day of Vaiśākha** in the **first year** of Our ever-increasing, illustrious and victorious reign.

(Ll. 15-19) [Two imprecatory verses are cited here.]

#### No. 8.—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES.

BY RAO BAHADUR C. R. KRISHNACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

#### NIBINNĀ AND NIVINĀ.

In the Nibinnā charter of Mahā-Śivagupta edited by Mr. B. C. Mazumdar,<sup>3</sup> the name of the gift village is given in two different forms, *i.e.* (i) Nibiṇḍā in l. 5 and (ii) Nibinnā in l. 17 of the text.<sup>4</sup> It is thus evident that even at the time of the charter the name of the village was spelt in two different ways. Though there is no special necessity for it, Mr. Mazumdar reads *bi* where the original contained only *vi*, both *v* and *b* being indicated in this record only by the sign for *v*. Consequently the place might also be called Niviṇḍā or Nivinnā. It was attached to the **Ganūṭapāṭa-maṇḍala** of the **Kōśala-dēśa** (text, ll. 4 i.). We are now confronted with a possibility of this village being identical with the village Nivinā the gift of which is recorded in the Nivinā grant of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarājadēva published by Dr. N. P.

<sup>1</sup> The donee had evidently been introduced to the royal presence at the time of the grant. Cf. *etassa*.... **Gaṇasammasa** (ll. 8-9) of the Elore Prākṛit plates.

<sup>2</sup> The word *paṣṭikā* is used in this sense in other copper-plate grants of this early period, *viz.*, the Hirahajgalli plates (text, l. 51), Mayidavōlu plates (text, l. 28), Koṇḍamuḍi plates (text, l. 40), Maṭṭēpād plates (text, l. 14), and Kōḍagere plates of Kadamba Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman (text, l. 18, above, Vol. VI, p. 14).

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 95.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.



Chakravarti.<sup>1</sup> In the latter record Nivinā is stated to be attached to the Kḥiḍiṅgahāra-*vishaya*. But it is likely that this village which was originally attached to this *vishaya* in Dharmarāja's reign was later on included in the Kōśala-*dēśa*. Kḥiḍiṅgahāra has been identified by Dr. Chakravarti with Kḥiḍiṅgi and Nivinā with Nimmina<sup>2</sup> in the Kudala *taluk* of the Ganjām District. I think that Ganuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* or Ganuḍapāṭi-*maṇḍala* in which Nibiṇḍā or Nibinnā of the other charter was situated is identical with Guṇṭhapadā, a Zamindari village of the same *taluk*. Moreover, since the Sonapur Feudatory State attached to the district of Sambalpur is a part of the Chhatāgarh division which roughly corresponds to the ancient (Southern) Kōśala-*dēśa* in which Nibiṇḍā or Niviṇḍā (with its variant names) lay and the Ganjām District in which the Nivinā grant of Dharmarāja was found is adjacent to that tract, the possibility of the identity of both the villages is strengthened. This is also confirmed by the form of the name Nivinā in which it occurs in the latter grant.

If the suggested identity could be granted it follows that the gift village Nivinā changed ownership in the interval between the reigns of Dharmarāja and Mahā-Śivagupta and that the latter monarch granted it afresh to a Brāhman of a different family from the original donee's.

Dr. Bahadur Chand Chhabra suggests the identification of the village Nibinnā with Nimna about 15 miles south-east of Binka, a town in the Sonapur State. This is not altogether impossible though we can take it only as an alternative. In this case the headquarters of the Ganuṭapāṭa-*maṇḍala* in which the village was located must be identified with the modern Gaṇṭapara on the right bank of the river Tēl one of the tributaries of the Mahānadī in the Baud State. (*Vide Imp. Gaz. Atlas, 1909, Plate 29, A 4.*)

#### URUVUPALLI.

In the Uruvupalli grant of Pallava Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa issued in the reign of Simhavarman (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 f.) the boundaries of the 200 *nivartanas* of land actually given are enumerated in detail very much in the style of the Redḍi copper-plates of a later period. Among these boundaries occur the names of the villages Kaṇḍukūra, Kurupūra, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu and the river Suprayōgā. The grant was intended for the benefit of the Viṣṇu-hāra temple founded by the *Sēnāpati* Viṣṇuvarman at Kaṇḍukūra. So it is evident that we have to look for the villages mentioned in the grant in the vicinity of modern Kandukūru in the Nellore District. A reference to the *taluk* map shows that Uruvupalli must be identical with Ulavapāḍu which lies east-south-east of Kandukūru. Of the other villages, Kurupūra would correspond to modern Kared *alias* Kurvaḍe in the eastern direction of Kandukūru, and Koṇḍamuruvuḍu would be the modern Koṇḍamuḍusupāḷem due south of Kandukūru. Since the lands are stated to lie adjacent to those of Kaṇḍukūra, the river Suprayōgā which lay to the south of the gift-lands would be identical with the modern Mannēru flowing in a north-easterly direction between Kandukūru and Ulavapāḍu. Ulavapāḍu is a station on the Madras-Calcutta line of the M. & S. M. Railway.

#### VIRIPARA.

This village in Andhrāpatha (*i.e.* the Telugu country) the grant of which is recorded in the Prākṛit Mayidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman could not be identified by Dr. Hultzsch. He, however, rightly suggests that it must have been situated near Amarāvati, (formerly Kistna now)

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> The *List of Villages* gives the name as Nimina. There are two villages of this name one in the Khalikota and the other in the Athagada Zamindari of the Ganjām District. The district Map shows also a third Nimina village on the bank of the Mahānadī canal in the Aska *taluk*.

Guntur District.<sup>1</sup> The plates were found in a *pāḍu* (old village site) near Mayidavōlu, a village in the Narasaraopet *taluk*.<sup>2</sup> There can be the least doubt that the gift village Viripara is identical with the modern Vipparla in the same *taluk* situated at about 8 miles west-north-west of Narasaraopet.<sup>3</sup> It is to be noticed that the village possesses not only some pre-historic remains like dolmens,<sup>4</sup> etc., which prove its great antiquity but also that an inscription of the early Eastern Chalukya king Sakalalōkāsraya Jayasīṅgha-Vallabha and another of Viṣṇuvardhana Vijayāditya dated in Ś. 996 (=A.D. 1074) have been found here.<sup>5</sup> In the former the village is called Vitparti and in the latter Virpparu. In still later times it was called Vipparu.<sup>6</sup> These facts go to prove definitely that the village mentioned in the copper-plates must be identical with Vipparla.

#### Dattānuyōga and the village Kōjāla.

In his article on 'Two Kadamba Grants' (above, Vol. VI, p. 15, n. 6) the expression Dattānuyōga is rendered by Prof. Kielhorn in the sense of an *āchārya* (*anuyōga-krit*). From the context we must expect the term to refer to a concrete or proper attribute of the donee Dēvaśarman and not to a general attribute, *viz.*, an *āchārya*, especially as the expression occurs between his *gōtra* and his *sākhā*. We should therefore naturally expect in the *middle* of these two epithets a reference to the donee's school of philosophy. We know that Datta is the name of an Upanishad, and the donee must have been a student or professor of that Upanishad.<sup>7</sup> *Dattakasūtras* are mentioned in Western Gaṅga copper-plates.

The land gifted was in the village of Kōjāla as read by Kielhorn. It might be read as Kōjāla also in which case there can be no objection to our identifying it with Kōjāla, the Kōjālapura or Kuvaḷālapura of the Gaṅga inscriptions and identified with the modern Kolar.

#### Śemboṅmāri.

In his article on the Śendalai pillar inscriptions (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.) Mr. K. V. S. Aiyer notices the mention of Śemboṅmāri as one of the places where king Perumbidugu Muttaraiyaṅ gained his victories. Regarding the identification of the village Mr. Aiyer suggested that it was probably situated in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. I would identify it with the village Śemboṅmāri of the Tiruvadanai *taluk* of the Ramnad District. The present village is divided into two units one called Kiḷ-Śemboṅmāri and the other Mēl-Śemboṅmāri.

#### Tāmbṛāpa-sṭhāna.

This is the place from which the Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman issued the Ōṃgōḍu grant (above, Vol. XV, pp. 250, 251, etc.). This can very well be Dāmaramaḍugu in the Kovur *taluk*, Nellore District. *Maḍugu* represents a pond and Tāmbṛāpa might be the modern corrupt Dāmaramaḍugu. This lies in the ancient Pallava country and is not very far from Vavvēru where the Viḷavaṭṭi grant of Siṃhavarman<sup>7</sup> of this family was recently discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, Nos. 584 to 586.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 588.

<sup>6</sup> [This argument is not convincing to me. The full name of the Upanishad is *Dattātrēya*. Moreover, *Datta* or *Dattātrēya* being a minor Upanishad it is doubtful if proficiency in it should be regarded as a high distinction. I also do not know of any other inscriptions where a donee is mentioned as a student or a professor of a particular Upanishad alone. After *gōtra* usually comes the *pravara* of the donee which is not specified in the present record. Can the expression under consideration not simply mean 'who is given to meditation' (*anuyōga*)? It may also be pointed out that the *Dattaka-sūtra* occurring in the Western Gaṅga copper-plates has been taken to be a work on erotics—see *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, pp. 183 ff.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296 ff.

## No. 9.—NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA : THE YEAR 5.

BY A. GHOSH, PATNA.

This **copper-plate**, edited here for the first time, was unearthed at **Nālandā** in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, near the copper-plate of **Dēvapāla**.<sup>1</sup> In 1935 it was transferred to the Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, where it is at present housed. A preliminary note on it was published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri<sup>2</sup> and it is also summarized by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.<sup>3</sup>

The copper-plate measures  $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9''$  and weighs 45 *tolās*. No **seal** was found along with the plate, but it is not unlikely that one was originally attached to it in that portion of the proper right side of the plate which is now broken. The **inscription** is neatly engraved and runs to 12 lines, but owing to the much damaged condition of the plate large portions, including nearly the whole of l. 7, have either broken away or are utterly obliterated. The whole of the **text**, however, can be restored by a reference to the spurious **Gayā** plate of **Samudragupta**<sup>4</sup> except the place-names and the adjectives of the donee.

The **palæography** of the inscription shows Gupta forms throughout and has the same features as the early Gupta records, with the exception of *y*, which is bipartite in the present record. *S* is of the looped or so-called eastern variety, but *sh* is unlooped. *H* is of the same type as appears on the **Allahābād** pillar inscription of **Samudragupta**,<sup>5</sup> and presents a contrast to the form that we come across in the central and western records of the age.<sup>6</sup> The average length of **letters** is  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch. As regards **orthography**, mention may be made of the use of the *upa-dhmānīya* in such cases as *utpannaḥ=parama*<sup>7</sup> (l. 4) and *ch=ētaḥ=prabhṛiti* (l. 8), the doubling of consonants in *sarva* (l. 1, etc.), *°mēdh-āharttur=mmahārāja* (l. 3), *dauhitrasya* (l. 4), *ttraividyā* (ll. 8 and 9), etc. Another feature, remarkable for the Gupta period, is the indiscriminate use of *b* and *v*, as exemplified in *viditam bō* for *viditam vō* (l. 6), *sambat* for *sanvat* (l. 10) and *mahā-valādhikṛita* for *mahābalādhikṛita* (l. 11).

The inscription records the grant of two villages to a **Brāhmaṇa Jayabhaṭṭi** by name, who is called *ttraividyā* in the subsequent lines, by the *mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta*, whose usual adjectives are given,<sup>7</sup> from the victorious camp at **Anandapura** in the year 5. The grant was written at the orders of **Gōpasvāmin**, the *akshapaṭalādhikṛita*, *mahāpīlūpati* and *mahābalādhikṛita*. At the end the name of the prince **Chandragupta** occurs, possibly as the *Dūtaka*.

I am not sure of one of the names of the villages that were granted: the first is **Bhadrapushkaraka** in the **Vaiva(?)—y.-vishaya**, while the second is **Pū[rṇna(?)—nā(?)]ga** in the **Krimilā-vishaya**. **Krimilā** as the name of a *vishaya* also appears in the **Monghyr** grant of **Dēvapāla**, where it is stated to have been situated in the *bhukti* of **Śrinagara** or **Patna**.<sup>8</sup> The same place-name occurs as *Krimilā* on a **Nālandā** sealing (Site No. 1, Reg. No. 824), reading *Krimilā*

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 290, No. 2075.

<sup>4</sup> *Fleet, C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

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

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Mathurā and Sānchi Inscriptions of Chandragupta II*, *ibid.*, pl. iii.

<sup>7</sup> Among the adjectives occurs *parama-bhāgavata*, which is absent in the **Allahābād** pillar inscription.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304 ff.

*vishaya-Kāchāla*<sup>1</sup>-*grāmē mahattama-Narasvāmināḥ* in 8th century characters. I cannot propose any identification of this place.

The only other copper-plate purporting to belong to Samudragupta<sup>2</sup> is the Gayā copper-plate, but as Fleet pointed out the plate cannot be regarded as genuine<sup>3</sup> on the following grounds : (1) in the genealogical portion of the inscription the adjectives of the king are in the genitive, while the name of the king is in the nominative—which shows that the drafter of the inscription was copying this portion from some grant of one of the successors of Samudragupta, and (2) while some of the letters are antique others are more modern. This shows that there was a deliberate attempt on the part of the scribe to imitate the old script, which also explains the halting nature of the writing ; when the difference between the earlier and later forms of a particular letter is only slight, the scribe has betrayed himself, *cf. ś*, in which the right vertical member invariably projects above the upper horizontal member of the letter—a feature which is definitely later than the early Gupta times.

If the present document can be proved to be genuine, it would rank as the earliest record of the Guptas and also the earliest copper-plate grant in Northern India. This fact makes the task of determining the genuineness or otherwise of the grant all the more difficult, as we have no means to ascertain whether it conforms to the genuine records of the age. The two scholars who have previously noticed the record have opined differently, Dr. Sastri rejecting it as spurious and Dr. Bhandarkar leaving the matter open. The question has, therefore, to be considered afresh.

A perusal of the text given below will show that the present record is similar to the Gayā plate in that it has the same ungrammatical construction of the genealogical portion (...*uchchhēt-tuḥ...apratirathasya...prapautrasya...putrasya ... dāvhitrasya ... utpannaḥ Samudraguptaḥ*). If the plate be regarded as genuine, it is puzzling why the secretariate of Samudragupta should have committed such a silly error in giving the genealogy of its master. I find it difficult to explain away this error as accidental and am, on the whole, inclined to think that **the genuineness of the present plate is not above suspicion**. This will also explain why the inscription is full of mistakes, *e. g.*, the dropping of *pta* in *Gupta* (l. 3), *ēshau* for *ētan* (l. 6), *śrōttavyam* for *śrōtavyam* (l. 8), *grāpratyā* for *grāma-pratyayā* (l. 8) and the lengthening of the vowel in *ma* in *niyatam=ūgrahār-ākshēpaḥ* (l. 9). One can legitimately expect greater care in a real state document of the mighty Samudragupta. It cannot be denied, however, that the document was forged in early Gupta times, as there is no trace of any late forms in the morphology of the letters. And as the texts of the Nālandā and Gayā plates are *mutatis mutandis* identical, it is very likely that both of them were copied from some genuine Gupta grant.

<sup>1</sup> Or *vishyak-Achāla*.

<sup>2</sup> In Cunningham's *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIX, p. 60, Garrick speaks of a copper-plate of Samudragupta, said to be in the possession of a Pandit of Benares. "The inscription", he adds, "had been sent to Bengal, and therefore I was unable even to get a look at it".

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Banerji, on the other hand, says : "The Gayā copper plate of Samudragupta, issued in the 9th year of his reign, was regarded as spurious by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet. When his work was published our knowledge of Indian Epigraphy was not so extensive as it is now. Our knowledge of the form of Imperial Gupta land-grants was limited to the Indor-khera inscribed copper plate of the time of the emperor Skandagupta in 1833. The Natore or Dhanaidaha plate of Kumāragupta I, the six Damodarpur plates of the emperors Kumāragupta I, Budhagupta and Bhānugupta and finally the three Faridpur plates of the kings Dharmāditya and Gopachandra have thrown a flood of light on the procedure of issuing grants of land or deeds recording transfers of the same. In the face of this mass of new evidence it is impossible to believe at the present day that the Gayā copper plate grant of the 9th year of Samudragupta is forged. It cannot be regarded as spurious in the same light as the Sudi plates and in the writer's opinion it is genuine." (*Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 7-8.)

The inscription is dated in the year 5, 2nd day of Māgha, followed by the word *nira(ba)-ddha[m\*]*. So far as I am aware, this word does not appear with a date in any other Gupta record, but is found in some Pratihāra grants.<sup>1</sup> The date of the Gayā plate, year 9, was referred to the Gupta era by Fleet,<sup>2</sup> which would mean that Chandragupta I had died by A. D. 328. If the date of the present record too be referred to the Gupta era, his life is further shortened by 4 years, leaving him a reign of only 4 or 5 years, assuming that the year 5 of the Gupta era was the first regnal year of Samudragupta. It is unlikely that he could have created an empire within such a short time, so that we are forced to meet another alternative that the years are in reality the regnal years of Samudragupta himself. But as the Gupta era is universally regarded as having been established by Chandragupta I, it is difficult to understand why Samudragupta should have reverted to the practice of using regnal years in state documents. Was Samudragupta himself then the author of the Gupta era? It must be admitted that this conjecture is not *primā facie* impossible, as the ascription of the era to the first *mahārājādhirāja* of the dynasty is only a plausible conjecture which does not conflict with any known facts. But if Samudragupta really founded the era, we have to distribute 136 years (A. D. 319 to 455)—an abnormally long period—among three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandragupta II and Kumāragupta I. We are therefore inclined to think that both being spurious documents, **the dates on the Nālandā and Gayā plates need not be taken seriously for historical purposes.**

The text given below is transcribed from a set of photographs of the copper-plate kindly supplied to me by the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum. I found that some portions were more legible on another photograph of the plate before it was chemically treated, belonging to the office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle. In deciphering the text I have received much valuable help from Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Ōm svasti [i\*] mahā-nau-hasty-asva-jaya-skandhāvār-**Ānandapura**<sup>3</sup>-vāsakāt=[sa]-rvva-rā[j-ōchchhēt]u[h]=prithivyām=apratirathasya chatur-udadhi-sal[i]-āsvā]-
- 2 dita-yaśasō Dhanada-Varuṇ-**Ē**[ndr-**Ā**]ntaka-samasya Kṛitānta-paraśōr=nyāy-āgat-ānēka-gō-hiranya-kōṭi-pradasya chirōtsa[un-ā]-
- 3 svamēdh<sup>4</sup>-āha<sup>5</sup>rttur=mmah[ārā]ja-śrī-**Gu**[pta\*]-prapauttrasya mahārāja-śrī-**Ghaṭōtkacha**-pauttrasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Chan**[drag]up[ta]-puttra-
- 4 sya **Lichchhavi**-dau[hi]ttrasya mahādēvyān=**Kumāradēvyām**=uptannaḥ=parama-bhāgatō [mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Samudragu**]ptaḥ **Vai**(?)**va**(?)**-y-**
- 5 vai[shayika]-**Bhadrapushkaraka**-grāma **Krimilā**-vaishayika-**Pū**[rṇa(?)nā(?)]ga-grā[mayōḥ brāhmaṇa-purōga]<sup>6</sup>-grāma-va[la]tkauśabhyā(?)m<sup>7</sup>=āha [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahēndrapāla and A. S. B. plate of Vināyakapāla, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 112 and 140.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Banerji, *loc. cit.*, p. 8: "According to the established custom to be found in Gupta inscriptions, we should regard the date of the inscription as one expressed in the Gupta era; i.e., it was issued in 328-29 A. D."

<sup>3</sup> Read as *Nripura* by Sastri, who evidently reads the portion as *skandhāvārāna(n=Nripura)*.

<sup>4</sup> At first *mā* was written which was then changed into *mē*.

<sup>5</sup> The left extremity of the subscript *u* of the following letter appears after *ha* and looks like a separate letter.

<sup>6</sup> Restored from the Gayā plate.

<sup>7</sup> The word is spelt with *sha* in the Gayā plate. The letter *śhyā* is doubtful both here and in the Gayā plate.

NALANDA PLATE OF SAMUDRAGUPTA: THE YEAR 5.

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 इत्युक्तं श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥  
 अथ श्रीमद्भागवतस्य ॥ १० ॥



- 6 Ēva ch=ā[rttham] viditam<sup>1</sup> =bō(vō) bhavatv=ēshau(tau) grā[m]au [mayā mā]tā-pitrōr=ā  
[tmanaś=cha] pu[ny-ābhivṛiddha]yē **Jayabhaṭṭi**-svāminē
- 7 .....<sup>2</sup> [s-ōpari]kar-ō[ddēsēn=āgra]hā[rat]v[ēn=ātiṣṛish]ṭaḥ tad=yushmā-  
bhir=a[s]ya
- 8 ttraividyasya śrōtta(ta)vyam=ājñā cha kartta[v]yā [sa]rvvē [cha sa]muchitā grā[ma\*]-pratyā  
(pratyayā) mēya-hiraṇy-ādayō dēyā na ch=ētaḥ=pra.<sup>3</sup>
- 9 bhṛity=anēna ttraiv[ī]dyēn=ānya-grām-ādi-karada-kuṭumbi-[kārūk]-ādayaḥ=pravēśa[yita]-  
vyā [a]nyath[ā] niyatam=ā(a)grahār-āk[sh]ēpaḥ
- 10 syād=iti<sup>4</sup> **samba(sarṇva)t 5 Māgha di 2** niva(ba)ddha[m\*] [!\*]
- 11 [Anyā]<sup>5</sup>-grām-ākshapaṭalādhi[kṛi]ta-mahāpīlūpati - mahāva(ba)lādhi[kṛi]ta - **Gōpasvām[y\*]**-  
ādēśa-likhita[m\*] [!\*]
- 12 [Kumā]ra-śrī-**Chandraguptaḥ** [!\*]

## No. 10.—A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF MUMMUNIRAJA ; SAKA 971.

By S. C. UPADHYAYA, M.A., LL.B., BOMBAY.

This set of three plates was first handed over to the Curator, Archæological Section, **Prince of Wales Museum**, for decipherment by one Hasan Razak, a Muhammadan water-diviner. The Curator after carefully examining these plates kindly passed them on to me for decipherment in details. I am highly obliged to him for the kind permission to edit the same in this journal.

The grant consists of **three plates**. Each plate is 11"×9"× $\frac{1}{8}$ " in size. The written space in each plate measures 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ "×10". The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second has writing on both the sides. A circular hole of about  $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter runs through them. The circular ring which holds the plates together, has got a **seal** (at present with the owner) with the figure of **Garuḍa**. The whole grant runs into 94 lines.

The **characters** are similar to those found in the other Śilāhāra copper-plates of the same period. However, they differ to some extent from those in the Ambar Nātha temple stone inscription of the time of Māmvāṇi dated Śaka 982,<sup>6</sup> the chief reason of the difference being either the roughness of the material or possibly the inefficiency of the engraver.

The **language** of the grant is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography**, a consonant following *r* is sometimes doubled and sometimes left single, e.g., *Kaparddī* (l. 8), *svargga*, *mārgga* (l. 13), *karmmaṇi* (l. 15), *samvarddhanād* (l. 29) as against *dōr-dandā* (l. 17), *yathārtha* (l. 20), *Nāgārjuna* (l. 31), etc. The dental sibilant is often used for the palatal one (l. 8, 9, etc.), but in certain cases what has been read as *s* may be a badly written *ś*.

In the benedictory verses Gaṇeśa and Śiva are invoked. The genealogy begins with the well known mythical story of Jimūtavāhana, the son of Jimūtakētu, who offered himself as a prey to Garuḍa in place of the serpent Śamkhachūḍa.

<sup>1</sup> There is a hole due to damage over *ta* which in the photograph looks like an *anusvāra*.

<sup>2</sup> The portion that is lost here no doubt contained adjectives of the donee, of which one must have been *śrividya*, as he is referred to in the following lines.

<sup>3</sup> The Gayā plate reads *na ch=ētat-prabhṛity=* etc.

<sup>4</sup> After this follow four short horizontal strokes.

<sup>5</sup> Restored from the Gayā plate. D. R. Bhandarkar conjecturally reads *Nālandā*. [In the present record the second syllable seems to be *va*.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 329 f.



In his family was born Kapardin (I) who was adventurous like Sāhasāṅka<sup>1</sup> and was the forehead-mark (*tilaka*) of the Silāra line. His son Pulaśakti who was well versed in politics and who conquered his enemies is then mentioned.<sup>2</sup>

Next comes his son Laghu-Kaparddi.<sup>3</sup> He is described in the usual poetical and vague manner. His son Vappuvanna is next mentioned in the usual way.<sup>4</sup> His son Jhañjha is then mentioned. That he erected twelve Śiva temples is particularly mentioned here as in the Khārepāṭa plates.

Nothing particular is said of his brother Gōggirāja and his son Vajjaḍa, except that the former was valorous like Bhīshma, Drōṇa and Arjuna. Vajjaḍa's son Aparājita who was benevolent, truthful and brave is then mentioned. He is given the title *Śaraṅāgata-vajrapāṅjara* and the record particularly mentions the facts that he helped a king named Gōmma, and made firm the rule of Aiyapadēva. He is also said to have protected Bhillama and two other kings whose names seem to be Amma and Maṇamvuvu.<sup>5</sup> His son Vajjaḍadēva (II) and his younger brother Arikēsarin are then mentioned.<sup>6</sup> The latter had been on a pilgrimage to the temple of Sōmēsvara.

Then his nephew Chhittarāja (son of Vajjaḍa II) is mentioned as in other inscriptions. Next comes his younger brother Nāgārjuna.<sup>7</sup> His younger brother Mummuṇi is then mentioned.<sup>8</sup> He vanquished his foes and ruled over 1,400 villages the chief of which was Purī. At the time of this grant his *Mahāmātya* was śrī-Daddapaiya and the *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* śrī-Viṭṭhapaiya, who along with other officers were in charge of the *Śrikarāṇa*. The writer of the document was Nāgalaiya.<sup>9</sup>

The grant was given on Friday, Śuddha 15, Bhādrapada in the year 971 of the Śaka era, corresponding to Tuesday the 20th August 1049 A.D.<sup>10</sup> There was a lunar eclipse at that time.

<sup>1</sup> The Khārepāṭa plates, Śaka 1016 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 33) also do not give any further information about this prince. His adventurous nature might have enabled him to be a valuable lieutenant of the Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III and hence he might have been his feudatory ruling over North Kōṅkaṇ (Altekar, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 403).

<sup>2</sup> The Kaphēri inscriptions of Amōghavarsha, Śaka 765, describes Pullasakti as a Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory and lord of the Kōṅkaṇ, ruling in Purī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134-36).

<sup>3</sup> The Kaphēri inscriptions of Amōghavarsha, Śaka 775 and 799 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 134 ff.), describe Kapardin (II) as the Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory and master of Kōṅkaṇ.

<sup>4</sup> The Bhāṇḍap plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 277, ll. 7, 8) describe him as *bhuvanāikavīra* and name him Ghayuvanta but on comparing the reading (in facsimile, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, p. 313) Vappuvanna seems to be the right name as has already been suggested by Bühler.

<sup>5</sup> These names are also found in the Khārepāṭa plates. Nowhere else do we meet with the verse containing these names. This Bhillama might be the same as Bhillama II of whom we know from his Saṅgamnēr plates, Śaka 922 (above, Vol. II, p. 272). The Bhādāna plates of Aparājita, Śaka 919 (above, Vol. III, p. 272), give him the title of Mṛigāṅka.

<sup>6</sup> According to Bhāṇḍap plates, the word *agraja* would go with Arikēsarin. But on the evidence of other documents Vajjaḍa was the elder brother of Arikēsarin. The Vaḍavalli plates of Aparāditya, Śaka 1049 (*J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 508), confirm this.

<sup>7</sup> He is mentioned in the Khārepāṭa and Vaḍavalli plates. Altekar's suggestion (*Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 410) that he died before Chhittarāja seems to be baseless.

<sup>8</sup> For another spelling, Māmvāni, cf. *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 329.

<sup>9</sup> According to the Ambar Nātha temple inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 329-30) these officers in Śaka 982 were different persons.

<sup>10</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 101. [The corresponding date in Christian era is Tuesday the 15th August (not the 20th which was a Sunday and when there was no lunar eclipse), A.D. 1049, when there was a lunar eclipse. The week day seems to read *Sutē* and not *Śukrē* as Mr. Upadhyaya reads. Probably *Suta* here stands for *Mahisuta* (Tuesday).—Ed.]

The village granted was **Kilchchhita**. It was in the **Mandaraja** district. To the east there was the **śrī-Ēnara**<sup>1</sup> hill and rivulets running from it. To the north was the **Nimvā** village, to the west the **Mātara** village and to the south the **Sāmvīna** river. None of these places can be identified at present.

The grant was made to twelve Brahmins (a list of whom is given below) to enable them to carry on their religious duties. Among the donees there were Brahmins who had emigrated from **Gauḍa**, **Mādhyaḍēsa** and **Lāṭa**. They belonged to various *gōtras* and *śākhās*. Some of these names are given in the vernacular ending in *aiya*. The grant contains towards the end the approval of **Mummunirāja**, son of **Vajjadādēva**.

*List of the Brahmin donees.*

Name.	Father's name.	Country of origin.	Gōtra.	Śākhā.
<b>Kōkō Paṇḍita</b> . . .	<b>Pitāmaha</b> . . . .	<b>Gauḍa</b> . . . .	<b>Śaṇḍilya</b> . . .	<b>Kauthuma</b> .
<b>Dēvadhara Dikshita</b> . . .	<b>Yajña Dikshita</b> . . . .	<b>Mumjasthāna</b> in <b>Mādhyaḍēsa</b> .	<b>Vatsa</b> . . . .	<b>Bahvṛicha</b> .
<b>Dāmōdara</b> . . . .	<b>Kēsaiyā Dikshita</b> . . . .	....	<b>Bhāradvāja</b> . . .	<b>Mādhyaḍina</b> .
<b>Sūdanaiya</b> . . . .	<b>Sōmēśvara Upādhyāya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Bhārgava</b> . . .	<b>Bahvṛicha</b> .
<b>Dāmōdara</b> . . . .	<b>Sūdana Dikshita</b> . . . .	<b>Bhṛigukachoha</b> in <b>Lāṭadēsa</b> .	<b>Upamanyu</b> . . .	"
<b>Nārāyaṇa</b> . . . .	<b>Dāmōdara Upādhyāya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Ātrēya</b> . . . .	<b>Rānāyanī</b> .
<b>Śrīpati</b> . . . .	<b>Kēsava</b> . . . .	....	<b>Kuśika</b> . . . .	<b>Bahvṛicha</b> .
<b>Śrīpati</b> . . . .	<b>Dugaiya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Ātrēya</b> . . . .	"
<b>Kanakēśvara</b> . . . .	<b>Velāditya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Jamadagni</b> . . .	"
<b>Velaiya</b> . . . .	<b>Dighaiya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Ātrēya</b> . . . .	"
<b>Sarvadēvaiya</b> . . . .	<b>Īsvara</b> . . . .	....	<b>Lōkāksha</b> . . .	<b>Yajña</b> .
<b>Vitthapaiya</b> . . . .	<b>Sōḍhalaiya</b> . . . .	....	<b>Ātrēya</b> . . . .	<b>Bahvṛicha</b> .

**TEXT.**

[Metres:—*Anuṣṭubh*, vv. 1, 2, 11, 12, 19, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; *Vasantatilakā*, 3, 4, 5, 15, 18, 39; *Prithvī*, 6; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, 7, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20; *Sragdharā*, 8; *Gīti*, 13; *Indravajrā*, 17, 26, 33; *Mālinī*, 21, 22; *Vamśasthaviḷa*, 23; *Śālinī*, 32.]

*First Plate.*

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> जयन्नाभ्युदयश्च ॥ लभते सर्वकार्येषु पूजया गणना यकः । विद्मं निहन्म वः  
2 पायादपायान्नायकः ॥[१॥\*] स वः पातु शिवो नित्यं यन्मौलौ भाति  
जाह्नवी । सुमेरुसिंख-

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 62 n. 3 below.—Ed.]

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *śikhara*°.

- 3 रोहच्छदच्छचद्रकलोपमा<sup>1</sup> ॥[२॥\*] जीमूतकेतुतनयो नियतां<sup>2</sup> दयालुर्जीमूतवाहन  
इति विजगत्प्रसिद्धः ॥(1)
- 4 देहविज<sup>3</sup> हृणमिवाकलयन्ध'रायें यो रक्षति स्म गरुडात्खलु सं(शं)खचूडम् ॥[३॥\*]  
तस्मान्वये निखिलभूष-<sup>4</sup>
- 5 तिमौलिभूतरत्नद्युतिच्छुरितनिर्मलपादपीठः । श्रीसाहसिका इव साहसिकः कपर्दी  
सौलारवंस(श)-<sup>5</sup>
- 6 तिलंको नृपतिर्ष्व(र्ष्व)भूष ॥[४॥\*] तस्मादभूष तनयः पुलस(श)क्तिनामा सीमा-  
समः सुरगुरुदितराजनीतः ।
- 7 निष्पित्त<sup>7</sup> संगरमुखेखिलवैरिवर्माभिःकण्टकं<sup>8</sup> जगति राज्यमकारि येन ॥[५॥\*]  
ततोपि ममभूक्तो नृप-<sup>9</sup>
- 8 सि(शि)रोविभूषामणिः<sup>10</sup> सितः कृत्स्निकापरोरिकरिणां कपर्दी लघुः । यदीयस(श)-  
सा जगत्प्रतिश-
- 9 येन सु(श)क्लोजते न भाति सुरवारणो न च ससी(शशी) न दुग्धाम्बु(म्बु)धिः  
॥[६॥\*] तस्मादप्यभवद्भिभूतिपदवीपाठ<sup>9</sup> पावत्री<sup>10</sup>-<sup>11</sup>
- 10 कृताशेषश्चावलयो महीपतिलकः श्रीवपुषन्नः सुतः । संप्रामांगपरंगिणासिलतया  
लक्ष्मीक<sup>11</sup>दन्ता
- 11 हठाक्षर्वे<sup>12</sup> येन विनायका विरचिता विद्वेषिणां दम्तिनः ॥[७॥\*] तस्माज्जात-  
स्तानूजो<sup>12</sup> र[ज\*]निकर इवानंदिताशे-
- 12 षलोकश्लाघ्यः श्रीसंसराजो दिवसकर इव ध्वस्तनिःसे(शे)षदीपः ॥(1) स(शं)भोर्ये  
हादसा(शा)पि ध्यरच-<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *chandra*-.  
<sup>2</sup> Read *niyatam*.  
<sup>3</sup> Read *déhan-nijam*.  
<sup>4</sup> Read *parā*°.  
<sup>5</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.  
<sup>6</sup> *Danda* or *danda*: unnecessary.  
<sup>7</sup> Read *nirjitya*.  
<sup>8</sup> Read *nishkanjakam*.  
<sup>9</sup> Read *pātram*.  
<sup>10</sup> Read *pavitri*°.  
<sup>11</sup> Read *lān-aika*°.  
<sup>12</sup> Read *a-tanūjō*.





- 13 यदधिराक्तीर्त्तनानि स्वनाम्ना सोपानानीव मन्थे प्रणततनुभृतां स्वर्गमार्गोद्यतानां  
(नाम्) ॥[८॥\*] भ्राता तत्र<sup>1</sup> ।<sup>2</sup>
- 14 ततस्ततोष्व(ञ्च)लजसो(यशो)रासिः(शिः) प्रकासी(शी)कृताशेषध्मावलयो व(व)ली  
व(व)लवतां श्रीगोमिराजोऽभवत् ।
- 15 चपा<sup>3</sup>कर्षणकर्मणि प्रवणतां यस्मिन्गते भूपतौ भीष्मद्रोणपृथासुतप्रभृतयश्चित्ते<sup>4</sup> चम-  
त्कारिताः ॥[९॥\*]
- 16 तस्माद्विस्मयकारिहारिचरितपद्मात्<sup>5</sup>कीर्त्तिः सुतः श्रीमान्वज्जडदेवभूपतिरभूद्भूचक्रचूडा-  
मणिः । दी-
- 17 दंष्ट्रैकव(व)लेन यस्य सहसा संग्रामरंगागणे राज्यश्रीः स्वयमेव वक्षसि राति<sup>6</sup>  
चक्रे सुरारिखि ॥[१०॥\*] जय- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 18 त इव हृत्कारिः पुरारिखि<sup>8</sup> षष्मुखः । ततः श्रीमानभ्युत्थः सञ्चरितोपराजितः  
॥[११॥\*] कर्णस्थगमेन
- 19 यः साक्षात्सत्येन च युधिष्ठिरः । प्रतापाहीमिमार्त्तण्डः कालदण्डश्च यो द्विषां(षाम्)  
॥[१२॥\*] स(श)रणागतसा-
- 20 मता<sup>9</sup>ऽपराऽपि<sup>10</sup> जगति रक्षिता येन । स जयति यथार्थनामा संरणा<sup>11</sup>गतवज्रपंजरा  
देवः ॥[१३॥\*] ये-
- 21 न स्वागतमागताय विहितं गोम्नाय नानाविधं येनैवैयपदेवनाम्नि चलितं राज्यं  
स्थिरं कारितं(तम्) ॥(1) भि-<sup>7</sup>
- 22 ज्ञान्नाममर्षावुवक्षितभृतां दत्तं च येनाभयं तस्य श्रीवि(वि)रुदंकरामनृपतेरन्या(न्यत्)  
किमा[व\*]र्ण(रण्य)ते ॥[१४॥\*] श्री-
- 23 मानभूतदनु वज्जडदेवनामा भूपालमस्तकमणिस्तनयो नयन्नः [।\*] अद्यापि यस्य च- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 24 रितानि जनाः समस्ता रोमांचकंचुक्तिगत्रलता[ः] स्तुवन्ति ॥[१५॥\*] तद्भाताय  
ततोरिकिसरि-

<sup>1</sup> Read *tasya*.<sup>2</sup> *Danda* or *danḍas* unnecessary.<sup>3</sup> Read *chāpā*.<sup>4</sup> Some Śilāhāra records have *sarvā tiraskāritāḥ*.<sup>5</sup> Read *prahyāta*.<sup>6</sup> Read *ratim*.<sup>7</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>8</sup> Read *Purārē-iva*.<sup>9</sup> Read *sāmanā*.<sup>10</sup> Read *aparē api*, the absence of *sandhi* being in favour of the metre.<sup>11</sup> Read *śaraṇā*.

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 25 नृपो जातः सतां सम्मती दृष्टारातिकुलाचलैकदलने दंभोलिलीलां दधत् । गत्वा  
सैव<sup>१</sup>एव<sup>२</sup> सै- ।<sup>३</sup>
- 26 न्यसहितो दृष्टा च सोमेस्व(स्व)रं तस्याग्रे पितुराज्ञया जगदलं यः कौलायित्वा<sup>३</sup>-  
गतः ॥[१६॥\*] तद्गाढजो
- 27 वज्रडदेवसूनुः श्रोच्छिन्नराजो नृपतिर्वै(र्वै)भूष ॥(१) सीलारवसः(शः) तिसु(शिशु)-  
नापि येन नीतः परामुन्नतिमुन्नतेन ॥[१७॥\*] लं-
- 28 वा(वा)लकानि कुचकंभतटोपकंठप्रभ्रष्टहारलतिकानि निरंजनानि ॥(१) उत्स्र्वाततीक्ष्ण-  
कं(क)रवालविदारितस्य
- 29 योऽन्तःपुराणि परिपंथिजनस्य चक्रे ॥[१८॥\*] हतारिनारीनेत्राभः<sup>४</sup>सिकसस्वर्णेनादिव ।  
त्र(त्र)ह्लाण्डमण्डपं य- ।<sup>५</sup>
- 30 स्य कीर्त्तिवल्ब(ह्य)धिरोहति ॥[१९॥\*] दृष्टारातिषु कोपकालदहनः सौभाग्यभारायणो  
वारस्री(स्त्री)षु ततोनुजः सम-
- 31 भवद्वागार्जुनः क्षमापतिः । यस्यामानुषमूर्जित<sup>६</sup> भुजव(व)लं दूरग्निसत्या<sup>७</sup> दिषां  
निद्रातीव रणांगणव्यसनि-
- 32 नी दोईण्डकटूलता<sup>८</sup> ॥[२०॥\*] यदसमसि(शि)विरान्तर्मत्तगंधेभदानप्रसरदनिलसु(श)थक्को-  
तसो दिग्गजेन्द्राः ।
- 33 अरिनगरनिदाहोद्दामदिग्वापिधूमप्रसरभयनिमीलहोचना नोन्मिषन्ति ॥[२१॥\*] तदनु  
तदनुजन्मा मू-
- 34 र्त्तिमान्मोनकेतुः क्षत्रपुंविभवोभूमसुमुणिक्षीणपालः । विवृत<sup>९</sup>धनुषि यस्मिन्वाजिनोरा-  
जनांते व(व)ल-

<sup>१</sup> Read *śaiśava*.

<sup>२</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>३</sup> Read *kīlayite*.

<sup>४</sup> The syllable *rī* in *nārī* should ordinarily be short.

<sup>५</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>*m=ārjjitam*.

<sup>६</sup> Read <sup>०</sup>*n=niśamyā*.

<sup>७</sup> Read *-kaṇḍūlatā*.

<sup>८</sup> Read *-ripu*.

<sup>९</sup> Read *-vidhrīta*.

- 35 भिदपि व्ब)लोयान्वाधिकं चापमोज्जत् । [122]\*] अथ स्वकायपुण्योपचया <sup>1</sup>समधि-  
गतासे(शे)षपंचमहाशब्द(ब्)महा- ॥<sup>2</sup>
- 36 सामन्ताधि<sup>3</sup>तगरपुरपरमेस्व(श्)रश्चासोलाहारनरेन्द्रजीमूतवाहनान्वयप्रसूतसुवर्णैर्गरुडध्वजाभि-  
मान-
- 37 महोदधित्वागजगज्जंघण्डाचार्यस(श)रणागतवज्रप्रंजरप्रभृतिसमस्तराजावलोविराजितम-
- 38 हामण्डलेस्व(श्)राधिपतिश्चोमश्चमुणिराजदेव(वा) निजभुजोपाज्जित(ता)नेकमण्डलसहि-  
तपुरी- ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 39 प्रमुखचतुर्दस(श)ग्रामस(श)तौसमन्वितकौकणमण्डलयनु<sup>5</sup>शासति । तद्यैतदोद्यराज्यचिन्ता-  
भर(भारं) नि-
- 40 — — —<sup>6</sup> महामात्यश्चोदपैय(य)महासावित्रिग्रहिकश्च(विद्वु)ग्रयत्यादिशोकरणे स च  
महा- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 41 मण्डलेस्व(श्)राधिपतिश्चोमश्चमुणिराजदेवः सञ्चानिव स्वसम्ब(स्व)ध्यमनिजान<sup>8</sup>न्यान-  
पि समागा-
- 42 मिराजपुत्रमंविपुरोहितामात्यप्रधानाप्रधाना(न)नियोगिकानियोगिकांस्तथा राष्ट्रपतिविष-
- 43 यपतिनगरपतिनगरपती<sup>9</sup> ।<sup>10</sup> तथा हंजमननगरपौरद्विषर्गप्रभृतींश्च प्रणतिपूजास- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 44 त्कारादेस(श)पूर्वकं संबो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः ।<sup>10</sup> सखिदितं यथा ॥ चला विभूतिः  
क्षणभंगि यौवनं क्ल- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 45 तान्तदन्तांतरवति जौवितं(तम्) । तथाध्यवज्ञा परलोकसाधने नृणामहो विस्मयकारि चे-।<sup>7</sup>
- 46 ट्टितं(तम्) । [123]\*] तथा चान्तज्ञानेनरा(राक्षसीप्राख्य(स्व)ग्रासं यौवनं ।<sup>10</sup> स्वर्गा-  
वासाश्चरकपातसममिष्टस- ।<sup>7</sup>
- 47 मागमवियोगमवियोगदुःखं ।<sup>10</sup> कदलीकाण्डगर्भवदसारः संसारः ।<sup>10</sup> सहजजरामरण-

<sup>1</sup> Read °yāt=samadhi°.

<sup>2</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> Read °dhipati.

<sup>4</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary. There is inscribed a *chha* before this which is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> Read °m=anu°.

<sup>6</sup> These three letters cannot be read definitely.

<sup>7</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>8</sup> Read °mānakān=.

<sup>9</sup> Read *nagara-* and correct it into *grāma-*.

<sup>10</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.



## Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 48 व्याधिसाधारणकं स(श)रौरं<sup>1</sup> । पवनचलितकमलिनीदलगतजललवतरले धनायुषोति-  
(षी इति) मत्वा दृढतरविर-
- 49 श्निवुध्या(बुध्या) संगृह्यतेच्छदानफलं । कृतचेताहापरेसु(षु) तपोन्वयं प्रस(श)स्यते ।  
सुनयोऽथ प्रसं(शं)सन्ति दानमे-<sup>2</sup>
- 50 कं कली युगे<sup>3</sup> [॥२४॥\*] न तथा सफला विद्या न तथा सफलं तपः ।  
यथाऽथ सुनयः प्राहुर्दानमेकं कली युगे [॥२५॥\*]
- 51 तथा शोक्तं भगवता व्यासेन । अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्भेषावी सूर्यसूताश्च  
गावः । लोकत्रयं तेन म-
- 52 वेद्मि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् [॥२६॥\*] आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः  
प्रवृजन्ति पितामहाः । भूमिदोष<sup>4</sup>क्षकुली<sup>5</sup>जा-
- 53 तः स नस्ता(नः संता)रयिष्यति [॥२७॥\*] भूमिदानं सुपात्रेषु सुतीर्थेषु सुपञ्चसु ।  
अगाधारा<sup>6</sup>पारसंसारसागरीतार-<sup>7</sup>
- 54 षं भवेत् [॥२८॥] धवलान्यातपचाणि दन्तिनस मदीक्षताः [॥\*] भूमिदानस्य  
पुषाणि<sup>8</sup> फलं स्वर्गोसुरदतः<sup>9</sup> [॥२९॥\*] इति
- 55 धर्माधर्मविचारचतुरचिरंतनसुनिवचनान्यवधार्य मातापितृौरात्मनश्च श्रेयोर्थिना मया  
स(श)कनृप-
- 56 कालातीतसम्बत्सरस(श)तेषु नवसु एकसप्तत्यधिकेषु विरोधी(धि)सम्बस(त्स)रा[न्त\*]र्गत-  
भाद्रपदसु(श)वर्षचदस्यां(स्यां) यत्रां-
- 57 कतोपि सम्बत्<sup>10</sup> ९७१ भाद्रपदसु(श)वर्ष १५<sup>11</sup> सुक्रे संजान(त)सोमधृणपव्येण  
सुतीर्थे स्नात्वा गगनैक-

<sup>1</sup> Danda unnecessary.<sup>2</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.<sup>3</sup> The first *pāda* of this *śloka* does not conform to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> This letter is redundant.<sup>5</sup> Read °*smat-kulē*.<sup>6</sup> This letter *rā* is redundant.<sup>7</sup> Read °*ūraṇam*.<sup>8</sup> Read *puṣpāni*.<sup>9</sup> Read *svargāḥ Purandara*.<sup>10</sup> Mark the way of writing *t* in the plate.<sup>11</sup> Read *Śukrē*. [See p. 54 n. 10 above.—Ed.]

- 58 चक्रभूडामणये कमलिनीकामुकाय भगवते भास्कराय न(ना)नाविधरत्नशाच्यमर्घ्यं  
दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) भगवंतं सु-
- 59 रासुरगुरुं त्रिलोकोपतिमुभापतिमभ्यर्च्य यजनयाजनादिषड्दर्शनिरतेभ्यः क्रतुक्रियाकाण्ड-  
60 शौण्डेभ्यः महामात्यश्रीदहृपैयविरचितत्र(त्र)ह्यपुरीविघ्नेभ्यः । यत्रप्रत्येकं नामगोत्रा-  
दीनि ॥
- 61 गौडदेस(श)विनिर्गतसा(शा)ण्डिल्यगोत्रकोद्युमसाखा(शाखः) कोकोपण्डितः पितामह-  
पण्डितसुतः मध्यदे-
- 62 सा(शा)न्तष्याति<sup>1</sup>मुंजखानविनिर्गतवत्सगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) देवधरदीक्षितः[.] यज्ञ-  
दीक्षितसुतः तथा
- 63 भरहाजगोत्रमाध्वंदिनसाखा(शाखः) दामोदरः[\*] कैसैयादीक्षितसुतः तथा भार्मवगोत्र-  
व(व)हृचसा-
- 64 खा(शाखः) सूदवैय सोमस्व(श्व)रैयोपाध्यायसुतः लाटदेसान्तष्याति<sup>1</sup>भृगुकच्छविनिर्गतउप-  
मन्धुगी-
- 65 त्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) दामोदरः[\*] सूदनदीक्षितसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्रराणायनीसा-  
खा(शाखः) नारायणोपासनी दा-
- 66 मोदरोपाध्यायसुतः तथा कुसि(शि)कगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपतिः[\*] अग्निहोत्री  
केस(श)वोपाध्यायसुतः त-
- 67 था आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) श्रीपतिभट्टः[\*] दुर्गायाउपासनीसुतः तथा य(ज)-  
मदग्निगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-
- 68 (शाखः) कनकेस्व(श्व)रः[\*] विलादित्योपाध्यायसुतः तथा आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा-  
(शाखः) वेलैयाउपासनी दौ-
- 69 श्वैयाअग्निहोत्रीसुतः तथा लोकाक्षगोत्रयज्ञसाखा(शाखः) सर्वदेवैय ईस(शा)रीपाध्याय-  
सुतः तथा
- 70 आत्रेयगोत्रव(व)हृचसाखा(शाखः) विद्वपैयोपाध्यायः[\*] सोढलैयापाध्यायसुतः एवमा-
- 71 दिभ्यः यजनयाजनादिषड्दर्शनकरणाय व(व)लिचरुक्क(का)ग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युप-

<sup>1</sup> Read °ntahpāti. [What has been read as sh may be the upadhmaniya sign.—Ed.]

## Third Plate.

- 72 समर्पणाय<sup>1</sup> च मंदरजविषयां [तःपाति कि] इच्छिताग्रामः समस्तपत्निकासहितः आराम-
- 73 कप्तगीसणिका<sup>2</sup> समन्वितश्च [1\*] यस्य चाघाटनानि ॥ पूर्वतः श्रीपनर<sup>3</sup>पर्वतीय-  
पाणौवाडसीमा ॥
- 74 उत्तरतो नोम्वाग्रामसीमा ॥ पश्चिमतो मातरग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः सास्विन्न-<sup>4</sup>
- 75 दौ सीमा । एवं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः मरणकाष्ठोदकीपेतः पूर्व-  
दत्तदेवदायत्र(त्र)द्वया-
- 76 यवर्जः अनादेश्यः (श्यः) अनासेध्यः समु[त्यद्य]मानद्रुमपंचदशस(श)तश्चा(ता)यस्थान[ः\*]  
यत्नांको- ॥<sup>5</sup>
- 77 पि द्रुमाः १५०० पर्वतक्षतिसमकालीनं आचंद्रार्कं यावद्दुदकातिसर्गेण परमया  
भक्त्या
- 78 सा(शा)सनं [न\*] प्रतिपादितः । तदयं (दिषां) भुंजतां भोजयतां कृषतां कर्षयताम्वा  
न केनापि परिपंथना करणी-
- 79 या । यदुक्तं पुरातनमहामुनिभिः । व(व)हुभिर्बुधैः सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।  
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि- ।<sup>6</sup>
- 80 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) । [1३०॥\*] सद्यो दानं निरायासं सायस<sup>7</sup> दीर्घपाल-  
नं (नम्) । अत एव मुनयः प्रहृ<sup>8</sup>र्दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
- 81 लनं (नम्) । [११॥\*] दत्त्वा (त्त्वा) भूमिं भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ।  
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नराणां का-
- 82 ले क(का)ले माननीयो भव[ः] । [१२॥\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्रैर्दानानि  
धर्मार्थे<sup>9</sup> यस(श)स्कराणि । निर्मात्यवास्तप्र-

<sup>1</sup> Read °dy-ut sarppanāya.

<sup>2</sup> Reading is doubtful. [Reading appears to be ārāmaka-pūgi-khaṇi(ni)kā.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [Reading seems to be śrī-Nēra.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>5</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>6</sup> Read s-ūyāsam.

<sup>7</sup> Read ala ēva= rahayāḥ or ēvam tu munayāḥ prāhur= as in other inscriptions.

<sup>8</sup> Read dharm-ārtha-.

- 83 तिसानि तानि कौ नाम साधुः पुनराददौत ॥[३३]\*॥ इत्यवधार्य समागामिभिर्दृ-  
पतिरन्यैर्वी<sup>१</sup> धर्मपालनफललो-
- 84 भ एव करणीयः । न पुनस्तस्मिन्पनपापकलंकाशेसरेण केनापि भवितव्यं । एवम-  
भ(भ्य)र्थितोपि लोभादज्ञान-
- 85 तिमिरपटलाह्व(ह्व)तमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानादनुमोदयति<sup>२</sup> । स्वयं च महापातकैरुप-  
पातकैर्वा लिप्यते ।
- 86 रौरवमहारौरवांधतमिस्रादिनरकांश्चिरमनुभविष्यति । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन ॥  
स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो
- 87 हरह(हरत व)सुंधरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा कृमिभिः सह पच्यते ॥[३४]\*॥  
विन्ध्याटवीश्वतोयासु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
- 88 [म]हाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥[३५]\*॥ गामिकां स्वर्णमेकां  
वा भूमिरप्येकमंगुलं हरन्नरकमा-॥<sup>३</sup>
- 89 प्रीति यावदाहृतं ह्रवं(वम्) ॥[३६]\*॥ आरामाणां सहस्रेण तडागानां स(श)तेन  
च [१]\* गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-<sup>४</sup>
- 90 हर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥[३७]\*॥ षष्ठिर्वर्षसहस्राणि<sup>५</sup> स्वर्गे तिष्ठति मानवः ।  
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके ।<sup>६</sup>
- 91 विशेत् ॥[३८]॥ — — — — — ॥ महंस(श)जाः पर\*]महोपतिवंस(श)-  
जा वा यापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः ।
- 92 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्ममिम(मं) समस्तं तेषां मया निरती<sup>७</sup>जलिरेष मूर्धा ॥[३९]\*॥<sup>८</sup>  
यथाचैतदेवं दाप- ।<sup>९</sup>
- 93 को लिखकहस्तेन रुक्मिणीयमतमारोपयति । मतं मम महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधि-  
[पति\*]श्रीमन्मुग्धुणिरा-<sup>४</sup>
- 94 जदेवस्य महामण्डलेस्व(श्व)राधिपतिश्रीमद्भृङ्गदेवसूनोः । लिखितं चैतन्नागलैर्येनति ॥ कृ ॥

<sup>१</sup> Read -*nripatihir=anyair=vā*.

<sup>२</sup> Read *°mānam=anu°*.

<sup>३</sup> Here two strokes have been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>४</sup> Here a stroke has been used to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>५</sup> Read *shashṭim varsha-*.

<sup>६</sup> *Danda unnecessary.*

<sup>७</sup> About seven letters are indistinct here.

<sup>८</sup> Read *virachitō=mitjalir=*.

## No. 11.—TIRUPPUVANAM PLATES OF JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

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

**Tiruppūvanam**, a village in the Śivaganga Zamindari of the Rāmnād District and a station on the Madura-Rāmnād section of the South-Indian Railway, is situated on the south bank of the river Vaigai, called Vēgavatī in Sanskrit. It is 12 miles south-east of Madura and 16 miles west of Śivaganga.<sup>1</sup> The Pushpavanēśvara temple of the village is an ancient one : it is celebrated in the hymns of the three Tamil Śaiva saints Tirujñānasambandha, Appar and Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṅār.<sup>2</sup> Invited by Kulachchirai-Nāyaṅār, the Pāṇḍya minister, and Maṅgaiyarkkarasī, a Chōla princess and queen of the Pāṇḍya king known in Tamil literature as Nelvēli-pōrvenṅa-riṅṅaśīr-Neḍumāraṅ, saint Tirujñānasambandha is said to have gone to Madura, and to have overcome the Jainas under whose influence the king had become a staunch supporter of their cause. He brought the king back to the Śaiva faith, and on this occasion, after accomplishing the mission for which he was sent, the saint, accompanied by Neḍumāraṅ, his queen and minister, visited thirteen other places in the Pāṇḍya country which were held sacred by the Śaivas and sang hymns on them.<sup>3</sup> From the hymns on Tiruppūvanam, it is gathered that it was, in those days, a flourishing city with palatial buildings, fine gardens and broad streets and contained residences of wealthy families of weavers.<sup>4</sup> The Śiva temple of the place is stated in the hymns to have been worshipped by ' the three kings of the South ', i.e., the Chēra, Chōla and Pāṇḍya.<sup>5</sup> Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṅār is also stated to have visited the place in company with the three contemporary sovereigns of the same three families.<sup>6</sup> The Pāṇḍya king of his time, we are told, was a son-in-law of the Chōla. It was at a spot near the city of Tiruppūvanam that the Jainas had been impaled in the days of Māḡavarman, the victor of the Nelvēli.<sup>7</sup>

The Tiruppūvanam temple is in possession of **twelve copper-plate leaves**. Having learnt through the kind offices of the Brahmin lady trustee of the Tiruppūvanam temple residing in Madura, that the plates in question are safely preserved in the *karivēlam* of the temple, I went to the place and made a fruitless attempt to get the plates for comparing the published text and correcting it *in situ*. Frustrated in my endeavour I wrote to the Government Epigraphist for India to obtain the plates on loan and take their impressions and supply me with one set of them for editing the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. He took prompt action on my

<sup>1</sup> Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Tirujñānasambandha has contributed ' *Aṅṅiyār puṇalum* ' 11 verses and ' *Mādamar mēṅiyāṅgi* ' 11 verses, while Appar has sung ' *Vaḍivēru tiriśūlam* ' 11 verses. Of Sundaramūrti's decade of verses, two are lost; the first verse of his *paḍiḡam* commences with ' *Tiruvudaiyār* '.

<sup>3</sup> These fourteen places are Tiruvālavāy, Tirupparankuṅṅam, Tiru-Āppaṅūr, Tiruvēdagaṅ, Tirupputtūr, Tirukkoḍukuṅṅam, Tirukkāṅappēr, Tiruppūvanam, Tiruchchuliyal, Tirukkūrālam, Tiru-Nelvēli, Tiruvirā-mēśvaram, Tiruvēlāṅai and Tiruppūvaśāḷ.

<sup>4</sup> ' *Tērār vidī māda-nidu teṅ-ṅiruppūvanamē* '.

<sup>5</sup> ' *Muṅṅaiyāṅ muḍi-ḷēr Teṅṅar Śērar Śōḷarga-ḍām vanāṅṅum tiraiyār-oli-ḷēr ḷemmaiy-ḷṅṅu teṅ-ṅiruppūvanam* ' ; ' *Māḡāv-anḷiṅ-ṅeṅṅar Śērar Śōḷargaḷ pōṅṅiśaiṅṅa* '.

<sup>6</sup> P. 1123 of *Periyapurānam*, 1934 edition.

<sup>7</sup> ' *Būsurargaḷ pavind-ḷṅṅum Pūvaṅa-naṅṅaṅgar-maruṅṅiṅ-kāśiṅṅimēḷ viḷāṅṅiyāḍu kaḷuvar-paḍaiṅṅeṅṅavē* ' ( *Tiruvālavāyudaiyār-Tiruvēlāyāḍarpurānam*, 38, v. 50).

<sup>8</sup> About them Sewell wrote as follows in his *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 298 :—

" A copper-plate grant of ten leaves belonging to the temple has been published by Bishop Caldwell in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, p. 142, together with a supplementary plate of two leaves."

The writer must have meant ' sides ' by ' leaves ', for Burgess and Natesa Sastri correctly note " Five plates only of the *śāsanam* are there (i.e., in the *Indian Antiquary*) given in *fac-simile* from Sir Walter Elliot's impressions. The whole is here given translated from new impressions obtained with considerable difficulty owing to the ignorant stupidity of the Temple guardians" (*A.S.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 21).

suggestion and on 31st January 1939 placed at my disposal two excellent sets of impressions from which I now edit the plates. Dr. Chakravarti took the measurements of the plates and found that what was given in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, was incorrect. His note is given below :--

“ Of the first set, the first ten plates measure approximately 16 $\frac{7}{8}$ " in length (the plates are not of exactly equal size) while their breadth is roughly 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " except of the 4th and 10th which are 6" and 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ " respectively. The eleventh plate is 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ " long and 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ " broad. The plate of Kōnērīn-maikōṇḍān (supplementary plate) is 17 $\frac{3}{8}$ " long and 6 " broad.”

All the plates bear writing on both sides and the lines run from edge to edge in some of them without leaving any vacant margin.<sup>1</sup> There are 15 lines on each of the plates I, II, III, IVa, VIb, VIIb, VIIIb, and Xb; 16 lines on IVb, V, VIa, VIIa, VIIIa, IXa, Xa, and XIa; and 17 lines on IXb and XIb. On the whole there are 343 lines of writing in the first set of eleven plates. A ring-hole is bored in the centre of the left side about an inch and a half from the left edge. Though the plates have not got raised rims to protect the writing, the inscription is fairly well preserved excepting some portions of the last four lines of the first face of the sixth plate. A few letters on Va, 1Va and b and Xa are also damaged. The existence of the hole is an indication that the plates must have been strung on a ring bearing perhaps a seal also, though there is none at present. In all probability it must have been lost years ago.

The text and translation given in volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India* require revision. There are serious misreadings especially in proper names. To point only a few, the volume gives *punarato* for °s-tata imē (l. 3), *grāmasy=āvadhik-āptim* for *grāmasy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim* (l. 4), *Kakaṇēri* for *Nakkaṇēri* (l. 33), *pāsakappadi* for *pāḍagappaḍi* (l. 38), *janamikaḷ* (*janamikaḷ* ?) for *janmigal* (l. 44), *Kakekudi* for *Kaḍukkudi* (l. 47), *Sembāṇēri* for *Seṭṭālēri* (l. 48), *Tiruppu* for *tiṟappu* (l. 49), *ivvūr-pārttaṇṇaṇ* for *ivvūrpār-Chundaṇ* (l. 60), *Narimaṇṇamānum-Kaṇḍanallūr* for *Narimaṇṇam-āna Varayaṇḍa-Nallūrum* (ll. 60f.), *ivvūr Maḍār-Silaiyaṇ* for *ivvūrpār-Chilaiyaṇ* (l. 61), *paśalaiyūr* for *Pālaiyūr* (l. 90), *tōlarum* for *dēvarum* (ll. 91f.), *Mahā-vidhinallūr* for *Kāvidinallūr* (l. 112), *Puliśāmi* for *Pullāṇi* (ll. 119f.), *Kēsavaṇum* for *Kōvaṇum* (l. 128), *Kēsavaṇ* for *Āḍuvāṇ* (ll. 130f.), *Sidayil-uraya-Battaṇ* for *Śi-Kayilāya-Battaṇ* (l. 135), *Valliyaṇ piḍittulai* for *Villiy-āna Muḍittalai* (l. 137), *maruvāy-ikkarrūḍē* for *maruvāy-Iḷukkār-ūḍē* (l. 191), *vaḍakku varayum* for *vaḍavāyum* (ll. 195f.), *Paḷaṇḍiyai* for *paḷai-kōyilaḍiyai* (ll. 197f.), *i-n for te* (l. 200), *maralāra* for *Mālār* (l. 219), *Śeyyai* for *śevvai* (l. 235), *kkāra* for *kār* (l. 242), and *kavāyil* for *agavāyil* (l. 243).

As only the first five plates are numbered, it is not possible to say definitely whether the numbering was done when the plates were engraved or at a subsequent date. The caligraphy of the numerals seems to indicate that the numbers must have been incised at a somewhat later date. It behoves us therefore to see if the rest of the plates are in order and whether the set is complete.<sup>2</sup> On examination, we find that the face commencing with the line *nōkki* of the seventh plate is the second, for it reads well with the syllables at the end of the other face *karaiyē-te* which must therefore be the first face of that plate. And the first line of the first face has the syllables *l-karaiyē* which reads in continuation of the last syllables of the sixth plate, viz., *ikkālīṇ-mē*. In volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of South India*, by reading the second face of the seventh

<sup>1</sup> [Like Leiden Plates the writing on these plates also seems to have been done by the process known as *à cire perdue*. (See above, Vol. XXII, p. 213).—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> This is easily done by reading through the first and last lines of each face of the plates and marking out the second face by the fact of the first line reading in continuation of the syllables at the end of the other face. This done, we know the first face of each plate. Then we have only to see where the syllables at the end of the second face of one plate run on with the first syllable of the first face of another.

plate after the end of the sixth plate and then reading the first face after the second, a mistake has been committed.<sup>1</sup> The order of the rest of the plates as given there is correct and none of the plates is missing. Another defect in the published text is that it has omitted to give one full line found on the second side of the ninth plate. This mistake has occurred as two consecutive lines (ll. 272-3) commence with the same syllables *ku nōkki=chchenru Miḷagaṇṇu-ku*. There are many instances where final consonants have been treated as the first combined consonant and *vice versâ*. These defects and the summary treatment of the contents in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Vol. IV, make the re-publication of the inscription a great desideratum.

Excepting the first five lines of the first plate, first side, which are in **Sanskrit** verse written in **Grantha** characters, the rest of the inscription is in **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet. Though the orthographical peculiarities found in the record are common to the epigraphs of this period, a few of them deserve to be noted here. There are numerous instances where the *sandhi* rules are not observed. In the Tamiḷ portion Grantha letters are used in many places where Sanskrit words occur. For instances see *Vēda*, *Sāstra* (l. 16) and *brahmadēya* (l. 19). The superscript *r* is marked by a short slanting stroke engraved on the top of the letter, e.g., *rbu* (l. 2), *rmma* (l. 13). Punctuation is denoted by what is called single or double *piḷḷaiyār-sūḷi* and *visarga*-like mark; see, for example, lines 3 and 5. Medial long *ī* is well distinguished from the short by being given a closed loop on the right of the concave curve on the top of the letters (ll. 5, 6, 9, 12, 39, 40, 42). *Ṛk* and *ṛt* are often used for *rkk* and *rtt*: see, for example, *Miḷagaṇṇu* (ll. 272-3), *Māraṅkīrti* (l. 270) and *Karpakīrti* (l. 269). The words *mūlaiyīr-tiru* (l. 288), *ellaiyīr-tiru* (l. 284) and *ēmbaṅ-ṛeṅ* (l. 309) ought to be *mūlaiyīr-riru*, *ellaiyīr-riru* and *ēmbaṅ-ṛeṅ*. There are instances of doubling of consonants where unnecessary and of omission to double them when necessary; e.g., *chenru-kkatti*<sup>o</sup> (l. 281). Another noteworthy feature is the use of the accusative for the locative in words like *vāykkālaiy-iraṇḍu* and *kālaiy-iraṅgi*. In these cases, Tamiḷ would require *°kālil*. Influence of Sanskrit has perhaps to account for the departure in these cases.

The inscription is in **two parts** of which the **first**, which is very brief, is in Sanskrit and covers only five lines. It gives the mythical genealogy of the Pāṇḍyas traced from Hari (Vishṇu) through Atri, Moon, Budha and Purūravas, and states that Rājagambhiradēva, in the **25th year of his reign**, on the day of Svātī, corresponding to a Sunday and the eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month in which the Sun was in Dhanush, ordered the determination of the boundaries of the village which was called after his name, by circumambulating it with a female elephant. It is to be noted that not even the king's immediate ancestors are mentioned in the record. The king is said to have been apprised of the formation of the new village by Sundarēsa. Who this person is it is not possible to say definitely, as the corresponding Tamiḷ portion omits this fact altogether. Since the formation of the kind is generally conveyed to kings by officials such as Secretaries and Ministers and sometimes even by princes who were in attendance on them, we may not be wrong in thinking that Sundarēsa was one such person of distinction. We know from a record of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I (with *Pūviṅkiḷatti* introduction) found at Chaturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>2</sup> that the king had a brother-in-law by name Aḷagapperumāḷ, and our plates also enable us to gather that Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāḷ held a high position, for a person under him bearing the official designation *adiḡāram* acted as *kaṅkāni* in the settlement of boundaries

<sup>1</sup> This defect was noticed by me when I arranged the plates in order and got them strung on a wire. It was independently noticed by Dr. Chakravarti also when he had the impressions taken of the inscription on the plates.

<sup>2</sup> No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

of the new village. It is not unlikely that *machchunāṇār* Aḷagapperumāl and *Pillaiyār* Aḷagapperumāl indicate two different persons. Sundarēsa being a good Sanskrit rendering of the name Aḷagapperumāl, there is a possibility of one of the two persons of that name being referred to. But of this we cannot be certain. If a prince is meant, can it refer to Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I who, at the time of the record, might be supposed to have been serving the king? The **second part** which is in Tamil, opens with the usual eulogy of king Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara commencing with the words *Pāvinkilatti* and runs to the end of the eleventh plate. It consists of two principal sentences, the first beginning from the end of line 5 (plate Ia) and ending with the beginning of line 139 (plate Vb) with *sāvadu*, and the second commencing with the words *paḍiṅ-mūṇṇ-āvadiṅ-edir* in line 139 (plate Vb) and ending with the word *niṇṇadu* in line 338 (plate XIb). These two sentences are followed by the names of the writer of the document and the signatories who attested it and these cover up lines 338 to 343 in the last plate. The composing of this Tamil part of the inscription consisting of 338 lines of writing and covering nearly all the 22 sides of the plates, obscures the clear understanding of the various transactions involved and detailed in it. The main sentence, which gives the principal and **immediate object** of the inscription is *Kulasēkaradēvarṅku yāṇḍu 13-vaḍu nāl nāl-āyirattu munṇūrru arupaḍiṅāl* (ll. 141.) *piḍi-naḍanda ellaikku or °paḍiṅku arav-ōlai seydu kuḍutta pariśāvadu* (l. 73 and l. 138) meaning "this is the deed drawn up and given in the thirteenth year and four thousand and three-hundred and sixtieth day of the reign of Kulasēkharadēva (*embodying*) the boundaries as circumambulated by the female elephant". The noting down of the boundaries of the entire village from point to point is thus the main object of this set of eleven copper-plates; and it may be said that it is the last of a series of actions involved in the constitution and grant of the new village of Rāḡagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam as *brahmadēya*. The document was drawn up by the persons authorised in the royal order issued on the day specified in the Sanskrit portion as *niḡe vatsarē paṅcha-vimśe Chaṇḍāmśāv-ātta-chāpē Kanakapati-tithau kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svūti-yōḡē* and repeated in the Tamil portion in the words *paḍiṅ-mūṇṇ-āvadiṅ-edir punṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhāṇu-nāyarru nālān-tiyadiyūm apara-pakshattu ēkāḍaiyūm Śaṇi-kkilamaiyūm peṇṇa Sōḍi-nāl* (ll. 139ff.). This earlier **date** had been calculated by the late Professor Kielhorn and found to agree with **Saturday, 29th November A. D. 1214**. As such, the 13th year and 4360th day of the king's reign (=the 26th year, or more correctly 25 years and 40 days) which relates to the drawing up of the boundary deed, must be later than A. D. 1214, November 29, by such number of unexpired months and days as remained in the 25th year (*i.e.*, 12th current year after the 13th) of the king's reign *plus* 40 days of the 26th year (*i.e.*, 13th year opposite the 13th). The formation of the *brahmadēya* and the grant of it had already been effected when the order for the *kariṇi-bhramaṇa* was given on the 29th November A.D. 1214. This is plain by the statement *nīkki uḷḷa nīlam munṇuḍaiyārum paḷam pērum vellāṅ-vaḡaiyūm mudalun-tavirtu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru puravum ākki Rāḡagambhira-vaḷanāḍu Rāḡagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam-eṇṇun-tirunāmattāl brahmadēyañ=cheydaruḷi* (ll. 70-72) meaning 'the remaining lands had been constituted as the *brahmadēya* village of Rāḡagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam so called after the sacred name (*of the king*) and included in Rāḡagambhira-vaḷanāḍu: the previous owners, old names, the classification as *vellāṅ-vaḡai*, cultivating ryots and *mudal* of the lands removed and classed under one *nāḍu*, one *puravu* and one village'. We shall refer to the significance of this in the sequel. With regard to the royal order issued on the 29th November A.D. 1214, it must be said that while the Sanskrit portion stops with mentioning the immediate circumambulation of the village which was called after the king's name (*sv-ābhidānasya grāmasy-āghāta-kḷiptim=prati sapadi karēnum gamayitum=avadat Rāḡagambhīradēvaḥ*), the Tamil portion is more explicit and states what ought to be done further. It tells us that the circumambulation of the four boundaries of the said village must be effected in the presence of the superintendents (appointed for the purpose), and,



for the boundaries thus gone round, a deed also must be drawn up and given. This is clear from the passage *ivvār nāṅg-ellaiyūn=kaṅkāriṅgaḷōḍuṅ=kūḍa=ppiḍi-sūḷndu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku arav-ōlai seyḍu kuḍukkav-enṟu tiruvāy-moḷindarulinamaiyil* (ll. 72-74).

We have referred above to three dates that occur in the inscription and have shown that two of them are identical and relate to the day on which the boundaries of the new village were ordered to be determined by the king and that the third, which is expressed in years and days, and which is later than the other two was the day on which the document was drawn up. The identical nature of two of the dates being assured by the details, the mention of the year in two ways, viz., *pañcha-viṅṣē* (the 25th) and *paṭiṅ-mūṅṟāvadiṅ edir paṅṅiraṅḍu* (the 12th year opposite the 13th) shows that the number of years given after the word *edir* must be added to the number expressed before it. Two other dates occur in the inscription, viz., *paḍiṅ-mūṅṟāvadiṅ-edir paṭṭām-āṅḍu-varai* (up to the 10th year opposite the 13th) and *paṭiṅ-mūṅṟāvadiṅ edir paḍiṅ-on-rām-āṅḍu-mudal* (from the 11th year opposite the 13th), in connection with the clubbing together of the villages and lands in the new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya*. The first refers to the state of the items of lands as they stood up to the 23rd year and the second refers to the fact that the *brahmadēya* had to take effect from the next year, i.e., the 24th year. Evidently the omission to recognise this particular fact, viz., that the 25th year of the king's reign is expressed by *paḍiṅ-mūṅṟāvadiṅ-edir paṅṅiraṅḍu*, though recognising the identical nature of the astronomical details given both in the Sanskrit and Tamil portions, has led the late Pandit Natesa Sastri, who seems to have taken all the years to be one and the same, to postulate the following theory:—

“Nothing definite can be made out of this phrase (*paḍiṅ-mūṅṟāvadiṅ edir paḍiṅ-on-rām-āṅḍu*) for the present. Some are of opinion that one of them refers to the age of the king and the other to the number of years he had reigned, but this *Śāsanam* contradicts that theory; for in IIa, l. 10, we have the 10th year opposite the 13th year, and in Vb, l. 2, the 12th year opposite the 13th year. The following theory may be suggested:—The description of the day of letting loose of the elephant in Ia and of the day in Va (correctly Vb) exactly coincides; and fortunately in Va (Vb) instead of merely stating in the 13th year, it is said in the 12th year opposite the 13th year; from these and bearing in mind that at the commencement of the *Śāsanam* it is stated “in the 13th year, 4364th day”, and that according to the rough Hindu calculation of 360 days for every year, 4364 days come to  $\frac{4364}{360} = 12$  years and 44 days, I think that “in the

12th year opposite the 13th year”, may mean, after the completion of the 12th year in the 13th year of the reign. Similarly “11th year opposite the 13th year” may mean after the completion of the 11th year, i.e., in the 12th year of the reign. Similarly 10th, in each case the present year of the reign is also added”.<sup>1</sup>

Against this, Burgess noted: “This theory of the Pandit's is ingenuous, but will not do: the 13th year cannot coincide with parts of three years. Can it be 1310, 1311, and 1312 Śaka that is meant by the dates? If so, the number of *days* may refer to the reign”.<sup>2</sup>

Except in showing the difficulties felt in explaining the double dates, these theories have no value whatsoever to us now, and we pass on with the remark that the singling out of a particular year—in this case the 13th year—still remains to be definitely and satisfactorily made out.

That the determination of the boundaries commenced on the very day the order was given might be inferred from line 140. I would consider that there is an omission of the words ‘*piḍi naḍappittu*’ after ‘*sūḷndu*’ in the extract given above for the reason that the document, while repeating the same in another place, has the phrase ‘*piḍi naḍatta=ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikku*’ (l. 138). There are still other defects in this part of the document. It omits to state to whom the order

<sup>1</sup> A. S. I., Vol. IV, p. 30, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

was issued and what formalities were observed by the recipients. Judging from other copper-plates it may be said that the order must have been addressed to the assembly of the district of Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu. It could not have been issued to the assembly of any of the sub-divisions in it, for the villages and lands that had been clubbed to form the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, belonged to more than one sub-division. Then again, the inscription does not state to whom this document of boundaries was ordered to be given or was granted. The verb *kuḍukka* (shall be given) in the passage extracted above, has no object. But it may be reasonably presumed that it should have been directed to be given to the donees and must have been left in the possession of the *sabhā* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam representing the vast number of one thousand and eighty donees. If this was the case, there arise the questions as to how the Tiruppūvanam temple has come to be in possession of it, whether it is the original document that was granted, or only a copy, and if a copy, whether such a copy could not be found elsewhere. The answer to these questions is given below in the introduction to the article on the supplementary plate.

The inscription tells us that eleven persons were appointed to superintend the settlement of boundaries. Their names (ll. 74-93) are given in Appendix A, I. Of these eleven persons, one (No. 4) was the agent of the *Tiruvāyakkēḷvi* officer Poṇṇaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṅ, another (No. 5) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Poyyāmolidēvar, a third (No. 6) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Śrīrāmaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyāṅ *alias* Pottappichchōlar, the fourth (No. 7) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *mūḷigaittaṅam* officer Śivalavaṅ Aḷaḷiyamaṅavaḷaṅ *alias* Kāliṅgarāyaṅ, the fifth (No. 8) was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Maḷavarāyaṅ, the sixth (No. 9) was the *adigāram* of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāḷ and the seventh (No. 11) was one of the *aṅukkar* of Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiyaṅ, who was scrutinising the affairs of the District of Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu. Along with the 11 *kaṅkāṇis*, 65 others representing the villages adjacent to Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam, most of them being connected with the formation of the new village, went with the elephant and fixed the boundaries. Their names and their native villages and *nāḍu* (Appendix A, II to XVI) are given in plates IVa (l. 93) to Vb (l. 138). The details of the boundaries from point to point commencing with a spot on the north-eastern corner and ending with the same spot are set forth in plates Vb (l. 140) to XIb (l. 338). This document mentioning the details of boundary of the village, *i.e.*, this inscription, was drawn up by one of the officials (No. 1 of App. A, I) and was attested by three others (Nos. 2 to 4 of the same Appendix) (ll. 338-343).

The duty of the eleven superintendents, who were mostly officials drawn from various parts of the country and were unconnected with the villages that were combined together to form the *brahmadēya*, must have been to see that the procedure was correctly observed. The actual work was left to be done by the local people. Of the sixty-five others, seven including one who was a resident of Tiruppūvanam, led the elephant, while the others showed the boundaries of their respective villages. The ceremony of circumambulation with seventy-six responsible persons going with an elephant and covering a large area, must have been an imposing one; and by the very nature of the troubles involved in the execution of the task, it must have been done in several stages and taken a long time to finish. The wide extent which was covered by the newly constituted village may, to some measure, be conceived by the fact that it included in it as many as one hundred and forty old villages and lands which lay not in one sub-division but in five separate divisions, *viz.*, Kīraṅūr-nāḍu, Panaṅgalūr-nāḍu, Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu, Mērkūḍi-nāḍu and Puṅapparalāi-nāḍu (Appendix B). The party for the settlement of boundaries had to pass through a number of roads, rivers, and canals on their way. From Śeyyakulattūr there passed three roads, one to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 333f.), another to Kaḍambaṅguḍi

(l. 142), and the third to Mūvaraiyarkōttai (l. 145). From Mānavīramadurai there were roads running to Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 143f.), Mūvaraiyarkōttai (l. 147), Neṭṭūr (l. 154), and Piḍāvūr (ll. 149f.). Between Kannaṅūr and Dēda(va)kōttai (l. 225), there was another road. From the village of Miḷagaṅūr there were roads leading to Iruṅchirai (l. 258) and Kōttakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai (ll. 244f.). Two other roads connected Vēḷāṅēri and Aravaṅkuḍi (ll. 205f.), and Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and Vēmbaṅguḍi (ll. 319 & 330).

The inscription may be said to express in action the abstract laws laid down by the ancient law-givers in the determination of boundaries of villages and lands. The number of villages that were directly concerned in this matter were as many as sixteen.<sup>1</sup> As I have already discussed the laws to be observed in such cases it is needless to reiterate them here.<sup>2</sup>

The early part of this inscription, which forms as it were the preamble of this document of boundaries, informs us how the new village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam came to be formed and what old villages and lands were taken up to constitute it. On a date, which is not specified, while the king was sitting on the seat called Maḷavarājaṅ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at Madurai, situated in the sub-division of Mādakkulam, he ordered that a village called Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam after his name, should be formed consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares and be given as a *brāhmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth of his reign, to one thousand and eighty Brāhmaṇas, who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were capable of expounding them, each being given one share, and the remaining one hundred and twenty shares being set apart for the temple and for those that had to do service. The date that is not specified here may be taken to be the tenth year opposite to the thirteenth of the king's reign, since it is stated that the grant had to take effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth. The names of the lands and villages that had been taken up and included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam as given in lines 19 to 69 are noticed in a separate appendix (B). This list of villages ends with the remark *āga ivvūrgalīr-palaṅ-dēvadāṅam paḷlichchandam kārāṅmai-āṅa nilam nikki*, i.e., 'excluding from these villages such lands as are old *dēvadāṅas*, *paḷlichchandas* and *kārāṅmai*'. This general remark applies to all villages other than the ones which, though being *dēvadāṅas*, etc., had been specifically stated in the body of the list as having been taken up for inclusion in the new village. Such are the three *dēvadāṅa* villages, Vāgaikuḍi (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai (ll. 59f.), and Śīrukilāṅkāṭṭūr (l. 68) which belonged to the temple of Tiruppūvaṅamuḍaiyār. Some of the villages and lands of this list find mention in the description of boundaries, being situated on the boundary line. We learn from the description of boundaries that Marudūr lay just to the west, and Saṅkaramāṅalam just to the south of Mānavīramadurai, that Nirambaiyūr was to the east of Sōmāttūr, that Vēḷāṅēri was to the south of Karuṅguḷam, that Miḷagaṅūr was to the north of both Kōttakīrti and Kāñai-Irukkai, that Kaṅpakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai was situated just to the west of Mēr-Cheḷi, and to the south of Puvāṅinallūr, that Nerkuṅṅam was immediately to the east of Kuvaḷaivēli, that Vāgaikuḍi was to the north of both Tirumāliruṅjōlainallūr and Śīrukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṅalam, and to the east of Veḷḷūrkuruchchi and to the south of Mānābharaṅa-chaturvēdimāṅalam which lay to the north of Tiruvāvaṅam situated just to the east of Veḷḷūrkuruchchi, and lastly, that Kuḍaṅjāḍi was to the south of Sundankuruchchi. From the boundaries given, we also learn that Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam had on its west Kirapūr-nāḍu,

<sup>1</sup> Mānavīramadurai, 2. Marudūr, 3. Mēr-Pasalai, 4. Kīṭ-Pasalai, 5. Poḷiyūr, 6. Kaḷḷikuḍi, 7. Iruṅchirai in Kāñai-Irukkai, 8. Miḷagaṅūr, 9. Mālaṅguḍi, 10. Śīrukuḷattūr, 11. Śūraikuḍi, 12. Viḍattal, 13. Veḷḷūrkuruchchi, 14. Perumpuliyūr, 15. Vēḷār and 16. Tiruppūvaṅam.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 30ff.

on the north Paṇṇāṅgalūr-nāḍu, on the east Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu, and on the south Puṟappaṟāḷai-nāḍu. The inscription mentions the rivers Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappērāṟu (l. 161), Paraḷaiyāṟu (l. 198), Kaḷavaḷināḍaṇṇāṟu of Paṇṇāṅgalūr (l. 318) and Paraḷaikkāl (l. 193) and states that three of the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, named Muttūranāroṭṭai, Vāgaikuḍi and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, had been added on to the new village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam as well as certain specified lands which formed the *dēvadāna* of the temples of Paṣalaināthar and Śri-Vaikunda-Viṇṇagar-Āḷvār of Mēṟ-Paṣalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (ll. 48—51).

Like the three *dēvadāna* villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, the whole village of Miḷagaṇūr had been taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. In exchange for the last, the following other villages were given, *viz.*, Kuvaḷaivēli, Pudukkuḷam, Māṟṅkiṟti, Kāvīdinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal in Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai, and that part of Araiyaḷam in Kāṇai-Irukkai which remained after removing the holding (*kāṇi*) of Mandari Rāman *alias* Pallavaraiyar (ll. 110—114). Care was taken to have the previous owners of these villages removed, their old names changed and the original constitution altered and the whole, like the lands and villages that were included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, grouped together and the newly formed village of Miḷagaṇūr was given the name Rājēndraśiṅganallūr. It was placed under the division Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai and entered as such in State accounts (ll. 114—116). The persons that were entrusted with the formation of this new village are given in group IX of Appendix A: they were among the party that accompanied the female elephant. It is worthy of note that in the constitution of this village also, which was not a Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the same precaution was taken, as in the other, to bring the different units under one control and to make it homogeneous. The words used, *viz.*, *oru-nāḍum or-ūrum oru-puravum ākki*, clearly indicate that it became a distinct constituency with single class of interest as Chaturvēdimāṅgalam was.

With the aid of this and a few other allied records, we propose to consider here firstly the constitution of the Chaturvēdimāṅgalam referred to in the preamble and what it implies, secondly whether the king represented in the plates had any other introduction than the one beginning with *Pūviṅkiḷatti* and thirdly the geography of the districts and divisions of the Pāṇḍya country mentioned in the plates. On all these matters the existing notions seem to need correction.

Like the founding of temples, construction of tanks, provisions made for the requirements of various shrines, the opening of educational institutions with competent teachers in various branches, erection of feeding houses for the poor and the learned, and provisions made for doctors and hospitals to minister to the needs of the sick,—furthering the cause of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* was considered a meritorious act by South Indian kings and chiefs and it found a tangible expression in the form of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams, *brahmadēyas*, *agaras* or *agrahāras* and the like. One can easily pick out the names of hundreds of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams by running through the inscriptions contained in the volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* ranging from the seventh century A.D. to the time of the Vijayanagara kings. If it is remembered that each one of this class of villages had been originally granted to a very large collection of eminent men who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and that each one of the villages had an administrative body called the *sabhā*, as we know from numerous instances, consisting of several committees and a general body of representative members, whose number in some cases was very large and who, by the qualifications insisted on, always kept up a high standard of Vedic learning, there could be no denying the fact that in South India, at any rate, there was a regular and systematic study of the *Vēdas* and the branches of subjects connected with them, and there were

hundreds of thousands of persons who carried the torch of Vedic learning in the way it used to be handed down. We would like to point out that the donees of the newly constituted *brahmadēya* village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam numbered as many as one thousand and eighty and that they had not only studied the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* but were capable of expounding them. The cumulative conjunction *um* in the phrase *Vēdamum sāstramum pōy* and the use of the adjectival phrase *vyākhyātākkalāy irukkum* qualifying *Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭargal* leave no doubt that the subjects of the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* were studied not only with a view to grasping their meaning but in such a thorough manner as to entitle the votaries to be styled *vyākhyātās*, i.e., exegetes. Though these phrases are sufficient in themselves, we would point out some further instances from inscriptions which more clearly explain that these subjects were thoroughly studied in those days. These inscriptions use the additional word 'poruṭpaḍa', i.e., 'with meaning' before the verb 'pōy' 'had gone through'. One of the inscriptions of Tiruttaṅgāl,<sup>1</sup> dated in the 9th year and 216th day of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* introduction (the same king that figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates), registers a royal order issued on the representation of the king's officer Kāliṅgarāyar for creating a *brahmadēya* village called Kulaśekhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam by joining together four *dēvadāna* villages about Tiruttaṅgāl with lands and house-sites allotted to 54 Brāhmaṇas who were versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were capable of expounding them. The village-site where the Brāhmaṇas had to reside was named 'Pugaḷōgagaṇḍanallūr'. We may refer to another inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the 8th year and 215th day of the reign of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II with the introduction *Pūmalar-tiruvum* which tells us that the great-grandfather of Śrī-Rāmaṇ Aḷagaṇ *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Brahmādhiraṅga had originally established, in the name of Vēṇāḍuḍaiyār, a village called Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and settled in it forty-eight Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas who had learnt with meaning (*poruṭpaḍa*) the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and were capable of expounding them (*vyākhyātākkalāy-irukkum*), and twelve Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār, thus making in all sixty persons. On the representation of these sixty persons and on the recommendation of the officer Ayyaṅ Maḷavarāyar, the king granted all the lands situated in Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Mānābharaṅappāḍi, within certain specified boundaries, excluding from them the oid *dēvadānas* and *paḷlichechandas*, to be included in Ravivarman-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in order that the sixty persons settled in the village may get sixty shares, the temple of Śrī-Rāma-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār may have two shares, Pāṇḍimāḍēvīśvaramuḍaiyār may have two shares and Toṇḍaimāṅ-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār may have one share. It is expressly stated that in this case, as indeed in others, the prior owners of lands as well as the classification under other heads had been removed and the whole constituted as one village with one *puravu*, one classification, etc. The point for note is that the Chaturvēdimaṅgalam was entirely a Brāhmanical village. And as we know that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in such a village, there is no room for thinking that the members in it could be of any other class. The inscription clearly tells us that the interest in the constituency vested with one class of people, all others being expressly stated to have been removed and changed. One of the inscriptions of the time of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I gives the names of as many as 144 Brāhmanical Villages (*brahmadēyas*), which had to supply persons for the post of treasurers, temple-servants and accountants to the Rājarājēśvara temple at Tanjore.<sup>3</sup> Without even a single exception, each one of these villages is stated to have had a *sabhā*. Numerous transactions of the *sabhā* are

<sup>1</sup> No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>2</sup> No. 446 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 69

recorded in inscriptions giving the names of the members present in the meetings, numbering in some cases thirty and forty, and all of them are Brāhmaṇas<sup>1</sup> as the titles and the *gōtras* show.

Still another mediæval Pāṇḍya inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the 13th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, with the characteristic title Ellāntalaiyāṇa-Perumā, gives very interesting details regarding the formation of another similar village called Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam to settle down 108 Brāhmaṇas, many of whom were well-versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sūtras* and were capable of expounding them. For the housing accommodation of these and their families, as well as the men who were in charge of the village library and the village servants, four *vēlis* of land were purchased and set apart as village-site and it included in it the temple premises also. In purchasing the lands, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were completely bought up. Land for grazing the cattle was also provided for. For the maintenance of the 108 Brāhmaṇa families and others, 147 $\frac{3}{4}$  *vēlis* of land in the village of Rājasikhāmaṇinallūr *alias* Puḷyaṅguḍi were acquired. The following *vr̥ttis* were also provided for:—three for teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambadiyas*, half for the village accountant, one-fourth for a drummer, one-fourth for a blacksmith, half for carpenter, one-fourth for goldsmith, three-eighths for *irāṅkollī*, three-eighths for barber, one-fourth for a washerman, three-fourths for a village watchman, and one-eighth for *velliyāṇ*. Further, it is said that three-fourths of the *nattam* land outside the Brāhman quarter, was set apart for *Vellāṅ-kāṇṇyālar* and the remainder for other professional people. All taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, *i.e.*, from the first year of the constitution of the new *agrahāra* village of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, 500 *kalam* of superior paddy had to be measured out every year to the temple at Chidambaram.

The contents of this inscription, as well as those of others of this class, some of which we have noticed above, show clearly that the constituency of Chaturvēdimāṅgalam was purely one of Brāhmaṇas, self-sufficient in every way; and other classes of people were given separate accommodation in the *nattam* lands and were there for performing specific acts. In this limited constituency having a fixed extent of land, be it great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights, and with their old names, prior holdings and different heads of classification entirely removed, and vested with and owned by one class of people as one unit under the different and distinguishing name Chaturvēdimāṅgalam, there is absolutely no room for thinking that in the *sabhā* which, as we know from numerous inscriptions, was the administrative body functioning in such a village, there could have been any member that belonged to any other class of people. Though from the qualifications laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions for membership in committees and from the actual names of persons that are mentioned as members of *sabhās* in numerous other epigraphs, we could gather that the *sabhā* was the administrative body functioning in Brāhmanical villages and that it had only Brāhman members, more direct evidence is afforded in No. 3 of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VIII. This inscription states that a royal order having been issued by the Chōla king Rājādhirāja I to the officer Śōla-Pāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēlar to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by *Brāhmaṇa-ūrgaḷ* (Brāhmanical villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Conjeevaram provision may be made for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing worship and four Śivabrāhmaṇas performing *parichāraka* work, he directed the person that was looking after the

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V; No. 133 of Vol. IV; and 231 of Vol. VIII.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 277 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection* for 1913; and the review in part II of the *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1914, p. 92.

temple affairs (*Kōyil-Śrīkāryam*) to make the *nimandas*. In the *nimanda* that was actually made in pursuance of this order, instead of '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrḡaḷ*' as at first mentioned, we find the '*sabhās*' of the five villages Śīrukachchippēḍu, Uttamaśōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, Miḷalaimāṅgalam and Aparāyita (Aparājita)-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. The substitution of the '*sabhās*' of these five villages for '*Brāhmaṇa-ūrḡaḷ*' makes it plain that the *sabhā* was the functioning body in Brāhmanical villages. This class of constituency, as indeed any other such as *ūr*, *nagara*, etc., was not a promiscuous jumbling of varied interests as one finds at present. Unless one confounds ancient institutions with modern ones, no different and contrary view could be validly put forth. The different appellations such as *ūr*, *nagara*, *sabhā*, etc., by which the administrative bodies of villages were called, show the different nature of their constitution. If the village was one of Veḷḷāṅ landlords with the necessary families of farmers, artisans, barbers, potters, washermen, doctors, etc., it had the assembly of the *ūr*, the members of which body were Veḷḷāṅ landlords. If the village was one of merchantmen, traders and men engaged in manufacture and industry, it was subject to the assembly of the *nagara*. And if it was a Brāhmanical village having in it mostly Brāhman landlords with such families of farmers, etc., as were necessary for the well-being of the village and the cultivation of the lands in it, it had the *sabhā* for its management. The very formation of the different kinds of villages and the different appellations by which the functioning bodies, viz., *ūr*, *nagara* and *sabhā*, were chosen to be so termed sufficiently indicate that there was no admixture of all classes of men in any one of them. Some of the functions discharged by the various assemblies might be similar and even identical; but it cannot account for a medley of members in any one of them. To judge from the transactions that have come down to us it seems that each one of the functioning bodies known by the different names which they bore, was a pure and unadulterated assembly functioning for a particular group or constituency. It will be unreasonable to think that in the council of the *ūr* or the *sabhā*, the landlords were represented by the potter, barber, washerman and the *ryots* who cultivated their lands and did some kind of work or other receiving the *vr̥tti* assigned therefor. Though in the generality of cases, a village is described as being situated in a sub-division of a district there were some which were directly under a district. These villages appear to have been considerably big towns having in them several large quarters and hamlets subject to the control of various constitutional bodies; they may be likened to Presidency towns like Madras, Bombay, etc. Even here, the different bodies functioned for different classes.

Though the inscription under publication does not throw light on the political history of the time to which it relates, the information which this and the allied records cited above furnish, viz., that the class of villages going by the name-ending Chaturvēdimāṅgalam consisted exclusively of Brāhman land-owners and had an administrative body known by the special term *sabhā*, has been shown above to be of great value. The further information contained in the inscription that the donees who numbered one thousand and eighty were reputed for knowing 'with meaning' the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were capable of expounding them, and this especially in the century that preceded the advent of Śāyana, is sure to be welcomed by scholars. We need hardly say that by *Śāstras* are meant the subjects forming the *Vēdāṅgas*.<sup>1</sup> Had the inscriptions cited above not stopped with mentioning the fact that the Chaturvēdimāṅgalams referred to therein were divided into shares and given to the number of Brāhmins specified, viz., 1080, 108 and 60 who had studied the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and were *vyākhyātās* of them, but had furnished also their names, we would be in a position to know their attainments. The Tanḍantōḷ-

<sup>1</sup> The author of the *Amarakōśa* (3, 3, 179) defines *Śāstras* as *Nidāna* and *granthas*, and the commentary of Mahāśvara adds that by *granthas* are meant *Vyākaraṇādāyab* (Nirṇayasāgar Edition, 1907, p. 327).

tam plates,<sup>1</sup> though incomplete, besides saying that the chief Dayāmukha after duly informing the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>2</sup> got the village which acquired the name Dayāmukhamaṅgalam granted to no less than 308 Brāhmaṇa scholars of *Vēdas* and *Smritis*, give us the names of the donees. The list of persons,<sup>3</sup> though only partially preserved, gives the names of 108 *Chaturvēdins*, 28 *Trivēdins*, 24 *Shaḍaṅgavids* and about ten *Kramavids*, all of whom must have known the meaning of the hymns. It will be strange if a *Shaḍaṅgavid* did not know the import of the *mantras* for the very object of the *Niruktabhāshya*, one of the *Shaḍaṅgas*, was to fit a student to easily grasp the sense of the hymns.<sup>4</sup> As the first part of the name of each one of the villages of this class is a sure indicator of the name of the king or chief that founded the village and thus points also to the time when it came into being, and as the second part testifies to the attainment in the Vedic lore of the donees of the village, we are enabled to say from the names of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams preserved in inscriptions that in different parts of South India there were large numbers of Vedic scholars from the 7th century down to the 13th. The names Simhaviṣṇu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>5</sup> Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>6</sup> Naraśiṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>7</sup> Paramēśvara-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>8</sup> Śivachūlāmaṇi-māṅgalam,<sup>9</sup> Vijayānkura-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>10</sup> Avaniṅārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>11</sup> Ēkadhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>12</sup> Vayiramēga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>13</sup> Mārapidugudēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>14</sup> Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>15</sup> Pallavaṅmahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>16</sup> Aparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>17</sup> and others establish the patronage extended by the Pallava kings to men of Vedic learning from the 7th to the 9th century A.D. That the same spirit animated the Chōlas who were the political successors of the Pallavas, accounts for the foundation and grant of villages and cities going by the names Viśaiyālaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>18</sup> Kōḍaṅḍarāma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>19</sup> Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>20</sup> Jananātha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>21</sup> Gaṅḍarāditya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>22</sup> Aṅṅijigai-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>23</sup> Śōlamārttāṇḍa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>24</sup> Rājāsraya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>25</sup> and those that were called after the Chālukya-Chōlas that followed Adhirājendra, and for the continuance of the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* from the eighth century to the thirteenth, patronised as it was by the kings and chiefs who had high regard for it.

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.

<sup>2</sup> These plates were at first relegated to Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 f.), but while editing the Pattattālamāṅgalam grant, I pointed out that they must correctly be assigned to Nandivarman Pallavamalla (above, Vol. XVIII, p. 117).

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 531-535.

<sup>4</sup> The selection of *riks* for comment is supposed to have been made with such care that with a perfect understanding of their significance and with a thorough grasp of the lucid etymological explanation of the words occurring in them as furnished by the author of the *Nirukta*, it was believed that the student of the *Vēdas* would be able to know the meaning of other *mantras* without difficulty. The hymns and words treated in the *Nirukta* and the comment offered on them were considered sufficient to form a ready reference for other *mantras*. *Ētāṅga pariṅṅātēshu śakyatē mantrārthaḥ pariṅṅātum tē ēva jñāpakā bhavanti*. (Durga's commentary on the *Nirukta*: Introduction).

<sup>5</sup> No. 265 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

<sup>6</sup> No. 9 of the same collection for 1930-31.

<sup>7</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 402, 404, 405.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [28].

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [23].

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 325.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 529n.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [27].

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [28].

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. [22], 321.

<sup>17</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3.

<sup>18</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 327.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 103.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. [23]n. and No. 20 of 1928-29.

<sup>25</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 228.



In some cases, the term Chaturvēdimāṅgalam seems to have been contracted into Maṅgalam and such are those that had for their functioning body the *sabhā*. As instances may be cited Varaguṇamaṅgalam, Triyambakamaṅgalam, Kattāraimaṅgalam, Paraiśumaṅgalam, Māramaṅgalam, Avanipaśēkaramaṅgalam and Kaṇṇūṅōmaṅgalam mentioned in a Pāṇḍya grant of the time of Varaguṇa II.<sup>1</sup> All these places were in the Tinnevely District and their foundation by Pāṇḍya kings takes us from the sixth to the ninth century A.D., when Kaṇṇūṅō, Māravarma, Varaguṇa and Śrīmāra flourished. The Pāṇḍya king Parāntaka Neḍuṅḍaiyaṅ (A.D. 770) is said in the Vēlvikuḍi plates to have founded Śrīvaramaṅgalam,<sup>2</sup> so termed after one of his surnames. Maṅgalam was further contracted into Maṅgai as in Varaguṇamaṅgai and Śrīvaramaṅgai.

If we carefully study the constitution of Dayāmukhamaṅgalam as detailed in the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>3</sup> of the 8th century A.D. and compare it with what is said about the constitution of the villages as described in the mediæval Pāṇḍya inscriptions cited above, we can clearly see that the principles followed were the same both in the 7th and 13th centuries A.D.

i. The newly constituted village was, in each case, divided into a number of shares, the number being some more than the number of donees intended to be provided for. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the principal donees numbered 1,080 and the shares made were 1,200. In the grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 48 while the actual number of shares made were 65. In the case of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the principal donees numbered 108 and the actual number of shares made were 147. In the earlier Tanḍantōṭṭam plates it was intended to provide chiefly for 308 persons but extra shares are actually mentioned.

ii. The donees in all the grants of Chaturvēdimāṅgalams (or simply Maṅgalams in the earlier grants) were Brāhmins well versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*. While some of the mediæval Pāṇḍya records speak of the donees as *Vēdamum Sāstramum pōy vyākhyātūkkalāy irukkum*, others add the word *poruṭpaḍa* before *pōy*. In place of this description, we have in the earlier Tanḍantōṭṭam plates: *Vēda-traya-smṛiti-ḥṣhām vidushām dvijānām*.<sup>4</sup> In the list of donees, we notice there were more persons styled *Chaturvēdi* than *Trivēdi* or *Shaḍaṅgavid*.

iii. All the records state that the villages had temples in them, or contemplate the construction of temples in them, meant for the use of the donees and make provision for them.

iv. In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates, the extra shares, numbering 120, are stated to be for *dēvadāna-paniśey-virutti-paṅgu*. Here *dēvadāna* may either be taken independently or as qualifying the next *paniśey*. The phrase may be construed in two ways, viz., (i) 'shares meant for the *dēvadāna* and shares for the maintenance of those who had to render service or (ii) shares for the maintenance of those that had to render service pertaining to the *dēvadāna*'. The former meaning is obtained by taking *dēvadāna* and *paniśey-virutti* as separately qualifying *paṅgu*, and the latter is obtained by considering *dēvadāna* as qualifying *paniśey-virutti* which qualifies *paṅgu*. As it is seen from the other records cited above that the extra shares were meant both for the temple and for the various kinds of servants, we think it better to adopt the former view. The grant of Ravivarman-chaturvēdimāṅgalam provides 12 shares for 12 Bhaṭṭas who had to recite the *Vēdas* in the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār and two shares each for the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 132.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 517 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 520, V. 9.

temples of Śrī-Rāma-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār and Pāṇḍimādēvīśvaramuḍaiyār and one share for Toṇḍaimān-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār. The earlier Dayāmukhamaṅgalam grant provides five shares for Tiruvaḍigal, i.e., Viṣṇu, and two shares for Mahādēva.

v. The grant of Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam provides three *ṛittis* for the teachers of the *Vēdas*, one for the teachers of the *Sūtras*, one and three-fourths for two doctors, half for *ambadiyas*, half for village accountants, one-fourth each for drummer, potter, blacksmith, goldsmith and washerman, half for carpenter, three-eighths each for *irāṅkollī* and barber, three-fourths for village watchman and one-eighth for *vettiyāṅ*. The earlier Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates provide one share each for the reader of the *Mahābhārata* and the drummer, one share for each of the three *madhyasthas*, two shares for a doctor, three shares for the maintenance of the head-slucce and the village reservoir, besides some shares allotted to a number of persons who appear to be servants and performers of worship in temples.

vi. Other *ṛittis* such as those for doctors, watchmen (or police), library, etc., provided for in the constitution are of wider interest meeting as they do the requirements of health, education, police, etc.

To an earlier date belong the Kūram plates of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. The village of Kūram in the Chingalpet District bore the surname Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>1</sup> evidently so named after the donor Vidyāvinīta, a Pallava chief and subordinate of Paramēśvaravarman I. The same chief built the Śiva temple of Vidyāvinīta-Pallava-Paramēśvara in the centre of the village of Kūram and requested the king to make a grant to it. In compliance with this request, Paramēśvara I made the gift of the village of Paramēśvaramaṅgalam divided into 25 shares of which 20 shares were given to 20 Brāhmaṇas versed in the four *Vēdas*, 3 shares to two persons who had to perform the divine rights and look after the temple repairs, one share was set apart for supplying fire and water to a *maṅḍapa* and one share for the reading of the *Bhārata* in that *maṅḍapa*.<sup>2</sup> Though the grant relating to the constitution and gift of the village of Vidyāvinīta-chaturvēdimāṅgalam has not come down to us, yet a reference found in the Paramēśvaramaṅgalam grant, which was issued in the reign of the same king, i.e., Paramēśvaravarman I, indicates that it was bestowed on 108 families of Brāhmaṇas that were studying the four *Vēdas*.<sup>3</sup> The Udayēndiram plates of Nandivarman register the grant of the village of Udayachandramaṅgalam to 108 Brāhmaṇas: In it provision is made for a physician and for one that had to perform worship (in temple).<sup>4</sup>

The foundation of the numerous Chaturvēdimāṅgalams and the grant of them as *brahmadēyas*, or *agrahāras* by successive generations of kings of various dynasties that held sway in South India, as evidenced by the names of villages noticed above, though the grants relating to them have not yet come to light, are sure indications of the progress of the Vedic culture and testify to the increase in the numerical strength of the Vedic exegetes from the end of the sixth century to the end of the thirteenth,—the three Pāṇḍya grants of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I (A.D. 1190-1215), Māḍavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 1235-1251) and Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-1271) taking us almost to the time of the advent of Sāyaṅachārya, the prodigious commentator on all the *Vēdas*, and reflect on the mass of material that must have been available in his day and the number of scholars that must have existed then.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VII, Nos. 32 and 33-A.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I., Vol. I, p. 147 and text-lines 51-2. Provision for fire and water corresponds to 'hot and cold weather charges'.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150, text-line 49 f.

<sup>4</sup> S. I. I., Vol. II, pp. 372-3.

Besides the grant of *brahmadēya* villages of the description given above, the kings and chiefs also provided richly for colleges wherein the *Vēdas* were taught.<sup>1</sup> Rural administrative assemblies and even private individuals were not wanting in making contributions, according to their might, to the cause of Vedic learning.<sup>2</sup> The charities of the Vaiśya Dāmayaṅ Mādhavaṅ recorded in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription of Vīrarājendra included provision for the teaching of the *Vēdas*. One of the early epigraphs of Uttaramallūr,<sup>3</sup> which is partially built in, makes provision for a *Bhaṭṭa-ṛitti* by a lady named Śannaichchāṇi also called Uttaramallūr-Nāṅgai, stipulating that the holder of the *ṛitti* must be one that has no share in the village but is well versed in at least one of the *Vēdas*, in the *Vyākaraṇa* and the two *darśanas* of the *Mīmāṃsā* as well as the *Nṛīta* (*Nirukta*)-*bhāshya* and is capable of expounding the *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya-bhāshya* with *vārttikas*, and *Vaiśēshika* with *Ṭikā*, and that he must remain in the *maṭha* erected by that lady on the bank of a tank which she had caused to be dug. The inscription also speaks of an examination to be held at the end of a course of three years. There is thus room for thinking that all through the Hindu period of Indian history, the study of the *Vēdas* and *Vēdāṅgas* and their exposition must have been pursued zealously.

We have now to consider how many of the mediæval Pāṇḍya kings bore the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara and settle also which one among them is the king represented in the larger Tirupūvaṇam plates. During the past several years, a large number of inscriptions belonging to this period have been collected and noticed in the *Annual Reports on South-Indian Epigraphy*. None of them gives any genealogy: most of them give only the regnal years and not the corresponding years of any known era. It is mainly due to the efforts of the late Professor Kielhorn, Swamikannu Pillai and Sewell in verifying the astronomical details found in some of them that epigraphists have been able to register the important facts and events revealed in inscriptions about these kings in some chronological order.<sup>4</sup> The fact that several members of the family had been ruling at one and the same time and over the same tract, besides swelling the number of kings that could possibly cover a given period of years, has made it difficult to attribute particular achievements to particular kings. If we leave out the mere texts of some of the inscriptions of these mediæval Pāṇḍya kings published in the volumes of the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), the records of almost all of them remain still to be critically edited. The notices made in the *Annual Reports* on the Madras collections are our only guide. But these reports, however valuable they are, cannot be substitutes for full texts of inscriptions, as they could not furnish all the information the inscriptions contain.<sup>5</sup> At present, two kings of the name Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara are taken cognisance of and they are assigned the accession dates A.D. 1190 and A.D. 1237. To the first king of that name all records commencing with the introductions *Pūviṅkiḷatti*, *Pūtalamaḍandai* and *Pūtalavanitai* are being assigned. The second rests purely on the results of the astronomical calculations. The reasons for the assignment of the three different introductions to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I are not known. We need not concern ourselves with ascertaining as to when this idea started and why all the three introductions were

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 222-3. The Bāhūr plates (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 513ff.) provide for a *Vidyāsthāna*. See also *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1918, part II, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Nos. 312 and 316 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 322.

<sup>4</sup> It was the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai that took up all the dates and made a serious attempt at fixing the initial years of reign of several kings, of course having before him the results of the labours of Kielhorn.

<sup>5</sup> For instance it is beyond the scope of the reports to give the names with other details of the numerous officials and chiefs figuring in the inscriptions and it is needless to say how such information would be of immense help in the critical publication of any single inscription of a particular king. The geographical items occurring in inscriptions are also too numerous to mention in such a publication.



C. Pāvīṅkījāti—contd.		C. Pāvīṅkījāti—concl.	
No.	Date.	No.	Date.
303/29-30	9+1+1st year.	685/16	13th year+2,230 days.
519/11	9+1+1st year.	687/16	13th year+2,313 days.
313/23	9+3rd year.	78/28-29	13th+8th year (13th+2,140 days.)
654/16	*+3rd year.	35/27	13th+7th year.
655/16	*+3rd year.	613/26	13th+8th year.
80/28-29	13th year.	502/16	13th+8th year (13th+3,090 days).
546, 549, 550/16	13th year and 148 days. 13+1st year.	37/24	13th+9th year.
412/S. I. J., V.	13+1st year.	40/24	13th+9th year.
31/27	13+1st year.	375/29-30	13+10th year.
269/29-30	13+1st year.	319/23	13+10th year.
295/29-30	13th year+500 days.	123/08	13+11th year.
275/29-30	13th year+902 days.	616/26	13+12th year.
431/29-30	13+3rd year.	99/07	13+12th year.
20/27	13+3rd year.	415/S. I. J., V.	13+13th year.
581/15	13+4th year.	322/23	13+13th year.
328/29-30	13+5th year.	54/27	13+13th year.
684/16 This is connected with No. 685/16	13+5th year.	298/27-28	13+14th year.
545/22	13+5th year.	59/28-29	13+14th year.
677/16 } These are connected with	13+5th year.	60/28-29	13+15th year.
679/16 } No. 678/16.	13+5th year.	279/29-30	13+47** days.
509-510/16	13th year+1,445 days.	466/16	* 1st year.
678/16	13th year+2,230 days.	94/07, 555/16, 25/24, 29/28-29 and 268/27-28.	
680/16 and 682/16	13th year+5th (13th+2,230 days).		
683/16	13th year+2,312 days.		

By a glance at list A, it will be observed that six of the inscriptions, which are dated after the 4th year and perhaps also another, single out the 4th year of reign and count fresh regnal years or days from that date. And in going through list B, it will be seen that the year 3 is singled out in almost all the inscriptions. Similarly a glance at the dates of the inscriptions in list C will show that the years 3, 9 and 13 are marked years. In the last list, all the inscriptions after the 3rd year up to the 9th year are marked as 3 *plus*, those after the 9th up to the 13th year are marked 9 *plus*, and the rest dated later than the 13th are marked as 13 *plus*. The special treatment, which these years get in the respective introductions, seems strongly to point out that the kings represented in them might be different. Secondly, there is not much in common in the three introductions. In fact, nothing of importance is recorded in any of them. It is further worthy of note that the latest regnal years in the three introductions are different. The first, *i.e.*, Pātala-

*maḍandai* extends to 15 years, the second, *i.e.*, *Pūtalavaṇṇitai* to 11 years, and the third, *i.e.*, *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* to 28 years. Again, these lists show that there is no room for considering that a single king employed one of the introductions up to a certain year of his reign, then adopted the second and lastly the third. Neither could it be said that in a particular locality preference was given to one or the other of the introductions, for we find that in the same place more than one of the introductions are used. All the reasons recorded above indicate clearly that the kings who used them must be different. Can palaeography be adduced as a ground for ascribing the three introductions to one sovereign? That ground is of little value in a case where there were more kings than one ruling at the same time and over the same tract: and after all it can at best show only a period of time and no fixed years. As far as I am able to judge, there is a gradual development in characters from the inscriptions with *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction through *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* to *Pūtalavaṇṇitai*. The difference between the first and the last only is somewhat marked, but may be due to the skill of the scribes or other causes.

We shall now see whether the evidence of the astronomical details furnished in the above collection and their verification support or controvert the finding we have arrived at above or remain neutral. In the collection of 16 epigraphs with *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction there is but a single one that supplies us with details of date fit for calculation, while there are at least three in the *Pūtalavaṇṇitai* group and 6 in the *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* epigraphs. All of them except one of the *Pūtalavaṇṇitai* group have been examined and their equivalents determined as noted under:—

No. 297/27-28 *Pūtalamaḍandai*. 9th year, Mīna, . . . . . *dvitiyā*, Saturday, Rōhiṇī. This date was calculated for Jaṭāvarman I of *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* introduction with A.D. 1190 as the date of accession and equated to A.D. 1199, February, 27, Saturday, with the remark that Rōhiṇī was not current on the day. The date is irregular.

No. 370/16 *Pūtalavaṇṇitai*. 3+7th year, Mārgaḷi 20 tēdi, Sunday, *saptamī*, Uttara-Bhādrapadā. 7th Year is given in the inscription as 2,690 days. This date correctly works out to Sunday, 16th December, A.D. 1246 and it was 20 Mārgaḷi. The note of the late Mr. Swamikannu Pillai against this is "The Epigraphist says that the introduction is that of Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara I, but the day of solar month which is a characteristic indication points only to the later reign, that of Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara II of A. D. 1237".

No. 720/16 *Pūtalavaṇṇitai*. 2nd year, Mīna 22, śu. 10, Wednesday, Pushya. "On Wednesday, 16th March A.D. 1239 (=22 Mēsha), śu. *daśamī* ended at .53 and Pushya at .19 of day. This was the 2nd year of the same Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara as the above."

No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (*Pūtalavaṇṇitai*)—2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśīrṣhā. Not calculated. See below, p. 82 for equivalent.

No. 80/28-29. *Pūvīṅkiḷatti*. 13th year, Āṇi 19, śu. *trayōdaśī*, Tuesday, Mūlam. "Probably A.D. 1250, June 14, Tuesday; f.d.n. .39. The tithi was, however, *chaturdaśī* which was current till .85 of the day."

No. 337/16. Do. 3+4th year, Karkaṭaka, 13 tēdi, śu. 12, Monday, Jyēshthā=A.D. 1196 (which was the 7th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulasekhara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1190), Monday, 8th July (=13 Karkaṭaka) on which day śu. 12 ended at .89 and Nakshatra Jyēshthā at .44 of day.

No. 545/22. Do. 13+5th year, Kanni 9, śu. 14, Thursday, Śatabhishaj =A.D. 1207, September 6, Thursday; .97; .44.

No. 313/23. *Pūvīṅkiḷatti*. 9+3rd year, Vṛiśchika 27, Friday, *dvādaśī*, Śōdi =Friday, 23rd November, A.D. 1201. As pointed out by Swamikannu Pillai (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1924*, p. 88), the solar month-date is Vṛiśchika 27 according to the Sūrya-Siddhānta. The framer of the inscription must have obtained it from a *Pañchāṅga* calculated according to that system. There are instances of this kind.

No. 322/23. *Pūvīṅkiḷatti*. 13+13th year, Karkāṭaka 25, ba. 10, Tuesday, Kārttigai=A.D. 1215, July 21, Tuesday. The *tūhi* ba. 10 commenced at '97 of the day and the *Nakshatra* Kārttigai ended at '86 of day.

The Large Tiruppūvaṇam plates. *Pūvīṅkiḷatti*. 13+12th year, Dhanus 4, ba. 11, Saturday, Svāti. Saturday, 29th November, A.D. 1214. (Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 890.)

In the above, it will be noted (i) that the particulars of date furnished in the *Pūṭalamaḍandai* collection do not work out correctly for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I whose reign commenced in A.D. 1190, (ii) that the two dated inscriptions of *Pūṭalavaṇitai* group examined so far work out correctly for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II who began his reign in A.D. 1237, and are incorrect for Kulaśekhara I whose accession fell in A.D. 1190, and (iii) that all the dated inscriptions in the *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* group have correct equivalents for the king with the initial year 1190. Apparently under the belief that the three different introductions belonged to one king, *i.e.*, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, the Epigraphist informed the calculator that the introduction of No. 370 (*Pūṭalavaṇitai*) is that of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I. Having considered this information also, the late Swamikannu Pillai noted that the day of the solar month—which is a characteristic indication—points only to the later reign, *i.e.*, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II of A.D. 1237. Thus, the evidence of the astronomical details leaves no doubt as to the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* being one of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II, and is positively against the earlier king whose accession fell in A.D. 1190 and who had the introduction *Pūvīṅkiḷatti*. The late Swamikannu Pillai's calculations and our finding that the records of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belong to a later reign is still further supported by two other inscriptions as we shall presently show. In the latter part of a *Pūṭalavaṇitai* record of Teṅkarai whose text is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, No. 301, are given the details 2nd year, Tulā, ba. 6, Thursday, Mṛigaśirshā. For Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I, whose accession took place between 8th April and 29th November, A.D. 1190, we cannot find a suitable date answering to these details in A.D. 1191 or 1192 which were respectively the current and expired 2nd year of his reign. But for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II, whose reign commenced between 24th July and 16th December, A.D. 1237, and whose 2nd year fell in A.D. 1238, the details work out correctly. In A.D. 1238, Tulā, ba. 6 ended at .90 and Nakshatra Mṛigaśirshā at .35 of day on Thursday, September 30. Like the two records calculated by Swamikannu Pillai, this one also proves that the introduction *Pūṭalavaṇitai* belongs to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara II and not to the first of that name. The other inscription which supports our finding is part of a triple record with *Pūṭalavaṇitai* introduction and is dated in the 3+7th year of reign and mentions Vikrama-Chōḷa.<sup>1</sup> Vikrama-Chōḷa figuring herein could be no other than the Koṅgu Chōḷa prince, who, a few years later, ascended the throne in A.D. 1255. That princes of other dynasties who were related to the Pāṇdyas were staying with and serving the Pāṇdyas kings before the time of their own accession is amply borne out by some of the inscriptions noticed in this paper.

It remains now to determine to which other Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara the introduction *Pūṭalamaḍandai* belonged. An inscription from Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulaśekharaḍeva without the title Māṇavarman or Jaṭāvarman, is dated in the year opposite the fourth and furnishes astronomical details—Karkāṭaka 27, Rōhiṇī, Saturday. This date was calculated by the late Swamikannu Pillai and found to agree correctly with A.D. 1166, 23rd July, Saturday.<sup>2</sup> From the method of dating of the record alone, it may be said that it is one belonging to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūṭalamaḍandai* introduction for, as had been observed by me already, the inscriptions of his reign had that characteristic

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 672 to 674 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Ephemeris*, Part II of Vol. I, pp. 87-88.

feature, viz., of counting fresh regnal years after the 4th. Thus, it is now clear that the three different introductions belong to three different kings who bore in common the title Jaṭāvarman and the name Kulaśekhara. The earliest of these kings was the one that had the *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction, the middle one adopted the *Pūvīṅkilattī* introduction, while the last used the *Pūtalavaṇṇitai* introduction. The first counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and had a reign of at least 15 years as at present known extending up to A.D. 1176-77, a special event in his career marking out the end of the fourth year of his reign (=A.D. 1166-7). This year the students of Pāṇḍya history know to be the year of commencement of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. There is thus no doubt that this must have been the Kulaśekhara who killed Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and waged a prolonged war against his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the allied forces of the Sinhalese generals sent by Parākrama-Bāhu of Ceylon. The importance of the year is brought out by the fact that the members of the assembly (*Mūlapariśad*) of Tirupputtūr in the Ramnad District wished to pay their respects to His Majesty the Pāṇḍya sovereign and utilised the amount realised in making tax-free, a land given to the temple in order to meet the expenses of their journey to Madura, the capital of the empire.<sup>1</sup> It is not unlikely that other villages also sent in their representatives to the capital for the same purpose. Perhaps it was then that Kulaśekhara launched on the momentous programme of war against Parākrama, laid siege to the city of Madura with a view to capture it, and forced Parākrama to sue for help to the king of Ceylon. We learn from the *Mahāvamsa* that the first event in this war was the siege of Madura by Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya. There is an echo of the fact in a lithic record of the South Koṅgu king Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga (A.D. 1149-83) who, it may be said, was interested in the welfare and success of Kulaśekhara, that young king being his sister's son. This lithic record which comes from Neruvūr\* states that the Koṅgu king, set out on an expedition against Madura with the express object of capturing it for his nephew (*marumaṅgaṅ*) Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, and that on the said occasion directed the *sabhā* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇimaṅgalam, which had been his camping ground, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ālvār Śrībalidēva. The year of this important record is specially worthy of note. It is dated in the 17th year of the reign of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅgaḍēva corresponding to A.D. 1166-7, the very year of commencement of the Pāṇḍyan civil war and one that was marked 4+1st year of the reign of Kulaśekhara. Thus, the evidence of all sources, viz., those furnished by the *Mahāvamsa*, the Neruvūr and Tirupputtūr inscriptions and the computation of astronomical details with the solar day, which the calculator regards as a characteristic indication, occurring in an epigraph dated in the 4+1st year, which kind of dating, we note, is a characteristic feature of the inscriptions with *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction, bear out the particular importance of that year and single out the Kulaśekhara of the Pāṇḍyan civil war. If more evidence is needed to further corroborate the identity of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara of *Pūtalamaḍandai* introduction with Kulaśekhara of the civil war, it is supplied by a Tenkarai inscription with that identical introduction, dated in the 3rd year of reign, telling us that the chief Śōḷaṅ Śilambaṅ *alias* Virachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of prince (*Perumāḷ*) Virachōḷadēva of Ten-Koṅgu was already in the vicinity of Madura.\* Koṅgu-Chōḷa inscriptions leave no doubt as to Virachōḷa being a prince of that dynasty that eventually succeeded Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga noticed above. And the year of the inscription, which is A.D. 1164, shows that the chief was there immediately prior to the commencement of the war and the purpose is evident: and the Neruvūr inscription explains it by telling us as to what followed. It speaks of the premeditated action of Kulaśekhara.

<sup>1</sup> No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1908.

<sup>2</sup> No. 336 of the same collection for 1927-28.

<sup>\*</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 296.



Before proceeding further, it may be advantageous to consider here the relationship of some of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings found in inscriptions. Tamil epigraphs, when they intend to convey definite relationship, use appropriate and unambiguous terms to denote them. We meet with terms like *tiruttagappanār*<sup>1</sup> or *ayyar*<sup>2</sup> for father, *annālvī*<sup>3</sup> or *aṇṇar*<sup>4</sup> for elder brother, *akkaṇ*<sup>5</sup> for elder sister, *dēviyār*<sup>6</sup> for queen, *maḡaṇār*<sup>7</sup> or *piḷḷaiyār*<sup>8</sup> for son, *maḡalār* or *peṇ-piḷḷai*<sup>9</sup> for daughter, *marumaḡaṇār*<sup>10</sup> for nephew or sister's son, *maittuṇṇār*<sup>11</sup> for brother-in-law, *ammāy*<sup>12</sup> for uncle, *ap-pāṭṭar*<sup>13</sup> for great grandfather, etc. To denote simply a predecessor, be he distant or near, or any elder or senior member, deceased or living, the terms *periyavar*, *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇṇaṇār* are employed. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, I pointed out, by two telling instances, that *periyadēvar* or *periyāṇṇaṇār* cannot definitely indicate a father.<sup>14</sup> One of the inscriptions found at Puravari near Nagarcovil, dated in the 16th year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya Māḡavarman Śrīvallabhadēva speaks of a son of the king by name Kulaśēkharadēva<sup>15</sup> and another inscription found at Kōṭṭaikkaruṅḡalam in the Tinnevely District, dated in the 2nd year and 600th day of the same king's reign, states that the Virēsvaramuḡaiyār was re-named Kulaśēkhara-Isvaramuḡaiyār after the name of the king's father, thus letting us know that Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha's father was also called Kulaśēkhara.<sup>16</sup> Here, therefore, there are two Kulaśēkharas, one being the grandfather of the other. Both of them may be tentatively assumed to have borne the title Jaṭāvarman from the fact that the middle member Śrīvallabha was styled Māḡavarman. One other fact that is known is that Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha flourished about the middle of the 12th century A.D. being a contemporary of Viraravivarman-Tiruvaḡi, in all probability a ruler of Vēṇāḡu, for whom a date Kollam 336 (A.D. 1161) has been discovered.<sup>17</sup> There is thus every possibility of Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha's son being that Kulaśēkhara in whose reign, in about A.D. 1166-7, the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country commenced. As we have already shown that the war must have been started in the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara who had the introduction *Pūtalamaḡandai*, our assumption that Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha's son Kulaśēkhara might be a Jaṭāvarman becomes strengthened and his ancestry also settled. With this information before us, we cannot but assign the Kallaḡakuṛichi inscription,<sup>18</sup> dated in the 2nd year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanchakravartin Kulaśēkharadēva, which mentions *periyāṇṇaṇār* Śrīvallabhadēva, to Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkharadēva with *Pūtalamaḡandai* introduction, and regard the Śrīvallabha referred to therein as being identical with Māḡavarman Śrīvallabha of A.D. 1161, the father and predecessor of king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūtalamaḡandai* introduction.

With the materials available to us from inscriptions and other sources we have shown the significance of the end of the 4th year of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara that started the civil war and noted that it marks the day of triumph of Kulaśēkhara over his adversary Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who, it is said, had been put to death even before the arrival of the forces from Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> No. 271 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 425, 426 and 448 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1913, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 314 and 315 of 1923.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> No. 31 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

<sup>9</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 234.

<sup>10</sup> No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 293 and 421.

<sup>12</sup> No. 327 of 1916.

<sup>13</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

<sup>14</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>15</sup> No. 50 of 1896.

<sup>16</sup> No. 271 of 1927-28.

<sup>17</sup> *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1896, p. 5, paragraph 15.

<sup>18</sup> No. 110 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

The year under consideration is thus the last year of the reign of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. While Kulaśekhara is represented by inscriptions, there is every reason to expect the records of his adversary also. And I think there could not be any possible objection to say that the ill-fated Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is the Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with the introduction *Tirumagaḷ-puṇḍara*. In this connection, it may be noted that no other Parākrama-Pāṇḍya with a different introduction assignable to this period has at all come to light. So far as is known at present, his reign extends to 12 years, and if the year A.D. 1166 marks the end of his rule, his accession must be placed in A.D. 1154. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri expressed the view that Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya must have been a predecessor of or co-regent with either of the two Śrīvallabhas, and, judging from the position which the introduction of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha occupied in a record belonging to the time of Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya found at Kuruvitturai,<sup>1</sup> he said it was evident that the latter was a predecessor of the former.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion we have arrived at above, *viz.*, that Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya reigned from A.D. 1154 to 1166 well establishes this inference. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that Parākrama had a son named Vira-Pāṇḍya who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals according to the instructions given to them by their king Parākrama-Bāhu. Inscriptions of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III refer to an unnamed son of this Vira-Pāṇḍya and say that he fought along with his father against the Chōḷas and shared his defeat more than once. It is a question if the setting up of Vira-Pāṇḍya on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Sinhalese generals could be taken seriously, and whether it was at all recognised by the people, even if it were a fact. For all that we see Vira-Pāṇḍya had not the usual coronation ceremony. Neither are there any inscriptions attributable to his reign. From the moment of his father's death he had been contesting with Kulaśekhara for kingdom and crown. And so long as the reign of Kulaśekhara lasted, Vira-Pāṇḍya's rule may be said not to have commenced. Since we know from the records with the introduction *Pūtala-maḍandai* that Kulaśekhara held the reins of government till at least A.D. 1176, it may be said that Vira-Pāṇḍya commenced his rule in this year. To this end, the information furnished in two inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II, both dated in the 12th year and 157th day, *i.e.*, the 13th year also leads us. The records under reference come from Tiruvālaṅgāḍu in the North Arcot District and Tirumayānam in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and are almost exact copies. Though the latter record is fragmentary, Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar has, by carefully comparing it with the damaged portions of the former inscription, been able to fill in certain lacunae in it. He tells us that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśekhara, ignoring the good deeds done to him, proved a traitor, made an alliance with the king of Īlam and conspired with him against the Chōḷas. And some letters and presents despatched to the officers of Kulaśekhara, hinting that the Sinhalese king was an ally of their master, were intercepted by the Chōḷa king who directed the chief Pallavarāyaṇ to reinstate on the Pāṇḍya throne Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the former protégé of Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign which thus commenced in and synchronised with the fall of Kulaśekhara in A.D. 1176, did not last long, for we know from the Tirukkollambūdūr inscription that by A.D. 1182 he drove Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to the necessity of suing for help to the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga and this cost him his own crown and kingdom.<sup>4</sup> We have no direct information as to who this Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was, but, as had been assumed, he might be the son of Kulaśekhara.

We now pass on to notice another clear relationship mentioned in the inscriptions of the mediaeval Pāṇḍya kings. Numerous epigraphs of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha with the introduction

<sup>1</sup> No. 328 of the Mad. Ep. Colln. for 1908.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for 1909, p. 84, paragraph 29.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 187-8.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 436.

*Tirumādandaiyum* are registered in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy*. Four of these mention Sundara-Pāṇḍya as the king's son, and the fifth states that a royal order was issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya without specifying his relationship to the king.<sup>1</sup> They are dated in the 4th, 17th and 19th years, the last being of the 9th year of reign. Knowing the fact that Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha had a son named Sundara-Pāṇḍya, there is a possibility of taking Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, in whose 9th year record, a copy of a grant made in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha is registered,<sup>2</sup> to be this prince. If this were the case, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha would have to be assigned to the period A.D. 1193 to 1216, as the highest regnal year furnished for him in inscriptions is 23.<sup>3</sup> This is very unlikely to judge from the contents of some of the inscriptions of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha. That he was not far removed from the time of the Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I can be inferred from the fact that a chief of Adalaṅyūr-nāḍu<sup>4</sup> by name Mummudiśōḷaṅ Virasēkharar figures both in a 4th year inscription of his and in a 49th year record of Kulōttuṅga.<sup>5</sup> That he must have been quite near in point of time to Māṇavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya is made evident from the fact that a certain chief named Śēramāṅ Tōḷaṅ figures in the epigraphs of both these sovereigns. It is said that at the instance of this chief Parākrama-Pāṇḍya made a gift of the village of Śēngulaṅ *alias* Viraiyaviṭṭanallūr to the Mūlasthānam-uḍaiyār temple at Kattikkallūr :<sup>6</sup> and he figures as a signatory in a grant of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha.<sup>7</sup> It is further worthy of note that a grant made by the same chief is mentioned as a past transaction in a record of the 9th year of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara with *Pūtalamadandai* introduction. Thus, Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha appears to have ruled not long after Kulōttuṅga I, and immediately following Māṇavarman Parākrama, either as co-regent with or slightly before Kulaśēkhara of the civil war. Further, it is found that the chief Kāliṅgarāyaṅ was one of his principal advisers as well as of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I (*Pūvinḱilatti*).

From what we have discussed above it will be clear that there were the following lines of Pāṇḍya kings in the mediaeval period :—

- (i) the line of Māṇavarman Śrīvallabha headed by Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya. To it belonged Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara whose inscriptions have the *Pūtalamadandai* introduction, the king that was principally concerned in the civil war. His accession took place in A.D. 1162. On his side were the kings of the two Koṅgus and the Chōlas. Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was probably his son and successor. The termination of Kulaśēkhara's rule was brought about by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II in A.D. 1176, on his proving a traitor to the cause of his benefactor ; and in the short period from this date and A.D. 1183, the date of accession of Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, Vira-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, ruled.
- (ii) The line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya which counted himself, his son Vira-Pāṇḍya and the latter's son whose name is not revealed in Chōla inscriptions. There are strong grounds for supposing that this unnamed son must be Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

<sup>1</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 493 of 1909, Nos. 266 and 277 of 1927-28, No. 371 of 1929-30 and No. 326 of 1908.

<sup>2</sup> No. 683 of the same collection for 1905. The gift was made to the temple of Tiruvēḍagamūḍaiya-Nāya-pār at Tiruvēḍagam in Paganūr-kūṛram.

<sup>3</sup> No. 555 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>4</sup> No. 30 of the same collection for 1909.

<sup>5</sup> No. 32 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> No. 130 of the same collection for 1910.

<sup>7</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 295.

The attitude of this king, even at the very first year of his accession to throne, not only towards the Chōlas but also towards the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, who had all along been the allies of Kulaśekhara and Vikrama and formed formidable obstacles in the way of Vira-Pāṇḍya and his supporters, presupposes a chapter of enmity between them; and his deeds are a rehearsal in the reverse order of what had passed in the past. He kept both the kings of Koṅgu in prison and in chains and led them on to his capital to do honour to his triumphant return to the city. The humiliation which he caused to the Chōlas was no less.

- (iii) In the line of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, there was his son Sundara-Pāṇḍya who was old enough to be associated with him in the government of the country. This prince perhaps never succeeded to the throne, and if he did, he must have had a very brief reign in which he did not leave any inscriptions. Who his successor was, it is not possible to determine at present. But it appears certain that there was another Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha.

We cannot be sure if Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara with *Pūvīṅkiḷatti* introduction belonged to any one of the three lines noticed above or came of a different line. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II,<sup>1</sup> I pointed out that it is not absolutely certain that Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had a common father in Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya.

The simultaneous existence of more than one king reigning over the Pāṇḍya country leads us to think that one among them must have held the chief power and that the rest were subordinate to him, though independent in their own spheres. What determined the claim for the prime position in the kingdom, we are yet to learn. All that we could gather from the account of the civil war is that there was some fixed principle followed in the choice of or claim for the position of honour. It has been shown above that when the civil war commenced, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1167, Kulaśekhara, one of the claimants to the throne at Madura, had completed four years of his reign and Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, the other claimant, had reigned for 12 years. The Sinhalese chronicle and the Chōla and Koṅgu inscriptions lead us to think that the throne of the premier ruler at Madura fell vacant in A.D. 1167 and the succession to it was disputed by the rivals. For aught we see, most of the kings of the mainland supported the cause of Kulaśekhara while the other received succour from the neighbouring island. It still remains to be known who it was that ruled in Madura till A.D. 1167. If seniority among the rulers determined the succession to the throne, there could not have been rival claims. Though Parākrama had reigned for 12 years on the date in question, it was Kulaśekhara that was supported by most of the kings in the south. This suggests that the principle was different. Future researches alone can enlighten us on the issue.

Now about the length of the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I and about his successor. The highest regnal year<sup>2</sup> furnished for Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara I in inscriptions is 30 which takes us to A.D. 1219-20. In about A.D. 1218-19, as will be shown presently, he seems to have fallen seriously ill and much concern was felt about his recovery. An inscription discovered at Kannaṅūr (in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukkōṭṭai State) states that, on the representation of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumā, king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I issued an order in the 3rd year of his reign reducing the royal share of taxes due from two villages in

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> No. 246 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

Turumā-nāḍu in Kāṇa-nāḍu for the welfare and recovery from illness of Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār.<sup>1</sup> The question is who are meant by Alagapperumāḷ and Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār. At first sight it might appear that Alagapperumāḷ must have been the son of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and that by the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār, Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya himself must be meant. This is wrong. Since Alagapperumāḷ figures in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates with the prefix *Piḷḷaiyār*, there is reason to take him to be the son of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. He might have been continued to be called *Piḷḷaiyār* in later days also. In the plates, his high status is indicated by his having had under him an official bearing the designation 'adigāram.' As Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I was living at the time of the Kannaṇūr inscription, we think the term Ulagudaiya-Nāyaṇār must refer to him and not to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The concern of the prince about the father is natural. Another important fact that the inscription under reference reveals is that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, whose accession took place in A. D. 1216 and who appears to have been issuing records in his own name only from the 3rd year of his reign had been nominated already during the time of Kulaśekhara I and he might be said to have had a share in the government of the country even before his nomination. As we have no inscription dated later than the 29th year for Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I which, by the way, is the same as the third year of the reign of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, he must have succumbed to the disease referred to in the Kannaṇūr record. The Sanskrit verse at the beginning of the plates under publication tells us that the king was apprised of the fact of completion of the formation of the village of Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam by Sundarēśa (*Sundarēśād-avaḡata*). From the facts just noticed, it seems likely that by Sundarēśa is meant here Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Sundara's war against Kulōttuṅga III must have been conducted under the standard of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I or at least it must have been countenanced by him. In this connection, it may be noted that some of the persons that held offices under Kulaśekhara figure also in the records of Sundara. On the whole the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I appears to have been a prosperous one, undisturbed by any wars except in the closing years. The king seems to have had good regard for Vedic learning and patronised the scholars proficient in it by founding big villages and granting them as *brahmadēyas* provided with all facilities for good living. Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅalam is one of the biggest villages that was ever founded. To some extent the peace in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I must be attributed to the decline of the Chōḷa power which may be said to have commenced in the last decade of the 12th century A. D. not long after the interference of Kulōttuṅga III in Pāṇḍyan affairs ending in the accession of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman, when the Chōḷas lost their hold on Conjeeveram, the second great city of the empire. In the latter part of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III there were several factions in the Chōḷa country and though the heads of these factions recognised in a way the supreme authority of the Chōḷa emperor there is not much doubt that the peace of the country was greatly disturbed by the part played by the parties. The differences among them, which remained unremoved for a long time, contributed largely to the rapid weakening of the empire and gave the enemies of the Chōḷas, who had suffered seriously before, an opportunity to wreak their vengeance. The time was favourable for the Pāṇḍyas to muster their strength and resources to try final issues with the Chōḷas in order to wipe out their disgrace. Just three years before the

<sup>1</sup> No. 250 of the same collection. In another inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (date lost), *Piḷḷaiyār* Alagapperumāḷ figures as consecrating a God in the temple of Tiruvengaiṅāsal in Pudukkōṭṭai state and making a gift of land to it. It is added that the prince was in possession of the District at the time (No. 327).

end of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I, the Pāṇḍyas under the lead of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, won laurels in the field against the Chōlas and the kings of the two Koṅgu countries, and this practically brought the civil war to a culmination.<sup>1</sup> That this war was directed against the Chōla and Koṅgu kings prevents any possibility of taking Jaṭavarman Kulasēkhara I and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I to be the descendants of Kulasēkhara of the civil war with *Pūtalamaṇḍai* introduction.

Now we come to the consideration of the **geographical names**. The inscription under edition mentions a good number of districts and sub-divisions. They are : (1) Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, (2) Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam, (3) Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, (4) Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu and (5) Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanāḍu among Districts ; and (6) Mādakkuḷam, (7) Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷam, (8) Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷam, (9) Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nāḍu, (10) Poḷiyūr-nāḍu, (11) Karuṅguḍi-nāḍu, (12) Puṟapparaḷai-nāḍu, (13) Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu, (14) Kīṭ-Śembi-nāḍu, (15) Paṇaṅgalūr-nāḍu, (16) Kāṇai-Irukkai, (17) Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, (18) Tiruvāvaṇam, (19) Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu and (20) Kaḷavaḷi-nāḍu among sub-divisions. The villages under No. 1 are Parāntakanallūr and Taṇḍalai. No. 2 had Kappalūr, No. 3 Veliyāṟṟūr, No. 4 Madurai, No. 5 Śīru-Paśalai, No. 6 Madurai, No. 7 Māṇaṇūr, Śīru-kuḷattūr, Vellūṟkuṟuchchi and Vellūr, No. 8 Rājēndiram and Tiruppūvaṇam, No. 9 Āykkūḍi, No. 10 Aruṅguḷam and Poḷiyūr, No. 11 Kīḷ-Neṭtūr *alias* Kīrtiviśālayaṅallūr, No. 12 Puttūr, Kaḷikkūḍi and Miḷagaṇūr, No. 13 Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇōdanallūr, Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Māṇavīramaṅgalam, No. 14 Mālaṅguḍi, No. 15 Aḍikarai, No. 16 Iruṅchirai and Mittiravēli, No. 17 Viḍattal *alias* Mānābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Vellūr, Nakkamaṅgalam, Vāgaikūḍi, Tiruvāvaṇam, Tuttiyūr and Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai, No. 18 Marudūr and No. 19 Mēṟkuḍi and Aṇṇalvāy.

Of the Districts, **Miḷalai-kūṟṟam** and **Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam** have a separate history which is worth noting and which, owing to the formation of modern districts, has been badly misconceived. As regards the position of these two ancient territorial divisions, whether they were in the Chōla country or not, we have to know the southern limit of the Chōla country which would determine at once the northern boundary of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom.<sup>2</sup> It is stated in the Tamil *Śōḷamaṇḍalaśatakam*<sup>3</sup> that the boundaries of the Chōla country were the river Vellāru in the north and south, Kōṭṭaikkarai in the west and the sea in the east. A verse attributed to the Tamil poet Kambar calls the northern boundary Ēṇāṭṭu-Vellāru<sup>4</sup> and thus distinguishes it from the

<sup>1</sup> A later record of the time of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated in the 21st year of his reign (=A.D. 1237) tells us that owing to the imposition of taxes on *dēvadāna* lands during the time of the Kannaḍiyar there was no money in the treasury of the temple at Kōṭṭaiyūr in Kāṇa-nāḍu and that the temple authorities had to sell away some of the temple lands (No. 310 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). About the same time, we have an inscription at Tiruḷōkarṇam, dated in the 20th year of Rājarāja III which registers gifts made for the merit of the sons of Sōmaladēviyār the queen of Narasiṅha and the mother of Sōmēśvara of Dōrasamudram (No. 183 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State collection). These two inscriptions testify to the fact that the Hoysalas aided the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas.

<sup>2</sup> For the present we leave out of consideration the minor principalities : they will be dealt with separately.

<sup>3</sup> The verse runs as follows : it is given here for easy reference :—

Śelluṅ-kunapār-rirai-vēlai teṇpār-cheḷitta Vellāru  
Velluṅ-Kōṭṭaikkarai viḷaṅgu mēlpāl vaḍapāl Vellārō  
Ellaiy-oru-nāṅgiṇuṅ-kādam=irupā-nāṅgum=iḍam peridā  
Mallai vāḷvu taḷait-ōṅgum vaḷaṅ-chēr Śōḷa-maṇḍalamē ||

<sup>4</sup> The following is the stanza :—

Kaḍal kiḷakku-tterku=kkarai-puraḷ-Vellāru  
Kuḍa-tiśaiyir-Kōṭṭaikkaraiyām vaḍa-tiśaiyil  
Ēṇāṭṭu Vellār=irupattu-nār-kādam  
Śōṇāṭṭukk-ellaiyēṅa-chchōl ||

other Vellāru which formed the southern boundary of the country. Students unacquainted with the ancient Indian morality of warfare, which in most cases left the territories unaffected by the results of war, might think that the boundaries given above only represent what they were at the time when the author of the *Sōlamandalasatakam* and Kambar flourished, and as such, cannot be taken as true for earlier times. This notion is not correct. One can indeed see positive proof afforded by the statements of the two authorities, who were removed from each other in point of time and yet described in identical terms the boundaries, thus showing that the limits given were those in the past ages, not of their own. Annexation of territories did occur but they were rare. Whether rare or frequent, it must be further noted that such instances did not affect the geography of the place; and this will be made clear as we proceed. Another fact that is likely to mislead the student is the ancient practice of naming conquered territories after the names or surnames of the victor. It might be said that the fresh names given to places did not wipe out the older ones but were added on to them as later surnames to indicate, by the mere mention of the name with its surname, to whom or to which country the places originally belonged and who acquired it or re-named it in later times. Thus, in the double names such as Koṅg-āna Viraśōla-maṇḍalam, Gaṅga-maṇḍalam-āna Nigariliśōla-maṇḍalam, Toṇḍai-nāḍ-āna Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam, Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu, etc., one is clearly enabled to know what the ancient name of the district or province was in spite of its passing into other hands in later days. Here it might be added that it is the original name that survives in each case at the present day and not the later ones. For example, though the Pallavas ceased to be a ruling power after the Chōla Āditya I conquered their country in the 9th century A.D. and Rājarāja I gave that country the new name Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōla-maṇḍalam, it is the ancient name Toṇḍai-nāḍu or Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam that persists. Similarly, in the case of the Pāṇḍya country, which was first conquered by Parāntaka I in the 10th century A.D. and was re-named Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu in the 11th century, the name Pāṇḍi-nāḍu or Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam exists even today. The conquerors themselves carefully minded preserving the original names. Thus in the stamp of double names impressed on the places in inscriptions, there is sure indication as to what ancient dominion the places at first belonged.

Vellāru being the southern limit of the ancient Chōla dominions, the territory lying to the south of it must have belonged to any other kingdom than Śōṇāḍu or Śōla-maṇḍalam. That it was actually so is proved both by inscriptions and by the Tamil literature as will be seen in the sequel. Now we shall take up that portion of the Arantāṅgi Taluk which lies to the south of the Vellāru river, and therefore clearly outside the Chōla dominion, and see to what country it belonged. Roughly, this tract is something like a triangle with one of its points turned southwards ending in Tiruppuṇavāsal and having its base in the north running from west to east along the course of the river Vellāru as it flows into the sea just at the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi and east of Taṇḍalai. Out of this triangle, a portion on the north-western side falls in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. It will be observed that the line 79° 5' cuts this triangle almost into two halves, one in the east and the other in the west. The portion on the eastern side forms the seaboard and extends from the mouth of the Vellāru in the north to the mouth of the Pāmbāru in the south. The western portion adjoins the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Rāmnāḍ and Śivaganga Zamindaries and in this region the river Pāmbāru is seen to mark the western boundary of a portion of the southern part of the modern Arantāṅgi Taluk. Almost the whole of this tract of land was included in Miḷalai-kūrṅgam. This Miḷalai-kūrṅgam is a natural division, an island formed by the rivers Vellāru and Pāmbāru and the sea. Over it there reigned in early times a chieftain named Vēl-Evvi, of ancient

stock, and famous for the munificence of gifts which he made.<sup>1</sup> He was the immediate ancestor or a near relation of Vēl-Pāri who, like him, had earned a similar renown which made the Śaiva saint Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṅār celebrate him in one of the Tēvāram hymns.<sup>2</sup> Vēl-Evvi is said to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king Talaiyālangānattu-śeruveṅṅa-Neḍuñjeliyaṅ.<sup>3</sup> Vēl-Pāri's liberality was such that he is said to have presented away all the 300 villages over which he was lord.<sup>4</sup> If there is truth in these statements, the family of Evvi and Pāri should have ceased to exist as a ruling power in or immediately after the time of the Pāṇḍya Neḍuñjeliyaṅ and the tract of country formerly subject to them, of which the principal one was Miḷalai-kūrṅam, should have passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and included in their dominion, i.e., Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It is quite in agreement with this that the inscriptions refer to Miḷalai-kūrṅam as a district of the Pāṇḍya country. This ancient district of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam had three divisions named after the directions in which they lay, viz., Kiḷ-kūrṅu, the eastern division which adjoined the sea, Mēl-kūrṅu, the western division which included in it the villages adjoining the river Pāmbāru, and Naḍuvir-kūrṅu, which lay between these two. There are enough geographical references to the various divisions of this ancient district and the villages situated in them; but they lie scattered and unrecognised in the vast number of South Indian epigraphs. A mere collection of the references found in lithic records of past ages, arranged and classified under the three divisions named above, followed by the identification of the places mentioned therein and spotting them in a map is sure to remove much of our ignorance and misconception relating to this district and prove to be of value in locating easily fresh places that future discoveries might bring to light. The popular idea that all places included in the modern District of Tanjore must have belonged to the Chōḷas or, in other words, that the Tanjore District represents the ancient Chōḷa dominion is wrong and must account for the misconception that Miḷalai-kūrṅam with its sister district of Muttūrṅu-kūrṅam should have been in the possession of the ancient Chōḷas and included in their dominion. From what has been said above, it will be clear that excepting perhaps a small portion to the north of the Vēllāru river, the rest of the Arantangi Taluk lay outside the Chōḷa dominion and that this tract was first subject to the rule of Vēl-Evvi and subsequently passed into the hands of the Pāṇḍyas and was ever afterwards geographically included in Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam and formed a major portion of two of the divisions of the ancient district of Miḷalai-kūrṅam. The following is almost an exhaustive list of the villages in Miḷalai-kūrṅam found in the inscriptions of the South Indian epigraphical collection.<sup>5</sup> They are noted under the respective divisions to which they belonged and in such an order as would admit of easy identification.

<sup>1</sup> " Ōmbāv-igai mā-Vēl-Evvi " and " Teṅ-mudir Vēḷir " are the expressions used in describing him in *Puṅam* 24.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 2 of Sundaramūrti-Nāyaṅār's hymn on Tiruppugalār.

<sup>3</sup> *Puṅam* 24. The words used are " Miḷalaiyoḍu \* \* \* \* Muttūrṅu tанда korra-ni-kudai-kkoḍi-ṭēr-ccheḷiyaṅ."

<sup>4</sup> *Puṅam* 110. The relevant portion runs thus:—

Kaḍand-aḍu-tānai mūviruṅ-kūḍiy-  
uḍaṅṅaṅirāyiyum Paṅambu koḷaṅk-aridē  
Munnūr-ūrttē taṅ-Paṅambu-naṅ-nāḍu  
Munnūr-ūram pariśilar perṅaṅar.

In an inscription, Tiruvādvūr is said to have been situated in Teṅ-Paṅambu-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. (No. 423 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.)

<sup>5</sup> There is a valuable contribution in the *Koṅṅumalar* (Vol. IV, pp. 80f.) by Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan on ' Vēl-Evvi and his country ' where he has collected together most of the references to Miḷalai-kūrṅam and Muttūrṅu-kūrṅam found in inscriptions and Tamil classical works and has successfully established that these two Districts originally belonged only to Vēl-Evvi.



Mījalai-kūṛam. <sup>1</sup>		
Kīl-kūṛu.	Naḍuvīr-kūṛu.	Māl-kūṛu (Vaḍa-Pāmbōṛru-nāḍu)
Taṇḍalai. <sup>2</sup>	Ávuḍaiyārkōyil <sup>13</sup> or Tirupperundurai <i>alias</i> Pavitramāṇikka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.	Ásvatavattūr. <sup>21</sup>
Maṇamēlkuḍi <i>alias</i> Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapattinam. <sup>3</sup>	Tachohanemali. <sup>14</sup>	Áḷappirandāṅ-Būmiyūr. <sup>22</sup>
Mañjakkūḍi. <sup>4</sup>	Tufjalūr. <sup>14</sup>	Mājavār-mānikkam. <sup>23</sup>
Ēmbal <i>alias</i> Kaliyugarāmanallūr. <sup>5</sup>	Amarāḍi (or °ḍakki) maṅgalam. <sup>15</sup>	Sēndamaṅgalam. <sup>24</sup>
Ponparri. <sup>6</sup>	Paravilimaṅgalam. <sup>16</sup>	Ēṅāṅgaḷūr. <sup>25</sup>
Vaṅganagar. <sup>7</sup>	Viḷānkāttūr <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōḷanalūr. <sup>17</sup>	Mūmmōr.
Śeṅyāṅam <i>alias</i> Parākramapāḍḍiyā-nallūr. <sup>8</sup>	Pullūrkkūḍi. <sup>18</sup>	Tappīr-Āḍakkūḍi <i>alias</i> Daraṅi-vichchādiranallūr. <sup>26</sup>
Koḷuvaṅūr. <sup>9</sup>	Parāntakanallūr <i>alias</i> Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanallūr. <sup>20</sup>	Sundarapāḍḍiyānallūr. <sup>27</sup>
Veṭchiyūr <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōḷanalūr. <sup>10</sup>	Pudukkūḍi. <sup>20</sup>	Vaikundanallūr. <sup>28</sup>
Viḷattūr <i>alias</i> Jayaṅgaḍaśōḷanalūr. <sup>11</sup>		Nūḷambūr. <sup>29</sup>

The villages are arranged from north to south in the above list to dispense with the necessity of a map.

If the southern portion of the modern Arantangi Taluk is divided into two halves by drawing a vertical line north-south one can find without any exception all the places of the Kīl-kūṛu in the eastern half which adjoins the Bay of Bengal, and all the places of the Naḍuvīr-kūṛu on the western half, with the exception of Parāntakanallūr *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanallūr. The last men-

<sup>1</sup> This District was sometimes called Gāyavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu (No. 442 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30), which was one of its Divisions (551 of 1926). Besides the villages noted under each of the three Divisions, a few more are mentioned as being in Mījalai-kūṛam without specifying the Division to which they belonged. These are Muṅṅālai (No. 230 of 1926), Karuvili (No. 125 of 1912), Okkūr (No. 247 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Veḷḷūr (No. 393 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII), Vittūrpaṅṅu and Āḍūpi (No. 211 of the same Volume), Pārūr (No. 67 of *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1910), Tiruvindaḷūr (No. 547 of 1916), Perunāvalūr (No. 406 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V), Irumbāḷi (No. 265 of 1928-29), and Āḍumbār (No. 66 of 1927).

<sup>2</sup> Below, text-line 76.

<sup>3</sup> No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 210.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

<sup>7</sup> No. 360 of the *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1929-30.

<sup>8</sup> No. 462 of the same collection and No. 301 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>9</sup> No. 460 of the *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1909.

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; Vol. V, Nos. 301, 446; and *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48 and 52.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372; *A. S. S. I.*, pp. 48, 52; and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909, No. 461.

<sup>12</sup> Nos. 502 and 503 of the same colln. for 1925.

<sup>13</sup> No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

<sup>14</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301 and No. 425 of *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1911.

<sup>15</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* No. 15 of 1924 and No. 694 of 1916.

<sup>16</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 432.

<sup>18</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* No. 270 of 1929-30, No. 30 of 1908, No. 2 of 1931-32 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372 and Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>19</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 301 and 987 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection, Nos. 126 and 376.

<sup>20</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 457.

<sup>21</sup> *Mad. Ep. Colln.* for 1926, No. 551.

<sup>22</sup> Same collection for 1929-30, No. 240.

<sup>23</sup> Nos. 324, 492 and 591 of Pudukkōṭṭai State collection.

<sup>24</sup> No. 411 of the same collection.

<sup>25</sup> No. 372 of the same collection.

<sup>26</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 987.

<sup>28</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>29</sup> No. 519 of 1925 and Pudukkōṭṭai State collection No. 124.

tioned place is now changed in name and is called Irumbānāḍu. It is in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and the inscriptions of the place show that it bore the name Parāntakanallūr. The places noted above under Mēl-kūrṅṅu, also called Vaḍa-Pāmbāru-nāḍu, do not fall in the Arantangi Taluk. Three of them, viz., Mālavarmānikkam, Śēndamaṅgalam and Ēṇāngaḷūr are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. The finding of so many of the villages of Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam in South Arantangi Taluk and the adjacent part of Pudukkōṭṭai State convincingly proves that this was the region subject to the rule of the Vēl chieftain Evvi in the first instance. That this Kūrṅṅam is invariably stated in inscriptions from the time of Parāntaka I, i.e., from the beginning of the tenth century<sup>1</sup> downwards as being situated in Pāṇḍimaṅḍalam shows that it was acquired by the Pāṇḍyas from Vēl-Evvi and included in that territory. It is particularly worthy of note that even though the Chōlas obtained possession of the Pāṇḍya territory later in the days of Parāntaka I as is clearly indicated by the existence of the Chōla inscriptions, traces of the inclusion of the Kūrṅṅam originally in the Pāṇḍya country did not disappear but were on the other hand preserved and there is every reason to hold that the Vēl chieftain must have been subordinate to the Pāṇḍya king. Else the district would not have been termed as one in Pāṇḍimaṅḍalam. It would simply have been called Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam just like Urattūr-kūrṅṅam. All that the Chōla conquest meant was that the Chōla suzerainty was acknowledged by the Pāṇḍya king and his subjects. Some of the places of Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam have a history of their own which every student of Tamil literature must be aware of even though he may not know where the places themselves are. This history affords another strong proof that the region comprising the South-Arantangi Taluk was in early days included in the Pāṇḍya country. Maṇamēlkuḍi is the place of nativity of Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, the prime-minister of the Pāṇḍya king Nelvēli-pōr-venṅa-niṅṅāśir-Neḍumāraṅ (i. e., Neḍumāraṅ who acquired lasting fame by the conquest in the battle of Nelvēli), the king that was converted to the Śaiva faith by the efforts of Saint Jñānasambandha, the contemporary of Śiṅṅuṅḍa who was the general of the Pallava king that conquered Vātāpi which event we know as having taken place in the first half of the 7th century A.D. There is no room for thinking that the minister might have come from any other country than the Pāṇḍya. Speaking of him, Śēkkiḷār, the author of the Tamil *Periyapurāṇam* and the minister of the Chōla king of his day, distinctly states that Maṇamēlkuḍi was in the Pāṇḍya country and the minister hailed from there.<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions testify to the correctness of his geographical description.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Āvuḍaiyārkōyil is connected with the history of Māṅṅikavāchaka, another Pāṇḍya minister.

Now about Muttūrṅṅu-kūrṅṅam, which like Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam was subject to the rule of the Vēl chief Evvi and was included in the Pāṇḍya country. The very fact that the two districts were subject to the sway of one ruler suggests at once that Muttūrṅṅu-kūrṅṅam must lie adjacent to Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam, which, as shown above, occupied South-Arantangi Taluk and parts of Pudukkōṭṭai State and Rāmnād District. In determining the region in which this district lay and for knowing to which kingdom it belonged in early days, nothing will be so valuable as a collection of the epigraphs which refer to this district and identifying the places mentioned therein. The inscriptions which mention Muttūrṅṅu-kūrṅṅam are not many, but even the few that we have, are sufficient for

<sup>1</sup> No. 230 of 1926 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated 37th year of Parāntaka I mentions Muṅṅpālai in Miḷalai-kūrṅṅam in Paṇḍi-nāḍu.

<sup>2</sup> *Periyapurāṇam* (Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, vv. 1 and 8). The following are the verses:—Paṅṅu tol-pugaḷ-pPāṇḍi-naṅ-ṅāṭṭiḍai=chcheṅ-ṅelār-vayal=tiṅ-karumpiṅ-ayal-puṅṅu pūga-ppurambaṅai sūḷḷadadu maṅṅu vaṅṅaiyāṅ-ār Maṅṅamēlkuḍi.ḷ Inṅa nall-oḷukkattiṅṅāl iriḷā-tTēṅṅavaṅ Neḍumāraṅku śiṅ-tigaḷ maṅṅu mandirikaṅku mēl-āḷiyār oṅṅalar-chchēṅ-urudikkaṅ niṅṅuḷar.ḷ

<sup>3</sup> See foot-note 5, page 91 above.

locating it, since we know that it was contiguous to Miḷalai-kūrṅgam. The earliest inscription which mentions the district as being in the Pāṇḍya country is a record of the Chōla king Parāntaka I.<sup>1</sup> A few others call the province, in which Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam was situated, by the names Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam<sup>2</sup> and Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-nādu.<sup>3</sup> The villages mentioned in the inscriptions as being in Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam are Kaṭṭivayal,<sup>4</sup> Añjukōṭṭai,<sup>5</sup> Kappalūr<sup>6</sup> *alias* Ulaḡalaṇḍaśōḷanallūr, Aḍaṅgārimaṅgalam,<sup>7</sup> Muttūr<sup>8</sup> *alias* Uyyakkoṇḍaśōḷanallūr, Arayattūr,<sup>9</sup> Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam,<sup>10</sup> Māvalūr,<sup>11</sup> Kuruvaḍimidi<sup>12</sup> *alias* Jinēndramaṅgalam, Tittāṇam,<sup>13</sup> Tenṅalai,<sup>14</sup> Tiruppuṇavāyil,<sup>15</sup> and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.<sup>16</sup> The Taluk that adjoins the southern portion of Arantangi, in which we have traced most of the places of the various divisions of Miḷalai-kūrṅgam, is Tiruvāḍāṇai of the Rāmnād District. On the north-eastern side of the Tiruvāḍāṇai Taluk runs the river Pāmbāru which separates Rāmnād District from Arantangi Taluk of the Tanore District. Just as expected, we actually find almost on the western bank of this river, the villages Kaṭṭivayal, Añjukōṭṭai, Kappalūr, Muttūr, Aḍaṅgāri and Andanūr-Śirukambūr.<sup>17</sup> Tiruppuṇavāyil (Tiruppuṇavāsāl) is in the extreme south of Arantangi Taluk itself and adjoins the sea.<sup>18</sup> We have also the testimony of the Chōla minister Śekkiḷār to the fact that Tiruppuṇavāsāl was included in the Pāṇḍya country.<sup>19</sup> If there was room for misconception in the case of Miḷalai-kūrṅgam on account of its inclusion in the Tanjore District, there is none in the case of Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam. Tiruvāḍāṇai Taluk of the Rāmnād District could never have come under the early Chōla dominion. It is in this Taluk and in the Tirupattūr Taluk that the river Pāmbāru flows, on whose banks we have traced most of the places included in Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam.

Muttūrṅgu-kūrṅgam is believed by some to have been taken by the Pāṇḍya king Neḍuñjeliyan from Iruṅḡvēḷ. We shall now consider the question if this District could ever have been included in the territory of Iruṅḡvēḷ, who, like Vēḷ-Evvi and Pāri flourished in early days and was one among the chieftains defeated by the said Pāṇḍya. Tamiḷ literature and inscriptions both bear

<sup>1</sup> No. 266 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 425 and 429 of the same collection for 1913.

<sup>3</sup> No. 46 of the same for 1930-31.

<sup>4</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 266.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 408.

<sup>6</sup> The same collection for 1913, Nos. 425 and 429, *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 373 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 313.

<sup>7</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1918, No. 76.

<sup>8</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 426.

<sup>9</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 212.

<sup>10</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916, Nos. 17 and 33.

<sup>11</sup> No. 60 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>12</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1907, No. 408.

<sup>13</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926, No. 599.

<sup>14</sup> Same collection for 1930-31, No. 46.

<sup>15</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 213.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 436, and Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30, No. 295.

<sup>17</sup> Añjukōṭṭai is to the north-east of Tiruvāḍāṇai, Kaṭṭivayal is east by north of Añjukōṭṭai and about three miles to the west of the Pāmbāru river and Śirukambūr is to the west of the Pāmbāru river and north of Kaṭṭivayal. Kappalūr lies to the west of the Pāmbāru river and in the centre of the northern part of Tiruvāḍāṇai Taluk.

<sup>18</sup> Jñānasambandha and Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṅār describe it in these words:—

“Peruṅ-kaḍar-kāṇalvāy-ppuṇḍarigam malar-ppoygai śōḷṇḍa Puṇavāyilē”

“Kaḍar-kāṇalvāy-ppuṇḍarigam tōṇḍiṇḍu-emperumāṇ Puṇavāyilē.”

<sup>19</sup> Verses 984 to 993 mention the places in the Pāṇḍya country visited by Jñānasambandha before returning to his place. Among these Puṇavāyil is one (v. 891).

evidence to the fact that the territory over which Iruṅgōvēl-chiefs ruled was called Kōṇāḍu<sup>1</sup> and that its capital was Koḍumbāḷūr.<sup>2</sup> The question reduces itself to this 'Could Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam have been included in or was even adjacent to Kōṇāḍu?'. Kōṇāḍu is situated in the modern Pudukkōṭṭai State. A geographical analysis of the inscriptions of that State will show that Kōṇāḍu and its several divisions and sub-divisions occupied the whole of the Kuḷattūr Taluk and the northern portion of the Tirumeyyam Taluk. The southern part of the Tirumeyyam Taluk which is the southernmost part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, had in it another ancient district called Kāṇa-nāḍu and this Kāṇa-nāḍu<sup>3</sup> is stated to be a division of Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. It was contiguous to Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu. So then, between Kōṇāḍu which is reputed to be the territory of Iruṅgōvēl chiefs and Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam, there lay the two ancient districts of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu and Kāṇa-nāḍu, both belonging to Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam. This analysis will convincingly establish that the distant Muttūṟṟu-kūṟṟam which we have located in the north-eastern part of the Tiruvāḍānai Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District could never have been included in or was contiguous to Kōṇāḍu, the territory over which Iruṅgōvēl held sway, intercepted as it was by two other districts of the Pāṇḍya country.

*Geographical analysis of the inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.*

#### KŌṆĀḌU—

- (a) Aṇṇalvāyil-kūṟṟam :—Irumbāḷi, Madinūr, Teliṅgakulakālapuram (in Teṅ-Kōṇāḍu) *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapaṭṭiṇam and Viśālūr,—all in Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (b) Kūḍalūr-nāḍu :—Paṇaiyūrkuḷam, Sévalūr, Siṟṟaiyūr,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (c) Kuṇṟiyūr or Kuṇṟiśūl-nāḍu :—Kaḷanivāśal, Mēl-Maṇḷūr, Parambaiyūr, Punnanguḍi, Śikhānallūr, Tirunalakkuṇṟam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (d) Ollaiyūr-kūṟṟam :—Āṅkuḍi *alias* Āmanallūr, Iḍaiyāṟṟūr, Kāraiṟūr, Kiḷa-Taṇiyal, Korṟayūr, *alias* Uttamaśōḷapuram, Neriṅjikkūḍi, Ollaiyūr *alias* Madurai, Ollaiyūrmaṅgalam (Oliyamaṅgalam), Rājendraśōḷapuram, Śātṭaṇṟūr, Sundaraśōḷapuram *alias* Dēśiyugandapaṭṭiṇam (Sundaram), and Viṇṭūkki *alias* Rājendraśōḷapuram,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.
- (e) Uṟattūr-kūṟṟam (Vaḍa-Kōṇāḍu) :—Ālattūr, Koḍumbāḷūr, Kūḷai-kuḷattūr, Mēnelvēli, Nīrpaḷani, Payyūr, Pudukkūḍi, Śārapaṭṭaṇam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapperunderu and Tiruvīṟaiyāṅkuḍi (Tiruvīḷāṅguḍi),—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (f) Vaḍa Śīruvāyil-nāḍu in (e) :—Ilaṅjāvūr, Kīraṅūr, Kumāramaṅgalam,—all in the Kuḷattūr Taluk.
- (g) Vayalaga-nāḍu :—Pulvayal and Vayalagam. Both are in Kuḷattūr Taluk.

#### KĀṆANĀḌU—

- (a) Kāṇa-nāḍu :—Ādanūr, Andanūr, Kōṭṭaiyūr, Malayakōyil, Mēlūr, Muniyandai, Pēraiṟūr, Perunduṟai, Peruṅkaraikkūḍi, *alias* Tiruvaraṅguḷanallūr, Pulivalam, Śōḷapāṇḍi-yapuram, Teṅ-Kāṭṭūr, Tirumeyyam, Tulaiyānilai, Viraiyāchchilai. These villages are in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest sovereigns of Kōṇāḍu celebrated in Tamil literature is the renowned Śaiva devotee Iḍaṅgaḷi-Nāyaṇār, of whom it is said that he was the head of the Vēḷir family, ruled from Koḍumbāḷūr and was a lineal descendant of Āditya (v. 2 of *Iḍaṅgaḷi-Nāyaṇār Purāṇam*). The Mūvarkōyil inscription of Koḍumbāḷūr, besides testifying to the antiquity of this Vēḷ family, records the part played by some of the members in the history of South India (*Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, for 1908, p. 87*).

<sup>2</sup> Kodumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr) lay on the way to the Pāṇḍya country from the Chōḷa territory (*Śīlapadikāram, Kāḍukāṅkāḍai, l. 71*).

<sup>3</sup> Tirumeyyam in Kāṇa-nāḍu has one of the eighteen famous Vaiṣṇava temples of the Pāṇḍya country. This also shows that Kāṇa-nāḍu was in the Pāṇḍya territory.

(b) Seṅgaṅṅa-nāḍu :—Ālaṅḡuḍi, Āṅḡuḍi, and Mēlanilai.

(c) Turumā-nāḍu :—Ānamandai, Kaṅṅanūr, Tirunāvalūr and Turumā,—all in Tirumeyyam Taluk.

**Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu**<sup>1</sup> and **Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāḍu**<sup>2</sup> mentioned in the plates are two other districts of the Pāṅḍya country. The former covered a very large portion of the Tirupattūr Taluk of the Rāmnād District, a part of the Pudukkōṭṭai State and seems to have extended also into the Śivaganga Zamindari. It had several sub-divisions of which six are known, *viz.*, (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, (2) Śōḷapāṅḍya-vaḷanāḍu,<sup>3</sup> (3) Kīḷ-Kuṅḍāru, (4) Tēṅṅaruppōkku, (5) Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam, and (6) Adalaīyūr-nāḍu. Of the villages of (1) Kalvāyil-nāḍu, *viz.*, Nelvāyil<sup>4</sup>, Pullamaṅḡalam<sup>5</sup>, Kulaśēkharapuram,<sup>6</sup> and Sundarapāṅḍiyapuram,<sup>7</sup> are in the Pudukkōṭṭai State while Ilaiyāttakuḍi *alias* (or near) Kulaśēkharapuram,<sup>8</sup> Irāṅiyūr,<sup>9</sup> Korramaṅḡalam<sup>10</sup> and Kuṅṅattūr<sup>11</sup> are in the Tirupattūr Taluk. The villages in (2) are Kāraiyyūr,<sup>12</sup> Tirukkōṭṭiyūr,<sup>13</sup> Śōḷamārttāṅḡa-chaturvēdimaṅḡalam,<sup>14</sup> *i.e.*, Śivapuri, Kaṅṅamaṅḡalam,<sup>15</sup> Karuṅḡulattūr,<sup>16</sup> Mēlūr,<sup>17</sup> Pūḍikkūḍi,<sup>18</sup> Śirudaiyūr<sup>19</sup> and Śirudai.<sup>20</sup> The village Aḷagāpuri,<sup>21</sup> was situated in (3). In the sub-division of Tēṅṅaruppōkku was the village Niyamam<sup>22</sup> (Nēmam). Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam had two divisions; in the eastern division (Kīḷai-Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam) were the villages Śiruvayal,<sup>23</sup> Anṅiyūr,<sup>24</sup> Dēśaṅḡulam,<sup>25</sup> Koḍuṅḡulam,<sup>26</sup> Vēppaṅḡulam,<sup>27</sup> and Vēriyūr,<sup>28</sup> while Mēlai-Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam had Pāḡaṅḡeri<sup>29</sup> in it. The village of Tirukkuṅṅakkūḍi<sup>30</sup> (Kuṅṅakkūḍi) was in Adalaīyūr-nāḍu in which passed the river Tēṅṅāru<sup>31</sup>. The villages of Ilai-Kaḍambaṅḡulam<sup>32</sup> (modern Śaṅṅavaram), Piḷar<sup>33</sup> and Korramaṅḡalam<sup>34</sup> were in Tiruttīyūr-Muṭṭam: but it is not known whether they belonged to the eastern or western division.

<sup>1</sup> No. 617 of 1905 states that this is a district of Pāṅḍimaṅḡalam.

<sup>2</sup> No. 319 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28.

<sup>3</sup> Though the term *vaḷanāḍu* is usually employed to denote a district, it indicates a sub-division here. Owing to the large size of Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāḍu, it seems to have been split up into two parts in later days.

<sup>4</sup> Nos. 252 and 258 of the Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 267 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> No. 491 of the same collection.

<sup>7</sup> No. 346 of the same.

<sup>8</sup> No. 38 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and No. 182 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII.

<sup>9</sup> No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

<sup>10</sup> No. 80 of 1916 of the same collection.

<sup>11</sup> No. 85 of 1916.

<sup>12</sup> No. 133 of the same for 1907.

<sup>13</sup> No. 284 of the same for 1923, Nos. 291-2 for 1929-30 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 529.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 16 and 20 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1928-29.

<sup>15</sup> No. 36 of the same collection for 1916.

<sup>16</sup> No. 64 of the same for 1928-29.

<sup>17</sup> No. 201 of the same for 1924.

<sup>18</sup> No. 200 of the same for 1924.

<sup>19</sup> No. 304 of the same for 1929-30.

<sup>20</sup> No. 224 of the same for 1924.

<sup>21</sup> No. 101 of the same for 1924.

<sup>22</sup> Nos. 1, 77 and 83 of the same for 1924.

<sup>23</sup> No. 55 of the same for 1924.

<sup>24</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 180.

<sup>25</sup> No. 58 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924.

<sup>26</sup> No. 25 of the same for 1909.

<sup>27</sup> No. 263 of Pudukkōṭṭai State Collection.

<sup>28</sup> No. 14 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>29</sup> No. 12 of the same.

<sup>30</sup> No. 50 of the same collection for 1924.

The sub-divisions of Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu and the villages situated in them are noted below :—

- (1) Kāñai-Irukkai which had in it Uḷakkuḍi,<sup>1</sup> Iruñchirai,<sup>2</sup> Koṭṭakīrti,<sup>3</sup> Veḷāṇēri,<sup>4</sup> Karpakīrti<sup>5</sup> and Irāśiṅganallūr.<sup>6</sup>
- (2) Mādakkuḷakkīl which had in it Koḍimaṅgalam,<sup>7</sup> Madurai,<sup>8</sup> Śīruvenkuṅṅam<sup>9</sup>.
- (3) Vēlūrkuḷakkīl, with Kundadēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.<sup>7</sup>
- (4) Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīl which had in it Rājēndiram,<sup>8</sup> Tiruppūvaṇam,<sup>9</sup> Ambalattāḍi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.<sup>10</sup>
- (5) Karuñilakkuḍi-nāḍu which had in it Tiruttaṅgāl.<sup>11</sup>
- (6) Iḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu which had in it Mēlai-Śeḷuvaṅūr<sup>12</sup> *alias* Śatrubhayaṅkaranallūr.
- (7) Venbuḷa or Venbil-nāḍu which had in it Kumārapavitra-chaturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>13</sup> and Śēnkāṭṭirukkai-Iḍattuvaḷi.<sup>14</sup>
- (8) Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu which had in it Puttūr,<sup>15</sup> Kaḷḷikuḍi,<sup>16</sup> Mīḷagaṇūr<sup>16</sup> and Nirmaḍaiyūr.<sup>17</sup>
- (9) Kallaga-nāḍu which must have had at least two sub-divisions as the name Ten-Kallaga-nāḍu is applied to one of them which contained the villages Dēśipattāṇam *alias* Vikramaśōḷapuram<sup>18</sup> (Vikramaṅgalam), Śēndaṇēri-Kaṭṭikaḷḷūr (Tenkarai)<sup>19</sup> and Parākramapāṇḍiyapuram.<sup>20</sup>

It will be noted that four of the sub-divisions given in the Tiruppūvaṇam plates without mentioning the district to which they belonged were actually in Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu. These are Mādakkuḷakkīl, Rājaśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīl, Puṇapparaḷai-nāḍu and Kāñai-Irukkai.

A word of explanation is necessary for treating as sub-divisions geographical terms ending in 'kuḷakkīl', of which we have as many as four instances. In mentioning villages, inscriptions usually give first the district, then the sub-division and lastly the village. Districts generally have the suffix *vaḷanāḍu* and the sub-divisions end in *nāḍu*. Sometimes in place of *vaḷanāḍu*, the term *kūṅṅam* is employed; and if it had not any sub-divisions with distinct and different names, it is itself divided into two or more divisions according to the directions in which they lay, such as east, middle and west, north and south, etc. This is also the case even with regard to some

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 372.

<sup>2</sup> Below, text-lines 108, 245, 246 and 250.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 370.

<sup>5</sup> Below, text-line 16.

<sup>6</sup> No. 66 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

<sup>7</sup> No. 447 of the same collection for 1906.

<sup>8</sup> Below, text-line, 92.

<sup>9</sup> Below, text-line, 133.

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 423.

<sup>11</sup> No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1922.

<sup>12</sup> No. 317 of the same for 1927-28. Taṅgāl occurs as a village in the Pāṇḍya country in the *Śilappadigāram* Canto XXIII, l. 75.

<sup>13</sup> No. 331 of the same collection for 1918.

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 403 and 414 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

<sup>15</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 302 and Vol. IV, No. 372.

<sup>16</sup> Below, text-lines 106 and 111.

<sup>17</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 302 and 431.

<sup>18</sup> Nos. 613, 614 and 616 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.

<sup>19</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 294 and 298.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 295.

sub-divisions which are large enough to be so apportioned. For instance the district of Milalai-kūṛṅgam had no separate sub-divisions : in the place of the latter, we have Kil-kūṛṅgu, Naḍuvir-kūṛṅgu and Mēl-kūṛṅgu, *i.e.*, the eastern, middle and western portions. Similarly, the sub-division Sembī-nāḍu had Vaḍatalai-Sembi-nāḍu, Kil-Sembi-nāḍu, etc., *i.e.*, the northern and eastern portions of Sembī-nāḍu. Districts are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and villages are mentioned with the sub-divisions to which they belonged. From the fact that the geographical items Māḍakkulaḱkiḷ, Rājēndraśiṅgaḱulaḱkiḷ, etc., immediately follow a *vaḷanāḍu* or district and are followed in turn by villages, they have to be treated as sub-divisions. It will not be right to take the terms ending in “*kuḷaḱkiḷ*” to mean “to the east of any particular tank”. In these items the particle *kiḷ* does not mean ‘east’ as opposed to ‘*mēl*’ ‘west’ but stands for “under or in”. Hence we have inserted the four items ending in *kuḷaḱkiḷ* as sub-divisions and assigned them their places under the districts to which they belonged. In this connection, it is worthy of note that we have not come across even a single instance where a village is stated to be situated to the west, north or south of Māḍakkulam, Rājēndraśiṅgaḱulam, etc.

Of the other sub-divisions mentioned in the plates, Vaḍatalai-Sembi-nāḍu in which Aḱkuḍi *alias* Alagiyaḱṇḍiyanallūr was situated, is seen from other inscriptions to have had the villages Iyamaṅśvaram,<sup>1</sup> Mēlai-Koḍumaḱūr<sup>2</sup> or Koḍumaḱūr *alias* Uttamaḱṇḍiyanallūr, Kilai-Koḍumaḱūr<sup>3</sup> *alias* Madurōdayanallūr, Māvilaḱgai,<sup>4</sup> Nallūṛkuṛuḱchi,<sup>5</sup> Peruṅgiriṅallūr<sup>6</sup> and Deyvachchilainallūr otherwise called Paṅṅaḱulam. Except Iyamaṅśvaram (Emaṅśvaram) which is in the Paramaḱuḍi Taluk, the rest are found in the Mudukulaḱṭṭūr Taluk of the Rāmnāḍ District. The name of the division shows that Sembī-nāḍu had other divisions. In fact, inscriptions refer to Kil-Sembi-nāḍu in which were the villages Anaikuḍi,<sup>7</sup> Kaḱari *alias* Kaidavanallūr,<sup>8</sup> Kaḱambaṅguḱi,<sup>9</sup> Nallaṅkuḱi,<sup>10</sup> Maruvāy *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱanallūr,<sup>11</sup> Pavittiraṅaṅḱapaṭṭiṅam,<sup>12</sup> Nallirukḱai *alias* Viraḱṇḍiyanallūr,<sup>13</sup> Tiruppullaṅḱi<sup>14</sup> and Sembīyaṅ-Pērāmbūr;<sup>15</sup> Śrīdēśam which had in it Tiru-Uttarakōśamaṅgai, as other divisions of Sembī-nāḍu. Most of these villages are in the Rāmnāḍ Taluk.

Kaḱavaḱi-nāḍu was divided into two parts North and South. In Vaḱa-Kaḱavaḱi-nāḍu were Alagaṅmaṅagar,<sup>16</sup> Kōḱaipiraṭṭinallūr,<sup>17</sup> Kuṅṛattūr<sup>18</sup> and Puṛkuḱi.<sup>19</sup> Ten-Kaḱavaḱi-nāḍu had in it Muḱikoṅḱapaḱṇḍiyanapuram<sup>20</sup> and Pullūṛri<sup>21</sup> *alias* Śrīvallaḱḱanallūr. That Kaḱambaṅguḱi was a village in Kaḱavaḱi-nāḍu and bore the name Maḱayaṛayaṅḱōṭṭai is learnt from two inscriptions.<sup>22</sup> Āraḱaiyūr was another village in the same division.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, Nos. 399 of 1907 and 531 of 1926.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, Nos. 440 and 441; and Nos. 469 of Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 and 304 of 1923.

<sup>4</sup> No. 392 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1914.

<sup>5</sup> S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 301.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, No. 399.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 398.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 402.

<sup>9</sup> Madras Epigraphical Collection, No. 283 of 1923, No. 5 of 1924 and No. 276 of 1929-30.

<sup>10</sup> No. 316 of the same collection for 1923.

<sup>11</sup> Nos. 11, 23, 27 of the same for 1924.

<sup>12</sup> No. 291 of the same for 1923 and No. 18 of 1924.

<sup>13</sup> No. 47 of the same for 1926.

<sup>14</sup> No. 229 of the same for 1924.

<sup>15</sup> Nos. 1 and 3 of the same for 1924.

<sup>16</sup> No. 306 of the same collection for 1923.

## APPENDIX A.

Names of persons that conducted the settlement of boundaries.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
	<i>I. Kaṅkānis (ll. 74-93).</i>			
1	Araiyāṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ of Kaṭṭikuṅ- chchi.	Parāntakanallūr .	Naḍuvir-kūrṅu .	Milalai-kūrṅam.
2	Parāntakaṅ Tiruppūvaṅamuḍaiyāṅ	Taṅḍalai . .	Kiḷ-kūrṅu . .	Ditto.
3	Karuṅākaradēvaṅ Puṅpavaṅamu- ḍaiyāṅ.	Māraṅūr <i>alias</i> Palamaṅḍa- lāḍittanallūr.	Alaḡiyapāṅḍiyakku- lakkiḷ.	....
4	Piḷḷai Aḷvaṅ <i>alias</i> Poṅṅambalak- kūttāṅ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of <i>Tiruvāykkēḷvi</i> Poṅṅaṅ Sūriya- dēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Jayadhara-Pallava- raiyaṅ.	Karuṅpūr . . Puttūr . .	Tirumunaippāḍi-nāḍu Puṅappaṅalai-nāḍu .	Śōḷamaṅḍalam. ....
5	Vēḷāṅ Śāttāṅ, the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Poyyā- moḷiḍēvaṅ.	Kiḷ-Nettūr <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Kīrtiviśālai- yanallūr.	Karuṅḡuḍi-nāḍu .	....
6	Nārāyaṅaṅ Śāttāṅ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of <i>Sāmuḍāyam</i> Śirāmaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyāṅ <i>alias</i> Pottappich- chōḷaṅ.	Vēḷiyārrūr <sup>2</sup> Kappalūr <sup>3</sup> <i>alias</i> Uḷaḡaḷandaśō- ḷanallūr.	....	Keralasīṅga- vaḷanāḍu Muttūrṅu-kūrṅam.
7	Arayaṅ Tirumalai-udaiyāṅ who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of <i>Māḷiḡaittaṅam</i> Śivalavaṅ Alaḡiyamaṅavāḷaṅ <i>alias</i> Kāḷiṅgarāyaṅ.	Aruṅkaḷam Aykkuḍi <sup>4</sup> <i>alias</i> Alaḡiyapāṅ- ḍiyanallūr.	Poliyūr-nāḍu Vaḍatalai-Śembi- nāḍu.	....
8	Arayaṅ Karuṅṅikkam who was the <i>kaṅkāni</i> of Maḷavarāyaṅ.	Kiṭ-Paśalai <i>alias</i> Dānaviṅḍanallūr.	Tiyaṅḍaikūḍi-nāḍu .	....
9	Uyyavandāṅ Poṅṅan <i>alias</i> Mānā- bharāṅ-Mūvēṅḍavēḷār who was the <i>adigāraṅ</i> of Piḷḷaiyār Alaḡap- perumāḷ.	Kappalūr <i>alias</i> Uḷaḡaḷan- daśōḷanallūr.	....	Muttūrṅu-kūrṅam.
10	Nambi Poṅṅambalakkūttāṅ <i>alias</i> Virasīṅḡadēvaṅ.	Śirupālaiyūr <i>alias</i> Kāvēriḷal- havanallūr.	....	Śōḷapāṅḍiya-vaḷa- nāḍu.
11	Malaikiniyaṅiṅṅāṅ Alaḡaṅ <i>alias</i> Vijaiya-Vichchādiradēvaṅ who was one of the <i>aṅukkar</i> of <i>Śōḷapāṅḍiyavaḷanāḍu-kāriyam-</i> <i>keyyira</i> Alaḡiyapāṅḍiyanār.	.... Rāḷēṅḍiram . .	.... Irāsīṅḡaṅkuḷakkiḷ .	.... ....

<sup>1</sup> Nettūr is in the Śivagaṅga Taluk.<sup>2</sup> This is in the Tiruppattur Taluk.<sup>3</sup> This is a (Z) village in Tiruvāḍānai Taluk.<sup>4</sup> Paramakudi Taluk.



Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
II (ll. 93-96).				
12	Mādevaṅ Divākara-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Mānaviramadurai	Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu	....
13	Nārāyaṅaṅ Nārāyaṅa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
14	Śi-(Śri) Māḍaṅ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
15	Gōvindaṅ Tirunilkaṅṭha-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
16	Jātavēdaṅ Subrahmaṅya-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
<p><i>Note.</i>—Inclusive of the five persons of Mānaviramadurai named above (in Section II), the following others that are mentioned in the next six sections (III to VIII) who were concerned in the formation of the new <i>brahma-dēya</i> also went with the elephant.</p>				
III (ll. 96-98).				
17	Ādityaṅ Śēṅdapirāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅ of Tirukkuḍandai.	Marudūr <i>alias</i> Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṅ.	....	....
18	Śri-Kriṣṅṅaṅ Alagiyarāghava-Bhaṭṭaṅ.	Ditto	....	....
19	Kāliyāṅ Vēṅṅaikkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
IV (ll. 98-100).				
20	Āhitāṅṅi Śriraṅgaṅāṅṭha-Bhaṭṭa-Śōma-Kāṭṭhakayēṅṅiyār.	Mēṅ-Paṅṅalai <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Śrivaḷḷabha-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṅ.	....	....
21	Nārāyaṅaṅ Nārāyaṅa-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
22	Śri-Vāsudēvaṅ Nagnaṅpirāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
23	Śri-Rāmaṅ Paraṅmāṅṭma-Bhaṭṭaṅ	Ditto	....	....
V (ll. 100-103).				
24	Arayaṅ Uyyaṅṅirāḍuvāṅ <i>alias</i> Śēmbiyadaraiyaṅ.	Kiṅ-Paṅṅalai <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Dāṅṅaviṅḍanallūr.	....	....
25	Kēśavaṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ	Ditto	....	....
26	Karumaṅṅikkam-Korraṅ	Ditto	....	....
27	Kalvāyil Kēśavaṅ	Ditto	....	....
28	Periyāṅ Perrāṅ	Ditto	....	....
29	Naṅṅaṅ Alagaṅ	Ditto	....	....
30	Vāsudēvaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ	Ditto	....	....

<sup>1</sup> Mēṅpaṅṅalai and Kiṅpaṅṅalai are (I) villages in the Śivagaṅga Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
VI (ll. 103-106).				
31	Appaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ . . . .	Poliyūr <i>alias</i> Pārthivakēsarinnallūr.	....	....
32	Udayaṅ Varaguṇadēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Alagiyaṇḍiṅya-Viḷupparaiyaṅ.	Ditto	....	....
33	Sūriyaṅ Varantaruvāṅ <i>alias</i> Sangirāmaṅga-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	Ditto	....	....
34	Suadarattōḷuḍaiyaṅ Sōmadēvaṅ	Ditto	....	....
VII (ll. 106-108).				
35	Dayānilai Uyyavandāṅ <i>alias</i> Chedirāyaṅ.	Kaḷḷikkud <sup>1</sup> <i>alias</i> Puravuvarinallūr.	Purapparaḷai-nāḍu	....
36	Aṇukkaṅ Ariyaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
37	Appaṅ Arumōḷidēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Sembiyaṅ- Viḷupparaiyaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
38	Puttūr-kiḷavaṅ Baṭṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Purap- paraḷaināḍu-kiḷavaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
VIII (ll. 108-110).				
39	Paliyānilai Sūriyadēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Tamiṇāḍukiḷavaṅ.	Iruñchirai <sup>2</sup> <i>alias</i> Indirasamānallūr.	Kāñai-Irukkai	....
40	Vēḷāṅ Irattai <i>alias</i> Rājakuṅjara- Pallavaraiyaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
IX (ll. 110-120).				
41	Śadiraṅ Śelvaṅ	Miḷagaṅṅur <sup>3</sup>	....	....
42	Rāmaṅ Alagaṅ	Ditto	....	....
43	Śōraṅ Mūkkaṅ	Ditto	....	....
44	Nāgadēvaṅ Rāmaṅ <i>alias</i> Rājanārā- yaṅ-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ.	Ditto	....	....
45	Araśariyaṅ	Ditto	....	....

<sup>1</sup> This is a (Z) village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

<sup>2</sup> Tradition has it that an early Pāṇḍya king bound with chains and imprisoned the clouds at this place which is on that account also known as Kaṭṭunallūr-Iruñchirai. See V. 38 of Tiruvālavāyudaiyār *Tiruvijaiyādaḷ* 44, p. 162. "Tuḍippara vilangu pūṭṭi-ttunind-iruñchirai vaṭṭōṅ-ave-idaṇṇeyar-kKaṭṭunallūr-Iruñchiraiy-ēṇḍar-iṅṅum". The place is near Mānāmadurai. A later inscription (No. 399 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII) mentions Iruñchirai-vaḷanāḍu and locates Maṇṇaiyūrkōṭṭai in it.

<sup>3</sup> This is an (I) village in Śivaganga.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
46	Araiyāṅ Pullāṅi who had the <i>kāṅṅipparū</i> of Pullāṅi Mādēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Nuḷambā-darāyar.	Achchāṅkāṅṅi-rukkai Tirumāli-ruṅṅjōlai Mālaṅṅuṅṅi. <sup>1</sup>	Kiḷ-ṅēmbi-nāṅṅu.	....
<i>Note.</i> —The persons mentioned in this group were concerned in the formation of the new village of Mīḷa-ṅaṅṅūr surnamed Rājēndranallār by clubbing together the villages and lands given in exchange for the old village of Mīḷaṅṅaṅṅūr that was taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅṅalam.				
X (Il. 120-123).				
47	ṅāṅṅaṅ Kapavadi	ṅirukūṅṅattūr <sup>2</sup> <i>alias</i> Parākrama-pāṅṅṅiyanallār.	Aḷaṅṅiya-pāṅṅṅiya-kuḷakkūṅṅi.	....
48	Sundarattōḷuṅṅaiyāṅ Dēvaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
49	ṅāṅṅaṅ Kaṅṅṅaṅ <i>alias</i> Tirumāli-ruṅṅjōlai Dāsaṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
50	Vēḷāṅ Sundarattōḷuṅṅaiyāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
51	ṅivallavaṅ Pārāyiramūṅṅaiyāṅ <i>alias</i> Māṅṅaṅṅūr-nāṅṅṅu-Vēḷāṅ.	Ditto	Ditto	....
52	Dēvaṅ ṅivallavaṅ Araṅṅṅamikkidāsaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XI (Il. 123-124).				
53	Uḷaiyadivākaṅṅaṅ ṅri-Kārimāṅṅa-Bhaṅṅṅaṅ of Iḷavimaṅṅalam.	ṅūrakuṅṅi <sup>3</sup> <i>alias</i> Virākāṅṅu-gamaṅṅalam.	....	....
54	Nārāyaṅṅaṅ Subrahmaṅṅya-Bhaṅṅṅaṅ	Ditto	....	....
XII (Il. 125-127).				
55	Uyyaṅṅiṅṅāṅṅi Periyāṅṅi	Viḷattal <sup>4</sup> <i>alias</i> Māṅṅa-bharaṅṅa-chaturvēdimāṅṅalam.	Kiṅṅaṅṅūr-nāṅṅu	....
56	ṅēṅṅaṅṅiṅṅaṅ Karumāṅṅuṅṅil-Bhaṅṅṅaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
57	Gōvindaṅṅaṅ Māṅṅēṅṅuṅṅaiyāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
58	Āḷityāṅṅaṅ Bhākaṅṅaṅ-Bhaṅṅṅaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIII (Il. 127-128).				
59	Vēḷāṅ Kōvaṅṅaṅ	Vēḷḷiṅṅuruchchi <sup>5</sup>	Aḷaṅṅiyapāṅṅṅiya-kuḷakkūṅṅi.	....
60	Āḷi Perrāṅṅaṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....

<sup>1</sup> Most of the places in Kiḷ-ṅēmbi-nāṅṅu are, like Mālaṅṅuṅṅi, situated in the Ramnad Taluk of the Ramnad District.

<sup>2</sup> There is a village called ṅirukūṅṅam in the ṅivagaṅṅa Taluk.

<sup>3</sup> This place is in ṅivagaṅṅa.

<sup>4</sup> There is a Viḷattakūṅṅam in the ṅivagaṅṅa Taluk.

<sup>5</sup> This is perhaps Vēḷḷiṅṅuruchchi in the ṅivagaṅṅa Taluk.

Serial No.	Names of persons.	Village.	Sub-division.	District or Province.
61	Vēlāṅ Alagan <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Māvēndavēlāṅ.	Vēḷḷūrkuṅcchohi	Alagiya-pāṇḍiya-kuḷakkī.	....
62	Vēlāṅ Śrīlāṅkō	Ditto	Ditto	....
XIV (ll. 129-131).				
63	Āḷvāṅ Upādhyāyar	Marudūr	Tiruvāvaṇam	....
64	Karumāṅikkam Ulagamūṇḍāṅ Bhaṭṭāṅ.	Perumpuliyūr	....	....
65	Mayūravāhanaṅ Āḍuvāṅ-Bhaṭṭāṅ	Marudūr	....	....
XV (ll. 131-132).				
66	Rāmaṅ Uyyavandāṅ	Vēḷḷūr <i>alias</i> Alagiya-pāṇḍiyānallūr.	Kiraṅgūr-nāḍu	....
67	Perrāṅ Pāttāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....
68	Dēvaṅ Nambi	Ditto	Ditto	....
69	Śōraṅ Nāttāṅ	Ditto	Ditto	....

Note.—The persons mentioned in sections X to XV were all concerned in clubbing the villages in the *brahmadēya* of Rājagambhīra-chaturvīdimāṅalam.

XVI (ll. 133-138).				
70	<i>Anaittaṅam</i> Pammaṅ Āḍiyārkunallapcrumāṅ <i>alias</i> Pallavadaraiyaṅ.	Tiruppūvaṇam	Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkī	....
71	<i>Meypu</i> Malaiyaṅ Śōraṅ <i>alias</i> Viṅjattaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
72	Dēvaṅ Tillai <i>alias</i> Madurōdaya-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
73	Śīkayilāya-Bhaṭṭāṅ <i>alias</i> Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
74	Kaṇavadi Śrāmaṅ <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
75	Ēraṅ Periyāṅ <i>alias</i> Pāṇḍiyaṅ Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....
76	Pōṅṟu Aravamudaiyāṅ Villi <i>alias</i> Muḍittalaikoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṅ.	....	....	....

Note.—The seven persons of group XVI conducted the female elephant.

## APPENDIX B.

List of villages and lands included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam in Rājagambhira-vaṅaṅaṅu.

(Lines 19 to 69.)

**Kiraṅūr-nāṅu.**

Nakkamaṅalam.—The village of Kiraṅūr in the Śivaganga Taluk was perhaps the chief place in the division.

Vāgaikuṅi.—This was a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamūṅaiyār.

Tiruvāvaṇam.

Tuttiyūr.—There is a village called Tuttikuṅam in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kirūṅākkōṭṭai.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Kāḍuvēṭṭi, Muṭṭam, Korraṅēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Veḷḷattaiveṅṅāṅ-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kāḍaṅ-ēṭṭi-kuruchchi are lands in Kirūṅākkōṭṭai.

**Paṅaṅalūr-nāṅu.**

Adikarai.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Mittiravāli.

Vēlaṅḷam.—A village in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Omaḷaḷiyāṅ-ēmbal.—A land in Vēlaṅḷam.

Śōlaiyēri.—Now called Śōlaisēri in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kuḍaṅjādi.—This village is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Aruvarai-Pudukkuṅam.

Kiṭ-Chūrai.

Mēr-Chūrai.

Piḍārikuṅam.

Paṅaṅalūr *alias* Paṅḍitapaṅjaranallūr.

Śeyyakulattūr.—Its present name is Śeykulattūr (in Śivaganga).

Śiṅgaṅēriyūḍaiyāṅ-kāṅipparru.—A land in Śeyyakulattūr.

Vāṅjyūr.

Karkuruchchi.—This village in Śivaganga is now spelt Kalkuruchchi.

Āriyāṅkuruchchi.—This is also in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Āraikkuṅam.

Āruḷādi. Viragaṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Virapāṅḍiyappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Moliyaṅ-ēmbal, Ambalakkōṭṭaṅ-ēmbal, Śittāṅēmbal and Paṅṅirāyira-ppērayaṅ-ēmbal, are lands in Āraikkuṅam.

Uvaṅiyamaṅalam.

Pudaichchāṅkuṅi.—This is a land in Uvaṅiyamaṅalam.

**Tiyandaikkuṅi-nāṅu.**

Ugaray.

Kōṭṭai.

Śivagaiyāṅkuṅi, and Uḍumbandai are lands in the above village.

Ulagaraṅi.—Still bears the same name. It is in the Śivaganga Taluk.

Karaiyūr.

Kuṅṅēli.

Maṭṭalakkuyēri.

Śāṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal.

Puttēmbal.—This may be Puttēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Kaliyaṅēri.—This may be Kaliyaṅēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.

Seikuṅi.

Orukkorraṅēri.

Kalvāyilmaṅalam.

Pullaṅēri.

Śēndaṅēri.

- Nakkaṇēri.  
 Pārkuḷam.—This is a (Z) village in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Uyyāṅ-Sūriyaṅ-ēmbal.  
 Marudaṅkuḷi.—This is in the Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Nāvaṅkuḷi.  
 Kaṇḍiyūrnāḍāḷvāṅ-ēmbal.  
 Śiru-Nakkaṇēri.  
 Śūlāmaṇi.—Now called Śūḍāmaṇi in the Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Puṟṟukkuḷam.—Now called Puttukkuḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Śiruvayaḷ.  
 Koṅṟaikkūḷam.—Now called Kōṅṟakūḷam in the Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Pullamaṅgalam.  
 Kaṅkuḷam.—Now called Kalkūḷam (in Śivaganga).  
 Karuṅkuḷam.—There is one Karuṅkuḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Eyilī.  
 Paḍaiḥchaṅkuḷam.  
 Puḷiyāṅkuḷam.—Still so called. In Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Pūḍikuḷam.  
 Vēḷārkuṟuchchi.  
 Vāyttalainallūr.  
 Kāḍuvēṭṭi.—This is the name of a land in Vāyttalainallūr.  
 Māṅavīramadurai.—This is Mānāmadurai.  
 Marudūr.  
 Śaṅgaṅ-ēmbal.  
 Śaṅkaramaṅgalam.—Now called Śaṅgamaṅgalam in Śivaganga.  
 Tīyaṅūr-Sōlaiyēri.—There is a Tīyaṅūr in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Kīḷāṅkāṭṭūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.—In Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Pirāṇḍiyēri.—There is a Pirāṇḍaikūḷam in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Kaḍukkuḷi.—There is a Kakuḷi in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Sēṭṭalēri.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppaśalaināḍar of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.  
 Tīrappu-Sōḷḍaṅ-ēmbal.—This may be Sundaṅ-ēmbal in Paramakuḷi Taluk.  
 Tattaṅ-ēmbal.—Now called Tattanēṇḍal in Paramakuḷi Taluk.  
 Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal.  
 Pāppāṅ-ēmbal.—There are villages called Pappāṅēṇḍal in Paramakuḷi Taluk as well as in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Edirilōḷappērayaṅ-ēmbal.  
 Vēlāṅkāḷ.—A *dēvadāna* of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṅṅaṅar-Āḷvār of Mēṟ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimāṅgalam.  
 Kaṅichchi-ēmbal.  
 Tīrappu Paṅaiyaṅēri.—There is a Paṅaiyaṅēṇḍal in Śivaganga.  
 Kīḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.  
 Mēḷ-Vēḷiyārrūr.  
 Maṅḍaiyūṟkuḷam.  
 Nelvēli.—This may be Nemvēli in Paramakuḷi Taluk.  
 Taṅṅilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbal.  
 Sōmāttūr.—This is in Paramakuḷi Taluk.  
 Aravaṅkuḷi.  
 Karuṅkuḷam.—This is in Paramakuḷi Taluk.  
 Ēpāttūr.  
 Taḍāppīrai.  
 Kāṅchiraṅkuḷam.—This is in Śivaganga Taluk.

#### Mēṟkuḷi-nāḍu.

- Mēṟkuḷi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam.  
 Mēṅ-Mēṟkuḷi.—Kīḷa-Mēḷkuḷi and Mēḷa-Mēḷkuḷi are villages in the Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Maṅḷajūr.

Korraṇṇēri.—There is a village named Kottaṅkuḷam in Śivaganga and Paramakūḍi Taluk.  
 Muttūraṇāroṭṭai.—A *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār.  
 Annaivāy.—Now called Annavaśal in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Śundaṇ-ēmbal.—Now called Sundanēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Narimaṇṇam *alias* Varagaṇḍanallūr.—There is a village named Nariyēndal in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Śilaiyaṇēri.—Śilaiyaṇ is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Uriyappi, Tāḷi-ēmbal, Korraṇṇēri, Śūriyaṇ-ēmbal and Sōmaṇṇēri are lands and tanks in Varagaṇḍanallūr.

#### Puraṇṇaṇṇai-nāḍu.

Pullaṇṇēri.  
 Kaṇṇaṇṇūr, Lands in—Kaṇṇaṇṇūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Madalaikuruḥchi.  
 Kīṭ-Śēḷi: *Puṇṇarai* in it.  
 Acheṇṇākkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṇṇūr *alias* Rājēndraśiṅganallūr.—Miḷagaṇṇūr is a village in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Miṇṇēri, Kaṇṇikūḍi, Araiyaṇṇēri, and Naḍuvir-Śēḷikuḷattu-uḷvāy.—These are near Miḷagaṇṇūr.  
 Mēr-Śēḷi.  
 Kuṇṇuḥchātti.  
 Śirukkijātti.  
 Puvaṇṇinallūr.  
 Ārikūḍi.  
 Sōmaṇṇēri.  
 Tāyaṇ-Pūḍi-ēmbal.  
 Śirukilāṅkāṭṭūr, a *dēvadāna* of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār.—There is a village called Kilāṅgāṭṭūr in Śivaganga Taluk.  
 Śirumijagi.  
 Nerkuṇṇam (*tirappu*).  
 Kaṭṭikkūḷam.—There is an (I) and (Z) village of this name in Śivaganga.  
 Perrāṇ-ēmbal.—There is a village called Pettāṇēndal in Paramakūḍi Taluk.

In the lists given above, some official designations are prefixed to a few names of persons. These are: *Tiruvāykkēḷvi*, *Sāṁudāyam*, *Māḷigaṭṭaṇṇam*, *Adigāram*, *Vaḷanāṭṭu-kāriyam-śeygira*, *Āṇaittaṇṇam* and *Meypṇu*. Their connotation may easily be determined from the terms themselves. The compound word *Tiruvāykkēḷvi* consists of *tiru* 'sacred', *vāy* 'mouth' and *kēḷvi* 'hearing' and means 'what is heard from the sacred mouth (of the king)', i.e., 'any royal oral order'. As an official designation applied to persons it means 'one who hears the royal oral order'. In ancient times, among the king's retinue there were some who bore this designation. And it seems that the duty of this class of officials was to put in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate the same to the Department of the State concerned for being given effect to. In the case of almost all royal orders this becomes the first original document; and on this are based the subsequent orders issued in pursuance of it. Very often we meet with the statement '*nam kēḷvi tara-chchoṇṇōm*' meaning 'we directed the issue of our *kēḷvi* (oral order put in writing)'. The word '*kēḷvi*' is seen sometimes substituted by '*ḍalai*' (written palm leaf). The receiving officers out of regard for the king termed it *tirumandiravḍalai* where *tiru* (Skt. *Śrī*) denotes 'His Majesty's', *mandira* 'council' and *ḍalai* 'document or order'. Thus, its equivalent is 'the order of His Majesty in Council'. It is exactly the same as *tiruvāykkēḷvi*. The word *samudāya* means 'gathering, crowd or a body of people'. From it comes *Sāṁudāya* 'one of the members of the *samudāya*'. This body may consist of one class of people or be of different classes. In temples also there existed such a body. Probably it was composed of different kinds of servants employed in it. The term *Māḷigaṭṭaṇṇam* may have been used to denote the official in charge of the management of the king's household. It may be rendered into 'Palace-Manager'. *Adigāram* may be taken to mean 'one who exercises power, a maintainer of law'. '*Prakriyā tv=adhikārah*' and the explanation '*vyavasāhā-śhāraṇiṇyasya*' well bring out the sense. *Vaḷanāṭṭu-kāriyam-śeygira* means 'the administrative head of a district'. The sense of the term *Āṇaittaṇṇam* is well brought

out in lines 207-210 of the larger Leiden plates. It denotes the person who, when the boundaries of a village or villages are being circumambulated by the assemblies of the *nāḍu* (district or subdivision) in company with the *kaṅkāṇi* (Superintendents), had to go with them mounted on the elephant (*āṇai*) and to point out the boundaries. *Meyppu* is somewhat difficult to explain definitely. It is not known whether the first letter *me* is long or short. If long it may indicate that the person who bore this designation was in charge of the feeding of the elephant; and if short, it may denote a police officer. In the name *Pōṟṟu Aravamudaiyaṅ Villi* (No. 76 of Appendix A), the word *Pōṟṟu* may denote some duty or office which is not possible to be definitely defined now.

## TEXT.

*First Plate; First Side.*

- 1 Svasti śrī 3<sup>1</sup> Ambhaḥ<sup>2</sup> pūrvvam<sup>3</sup>=abhūd=idan=tad-udarē<sup>4</sup> śētē sma Śēshē Haris=tan-nābhēr-  
ajanishṭa patmam<sup>5</sup>=abhavat
- 2 tasmāt<sup>6</sup> svayam Viśvasṛiṭ [1\*] tasmād=Atrir=amushya-lōchana-putād=Indur=Budhas=tat-  
sutas=tasmād=āsa Purūravā-
- 3 s=tata imē<sup>7</sup> Pāṇḍyēsvarā jajñirē ௨ Svasti srī- Sundarēśśād=avagata-samaya[s\*]-sv=ābhi-  
dhān-āśrayasya grāma-
- 4 sy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim<sup>8</sup>prati sapadi<sup>9</sup> nijē vatsarē pañcha-viśśē [1\*] Chaṇḍāmśāv=ātta<sup>10</sup>-Chāpē  
Kana-ka-pati-tithau
- 5 kṛishṇa-paksh-Ārkivāra-Svātī-yōgē karēṇum gamayitum=avadad=Rājagambhīradēvaḥ ௩  
Pūviṇ-kiḷatti mē-
- 6 vi vīṟṟiruppa Mēḍiṇi-mādu nīdiyīṇ-puṇara vaya-pPōr-maḍandai jaya-ppuyatt=iruppa  
mā-kKalai-maḍandai
- 7 vākkiṇil viḷaṅga=ttiśaiy-iru-nāṅgum<sup>11</sup>=isai-nilāv=erippa Maṟai-neṟi vaḷara Maṇu-neṟi tigaḷa  
aṟa-ne-
- 8 ṇi-chchamaiyaṅgaḷ=ārūn-talaippa=kkāṇa-vēṅgaiyai villuḍaṅ turandu miṇaṅ=Kanakā-  
chalattu
- 9 vīṟṟiruppa eṇ-giri śūḷnda eḷu-kaḍal=eḷu<sup>12</sup>-poḷil veṇ-kudai-nīḷar<sup>13</sup>-cheṅkō=ṇaḍappa=<sup>14</sup>  
kkoḍuṇ-

<sup>1</sup> This sign is used here for punctuation mark. See also line 316. *The Archaeological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, which will hereafter be indicated by *A. S. S. I.*, actually takes it for *visarga* from which it is hardly distinguishable.

<sup>2</sup> Read *ambhaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> In this inscription, wherever *sva* occurs, *v* is doubled.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *da* of *darē* seems to have been inserted in the space between *du* and *rē*. It looks like the length sign of *ā*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *padmam*=

<sup>6</sup> There is a marked preference for the final consonant in this inscription. See also *abhavat* (l. 1), *tat-suta* (l. 2) and *vatsarē* (l. 4).

<sup>7</sup> In place of *s=tata imē*, *A. S. S. I.* reads *punaratō* (?).

<sup>8</sup> The syllables *sy=āghāṭa-kṛiptim* have been read as *syā(vadhi)kṛiptim* in *A. S. S. I.* There is no doubt about the reading given in our text. The letter *kṛi* is rare and looks like *kara* as it must; but it cannot be taken for *kā*, for the length sign is clearly distinguished in this inscription from *ra* by the latter being given a tube at the bottom.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *di* is corrected from *ti*.

<sup>10</sup> *Vanta* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* The bottom letter *t* is slightly damaged.

<sup>11</sup> *Misai* is the reading in most inscriptions, but in No. 417 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, it is replaced by *miḷai*.

<sup>12</sup> The reading in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 412 and 417 is *ḷi*. In this inscription, the letter *ḷu* is clear.

<sup>13</sup> Though *nīḷarra* is the reading found in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, our inscription uses *nīḷar* both here and in line 12; the short and long *i* are clearly distinguished. In No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, *nīḷarra* is followed by *irukō* instead of *senkō*.



- 10 Kali naḍuṅgi neḍum-pilatt-oḷippa Villavar<sup>1</sup> Śembiyar Virāṭar Varāṭar<sup>2</sup> Pallavar  
tiṟaiyuḍaṅ muṟai muṟai  
11 paṇiya iru-nēmiy-aḷavum=oru-nēmiy-ōṅga iṅṅ-amud-āgiya iyal-isai-nāḍaga[m\*] manṇi  
vaḷara maṇi-muḍi  
12 ūḍi veṟpeṇav=ōṅgiya<sup>3</sup> vīrasimhāsaṅattu<sup>4</sup>=kkarṇaga-niḷar-kalai-valōr puḷaḷa manṇavar-  
dēviyar vaṇa-  
13 Ņgi-niṅṅ-ēttum=anna-meṅ-ṇaḍaiy=Avāṇimūḷuḍaiyāroḍum viṟṟirund-aruḷiya śri-kō-  
chChadaivarmma-  
14 r-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravarttiḷaḷ śri-Kulaśēkaradēvaṅku yāṅḍu 13-vadu nāl nāl-  
āyirattu munnūr-  
15 r-aṟupadiṅḷai<sup>5</sup> Madurōḍaya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkula-kkiḷ Madurai-kkōyir-paḷḷiy-aṟai-  
kkūḍat-

*First Plate; Second Side.*

- 16 tu=ppaḷḷi-ppiḍam Maḷavarājaṅḷi=eḷundaruḷiy-irundu [Vēdamu]m Śāstramu[m] pōy  
vyākhyātākkaḷāy=i-  
17 rukkuṅ=chaturvvēdi-Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr=āyiratt-eṇpadiṅmaṅku<sup>6</sup> =ppaṅgu āyiratt-eṇpadum  
dēvadāṇa-p-  
18 paṇi-ṣey-virutti paṅgu nūr-irupadum āga=ppaṅgu āyiratt-iru-nūṟṟukku=ppadiṅ-  
mūṇṇāvadi-  
19 \*n-edir paḍiṅ-onṅām-āṅḍu-mudal brahmadēyam-āga=kKiraṅūr-nāṭṭu<sup>7</sup> Nakkamaṅgala-  
mum Uḍaiyā-<sup>8</sup>  
20 r Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār dēvadānam Vāgaikuḍiyum uṭpaḍu<sup>9</sup> brahmadēyam-āga=kkūṭṭiṇa  
Tiruvāva-  
21 ṇamun=Tuttiyūrum<sup>10</sup> Kiruṅgākkōṭṭaiyūm=ivv-ūr<sup>11</sup> Kāḍuveṭṭiyum Muṭṭamuṅ= Korra-  
ṇēriyu-  
22 n-Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgiy-ēmbalum Veḷḷattaiveṇṇān-ēmbalum Paḡavadiy-ēmbalum Na-  
23 ḍuviṅ-kōṭṭaiyūn=Kāḍaṅ-Eṭṭi-kuṟuchchiyum Paṇaṅḷalūr<sup>12</sup>-nāṭṭu Adikaraiyūm Mitti-  
24 ravāliyūm Vēlaṅḷalumum Oṇaḷagiyaṅ-ēmbaluṅ=Chōlaiyēriyūn=Kuḍaiṅjāḍiyūm=Aru-  
25 varai-Pudukkuḷamuṅ=Kiṭ<sup>13</sup>-Chūraiṅyūm Mēṅ-Chūraiṅyūm Piḍārikuḷalumum Paṇaṅḷalūr-āṇa  
Paṇḍita-  
26 paṅḷaṅḷallūrum Śeyyakulattūrum Śiṅgaṅēriyuḍaiyāṅ kāṇippaṅṟum Vaṅḷiyūruṅ=Kaṅku-  
27 riḷchchiyūm<sup>14</sup>=Ariyāṅkuṟuchchiyūm=Āraikkulalumum=Aṟugaśāḍiyūm Viragaṅga-<sup>15</sup>ppērayaṅ-  
ēmbalum Vi-

<sup>1</sup> *Marāṭar* is a variant found in No. 302 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of this phrase, *viṅḅgiya kadir-oḷi* occurs in No. 302 and *viṅḅgiya* alone in Nos. 412 and 417 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> The *sa* of *saṅattu* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.

<sup>4</sup> The reading *nālu* in *A. S. S. I.*, is wrong. The mistake increases the number of days by four.

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

<sup>6</sup> The *e* sign of *ne* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>7</sup> Over the letter *Na*, the *i* sign is entered and erased.

<sup>8</sup> The length of *yā* is entered at the beginning of the next line.

<sup>9</sup> Read *uṭpaḍa*.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *Śirugaḍo* given in *A. S. S. I.* is wrong.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ūr*.

<sup>12</sup> The length of *lā* is here separated from the letter, whereas it is connected with it in line 25.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Kiḷ*.

<sup>14</sup> The word *kuṟuchchi* is in some cases spelt *kuṟichchi*. See lines 77, 166, 236.

<sup>15</sup> This word may also be read *ppēyaṅ*. As there is no *i* sign over the letter *r*, the reading *ppēyaṅ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.





- 28 rapāṇḍiyappērayaṅ<sup>1</sup>-ēmbalum Molīyaṅ-ēmbalum Ambalakkūttāṅ-ēmbalum Śitta-  
 29 <sup>a</sup>n-ēmbalum <sup>3</sup>Paṅṅirāyirappērayaṅ<sup>1</sup>-ēmbalum=Uvaṇiyamaṅgalamum <sup>4</sup>Pudaichchāṅ  
 kuḷi[y-ēm]ba-  
 30 lum **Tiyandaikuḍi<sup>5</sup>-nāṭṭu<sup>6</sup>** Ugaray-ōḍu Kōṭṭaiyuṅ-Chivigaiyaṅ-kuḷiyum=Uḍum[ba]ṅḍai<sup>7</sup>

*Second Plate; First Side.*

- 31 <sup>8</sup>yum=Ulagaraṇiyuṅ=Karaiyūruṅ=Kuṅṅēliyum Maṭṭaḍakkīyēriyuṅ= Chaṅgappērayaṅ<sup>9</sup>-  
 ēmba-  
 32 lum Puttēmbalum Kalaiyaṅēriyum Śēṅkuḷiyum=Orukkoṅṅānēriyuṅ=Kalvāyilmaṅ-  
 33 galamum Pullaṅēriyuṅ=Chēṅḍaṅēriyu[m\*] <sup>10</sup>Nakkaṅēriyum Pāṅkuḷamum Uyyāṅ Śūri-  
 yaṅ-ēmbalu-  
 34 m Marudaṅkuḍiyum Nāvaṅkuḍiyum Kaṅḍiyūr-nāḍālvāṅ-ēmbaluṅ=Chiru-Nakkaṅ-ēriyuṅ=  
 Chūlāma-  
 35 [ṅi]yum Puṅṅukkuḷamum Śiṅuvayaluṅ=Koṅṅaikkūlamum Pullamaṅgalamuṅ=Kaṅkuḷamuṅ=  
 Karumākuḷa-  
 36 mum Eyiliyum Paḍaichchāṅkuḷamum Puḷiyaṅkuḷamum Pūḍikuḷamum Vēḷārkuḷuch-  
 chiyum Vāy[t\*]talainallū-  
 37 rum ivv-ūr<sup>11</sup> Kāḍuvēṭṭiyum Māṅavīramaduraikkūḷatt-uḷvāyil Marudūr<sup>12</sup>-kālukku- kkiḷak-  
 [ku-pp]ā-  
 38 <sup>13</sup>ḍagappaḍi nila[m\*] mūṅṅu-vēliyum uṭpaḍu<sup>14</sup> brahmadēyam-āga-kkūṭṭiṅa Marudūr- āṅa  
 Madurōḍaya-chchatu-  
 39 rvvēdimaṅgalamuṅ=Chaṅgaṅ-ēmbaluṅ=Chaṅkaramaṅgalamum Tīyaṅūr- Śōlaiyēriyuṅ=  
 Kiḷāṅkāṭṭū[r-ā]ṅa  
 40 Puravari-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalam paḍiṅ-mūṅṅrāvadiṅ-edir pattām-āṅḍuvarai kuḍip-  
 paṅṅāy vanda nīr-nīlamuṅ=ka-  
 41 ruṅchey puṅṅeyum nattamuṅ=tōṭṭamum tiḍalum=ūraṇiyuṅ=kōyil-aḍiyum tiru[na\*]-  
 ndavaṅa[mu]m  
 42 ēmbalum uṭpaṭṭa nilam eṭṭē āru-mā i-ṅṅilam eṭṭē āru-māvum Virapāṇḍiyaṅ- kō-  
 43 lāl nikki nikki-ppakkattār paṅṅāy-uḷḷa nilamum Mēṅ-Paśalaiy-āṅa Śivallabha-chchatur-  
 vvēdimaṅgala-  
 44 m paḍiṅ-mūṅṅrāvadiṅ edir pattām-āṅḍuvarai kuḍiy-irunda jaṅmigaḷ paṅṅāy vanda nīr-  
 nīlamu-  
 45 ā-karuṅche[y\*] puṅṅeyum=nattamuṅ=tōṭṭamun=tiḍalum Śrīkōyilgaḷum tiruṅḍava-  
 ṅamum

<sup>1</sup> This word may also be read *ppōyaṅ*. As there is no *i* sign over *r* the reading *ppēriyaṅ* given in *A. S. S. I.* must be considered wrong.

<sup>2</sup> The *ē* sign of *nē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

<sup>3</sup> In *ṅirā*, there is a correction. The engraver seems to have at first written *ra* and inserted the length mark afterwards between *ṅi* and *rā*.

<sup>4</sup> *Pukai* given in *A. S. S. I.* is incorrect.

<sup>5</sup> *Kuḍa*, the reading in *A. S. S. I.*, is not right. The word occurs again with the spelling *kuḍi*.

<sup>6</sup> Here and in many more places the letter *ṭu* is shaped exactly as the *ē* sign. It is due to the indifference of the scribe.

<sup>7</sup> This word has been read *Uḍumavandai* in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>8</sup> At the beginning of this line, the *A. S. S. I.* has *kuḍi* of which there are no traces. The first letter is certainly *yu*.

<sup>9</sup> The reading *periyaṅ* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. There is no *i* sign over *r*. An alternative reading would be *pōyaṅ* which does not give good sense.

<sup>10</sup> By mistaking *na* for *n*, *Kakaṅēri* has been made out in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>11</sup> Read *ūr*. Perhaps the writer uses *r* in place of *r̄k*.

<sup>12</sup> There is nothing to suspect the letter to be *ṭa* as has been done in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>13</sup> Read *uṭpaḍa*.

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 46 utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilan=nāl-araiyē mukkāṇi i-nnala[m\*] nāl-araiyē mu-kkāṇi-yun=  
 47 nīkki nīkki-ppakkattārum Maṇavarum paṅṅāy=ulla nilamum Pirāṇḍiyēriyuṅ=Kaḍukku-  
 diyum<sup>1</sup>  
 48 <sup>2</sup>Mēr-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvvedimaṅgalattu=tTiruppa[śa]lainādar dēvada[ṇa]ṅ=Chēttā-<sup>3</sup>  
 49 lēriyun=tirappu<sup>4</sup>=chChonḍaṅ-ēmbalum=Tattaṅ-ēmbalum Vēmbōḍ-ē[mbalum] Pāppā-  
 50 ṇ-ēmbalum Ediriliśō[appērayaṅ<sup>5</sup>-ēmbalum-Mēr-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śriva[ī\*]labha-[chaturvve]-  
 dimaṅ-  
 51 galattu Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṅṅagar-Ā[vaṅku=kkārāṅmaiy=utpaḍa=ddēvadāṇa iṅai[yili vē]ru-  
 muda-  
 52 l Velankālun=Kaṅichchey-ēmbalum=kuḍikkāṇikku=ttalaimāru viṭṭa nilamum tira[p]pu  
 Paṅai-<sup>6</sup>  
 53 yaṅēriyuṅ=Kīl<sup>7</sup>-Vēliyāṅṅūrum <sup>8</sup>[Mē]-Vēliyāṅṅūrum Maṅḍaiyār-kuḷamun=Nel-  
 54 vēliyun=Tāṅṅilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmāttūrum Aṅvaṅkuḍiyuṅ=Karu[ṅ\*]kuḷamum ē-  
 55 ṇāttūrun=Tadāppiraiyuṅ=Kāṅchiraṅkuḷamum **Mērkuḍi-nāttu** Mērkuḍiy-āṇa Kalijaya-  
 56 maṅalam paḍiṅ-mūṅṅāvaḍiṅ-edir pattām-aṅḍuvarai kuḍippaṅṅāy vanda nīr-nilamuṅ-ka-  
 57 ruṅchey[\*] puṅseyu[m\*] nattamum=utpaḍa Virapāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilam=iraṅḍē nālu-  
 mā i-  
 58 nnilam=iraṅḍē nālu-māvu[m\*] nīkki nīkki-ppakkattār paṅṅāy-ulla nilamum Mēṅ-Mērkuḍi-  
 59 yum Maṅja[ḷ]ūruṅ=Koṅṅaṅēriyum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṅam-uḍaiyār dēvadāna[m\*] Mēt-  
 60 tūranārotṭaiyum Aṅṅalvā[yu]m<sup>9</sup>=ivv-ūr[p\*]pār<sup>10</sup>-Chunḍaṅ-ēmbalum Narimaṅṅamaṅa Va[ra]-<sup>11</sup>

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 61 gaṅḍanallūrum ivv-ūrppār<sup>12</sup>-Chilaiyaṅēriyum=Uṅiyappiyum Tāliy-ēmbalum Ko-  
 62 ṅṅaṅēriyum Sūriyaṅ-ēmbalum Sōmaṅēriyum tirappu **Puṅappaṅalai-nāttu**=pPulla-<sup>13</sup>  
 63 <sup>14</sup>ṅēriyum Kaṅṅaṅūr=karuṅcheyppaṅṅi=kūttīṅa nilamum Madalaikuṅichchi-kkaruṅchey-  
 64 yum Kīṭ-Chēli=ppuṅkaraiyum Aechchāṅkāṭṭirukkai Miḷagaṅūr-āṇa Irāśēndiraṅṅana-  
 65 llūrum ivv-ūrppāi Miṅṅēriyum Kaṅṅikuḍiyum Araiyaṅēriyum Naḍuvīr-Chēli-

<sup>1</sup> *Kaḍukūḍi* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* This is due to the resemblance of *ḍu* to *e* sign.

<sup>2</sup> The *ē* sign of *Mē* is entered at the end of the previous line.

<sup>3</sup> The reading *ṇam Sēmbāṅēri* given in *A. S. S. I.* is hardly possible. At the end of the line, the letter *ṇ* is very clear. Owing to scratches over the penultimate *ṭ*, it seems to have been mistaken for *m*. As the loops of *ṇ* are fully developed in this inscription, there is no doubt about the first letter of the next line being *ṭē* and not *ṇē*. I have accordingly taken the word to be *Sēttāṅēri*.

<sup>4</sup> This word has been wrongly read as *tiru* in *A. S. S. I.* *Tirappu* occurs again in lines 52 and 68 where it has been correctly read.

<sup>5</sup> Here again, we have *pērayaṅ-ē*. The engraver appears to have incised the *i* sign over *r* and erased it.

<sup>6</sup> The last syllable is *ṇai* and not *ṇai* as given in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>7</sup> Here the loop for long *ī* is wanting.

<sup>8</sup> For *Mē* the engraver has written *pē*.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *yu* of *vāyumu* resembles *pa*. The middle vertical stroke does not seem to have been cut.

<sup>10</sup> The reading *pārtannaṅ-ē* of *A. S. S. I.* is not admissible.

<sup>11</sup> The last letter *ra* is missing, the plate being broken at the corner.

<sup>12</sup> In place of *ppār*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Maḍār*.

<sup>13</sup> Instead of *paṅṅalai* and *Pulla*, we have *Pirasa* and *Yulla* in *A. S. S. I.* The engraver has written *ppu* as a group and the group symbol actually resembles *yu*.

<sup>14</sup> The *ē* sign of *ṇē* is at the end of the previous line.

66 kkuḷatt-uḷvāyum Mēṅ-Chelīyūm Kuruchchāttiyūm Śīrukkiḷāttiyūm Puvāṇinallūrum Ā-  
 67 rikudiyūm Sōmaṅēriyūm Tāyaṅ-Pūdi-embalum Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār  
 68 dēvadāṇaṅ-Chirukilāṅkāttūrum Śīru-Miḷagiyūm tīrappu Neṅkuṇramum Kaṭṭikkūḷa-  
 69 mum Peṅṅāṅ-ēmbalum āga ivv-ūrgaḷiṅ=paḷaṅ-dēvadāṇam paḷiichchendam <sup>1</sup>karāṅmai-  
 70 yāṅa nilam nikki nikkiy-uḷḷa nilam muṅṅ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum Veḷḷāṅ-vagaiy[u]-  
 71 m mudalun=tavirttu oru-nāḍum oru-ūrum oru-puravum=ākki **Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu**  
**Rājagambhīra-**  
 72 **chaturvēdimaṅgalam**=eṅṅun=tirunāmattāl brahmadēyaṅ-cheydaruḷi ivv-ūr nāṅ[g]-el-  
 73 laiyuṅ=kaṅkāṅigaḷōḍuṅ=kūḍa=ppiḍi śūḷndu piḍi naḍanda ellaikku arav-ōlai śeydu  
 74 kuḍukkaveṅṅu tiruvāymoḷindaruḷiṅamaiyil Puravu[va]ri<sup>2</sup>.kkaṅkāṅi Miḷalai-kkū-  
 75 ṅṅattu Naḍuvir-kūṅṅu Śrī-Parāntakanallūr-Kaṭṭikuṅichchi-uḍaiyāṅ Araiya[n\*] Nārāya-<sup>3</sup>

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

76 ṅaṅum Miḷalai-kkūṅṅattu K[ri\*]<sup>4</sup>.kūṅṅu Taṅḍalaiuḍaiyāṅ Pirāntakaṅ Tiruppūvaṇamuḍai-<sup>3</sup>  
 77 yāṅum Aḷagiyapāṅḍiyakkūḷakkiḷ Māraṅūr-āṅa Palamaṅḍalādittanallūr<sup>5</sup> Māraṅū-  
 78 r-uḍaiyāṅ Karuṅākaradēvaṅ Purpavaṇamuḍaiyāṅum Tiruvāykkēḷvi-pPurappara-  
 79 lai-nāṭṭu=pPuttūr-uḍaiyāṅ Poṅṅaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ-āṅa Jeyadara-pPallavaraiyar ka-  
 80 ṅkāṅi Sōḷa-maṅḍalattu Tirumuṅaippāḍi-nāṭṭu=kKaruppūr-uḍaiyāṅ <sup>6</sup>Piḷḷai-Āḷvāṅ-āṅa  
 81 Poṅṅambalakkūṭṭaṅum Poyyāmoḷidēvar kaṅkāṅi Karuṅḍi-nāṭṭu Kiḷ-Ne-  
 82 ṭtūr-āṅa Kīrtiviśālaiyanallūr Veḷḷāṅ Śāṭṭaṅum sāmudāyam Muttūṅṅu-kūṅṅattu-kKa-  
 83 ppalūr<sup>7</sup>-āṅa Uḷagaḷandaśōḷanallūr Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṅ <sup>8</sup>Sirāmaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyāṅ-āṅa<sup>9</sup>  
 84 Pottappichchōḷar kaṅkāṅi Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷanāṭṭu Veḷiyāṅṅū[r-u\*]ḍaiyāṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ Śāṭṭa-  
 85 ṅum Maḷigaittaṅam Vaḍatalai-chChembī-nāṭṭu Āykkudiy-āṅa Aḷagiyapāṅḍiyānallūr<sup>10</sup> Śiva-  
 86 llavaṅ Aḷagiyamaṅavāḷaṅ-āṅa Kāḷiṅgāraṅyāṅ kaṅkāṅi Poḷiyūr-nāṭṭu Aruṅkaḷam-uḍaiyāṅ  
 87 Arayaṅ Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṅum Maḷavarāyāṅ kaṅkāṅi <sup>11</sup>Tiyāndaikūḍi-nāṭṭu Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-  
 āṅa Dā-<sup>12</sup>  
 88 ṅaviṅōdanallūr-uḍaiyāṅ Arayaṅ Karumaṅikkamum Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāḷ=adikāra-  
 89 m=Muttūṅṅu-kkūṅṅattu=kKappalūr-āṅa Uḷagaḷandaśōḷanallūr<sup>10</sup>.Kappalūr-uḍaiyāṅ Uyyava-  
 90 ndāṅ Poṅṅaṅ-āṅa Mēṅābaraṅa-Mūvēndavēḷārum Śōḷapāṅḍiya-vaḷanāṭṭu-chChirupā-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kārāṅmai*.

<sup>2</sup> The damage in the syllables *vuvā* seems to have led to the wrong reading *ścha* in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>3</sup> A bit of the plate at the right bottom corner, enough to cover a letter is broken off. Still no letter is actually missing as is clear from the fact that *Nārāya* at the end of this face of the plate reads without break with *ṅaṅum* at the beginning of the next face. But at the end of that line where the bit is lost, the letter *ḷ* seems to have been written and lost and had to be crammed in just to the right of, but below, the *ai* sign. Had the bit been broken before, *ḷ* would have found place at the beginning of the second line.

<sup>4</sup> The *ḷ* sign of *ki* has not been engraved and the *A. S. S. I.* has the letter *ka* correctly.

<sup>5</sup> There is an extra length sign in *lā*.

<sup>6</sup> The passage after *Karuppūruḍai* seems to have been written over an erasure. The letters at the end clearly retain traces of the prior writing. In the previous line also the damaged condition and the size of the letters from *Sūriya* to the end suggest the same fact though traces of the old letters are not seen.

<sup>7</sup> What looks like *ya* at the commencement of this line is the group symbol for *ppa*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Śrī*.

<sup>9</sup> The last letter *ṅa* is a correction.

<sup>10</sup> Read *ḷūr*.

<sup>11</sup> This word has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.* as *Tiyānakaḷi*.

<sup>12</sup> The length of *Dā* is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 91 laiyūr<sup>1</sup>-āna Kāvērivallavanallūr-ūḍaiyāṅ Nambi Ponnambalakkūṭṭaṅ-āna Viraśiṅgadēva-<sup>2</sup>  
 92 rum i-nuātṭukku=kkāri(ya\*)ñ=cheygiṛa Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkil Irāśēndirattu Aḷagiyapāṇḍi-  
 93 yaṅ aṅukkaril Malaikiṇiyaniṅrāṅ Aḷagaṅ-āna Viśaiya-Vichchādiradēvarum kaṅkāṇiyāga  
 Ti-  
 94 yandaikūḍi-nāṭṭu Mānavīramadurai Mādavaṅ Divākara-Baṭṭaṅṅ<sup>3</sup>=Nārāyaṅ Nārāyaṅ-  
 Baṭṭa-  
 95 ṅum śi(śri)-Mādavaṅ Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum Gōvindaṅ Tirunilakaṅḍa-Baṭṭaṅṅum Jātavēdaṅ  
 96 Subrahmaṅya-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum utpaḍu<sup>4</sup> brahmadēyamāga=kkūṭṭiṅa Marudūr-āna Madurōdaya-  
 chchatu-  
 97 <sup>5</sup>rvvēdimāṅgalattu=<sup>t</sup>Tirukkūḍandai Āḍityaṅ Śēndapirāṅ-Baṭṭaṅṅum śri-Kṛiṣṇaṅ=Aḷagi-  
 98 ya-Rāghava-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum Kāliyāyaṅ Vēṅṅaikkūṭṭa-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum Mēṅ-Paśalaiy-āna Śrīvallaḅha-  
 chaturvēdi-  
 99 maṅgalattu Āhitāgni śri-Raṅganātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāthaka-yāḷiyārum Nārāyaṅ Nārāya-  
 100 ṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum śri-Vāsudēvaṅ Nagnapirāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum śri-Rāmaṅ Paramātma-Bhaṭṭaṅṅum  
 Kiṭ-Paśalai-  
 101 y-āna Dāṅaviṅḍanallūr=<sup>6</sup>Āyaṅ Uyyaniṅrāḍuvāṅ-āna Śēmbiyadaraiyaṅṅum Kēsavaṅ Nārāya-  
 102 ṅṅum Karumāpikkaṅ=Korṅṅum Kalvāyil Kēsavaṅṅum Periyāṅ Peṅṅṅum Naṅga-  
 103 ṅ=Aḷagaṅṅum Vāsudēvaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅṅum Poliyūr-nāṭṭu=pPoliyūr-āna Pāṭṭi(rthi)vakēśa-  
 104 rinallūr=Appaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅṅum Udayaṅ Varaguṅadēvaṅ-āna Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparai-  
 105 yaṅṅum Sūriyaṅ Varantaruvāṅ-āna Saṅgirāmasiṅga-pPallavaraiyaṅṅum Sundarattōḷuḍaiyā-

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 106 ṅ Sōmadēvaṅṅum Puṅappaṅṅalai-nāṭṭu=kKaḷikkūḍiy-āna Puravuvarinallūr<sup>7</sup>-Dayānilai Uyya-  
 107 vandāṅ-āna Chēdarāyaṅṅum<sup>8</sup> Aṅukkaṅ=Ariyāṅṅum Appaṅ-Arumōḷidēvaṅ-āna Śēmbiyaṅ-Viḷu-  
 108 pparaiyaṅṅum Puttūr<sup>9</sup>-kiḷavaṅ Baṭṭaṅ-āna Puṅappaṅṅalai<sup>9</sup>-ṅḍu-kiḷavaṅṅum Kāñaiy-Irukkaiy=  
 Iruñchi-  
 109 raiy-āna Indirasamāṅanallūr<sup>7</sup>-Paḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvaṅ-āna Tamīṅḍu-kiḷavaṅṅum Vēḷāṅ=  
 Ira-  
 110 ṭṭaiy-āna Irāśakuṅjara-pPallavaraiyaṅṅum Rāḷagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalattudaṅ kūṭṭi-  
 111 ṅa Miḷagaṅṅuḷku-ttalaṅmāṅu kuḍutta Achchāṅkāṭṭirukkai-<sup>10</sup>kKuvalaivēliyum Puduk-  
 kulamum Mā-  
 112 ṅaṅkīṭṭiyum Kāvīdinallūrum<sup>11</sup> Kaḍambamaṅgalamum Śāṭṭiyār-ēmbalum Kāñaiy-Irukkaiy=  
 Arai-  
 113 yarkūḷattil Mandari Irāmaṅ-āna Pallavarāyar kāṅiyāṅa śēmpādi nīkki nīkkiy-uḷḷa nila-  
 114 mun-āga ivv-ūrgaḷ mun-ūḍaiyārum paḷam-peyarum mudaluṅ=tavīṭṭu oru-nāḍum or-ūrum  
 o-

<sup>1</sup> The commencement of this line has been read *śalai* in *A. S. S. I.* Of this the first letter *śa* is really the Tamil numeral 'four' which is the number of the plate and which is cut at the left top corner away from *laiyūr* and slightly below the first line.

<sup>2</sup> The syllables *dēva* have been read as *Tōja* in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>3</sup> The letters *nNa* are expressed by a group.

<sup>4</sup> Read *utpaḍu*.

<sup>5</sup> The *ē* sign of *rvvē* is at the end of the previous line.

<sup>6</sup> This word may also be read *Arayaṅ*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ūr*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Chēdi*.

<sup>9</sup> The letters *ppa* are expressed by a group.

<sup>10</sup> *Vaḷaivēli* is taken as the name of the village in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>11</sup> This has been incorrectly read as *Mahāvidhi* in *A. S. S. I.*





v.b.

138  
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vi.a.

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vi.b.

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- 115 ru-puravum=akki Achchankāttirukkai-Miḷagaṇūr-āṇa Irāsēndirsīṅganallūr-enṇum pe-  
 116 yarāl variyil-iṭṭamaiyil i-mMiḷagaṇūrku<sup>1</sup>-chchamainda Śadiraṇ Śelvaṇum Irāmaṇ-Ālagaṇum  
 117 Śōraṇ Mūkkaṇum Nāgadēvaṇ-Irāmaṇ-āṇa Irāsanārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum Araśariyaṇum  
 Kī-  
 118 t-Chembi-nāṭṭu Mālaṅguḍi-kilavaṇ Pullāṇi Mādēvaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kāṇippaṇṇu-  
 tTirumāli-  
 119 ri<sup>2</sup>ñchōlai-Ālvār dēvadāṇam Achchankāttirukkai-tTirumā<sup>3</sup>liriñchōlainallūr Araiyaṇ Pullā-<sup>3</sup>  
 120 ṇiyum Ālagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīṭ-Chirukulattūr-āṇa Parākramapāṇḍiyānallūr-Śāttaṇ Ka-  
 ṇavadiyum Sun-  
 121 darattōḷuḍaiyaṇ Dēvaṇum Śāttaṇ Kaṇḍaṇ-āṇa Tirumāliriñchōlai<sup>4</sup>-Dāsaṇum Vēḷāṇ Sunda-

Fifth Plate ; First Side.<sup>5</sup>

- 122 rattōḷuḍaiyaṇum Śivallavaṇ Pērāyiramudaiyaṇ-āṇa Māraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷāṇu-  
 123 m Dēvaṇ Śivallavaṇ-āṇa Araṭṭamikkidāsaṇum Śūrakuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmugamaṅgalattu  
 ḷlavima-  
 124 ṅgalattu Udayadivākaṇa śri-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṇum i-kkuḍi Nārāyaṇaṇ Subrahmaṇya-  
 Bhaṭṭa-  
 125 ṇum Kīraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vidattal-āṇa Mānābaraṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅgalattu Uyyaṇiṅḡādi Periyāḷ-  
 126 vāṇum Śēndapirāṇ Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭaṇum Gōvindaṇ Māṇēndukaiyaṇum Ā-  
 127 dityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇum Ālagiyapāṇḍiyakkulakkīḷ Vēḷūrkuṇuchchi Vēḷāṇ  
 128 Kōvaṇum<sup>6</sup> Ādi Perrāṇum Vēḷāṇ-Ālagaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷāṇum Vēḷāṇ  
 Śīriḷaṅkō[vu]-<sup>6</sup>  
 129 m utpaḍu<sup>7</sup> brahmadēyamāga-kkūṭṭiṇa Tiruvāvaṇattu Marudūr-Ālvāṇ Upāddhyāyarum  
 130 Perumpuliyūr Karumāṅikkam-Ulagamuṇḍāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Marudūr Mayiravāhaṇaṇ  
 Āḍuvā-<sup>8</sup>  
 131 ṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇum Kīraṇūr-nāṭṭu Vēḷūr-āṇa Ālagiyapāṇḍiyānallūr Irāmaṇ-Uyyavandāṇum  
 132 Perrāṇ Pāttaṇum Dēvaṇ Nambiyum Śōraṇ Nāṭṭāṇum =āga ivv-āṇavarun-taṅgaḷ e-  
 133 llaigaḷ kāṭṭa Āṇaittaṇam Irāsīṅgaṅkulakkīṭ- Tiruppūvaṇattu Pammaṇ-Ādiyārkuṇal-  
 134 laperumāṇ-āṇa Pallavadaraiyaṇum Meyppu Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ-āṇa Viṇḷattaraiyaṇum  
 135 Dēvaṇ Tillaiyaṇ-āṇa Madurōdaya-pPallavaraiyaṇum Śikayilāya<sup>9</sup>-Battaṇ-āṇa [Śi]vallava-p-  
 136 Pallavaraiyaṇum Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṇ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-pPallavaraiyaṇum<sup>10</sup> [Ē]raṇ  
 Periyā-  
 137 ṇ-āṇa Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇum Pōṅṇu Aravamudaiyaṇ Villiy-āṇa<sup>11</sup> Muḍittalaliko-<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read °*rkku*.<sup>2</sup> Read °*liruñchōlai*.<sup>3</sup> The length stroke of *lā* is written at the commencement of the next line and is damaged.<sup>4</sup> The number of the plate is engraved on the margin of the left top corner.<sup>5</sup> The left hand portion of the medial *ḡ* sign of *Kō* is written at the end of the previous line.<sup>6</sup> After *Perrāṇu* the letters are smaller in size up to °*ṇ Śīriḷa*°.<sup>7</sup> Read *utpaḍu*. The letter *ḍu* resembles the secondary *e* symbol.<sup>8</sup> The last three letters are *Āḍuvā*. The length sign of *vā*, which is written at the beginning of the next line, is damaged and looks like *ēa*. The reading *Kēśava* given in *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible, for *ā* and *va* are clear.<sup>9</sup> Instead of *Śikayilāya*, the *A. S. S. I.* has *Sidayil-Araya*.<sup>10</sup> After *yaṇu*, there is only one *m* and the trace of the vowel *ē* following it. As such, the reading *m Māraṇ* of *A. S. S. I.* is inadmissible. Against the reading it has also to be noted that there is too much space for the length sign of *Mā*.<sup>11</sup> *Valliyaṇ* is the reading in *A. S. S. I.* It is inadmissible as it disregards the *i* sign over *v* and the length symbol after *y*.<sup>12</sup> The syllables *muḍi* are re-placed by *piḍi* in *A. S. S. I.*

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 138 ṇḍa-pPallavaraiyaṇum piḍi naḍatta -ppiḍi naḍandapaḍikku aṇav-ōlai śeydu-kuḍutta pari-  
 139 śāvadu [!]\* Paḍiṇ-mūṇṇāvadiṇ-edir paṇṇiraṇḍām-āṇḍu Dhaṇu-nāyaṇṇu ṇālān-tiyadiyum  
 apara-pakshat-  
 140 tu ekādaśiyum Śaṇi-kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa Sōdi-nāṭ=Kiḷ-ellai ivv-ūr vaḍa-kilakku-kKiṭ-Chū-  
 141 ṇaiy-eṇṇu pēr kūvappaṭṭa Uḍaikulattu kiḷ-kaḍai-kkombiṇ-ruḍaṅgi idaṇṇiṇṇun=teṇ-  
 142 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śeyyakulattūril-ṇiṇṇum Kaḍambaṅguḍikku=ppōḡiṇa valiṇaiy=ūḍa-  
 ruttu=t-  
 143 teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=teṇku nōkkiyūn=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu Māṇavīramadurai-  
 144 yil-ṇiṇṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppōḡiṇa valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śe-  
 145 yya[ku]lattūril-ṇiṇṇum Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaiṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa peru-valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu Pu-  
 146 ṇaiḥchāṇ-kuliyaiy<sup>4</sup> valattu vaṭṭu i-vvaliyiṇ-kūḍiṇa veṭṭi-pperu-valiṇaiy<sup>4</sup> teṇ-kilak-  
 147 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭaiyil-ṇiṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraiṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa peru-  
 148 valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṇk=innam [!]\* i-vvaliyil-ṇiṇṇum teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇku  
 149 nōkki=ppōḡa peru-valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Piḍāvūril-ṇiṇ-  
 150 ṇum Māṇavīramaduraiṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kilakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Ka-  
 151 raiyūr-kuḷattu=kkil-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkaraiyil-ṇiṇṇun=teṇ-kilakku nōk-  
 152 ki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=innam [!]\* Kuṇṇēli-kkulattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṇk=  
 innam [!]\*  
 153 i-kkālil-ṇiṇṇun=teṇ-kilakku nōkki=chChāṅgappērayaṇ ēmbar=kiḷ-ellaiyēy teṇku

*Sixth Plate ; First Side.*

- 154 ṇōkkiyūn=teṇ-kilakku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu Neṭṭūril-ṇiṇṇum Māṇavīramaduraiṇṇu=ppōḡi-  
 155 ṇa valiṇaiy=ūḍaruttu=chChandīranallūr-kuḷattu nīr-nakkalē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-  
 Chandi-  
 156 raṇallūr teṇ-kaḍaiy=urru mēṇk=innam [!]\* ida-ṇiṇṇun=teṇ-mēṇku nōkki-Vaigaiy-ā-  
 157 ṇa Śrīvālavappērāṇṇu=ppōḡiṇa valiṇaiy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=in-  
 158 ṇam [!]\* i-vvaliyil-ṇiṇṇun=Chēṇkuli=kkil-ellai peṇṇa śevvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=ch-  
 159 cheṇṇu i-chChēṇkuli=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Orukkoṇṇa[ē]ri=[kki].<sup>5</sup>  
 160 i-ellaiy-āṇa Kaṇkuḷavāy-ūḍāy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu mēṇk=innam [!]\* ivv-Orukko]-  
 161 ṇṇāṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyēy teṇ-mēṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vaigaiy-ā[ṇa Śivallava]-  
 162 ppērāṇṇil=iraṅgi mēṇk=innam [!]\* i-chChivālavappērāṇṇiṇ-ūḍē vaḍa-mēṇku n[ōkkiyum]  
 163 mēṇku nōkkiyūn=cheṇṇu mēṇk=innam[!]\* ivv-āṇṇil-ṇiṇṇu teṇ-karaiyil=ēr[1-tte]-  
 164 ṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dāṇaviṇōḍanallūr kuḷattukkum Mēṇ-Paśa[laiy-āṇa]  
 165 Śrīvālabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkulattukkum nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-kkāl-  
 [il-ṇiṇṇu]  
 166 karaiyil=ēri Vēḷāṇkuṇichchippaṇṇil Araśipar[ilē] . . .<sup>6</sup> lāl nilam=a[raiṇyēy-] iraṇḍu.....  
 167 varambēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu [Māṇavīramadurai]-kkulattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyil=ēri mēṇ-

<sup>4</sup> The letters *vāḷṇaiyā* are written over an erasure.<sup>5</sup> The *ai* sign of *rai* is at the end of the previous line.<sup>6</sup> The *ai* sign of *dai* is at the end of the previous line.

- 168 k-innam [\*] i-kkaraiyē mēṛku nōkki={chcheṇṇu i-m}Mānavīramadurai=kkulatt=ulvāyil  
Ma-  
169 [ rudūr]-kulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālukku=k[kilakku]-ppāttamāy-ppayir=ēri va[ru]giṛa nīlatti  
Rājagam-

*Sixth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 170 [bhīra]-chaturvēdimaṅgalattukku=ppāttakkōlāl kūṭṭiṇa nīlam mūṇṇu vē[likku=kkī]-e]-  
llai[yē te]<sup>1</sup>-  
171 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkulattu=tteṇ-karaiyil=ēri Maru[dūr-kulattukku nīr pāygiṛa] kālaiy=  
[urru]<sup>2</sup>  
172 mēṛk-innam [\*] i-kkāliṇ ki]-karaiyē teṇ-ki]akku n[ōkkiyun]-teṇku nōkkiyuñ={cheṇṇu]  
173 Vānagaṅgappēraiyaṅ kudiyruppil teṇ-āsaṛudi \*mudunila-pparippaiy=urru mēṛk=i[innam]  
[\*]  
174 i-pparippēy ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=pa]aṅ-kulatt-agavāyil Mānavīramadurai= [t]-  
175 \*teṇ-āsaṛudi vayalil teṇ-varambēy ki]akku nōkkiyum vaḍa-ki]akku nōkkiyuñ=che[ṇṇu  
Ma]-  
176 rudūr=ppa]aṅ-kulattu=kkī]-kaḍai-kkombil=ēri mēṛk-innam[\*] i-kkaraiyē mēṛ[ku]  
177 nōkki=chcheṇṇu Marudūr=kkī]-ellaiyum Mānavīramadurai mēl-ellaiyum={āṇa]  
178 Divākara-vāykkāl-ūḍē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-vvāykkāl muḍindu Divākara-vayakka[l]  
179 \*m[ē]-varambē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey=tteṇ-varambēy ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu]  
180 Sundara-vayakkāl mēl-varambū peṇṇa śavvaiyēy teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śāṅkaramaṅgala]-  
181 ttu vaḍav-ellaiyum Mānavīramadurai=tteṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyēy ki]akku nōkki-  
182 \*kiyum vaḍa-ki]akku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu Śāṅkaramaṅgalattu vaḍa-kaḍai-kkombil=ēri  
Mē-  
183 ṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkulattukkum Kiṭ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Dā-  
184 ṇaviṇōdanallūr=kkulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=urru mēṛk-innam [\*] i-kkāliṇ-mē-

*Seventh Plate ; First Side.*

- 185 l-karaiyē teṇ-ki]akku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkāliṇ-niṇṇum Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-  
186 chaturvēdimaṅgalattu=kkulattukku nīr pāya=ppirinda kālaiy=ūḍaṛuttu=kKiṭ-Paśalaiy-  
āṇa Dā-  
187 ṇaviṇōdanallūr-kulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ mēl-karai[yēy] teṇ-[ki]akku nōkkiyuñ=ki  
188 kku nōkkiyun=teṇku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu i-dDāṇaviṇōdanallūr-kulattu mēl-kaḍai-  
189 yaiy=urru i-kkulattu=ppuṛkaraiyil-iṇṇāṅi Mēṛ-Paśalaiy-āṇa Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅ-  
galat-  
190 tu=kkulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ ki]-karaiyē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chChivallabha-  
chaturvē-  
191 dimaṅgalattu=kkulattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkulattu maṇuvāy-Iḍukkāṇ-ūḍē teṇku nō-  
192 kkiyun=teṇ-ki]akku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu Nēlvēli nattattukku=ppōgiṛa vaḷiyaiy=u-  
193 ṇru mēṛk-innam[\*] i-nNēlvēli-kkulattu=kkī]-kaḍai-kkombaiy=ēri=pPaṇai-kkālai-  
194 y=urru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē teṇku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nakkaṇṇēyil-niṇṇu mēṛku nōkki-p-

<sup>1</sup> The letters at the right end of lines 170 to 180 are damaged.<sup>2</sup> The traces at the end of this line and the space available admit only the reading *urru* and not *ūḍaṛuttu* as in A. S. S. I.<sup>3</sup> The letter *du* of *mudu* is an interlineation. It is entered below the line.<sup>4</sup> The *e* sign of *te* is entered at the end of the previous line.<sup>5</sup> The *ē* sign of *mē* is at the end of the previous line.<sup>6</sup> Delete the first letter *ki*.

- 195 pōgira valiyaiy=ūḍaruttu=ttēṇṇ-ellai 9 Nelvēli=ttēṇṇ-ellaiyum Eṭṭiyēri nattattu vaḍa-  
 196 vāyum-āṇa valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Eṭṭiyēri natta[t]tu mēl-āśarudiyaiy=urru i-  
 197 ḍa-ṇiṇṇum mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-Eṭṭiyērikkun=Nelvēlikkun=naḍuvāṇa pa|aḍ-[kōyila]-  
 198 ḍiyaiy=urru ida-ṇiṇṇun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Paṇalāiy-āṇṇaiy= ūḍaruttu vaḍakk=  
 in[ṇam [\*] [i-]  
 199 vv-āṇṇin mēl-karaiyē teṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkki[yuṇ]=cheṇṇu Sōmāttūr=ki[l-el]-  
 200 lai-y-āṇa Nirambaiyūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-[kkāliṇ] mēl-karaiyē te-<sup>3</sup>

*Seventh Plate ; Second Side.*

- 201 ṛku n[ōkki=ch]ch[e]ṇṇu i-chChōmāttūrkuṇ=Ka|ikkudippār-Chiṛuvāgai[k]kun=  
 202 naḍuv-āṇa ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam[\*] ivv-ellaikku na[ḍu]v-āṇa varambē [m]ē-  
 203 ṛku nōkkiyun=teṇ-mēṛku nōkkiyuṇ=che[ṇ]ṇu i-chChiṛuvāgai=kku[la]t[tu] [vaḍa]-ka-  
 204 ḍaiyaiy=iṇṇāṅgi Aṇṇavaṇkuḍi=ttēṇṇ-ellaiyē ṣeṇṇu [Ka|ikkudī=kkuḷa]-  
 205 ttukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Aṇṇa[vaṇku]-  
 206 ḍiyil-ṇiṇṇum Vēḷāṇērikku=ppōgira valiyē teṇ-mēṛku [nōkki]=  
 207 chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=kki[ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] iv[v-el]-  
 208 lai-y-ēy Puttūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ ki[ellaiyēy] [vaḍa]-  
 209 kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=ūḍaruttu mēl-karaiyil ēṇi vaḍakk=in-  
 210 ṇam [\*] Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaiyuṇ=Karunṇuḷattu=ttēṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa [e]-  
 211 llaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri=chChūrri-vaśakkal=ūraṇi vaḍa-karai-  
 212 yēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] ellai naḍuv-āṇa varambē ṣe-  
 213 ṇṇu Vēḷāṇēri Ādichcha-vaśakkaṛ=ki[ellaiyēy] varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-ch-  
 214 chey vaḍa-va[m\*]bēy mē[ṛku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] Vēḷāṇēri-kKarunda-  
 215 ḍi=kki[ellaiyēy] varambēy [vaḍakku] nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chcheykkum Ādichcha-vaśakkal

*Eighth Plate ; First Side.*

- 216 nāṇṇakālukkum Peṇṇāṇ-vayakkalukkum vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇ-  
 217 ṇu Ka|ikkudippār-Chōṇēri-dDayāniti-vayakkaṛ=ki[ellaiyēy] varambaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] i-  
 218 vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ellai-vāykkālaiy=urru i-vvāykkāl-ūḍēy va-  
 219 ḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkiyum<sup>4</sup> vaḍakku nōkkiyuṇ=cheṇṇu Śēṇēri Mālār<sup>4</sup>-mukkāṇi  
 vaḍa-varam-  
 220 bē<sup>5</sup> mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayānitiy=Ariyāṇ-āṇa Arundavaṇ-Viḷupparaiyaṇ Sōmadēvi-va-  
 221 yakkaṛ=ki[ellaiyēy] varambēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Dayāniti Māṇaviraṇ-paṇṇu=ttāḍi paḷavi-  
 222 ṇ ki[ellaiyēy] varambēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Uyyakkoṇḍāl-vayakkaṛ=ki[ellaiyēy] varambēy  
 223 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-chchey vaḍa-varambēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śēṇēri=k-  
 224 kuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] i-kkuḷattu=ppuṇkaraiyēy vaḍa-mēṛku  
 225 \*nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇūril-ṇiṇṇum=<sup>6</sup>Dēḍakōṭṭaiḷḷaḷḷu=ppōgira peruvaḷi[ya]iy=u-  
 226 ṇṇu i-pperu-valiyēy mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] Pūḍanēri-[na]ttattu [va]-  
 227 ḍa-vāyil-ṇiṇṇa puḷiyaiy=iḍattu vaiṭtu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Taḍāppaiy-āṇa  
 228 kuḷattu=ttēṇ-kaḍaiyaiy=iṇṇāṅgi vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalēy vaḍa-mēṛ-  
 229 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṇchiraṇkuḷattu nīr-nakkalēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kku-  
 230 ḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ teṇkaraiyēy mēṛku nōk-  
 231 ki-chcheṇṇu Pullāṇēri=kkuḷattu=tteṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēṇi vaḍakk=inṇam [\*] i-kkuḷattu nīr-

<sup>1</sup> The letter *da* is a correction.

<sup>2</sup> This letter has been wrongly read in *A. S. S. I.*

<sup>3</sup> After *nōkkiyu*, the letters are written over an erasure and in smaller characters.

<sup>4</sup> The reading in *A. S. S. I.* is *Marakāra*.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *bē* is entered on the margin in smaller character.

<sup>6</sup> The left hand portion of the sign of the medial *ḍ* in *nḍ* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Dēva*°.

vii, a.

186  
188  
190  
192  
194  
196  
198  
200

186  
188  
190  
192  
194  
196  
198  
200

vii, b.

202  
204  
206  
208  
210  
212  
214

202  
204  
206  
208  
210  
212  
214

viii, a.

216  
218  
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222  
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226  
228  
230

216  
218  
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224  
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228  
230



*Eighth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 232 nakkalē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu va[da]-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa
- 233 kālīn ten-karaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku=ppōgiṛa peru-valiyaiy=urru
- 234 [va]ḍakk=innam [!\*] i-vvaliyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛku vaḍav-ellaiyu[m\*] Narimaṇṇattu=t-
- 235 tenn-ellaiyum-āṇa Kaṇṇaṇṇūṛ-Piḍāriyēri Muttaraiyaṇ karuñche[y\*] vaḍa-varambu peṇṇa śevvai-
- 236 yē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Maḍalaikuṛichchi=kkuḷa-pparippaiy=urru i-kkuḷatt=ulvāyē vaḍakku nō-
- 237 kki=ppattu-kkōl-alaṅvū śeṇṇu vaḍakk=innam [!\*] i-kkuḷatt-ūḍē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇa-
- 238 nūṛ=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaṇṇu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu vaḍakku nōkki=ppōgiṛa Kā-
- 239 ṇavaṇṇukku=kkiḷakkāga niṇṇa puḷiyai valattu vaittu mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiṭ-Cheliy-Uḍai-
- 240 kuḷa=kkaraiyil=ēṇi i-kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍa-
- 241 kk=innam [!\*] i-mMiṇṇēri=tteṇṇ-ellaikkum Kiṭ-Cheli=kkuḷattu vaḍav-ellaiyumāy=kKiṭ-Cheli=kkuḷa-
- 242 ttukku nīr pāynda kāṛ<sup>1</sup>-parippē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-pparippaiy=iṇṇāṅi Naḍuvir-Cheli=kkuḷattu Ma-
- 243 laiyaṇ-ūḍaippil=ēṇi i-kkuḷa-kkaraiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷatt-agavāyil<sup>2</sup>=iṇṇāṅi Miḷaga-
- 244 nūṛ=paṇṇāna puṇṇē[y\*]=kkil-ellaiyēy terku nōkkium=ten-mēṛku nōkkium=cheṇṇu Miḷaga-nūril-
- 245 niṇṇum Kāñaiy-Irukkai=kKottakīrtikku=ppōgiṛa valiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!\*] i-kKott-akīṛ-
- 246 ti vaḍav-ellaiyum=Kāñaiy-Iru[k\*]kai Vēḷāṇēri vaḍav-ellaikkum Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=tenṇ-ellaik-

*Ninth Plate ; First Side.*

- 247 kun=naḍuv-āṇa Kaḍambaṅguḍi=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāl-ūḍēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu
- 248 i-kkālaiy=iṇṇāṅi vaḍakku nōkki Mēṛ-Cheli=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombum Vēḷāṇēri=ppuṇṇē[y\*] vaḍa-
- 249 v-ellaiyum-āṇa karai-pparippē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷa[ga\*]ṇṇūṛ Śōraṇ Mūkaṇ puṇṇēy=
- 250 tteṇṇ-ellaiyē mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāñaiy-Irukkai Kaṇṇakīrti=kkil-ellaiyum Mi-
- 251 ḷagaṇṇūṛ-pāl Mēṛ-Cheli mēl-ellaikkun=naḍuvāṇa ellai-pparippēy vaḍakku nōkki=
- 252 chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=Chundaṇ=Ā]vāṇ puṇṇēy=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!\*] i-ppu-
- 253 ṇṇēy=tteṇṇ-ellaikkun=Kaṇṇakīrti vaḍav-ellaikkun=naḍuvāga mēṛku nōk-
- 254 ki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=ppuṇṇēy=kkil-ellaiyaiy=urru vaḍakk=innam [!\*] i-ppuṇṇē-
- 255 ykkum Miḷagaṇṇūṛ=puṇṇēy-ppaṇṇukku=naḍuvāṇa vēli-pparippē vaḍakku nōkki-
- 256 yum vaḍa-mēṛku nōkkium=cheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=kkil-āṣaṇṇūṛ Miḷagaṇṇūṛ Irāmaṇ=A]aga-
- 257 ṇ=ulṇa puṇṇēy mēl-āṣaṇṇūṛ=ellaikkun=naḍuvāga vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-mēṛku nōk-
- 258 kium=cheṇṇu Iruñchiraiyil-niṇṇum Miḷagaṇṇūṛku=ppōgiṛa valiyaiy=ūḍaṇṇu Miḷagaṇṇū-
- 259 ṛ-pāṛ=Chirukilātti=tteṇ-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru i-kkuḷa-kkarai-pparippēy vaḍa-mē-
- 260 ṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṇṇakīrti=kkuḷattu vaḍa-karaiyaiy urru vaḍakk=innam [!\*] i-kkuḷa-

<sup>1</sup> The reading in A. S. S. I. is *Kkāra*.<sup>2</sup> *Kavāyil* is the reading in A. S. S. I.



- 261 ttu=ppuṛkaraiyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Puvaiṇallūr puṇṣey=tteṇ-  
 262 ṇ-āṣarūdiyum Karpakīṛti=kkaraikkun=naḍuvāga=chChirukkiḷātti=kkulattukku nīr pāynda  
 kā-

*Ninth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 263 l-ūḍē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Karpakīṛti=kkulattu=kkāḍai=kkombaiy=ūḍaruttu  
 vaḍakk-iṇṇa-  
 264 m [k\*] Puvaiṇallūr vayalukku=tteṛkil Valaiyaṇ-ūraṇikku=tteṛkil kaḷar-pparippai valattu  
 vaittu mēṛ-  
 265 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Śirukkiḷātti=kkulattukku nīr pāynda Kāṇakaraikku vaḍakku=pPuva-  
 ṇinallūr irukku-  
 266 m iḍaiyaṇ=Irāśiṅgakkōṇ=uḷuda puṇṣey[y\*]=ttenṇ-ellaiyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 Karpaki-  
 267 ṛti=kkulattukku mēl-kaḍaiyāl nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=urru ḡ Mēl-ellaiy=i-kkāḷiṇ kiḷ-karaiyē  
 va-  
 268 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Rājaḡambhira-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattuḍaṇ kūtṭina Miḷagaṇūr-  
 [k\*]ku=ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta  
 269 Pudukkuḷattu=kkil-ellai Karpakīṛti=kkulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāḷiṇ kiḷ-karaiyē vaḍakku  
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 270 i-mMiḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta Māraṇkīṛti=kkil-ellai Karpakīṛti=kkulattukku nīr  
 pāygiṛa kāli-  
 271 ṇ kiḷ-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkium=cheṇṇu i-kkālaiy-iṛandu  
 kiḷakk-iṇṇam [k\*] vaḍak-  
 272 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇūr-kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=kkilakk-iṇṇam [k\*] i-kkuḷatt-  
 agavāyil-iṛaṅgi vaḍak-  
 273 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Miḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāṛu kuḍutta Kuvaḷaivēli-pparukku=kkil-ellaiy-  
 āṇa Māraṇēri=  
 274 kkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Nerkuṇṛattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyaiy=urru=kkilakk-iṇṇam [k\*]  
 i-kKuva-  
 275 ḷaivēli=kkil-ellaiyūn=Nerkuṇṛattu mēl-ellaiyūn-āṇa karai-pparippēy vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=  
 276 chcheṇṇu i-nNerkuṇṛattu natta[t\*]tu=tteṇṇ-āṣarūdiyay=urru=kkilakk-iṇṇam [k\*] i-nnatta-  
 [t\*]tu=tteṇṇ-āṣarū-  
 277 diyē vaḍa-mēṛku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-nNerkuṇṛattu=kkulattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru i-kkulattu  
 nīr-nak-  
 278 kalē Kuvaḷaivēli=kkil-āṣarūdiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Mēlsēri=kkaraiyaiy=urru  
 Mēlsēri=kkūḷa-ppa-  
 279 rippē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṭṭikkulattu=tteṇṇ-kaḍaiyil=ēṛi i-kkulatt=agavāyil-iṛaṅgi  
 Miḷagaṇūrku=ttalaimāṛu ku-

*Tenth Plate ; First Side.*

- 280 ḍutta Kaḍambamaṅgalattu=<sup>1</sup>kukil-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Perṛāṇ-ēmar-  
 karaiyaiy=urru=kkilā-  
 281 kk-iṇṇam [k\*] vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaṭṭikkulattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu  
 Mālaṅguḍi-<sup>2</sup>kiḷavaṇ Pullāṇi-  
 282 Māḍevaṇ-āṇa Nuḷambādarāyar kāṇiyāy=tTirumāḷiruṇchōlaiy-Āḷvār dēvadāṇa iṛaiyiliy-  
 Āchchaṅkāṭṭiruk-<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *kkil*.<sup>2</sup> Read *kiḷavaṇ*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Achchaṅ*.

- 283 kai=tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=teṇ-ellaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainal-  
 284 lūr-tteṇṇ-ellaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy=iḍattu vaittu=kkiḷakku nōkkium=teṇ-kiḷakku  
 nōkkium=chēṇ-  
 285 ru Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr=teṇ-kiḷ-mūlaiyir=ttiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru ivv-Irājagambhira-  
 chaturvvē-  
 286 dimaṅgalattudaṇ kūṭṭiṇa Miḷagaṇūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku  
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 287 Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr kiḷ-ellaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍak-  
 288 ku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr<sup>1</sup> vaḍa-kiḷ-mūlaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-  
 urru=kki-  
 289 ḷakk-iṇṇam [1\*] Vāgaikuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum=Tirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr<sup>1</sup> vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa  
 i-mMiḷaga-  
 290 ṇūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē mēṇku nōkkium vaḍa-mēṇku nōkkium=chēṇṇu  
 i-tTirumā-  
 291 liṛuñchōlainallūr=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-tTirumāliṛuñchōlainallūr  
 vaḍa-mē-  
 292 ṇ-mūlaiyir=tiruvāḷi-kkallaiy-urru Aḷaiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Sūraḷuḍiy-āṇa Virakāmuga-  
 maṅgalattu vaḍav-e-  
 293 ḷaiyum Vāgaikuḍi=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa Miḷagaṇūr<sup>2</sup> .kāliṇ teṇ-karaiyē vaḍa-mēṇku  
 nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 294 Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvanam-uḍaiyār dēvadāṇam Aḷaiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Vēḷḷurkuṛuḷchehi-  
 kkiḷ-ellaiyum  
 295 Vāgaikuḍi mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa i-mMiḷagaṇūr<sup>2</sup> .kāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu

*Tenth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 296 i-kkālaiy=ūḍaruttu=kKiraṇḍīr-nāṭṭu Viḍattal-āṇa Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu-  
 tteṇṇ-ellaiyai-  
 297 y-urru=kkiḷakk-iṇṇam [1\*] [v-v-e]ḷaiyē kiḷakku nōkki=kkaḷar-parippē ṇṇu Vāgaikuḍi=  
 kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyaiy-ur-  
 298 ru=kkiḷakk-iṇṇam [1\*] i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkaraiyaiy-iṇṅi Vāgaikuḍi  
 vaḍav-ellaiyum Māṇābharaṇa-  
 299 chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu=tteṇṇ-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vāgai-  
 kuḍi Māṇābhara-  
 300 ṇa-Iṣvaram-uḍaiyār kōyilāi valattu vaittu ellai-varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vāgai-  
 kuḍi=kkuḷa-  
 301 ttil-niṇṇu=kkiḷakku nōkki=ppōgiṛa ellai-vā[y\*]kkālaiy-urru i-vvā[y\*]kkāliṇ vaḍa-varambē  
 kiḷakku nōkki=chche-  
 302 ṇu i-vvā[y\*]kkālaiy=iṇḍu Vāgaikuḍi=pparṇil Ariyāḷ-vayakkaḷ vaḍa-varambum Māṇā-  
 bharaṇa-chaturvvēdimāṅga-  
 303 lattu=pparṇāṇa Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkaḷ teṇ-varambum-āṇa varambē kiḷakku nōkki=chch-  
 eṇṇu Nakkamaṅgala-  
 304 tṭu=kkuḷattukku nīr pāygiṛa kālai[y=urru] i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku nōkkium vaḍa-  
 mēṇku nōkkium va-

<sup>1</sup> Read "nallūr."<sup>2</sup> Read "nṇur."

- 305 da-kiḷakku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu Tuttiyūr-kuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=āḍuttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-  
karaiyē vaḍakku  
306 \*nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṅku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu Tiruvāvaṇattu Arai-  
mākkūṛru=ttēṇṇ-e-  
307 llaiyum Māṇābhara[ṇa\*]-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa ellai-varambē mēṅku  
nōkki-chcheṇṇu Mā-  
308 nābharāṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu=kkuḷa-kkaraiyaiy=urru=kkiḷakk=inṇam [\*] i-kkuḷattu=  
ppuṅkaraiyē vaḍakku nōkki-  
309 chcheṇṇu Araimākkūṛru=chChirṅēmbaṅ=karaiyaiy=urru ivv-ēmbaṅ=teṅ-karaiyē mēṅku  
nōkki=chehe-  
310 ṇṇu Miḷagaṇūr kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-kkāliṇ mēl-karaiyē vaḍakku  
nōkkiyum vaḍa-mēṅ-

*Eleventh Plate ; First Side.*

- 311 ku nōkkiyuñ=cheṇṇu i-kkālaiy=iṅāṅi i-kkāliṇ kiḷ-karaiyil=ēṅi Araimāk[kū]ṛru ēmbaliḷ  
nīr-nakkalē  
312 vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Tuttiyūr-kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu Uḍaiyār  
Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār  
313 dēvaḍāṇam=Aḷaiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil Vellūṅkuṅuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyum=Tiruvāvaṇattu mēl-  
ellaiyum-āṇa Ka-  
314 ṇavadi-vayakkal mēl-varambē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kKaṇavadi-vayakkalil vaḍa-  
mēlai-mūlaiyil Vāykattā-  
315 tturavai valattu vaittu Tiruvāvaṇattu=kkālaiy=ūḍaruttu Vellūṅkuṅuchchi=kkiḷ-ellaiyum=  
Tiruvāvaṇattu  
316 mēl-ellaiyum-āṇa ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vaigaiy-āṇa Śrīvālabhappērāṅṅil=  
iṅāṅi Ḷ Vaḍav-e-  
317 llai i-Vaigaiy-āṇa Śivālavappērāṅṅ-ūḍē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu ivv-āṅṅil-niṅṇum Paṇaṅ-  
galūr=kuḷa-  
318 ttukku ni[r\*] pāygiṇa kāliṇ vaḍa-karaiyil=ēṅi i-kkaraiyē kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kaḷa-  
vaḷināḍaṅ-āṅṅil=iṅāṅ-  
319 gi ivv-āṅṅil-ūḍēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Iḍaikattūṅṅil-niṅṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppō-  
giṇa va-  
320 ḷiyaiy=urru kiḷ-karaiyil=ēṅi=ttēṅ=inṇam [\*] i-vvaḷiyē vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-  
kKaḷavaḷināḍaṅ-āṅṅil-  
321 niṅṅnā=Cheyyakuḷattūṅ=kuḷattukku nīr pāygiṇa kālaiy=ūḍaruttu i-vvaḷiyēy vaḍa-kiḷakku  
nōkki=chcheṇṇu Adika-  
322 rai=kkuḷaṅ-karaiyil=ēṅi i-kkaraiyē vaḍa-mēṅku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu vaḍa-kaḍaiyum  
Āykuḍi=ttēṇṇ-e-  
323 llaiyaiyum=urru=ttēṅ=inṇam [\*] ivv-ellaiyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēlaṅguḍi nattattu  
vaḍavāyēy  
324 ēṅṇu i-v[Vēlaṅguḍi]=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍaiyaiy=urru=ttēṅ=inṇam [\*] ida-niṅṅum vaḍa-kiḷakku  
nōkki=chcheṇṇ-  
325 ru Kuḍaṅḷāḍi mēl-ellaiyaiy=urru ivv-ellaiyēy vaḍakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-[kiḷakku] nōk-  
[kiyuñ]=cheṇṇu  
326 Kuḍaṅḷāḍi=kkuḷattu mēl-kaḍai-kkombaiy=urru=ttēṅ=inṇam [\*] ida-niṅ[ṇum] vaḍa-  
kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu

\* The left hand portion of the medial Ḷ sign is entered in the previous line.

x, a.

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294

x, b.

296  
298  
300  
302  
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306  
308  
310

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298  
300  
302  
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306  
308  
310

296  
298  
300  
302  
304  
306  
308  
310

xi, a.

312  
314  
316  
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322  
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326

312  
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940  
942

TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

First Side.

2  
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16

2  
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6  
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Second Side.

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*Eleventh Plate ; Second Side.*

- 327 Śuṇḍaṅkuṛuchchi-tteṇṇ-ellaiyum=i-kKuḍaṅjādi vaḍav-ellaiyum-āṇa i-kkuḷattu nīr-nakkalē-  
 328 y kiḷakku nōkkiyum teṇ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṇṇu i-kkuḷattukku=kkiḷ-kaḍaiyāl nīr pā-  
 329 ygīra kālaiy-ūḍaruttu=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Vēlūr-Śirukudi Iḍaikkāṭṭūril-niṇṇum  
 330 Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppōṇa vaḷiyaiy-ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kāṭṭu-tteyvam-  
 eṇṇum Piḍā-  
 331 rikūlam-eṇṇum pēr kūva[ppa]ṭṭa<sup>1</sup> Uḍaiḷatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=  
 kkiḷ-  
 332 kaḍaiyil-ēri=tteṇ-kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu Kiraṅūrnāḍālvāṅkōṭṭai-ppakkattāṇa Śem[be]rum-  
 333 āṇ uḷuda puṅṣeyyai valattu vaittu=kkiḷakku nōkkiyun=teṇ-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṇṇu  
 Śeyyakūḷa-  
 334 ttūril-niṇṇum Vēmbaṅguḍikku=ppōḷgīra vaḷiyaiy-ūḍaruttu=kkiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu  
 Śeyyakūḷa-  
 335 ttūr=kūḷaṅgaḷukku nīr pāya Muttan=Ālvāṅ-āṇa Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṅ kalluvitta  
 kālaiy-ūḍaruttu-  
 336 kkiḷakku nōkkiyum vaḍa-kiḷakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṇṇu Mēr-Chūrai Uḍaiḷatt=agavāyēy  
 kiḷakku nōkki=ch-  
 337 cheṇṇu Kiṭ-Chūrai-kkuḷatt=agavāyēy kiḷakku nōkki=chcheṇṇu i-kkuḷattu=kkiḷ-kaḍai-kkombil  
 ēri  
 338 muṇbu tuḍaṅgiṇav=iḍattu -ppiḍi niṇṇadu [[\*] Ivv-aṅav-ōlai eḷudiṇēṇ \*ivai Puravuvāri-  
 kkaṅkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūr-  
 339 ṛattu Naḍuviṛ-kūrṇu ēri-Parāntakanallūr=\*Kaṭṭikuṛuchchi-ūḍaiyāṅ Araiyaṅ Nārāyaṅṅ-  
 eḷuttu [[\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Pu-  
 340 ravuvāri-kkaṅkāṇi Miḷalai-kkūrṛattu=kkiḷ-kūrṇu=tTaṅḍalaiy=ūḍaiyāṅ Pirāntakaṅ Tīru-  
 ppūvaṅam-ūḍaiyāṅ=e-  
 341 [uttu [[\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Puravuvāri-kkaṅkāṇi Aḷaiyapāṇḍiyakkūḷakkīl Perumāṅṇūr-āṇa Pala-  
 maṅḍalāḍichechanallūr=Ka-  
 342 ruṅākaradēvaṅ Purpavaṅam-ūḍaiyāṅ=eḷuttu [[\*] Ivai<sup>2</sup> Tiruvāykkēlvi Jayadara-pPalla-  
 varayar kaṅkāṇi Tirumu-  
 343 ṇaippāḍi-nāṭṭu Karuppūr-ūḍaiyāṅ Piḷaiy-Ālvāṅ Pōṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṅṇē ivai<sup>2</sup> eṇṇ-eḷuttu  
 [[\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1)—Hail ! Prosperity ! There was at first this water. In its centre (lit. inside), there lay, on the serpent (*Śeṣha*)-couch, Hari. From his navel came forth a lotus ; and from it, by himself, the creator of the universe (*Viśvasṛi*) came ; from him Atri ; and from the cavity of his eyes, the Moon ; his son was Budha ; from him was born Purūravas ; and thence came these Pāṇḍya lords.

(Verse 2) —Hail ! Prosperity ! Having ascertained the (*proper*) time from **Sundarēśa**, (*king*) **Rājagambhīradēva**, in the *twenty-fifth year of his reign*, on the day of Svātī combined with Saturday (*Ārki-vāra*) in the dark fortnight, and on the *tithi* of Kanakapati (*i.e.*, *ēkādaśī*), when the hot-rayed (*Sun*) was in the sign Dhanus, ordered to conduct immediately the female elephant to fix the boundaries of the village called after his own name.

(Line 5) The goddess of the flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmi) lovingly taking her seat and the goddess of the earth lawfully uniting with him ; the goddess of war resting on his victorious shoulders ; the goddess of the great arts shining on his tongue ; the moon-light of his fame shedding its lustre in the

<sup>1</sup> The letters *ppa* look like *ya*.<sup>2</sup> The syllables *ivai* are written as a group.\* Read *r-Kaṭṭi*.

twice-four quarters; the path of the Vēdas (*maṛai*) expanding; the path of Manu clarifying the six righteous doctrinal ways and spreading out; the fish (emblem of the Pāṇḍyas) securely seated on the golden mountain, driving off the forest tiger (emblem of the Chēra); the white parasol (*of his*) affording shade to the seven seas and the seven sporting gardens surrounded by the eight hills; his righteous sceptre swaying; the fierce Kali (*age*) concealing itself with tremour in long caverns; the Villavar (*i.e.*, the Chēra), Śembiyar (*i.e.*, the Chōla), Virāṭar, Varāṭar and the Pallavar, paying due obeisance in regular succession with (*their*) tributes; his single wheel rising aloft over the two globes; the sweet and nectar-like *iyal, isai* and *nāṭakam* (*i.e.*, prose, poetry and drama) steadily increasing; wearing the crown and sitting on the mountain-like high lion throne,—his eulogy being sung by able masters of arts,—along with his queen Avanimuluduṇḍaiyāl, who resembled the swan in gentle gait and who was praised and bowed to by queens of kings; the glorious king Jaṭāvarman *alias* the Emperor of the three worlds, the illustrious Kulaśēkhara-dēva reigned.

Whereas, while the king was pleased to be seated on the reclining couch called Maḷavarājan in the hall of his palace at Madurai situated in (*the sub-division*) Māṇḍakkuḷakkil of Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, he had ordered that a village consisting of one thousand and two hundred shares should be formed and given as *brahmadēya*, with effect from the eleventh year opposite the thirteenth,—one thousand and eighty shares to one thousand and eighty Brāhmanas learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them, and one hundred and twenty shares as *dēvadāna* and for those who had to do service;

(Ll. 69-72) and whereas the village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, called (*as sweet*) after the sacred name of the king and included in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu, was formed in pursuance of this said order by taking up the undermentioned villages, excluding from them the lands which formed old *dēvadānas*, *paḷlichchandam* and *kārāṇmai*, and including the rest,—and removing their previous owners, old names and the classification under *vellāp-vagai*, as well as the prior holdings,—and bringing them all under one village with one *puravu* and one *nāḍu*,

(Ll. 72-74) and whereas the king had been pleased to say that the four boundaries of this (*new*) village may be circumambulated with the female elephant in the presence of the superintendents appointed for the purpose, and, for the boundaries thus passed through, a deed may be drawn up and given,

the following is recorded on the thirteenth year and four thousand and three hundred and sixtieth day.

(Ll. 19 to 69) The villages and lands taken up are:—

(1) In Kiranāṭṭar-nāḍu,—the villages of Nakkamaṅgalam and Vāgaikuḍi, (*the latter*) a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvanamudaiyār; (2) including the above (*two villages*), the villages of Tiruvāvanam, Tuttiyūr, and Kiruṅgākkōṭṭai (*with its lands called*) Kāḍuvetti, Muṭṭam, Korraṇēri, Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, Vellattaivenṇāṅ-ēmbal, Pagavadi-ēmbal, Naḍuvirkōṭṭai and Kāḍaṅ-Eṭṭi-kuṅuchchi; (3) in Paṇṇāṅgalūr-nāḍu,—the villages of Adikarai, Mittiravāli, Vēlaṅguḷam with its land Ōmaḷagiyāṅ-ēmbal, Śōlaiyēri, Kuḍaṅjāḍi, Aruvarai-Puḍukkuḷam, Kīṭ-Chūrai, Mēṅ-Chūrai, Piḍārikuḷam, Paṇṇāṅgalūr *alias* Paṇḍitapañjaranallūr, Śeyyakulattūr with its land Śiṅgaṅēriyudaiyāṅ-kōṅipparru, Vañjiyūr, Kaṅkuṅuchchi, Ariyāṅkuṅuchchi, Āraikkuḷam with its lands Aṅugaśāḍi, Viragaṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Virapaṇḍiyappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Moḷiyaṅ-ēmbal, Ambalakkōṭṭaṅ-ēmbal, Śittāṅ-ēmbal and Paṇṇirāyirappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Uvaṇiyamaṅgalam and its land Puḍaiḷchchāṅkuḷiy-ēmbal; (4) in Tiyandaikuḍi-nāḍu,—the villages of Ugaray and Kōṭṭai with the lands Śivigaiyāṅkuḷi and Uḍumbandai, Ulagaraṅi, Karaiyūr, Kunnēli, Maṭṭadakkīyēri with its lands Śaṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal, Puttēmbal, Kalaiyaṅēri, Śēnkuḷi and Orukkoraṇēri, Kalvā-yilmaṅgalam, Pullaṅēri, Śēndaṅēri, Nakkāṅēri, Pārkuḷam with its land Uyyāṅ-Sūriyaṅ-ēmbal,

Marudaṅkuḍi, Nāvaṅkuḍi with its land Kaṇḍiyūr-nāḍāḷvāṅ-ēmbal, Śīru-Nakkaṅēri, Sūlāmaṇi, Puṟṟukkuḷam, Śīruvayal, Koṅṟaikkūḷam, Pullamaṅgalam, Kaṅkuḷam, Karumaṅkuḷam Eyili, Paḍaich-chaṅkuḷam, Puḷiyaṅkuḷam, Pūḍikuḷam, Vēḷārkuṟuchchi, Vāyttalainallūr and the land Kāḍuvētti of this (*last mentioned*) village; (5) inclusive of three *vēli* of land, according to *pāḍagam*, situated to the east of the channel passing to Marudūr and lying within the tank of Mānaviramadurai, the following being added to the *brahmadēya*, *viz.*, Marudūr *alias* Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the land Saṅgaṅ-ēmbal, Saṅkaramaṅgalam and Tiyaṅūr-Sōlaiyēri; (6) in Kīlāṅkāttūr *alias* Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding eight (*vēli*) and six *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṅkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṅchey*, *puṅṟey*, *nattam*, *tōttam*, *tiḍal*, *ūraṇi*, *kōyilāḍi*, *tirunanda-vaṅam* and *ēmbal*, which had been the *kuḍippaṟṟu*, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, all the rest of the lands which had been owned by the adjacent people; (7) in Mēṟ-Pāsalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, excluding four and a half (*vēli*) and three *kāṇi*, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṅkōl, consisting of *nīr-nīlam*, *nattam*, *karuṅchey*, *puṅṟey*, *tōttam*, *tiḍal*, *Śrīkōyil*, *tirunandavaṅam*, etc., which, up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, had been the holding of the *jaṅṁis* that were residing there, the rest of the lands which were held by the adjacent people and the Maṟavas, as well as Pirāṇḍiyēri and Kaḍukkuḍi; and also the *dēvadāna* lands of the temple of Tiruppaśalaināthar at Mēṟ-Pāsalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *viz.*, Śēṭṭāḷēri, *tirappu* Sōṇḍaṅ-ēmbal, Tattaṅ-ēmbal, Vēmbōḍ-ēmbal, Pāppāṅ-ēmbal, Edirilīśōḷappērayaṅ-ēmbal; also the lands called Vēlaṅkāḷ, Kaṅichchiy-ēmbal and the land given in exchange for *kuḍikkāṇi* which had been classed under the different head of *dēvadāna-izaiyili* and whose *kāraṅmai* belonged to the temple of Śrī-Vaikunda-Viṅṟagar-Āḷvār of Mēṟ-Pāsalai *alias* Śrīvallaḅha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; as also *tirappu* Paṅaiyaṅēri, Kīḷ-Vēḷiyāṟṟūr, Mēḷ-Vēḷiyāṟṟūr, Maṇḍaiyāṅkuḷam, Nelvēli with its land Taṅṅilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbal, Sōmāttūr, Aravaṅkuḍi, Karuṅkuḷam, Ēṅāttūr, Taḍāppiraḷ and Kāṅchiraṅkuḷam; (8) in Mēṟkuḍi *alias* Kalijayamaṅgalam in **Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu**, excluding two (*vēli*) and four *mā* of land, as measured by the rod Virapāṇḍiyaṅkōl, which up to the tenth year opposite the thirteenth, were held by *ryots* and consisted of *nīr-nīlam*, *karuṅchey*, *puṅṟey*, *nattam*, etc., the rest of the lands owned by the adjacent people; as also the villages Mēṅ-Mēṟkuḍi, Maṅjaḷūr and Koṅṟaṅēri; also Muttūraṅāroṭṭai which was the *dēvadāna* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṅamuḍaiyār; as well as Aṅṅalvāy with Sundaṅ-ēmbal near that village, Narimaṅṟam *alias* Varagaṅḍanallūr together with the lands near that village, *viz.*, Śīlaiyaṅēri, Uṟiyappi, Tāḷiyēmbal, Koṅṟaṅēri, Sūriyaṅ-ēmbal and Sōmaṅēri; (9) in *tirappu* **Puṟappaṟāḷai-nāḍu**,—Pullaṅēri, the lands that were added to the *karuṅcheypaṟṟu* of Kaṅṟaṅūr, the *karuṅchey* of Madalaikuṟuchchi, the *puṟṟarai* (*i.e.*, the grassy bank) of Kīḷ-Śēḷi, Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṅūr *alias* Rājendra-śiṅganallūr together with Miṅṅēri near that village, Kaṅṅikuḍi, Araiyaṅēri, the lands within the tank of Naḍuviṟ-Cheḷi, Mēṟ-Cheḷi, Kuṟuchchātti, Śīrukkīḷātti, Puvaṅṅinallūr, Ārikuḍi, Sōmaṅēri and Tāyaṅ-Pūḍi-ēmbal; also Śīrukkīḷāṅkāṭṭūr which (*last*) was a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṅamuḍaiyār; as well as Śīru-Miḷagi, *tirappu* Neṟkuṅṟam, Kattīkkūḷam and Peṟṟāṅ-ēmbal.

(Ll. 74-139) The *puravavari-kaṅkāṇi* officers Araiyaṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ of Kaṭṭikuṟuchchi residing in Śrī-Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuviṟ-kūṟṟu (a sub-division) of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, Parāntakaṅ Tiruppūvaṅamuḍaiyaṅ of Taṅḍalai in Kīḷ-kūṟṟu (a sub-division) of Miḷalai-kūṟṟam, Māṅaṅūruḍaiyaṅ Karuṅākaradēvaṅ Puṟpavaṅamuḍaiyaṅ of Māṅaṅūr *alias* Palamaṅḍalāḍittanallūr in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-kkuḷakkīḷ, Piḷḷai Āḷvāṅ *alias* Poṅṅambalakkūṭṭaṅ of Karuppūr in Tirumaṅaiyāḍi-nāḍu (a sub-division) of Sōḷamaṅḍalam, who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *ūruvāykkēḷi* Poṅṅaṅ Sūryadēvaṅ *alias* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṅ of Puttūr in Puṟappaṟāḷai-nāḍu, Vēḷāṅ Śāṭṭaṅ of Kīḷ-Nettūr *alias* Kīrti-viśāliyaṅallūr in Karuṅkuḍi-nāḍu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of Poṅṅamoḷidēvaṅ, Nārāyaṅaṅ Śāṭṭaṅ of Vēḷiyāṟṟūr in Kēraḷaśiṅga-vaḷaṅnāḍu who was the *kaṅkāṇi* of the *smudāyam* Kappalūruḍaiyaṅ Śrīraṅaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyaṅ *alias* Pottappichchōḷar of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in



Muttūru-kūrram, Arayan Tirumalai-udaiyān of Aruṅkaḷam in Poliyūr-nādu who was the *kaṅkāni* of the *māḷigaittanam* Śivallavan Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷaṅ *alias* Kāliṅgarāyar of Āykkuḍi *alias* Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Vaḍatalai-Śembi-nādu, Arayan Karumāṅikkam of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇōdanallūr in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nādu who was the *kaṅkāni* of Maḷavarāyar, Kappalūrudaiyān Uyyavandān Ponṇaṅ *alias* Māṇābharāṇa-Mūvēndavēḷār of Kappalūr *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷanallūr in Muttūru-kūrram who was the *adigāram* of Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl, Uḍaiyān Nambi Ponṇambalak-kūttan *alias* Virāśiṅgadēvar of Śiṅupālaiyūr *alias* Kāvērivalavanallūr in Śōḷapāṇḍiya-vaḷanādu, Malaikiniyaninṇān Aḷagaṅ *alias* Vijaya-Vichchādiradēvar who was one of the *aṇukkar* of Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyan of Rājēndiram in Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkīḷ that was in charge of the business of this (*i.e.*, the said) *nādu*, all these being the *kaṅkāni*, the undermentioned persons of Mānavīramadurai in Tiyaṇdaikuḍi-nādu, *viz.*, Mādavan Divākara-Baṭṭan, Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Baṭṭan, Śī(śri)-Mādavan Nārasimha-Bhaṭṭan, Gōvindaṅ Tirunilakaṅṭa-Baṭṭan and Jātavēdaṅ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭan; together with the following others of Marudūr *alias* Madurōdaya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam who were concerned in the formation of the *brahmadēya*, *viz.*, Tirukkuḍandai Ādityaṅ Śēndapirān-Baṭṭan, śri-Kṛiṣṇaṅ Aḷagiyarāghava-Bhaṭṭan and Kāliyāyaṅ Venṇaikkūta-Bhaṭṭan; as also the undermentioned residents of Mēr-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalḷabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, *viz.*, Āhitāgni Śrīraṅganātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāthaka-yājiyār, Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhaṭṭan, śri-Vāsudēvaṅ Nagna-pirān-Bhaṭṭan and śri-Rāmaṅ Paramātma-Bhaṭṭan; as well as the residents of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇōdanallūr, *viz.*, Arayan Uyyaninṇāduvān *alias* Śembiyadaraiyaṅ Kēsavaṅ Nārāyaṇaṅ, Karumāṅikkam Korraṅ, Kalvāyil Kēsavaṅ, Periyān Perrān, Naṅgaṅ Aḷagaṅ and Vāsudēvaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ; the following residents of Poliyūr *alias* Pārthivakēsarinallūr in Poliyūr-nādu, *viz.*, Appaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ, Udayaṅ Varaguṇadēvaṅ *alias* Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, Sūriyaṅ Varantaruvān *alias* Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-Pallavaraiyaṅ and Sundarattōḷudaiyān Sōmadēvaṅ; the undermentioned residents of Kaḷḷikuḍi *alias* Puravuvarinallūr in Puṇṇappaḷai-nādu, *viz.*, Dayānilai Uyyavandān *alias* Chēdirāyaṅ, Aṇukkaṅ Ariyaṅ and Appaṅ Arumōḷidēvaṅ *alias* Śembiyaṅ-Viḷupparaiyaṅ and the headman of Puttūr named Baṭṭan *alias* Puṇṇappaḷainādu-kiḷavaṅ; also Paḷiyānilai Sūriyadēvaṅ *alias* Tamiṇādu-kiḷavaṅ of Iruṅchirai *alias* Indirasamāṇanallūr in Kāṅnai-Irukkai and Vēḷān Iraṭṭai *alias* Rājakuṅjara-Pallavaraiyaṅ; also the persons hereunder mentioned who belonged to Miḷagaṅūr, to wit, Śadiraṅ Śelvaṅ, Rāmaṅ Aḷagaṅ, Śōraṅ Mūkkaṅ, Nāgadēvaṅ Rāmaṅ *alias* Rājanārāyaṇa-Mūvēndavēḷān and Araśariyaṅ, who were concerned in effecting the entry in accounts under the name of Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷagaṅūr *alias* Rājēndraśiṅganallūr, after removing the previous owners, old names and prior holdings (*mudal*) and bringing also under one *nādu*, one village and one *puravu* the undermentioned villages and lands, *viz.*, Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Kuḷaivēli, Puḍukkuḷam, Māraṅkiṭṭi, Kāvīdinallūr, Kaḍambamaṅgalam, Śāttiyār-ēmbal and the lands that remained in Araiyaṅkuḷam of Kāṅnai-Irukkai after deducting from it the portion (*sempūdi*) which formed the *kāni* of Mandari Rāmaṅ *alias* Pallavarāyar and which had been given in exchange for (*the old*) Miḷagaṅūr that had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam; Araiyaṅ Pullāni of Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Tirumāliruṅjōlainallūr a *dēvadāna* of Tirumāliruṅjōlai-Ālvār that had the *kāṇipparru* of Pullāni Mādēvaṅ *alias* Nuḷambādarāyar the headman of Māḷaṅguḍi in Kīṭ-Śembi-nādu; also the undermentioned persons of Śiṅukuḷattūr *alias* Parākrama-pāṇḍiyanallūr in Aḷagiya-pāṇḍiyakkuḷakkīḷ, *viz.*, Śāttan Kaṇavadi, Sundarattōḷudaiyān Dēvaṅ, Śāttan Kaṇḍaṅ *alias* Tirumāliruṅjōlai Dāsaṅ, Vēḷān Sundarattōḷudaiyān, Śivallavan Pērāyiramuḍaiyān *alias* Māraṅpūrnāṭṭu-Vēḷān and Dēvaṅ Śivallavan Araṭṭamikki-Dāsaṅ; also Udaya-divākaraṅ śri-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭan of Iḷavimaṅgalam, the resident of Sūraḷuḍi *alias* Virakāmuga-maṅgalam, and Nārāyaṇaṅ Subrahmaṇya-Bhaṭṭan of this (*same*) *kuḍi*; also the undermentioned persons of Viḍattai *alias* Māṇābharāṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kiraṅūr-nādu, *viz.*, Uyyaninṇādu Periyālvān, Śēndapirān Karumāmugil-Bhaṭṭan, Gōvindaṅ Māṇēndukaiyaṅ and Ādityaṅ Bhāskara-

Bhaṭṭaṇ; also the undermentioned persons of Veḷḷurkuṟuṅchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkūḷakkī, viz., Vēḷāṇ Kōvaṇ, Ādi Perrāṇ, Vēḷāṇ Aḷagaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēṇḍavēḷāṇ and Vēḷāṇ Śīriḷāṅkō; (*inclusive of the last mentioned four*) the following (*three*) persons, viz., Āḷvāṇ Upādhyaḃar of Marudūr in Tiruvāvaṇam, Karumāṇikkam Ulagamūṇḍāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Perumpuliyūr and Ma-yūravāhaṇaṇ Āḍuvāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ of Marudūr who were concerned in the formation of the *brahma-dēya*; (*also the undermentioned persons*) of Vēḷūr *alias* Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyanallūr in Kīraṇūr-nāḍu, viz., Rāmaṇ Uyyavandāṇ, Perrāṇ Pāṭṭaṇ, Dēvaṇ Nambi and Śōraṇ Nāṭṭāṇ; all these pointing out their respective boundaries, the following persons of Tiruppūvaṇam in Irāśiṅgaṅkuḷakkī, viz., *Aṇaittaṇam* Pammaṇ Aḍiyārkkunalla-Perumāṇ *alias* Pallavadaraiyaṇ, *meypṇu* Malaiyaṇ Śōraṇ *alias* Viṇjattaraiyaṇ, Dēvaṇ Tillai *alias* Madurōḍaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Śīkayilāya-Bhaṭṭaṇ *alias* Śīvallava-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṇ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, Eṇaṇ Periyaṇ *alias* Pāṇḍiyaṇ-Pallavaraiyaṇ and Pōṇṇu Aravamūḍaiyaṇ Villi *alias* Muḍittalaikoṇḍa-Pallavaraiyaṇ, conducting the female elephant, the following is the document of the boundaries drawn up exactly as the elephant passed :—

(Ll. 139-195) The eastern boundary (*as it came to be determined*) on the day of Svāti corresponding to Saturday and the eleventh *tīthi* of the second fortnight and the fourth (*solar*) day of the month of Dhanus in the twelfth year opposite the thirteenth of (*the king's*) reign, lies to the west of the line commencing from the eastern extremity of Uḍaikuḷam, also called Kīṭ-Chūrai, which lies to the north-east of this village (of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam); passes southwards and crosses the road going to Kaḍambaṅguḍi from Śeyyakūḷattūr, runs in a south-easterly direction, then southwards and then in south-easterly direction and crosses the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Māṇavīramadurai, and then passes eastwards and crosses the high road leading to Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai from Śeyyakūḷattūr, and then keeping to the right (*the pit called*) Pudaichchāṅkūḷi, passes south-east along the *veṭṭipperuvaḷi* (the big path of the *veṭṭis*) which meets the said road (*at the said pit*) and crosses the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai; further, proceeding from this road in a south-easterly direction and crossing the high road which runs westwards, and then going in a south-easterly direction crossing the road leading to Māṇavīramadurai from Piḍāvūr and then passing in a south-easterly direction and reaching the eastern extremity of the tank of Karaiyūr and from its bank passing in a south-easterly direction, it lies to the west. And crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kuṇṇēli, it lies to the west. Proceeding from the channel in a south-easterly direction on the eastern boundary of Śaṅgappērayaṇ-ēmbal, then going southwards and then in a south-westerly direction and crossing the road leading from Neṭṭūr to Māṇavīramadurai and then going southwards along the *nīrnakkal* of the tank at Chandranallūr and reaching the southern extremity of Chandranallūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding from here in a south-westerly direction along the way leading to Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappēraṇ, it lies to the west. Then going southwards from this way along the *sevvai* on the eastern boundary of Śēṅkūḷi, then proceeding westwards on the southern boundary of the said Śēṅkūḷi and afterwards going southwards along Kaṅkuḷam which forms the eastern boundary of Orukkoṅṇāṇēri, it lies to the west. Then proceeding in a south-westerly direction on the southern boundary of the said Orukkoṅṇāṇēri and getting into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallabhappēraṇ it lies to the west. Then going along this Śrīvallabhappēraṇ (*first*) in a north-westerly direction and then in a westerly direction, it lies to the west. Then getting up the southern bank of this river and proceeding in a southerly direction and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Pāsalai *alias* Dāṇaviṇōḍanallūr and the tank of Mēṅ-Pāsalai *alias* Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and getting up the bank of this channel and proceeding southwards along the . . . . . ridge of the half *vēli* and two *mā* of land in Arasippaṇṇu and going up the northern extremity of the tank of Māṇavīramadurai, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding

westwards on this bank and then going southwards on the eastern boundary of the three *vēli* of land, as measured by the *pāṭṭakkōl*,—which had been added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam out of the lands that were being cultivated as *pāṭṭam* on the eastern side of the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr and which lay within the abovesaid tank of Mānavīramadurai,—and getting up the south bank of this tank and (*then*) reaching the channel which carries water to the tank at Marudūr, it lies to the west. Further, proceeding along the east bank of this channel in a south-easterly direction and then in southerly direction and reaching the old excavation in the south extremity of the *kuṭṭiyiruppu* of Vāṇagāṅgappēraiyāṅ, it lies to the west. Proceeding again eastwards along this excavation, and going on the ridge (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction along the southern ridge of the field in the south extremity of Mānavīramadurai in the *agavāy* of the old tank of Marudūr, and getting up the eastern extremity of the said old tank of Marudūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding westwards along this bank, and then going southwards along (*the channel called*) Divākara-vayakkāl which forms the eastern boundary of Marudūr and the western boundary of Mānavīramadurai, till where this channel ends, then passing by this western ridge of (*the land called*) Divākara-vayakkāl, and then proceeding eastwards along the southern ridge of the field and then passing south along the *sevai* which has the western ridge of Sundaravayakkāl and then going along the line which forms the northern boundary of Śāṅkaramaṅgalam and the southern boundary of Mānavīramadurai, (*first*) in an easterly direction and then in a north-easterly direction and getting up the northern extremity of Śāṅkaramaṅgalam and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṅ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr, it lies to the west. Then, proceeding in a south-easterly direction on the western bank of this channel, and crossing the (*other*) channel which, branching off from this channel, carries water to the tank of Mēṅ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in south-easterly, easterly and southerly directions on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Kīṭ-Paśalai *alias* Dānaviṇḍanallūr and reaching the western embankment of the tank of the said Dānaviṇḍanallūr, and then getting down the grassy bank of that tank and proceeding southwards on the eastern bank of the channel which carries water to the tank of Mēṅ-Paśalai *alias* Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of the said Śrīvalla-bha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, then proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-east directions along the *īḍukkāru* (*flowing*) from the *maruvāy* of this tank, and reaching the path leading to the *nattam* of Nelvēli, it lies to the west. Then, getting up at the eastern extremity of the tank of the said Nelvēli and reaching (*the channel called*) Paṇṇaiykkāl, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of that channel and crossing the path leading west from Nakkaṇēri, (*it lies to the west*).

(LL. 195-267) The southern boundary : Going westwards along the road forming the southern boundary of Nelvēli and the northern entrance to the *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri and reaching the western end of the said *nattam* of Eṭṭiyēri, thence proceeding westwards and reaching the old temple-site in the middle of this Eṭṭiyēri and Nelvēli, then going south-west and crossing (*the river*) Paṇṇaiyāṅ, it lies to the north. Proceeding (*successively*) in south and south-west directions on the western bank of this river, and then crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Niram-baiyūr and (also) forms the eastern boundary of Sōmāttūr, and proceeding southwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the middle boundary between Sōmāttūr and Śīruvāgai in the vicinity of Kaṭṭikkūḍi, it lies to the north. Further, passing west and south-west along the ridge which commences at the middle of this boundary, and getting into the tank at Śīruvāgai at the north end of it, then passing on the southern boundary, of Aravaṅkuḍi and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Kaṭṭikkūḍi, then going westwards and then in a south-westerly

direction along the road leading to Vēḷāṇēri from Aravaṅkuḍi and reaching the eastern boundary of Vēḷāṇēri, it lies to the north. Again proceeding in a north-easterly direction along the eastern bank of the channel, which runs along the said village of Vēḷāṇēri and carries water to Puttūr, and crossing this channel and getting up the western bank, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the boundary which forms the northern boundary of Vēḷāṇēri and the southern boundary of Karuṅkuḷam, and then going westwards along the north bank of Śūṛrivaśakkal-ūraṇi of Vēḷāṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going along the ridge in the middle of the boundary and proceeding north along the eastern ridge of Ādichchavaśakkal of Vēḷāṇēri, and then going north along the northern ridge of this land, it lies to the north. Further, going north on the eastern ridge of *Karundaḍi* of Vēḷāṇēri, and then westwards on the ridge which is to the north of this land and the *nāṛṅgāl* of Ādichchavaśakkal and of Perrāṅvaśakkal and reaching the eastern ridge of Dayānīti-vayakkal in Śēṇēri which adjoins Kaḷḷikuḍi, it lies to the north. Again, proceeding northwards on this ridge and reaching the *ellai-vāykkāl* (*i.e.*, the boundary channel), and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north directions along the said channel, and afterwards going in a westerly direction on the northern ridge of Mālār-mukkāṇi of Śēṇēri, and then again going in a north-western direction on the eastern ridge of Sōmidēvi-vayakkal belonging to Dayānīti Ariyāṅ *alias* Arundavaṅ-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, then going northwards along the eastern ridge of the land of Dayānīti Mānaviraṅ consisting of several *taḍis* (*in extent*), and then proceeding northwards on the eastern ridge of the *vayakkal* of Uyyakkonḍāl and then westwards of the northern ridge of this field and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Śēṇēri, it lies to the north. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the big road leading to Dēvakōṭṭai from Kaṅṅaṇūr, and going westwards along this big road, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the left the tamarind tree standing at the northern entrance of Pūdaṇēri-nattam, and passing westwards and getting into the tank called Taḍāppirai at its southern extremity, it lies to the north. Then passing in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkal* of this tank, and then going in a north-westerly direction in the *nīr-nakkal* of (*the tank called*) Kāṅchiraṅkuḷam and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, and then passing westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and getting up the (*bank of the tank called*) Pullaṅērikuḷam at its southern end, it lies to the north. Then going northwards in the *nīr-nakkal* of this tank and reaching the northern extremity of this tank, then going westwards on the south bank of the channel which carries water to this tank and reaching the big road leading to Kaṅṅaṇūr, it lies to the north. Then going northwards along this road, and then going westwards of the *sevvai* having the northern ridge of Muttaraiyaṅ-karuṅchey of Kaṅṅaṇūr-Piḍāri-ēri which forms the northern boundary of Kaṅṅaṇūr and the southern boundary of Narimaṅṅam and reaching the *kuḷappariṅṅu* of Madāḷaikurūchehi, and going northwards within this tank to the extent of ten *kōl*, it lies to the north. Proceeding westwards along this tank and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank at Kaṅṅaṇūr and passing northwards, leaving to the right the tamarind tree standing to the east of Kāṅavāṅu which flows northwards, and going westwards and getting up the bank of (*the tank called*) Uḍaikuḷam in Kīṭ-Śēḷi, and going northwards on this bank and reaching the southern boundary of Miṅṅēri, it lies to the north. Further, going westwards along the channel which had been dug to carry water to the tank at Kīṭ-Śēḷi and which forms the northern boundary of the said tank of Kīṭ-Śēḷi and the southern boundary of this Miṅṅēri, then getting into the channel and getting up at the breach (*known as*) Malaiyaṅuḍaiṅṅu, proceeding then on the bund of this tank and getting down the *agavāy* of this tank, then going (*successively*) in southerly and south-westerly directions on the eastern boundary of the dry land belonging to Miḷagaṅṅūr and reaching the road leading to Koṭṭakīṛti in Kāṅai-Irukkaḷ from Miḷagaṅṅūr, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the channel which carries water to the tank of

Kaḍambaṅguḍi, which channel formed the northern boundary of the said Koṭṭakīrti and passed in the middle of the northern boundary of Vēḷāṅṅēri in Kāñai-Irukkai and the southern boundary of Miḷagaṅṅūr, then getting into this (*i.e.*, the said) channel and going north to the *karai-parippu*, which is at the southern extremity of Mēṅ-Ṣēli and forms the northern boundary of the dry land attached to Vēḷāṅṅēri, then going in a north-westerly direction, and then again in a westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry land belonging to Śōṅṅ Mūkkāṅ of Miḷagaṅṅūr, then going in a northerly direction along the *ellai-parippu* in the middle of the eastern boundary of Kaṅṅakīrti in Kāñai-Irukkai and the western boundary of Mēṅ-Ṣēli adjoining Miḷagaṅṅūr and reaching the southern boundary of the dry land of Sundaṅ-Ālvāṅ of Miḷagaṅṅūr, it lies to the north. Further, going in a westerly direction midway between the southern boundary of this dry land and the northern boundary of Kaṅṅakīrti and reaching the eastern boundary of the dry land of Kaṅṅakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going (*first*) in a northerly direction and then in north-westerly direction, along the *vēli-pparippu* in the middle of this dry land and the dry lands belonging to Miḷagaṅṅūr, and afterwards going in north and north-westerly directions midway between the eastern limit of Kaṅṅakīrti and the boundary at the western limit of the dry land that was being cultivated by Rāmaṅ Aḷagaṅ of Miḷagaṅṅūr, and then crossing the road leading to Miḷagaṅṅūr from Iruṅḅirai and reaching the end of the southern extremity of Śiṅḅukilātti adjoining Miḷagaṅṅūr, and going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu* of this tank and reaching the northern bank of the tank of Kaṅṅakīrti, it lies to the north. Then going north-west along the grassy bank of this tank and then in a north-westerly direction along the channel, which carries water to the tank of Śiṅḅukilātti and passes midway between the southern limit of the dry lands of Puvaṅṅinallūr and the bank of Kaṅṅakīrti, and crossing the *kaḍai-kombu* of the tank of Kaṅṅakīrti, it lies to the north. Then, leaving to the right the *kalaṅ-parippu*, which lies to the south of Valaiyaṅ-ūraṅi (*and also*) to the south of the fields of Puvaṅṅinallūr, and going in a westerly direction, and then again in a north-westerly direction along the southern boundary of the dry lands cultivated by the shepherd Irāṅṅa-kōṅ, the resident of Puvaṅṅinallūr, which lands are situated to the north of Kāṅṅakarai which carries water to the tank of Śiṅḅukilātti and reaching the channel which carries water at the western end of the tank of Kaṅṅakīrti, (*it lies to the west*).

(Li. 267-316) The western boundary : Proceeding northwards along the eastern bank of this tank, and then going northwards along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Kaṅṅakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Pudukkuḷam, that was given in exchange for Miḷagaṅṅūr which was included in Rājagambhīra-chaturvēdimāṅḅalam, then going in northerly and north-easterly directions along the eastern bank of the channel, which carried water to the tank of Kaṅṅakīrti and formed the eastern boundary of Māṅṅakīrti which was also given in exchange for the said Miḷagaṅṅūr, and then passing this channel, it lies to the east. Further, proceeding northwards and reaching the western end of the tank of Miḷagaṅṅūr, it lies to the east. Then getting into the *agavāy* of this tank and going northwards, then again going north along the bank of (*the tank called*) Minṅṅēri which forms the eastern boundary of Kuvaḷaivēlippaṅṅu given in exchange for Miḷagaṅṅūr and reaching the southern boundary of Neṅḅuṅṅam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the *karai-parippu*, which forms the eastern boundary of this Kuvaḷaivēli and the western boundary of Neṅḅuṅṅam, and reaching the southern end of the *nattam* of this Neṅḅuṅṅam, it lies to the east. Then going in a north-westerly direction along the southern *āṅṅarūdi* of this *nattam* and reaching the western extremity of the tank of the said Neṅḅuṅṅam, then going northwards along the eastern end of Kuvaḷaivēli through the *nīr-nakkal* of this tank and reaching the bank of Mēḷṅēri, then going northwards along the *kuḷapparippu* of Mēḷṅēri and getting up at the southern end of Kaṅṅikuḷam and descending into the *agavāy* of this tank and then going northwards on the eastern boundary of Kaḍambamaṅḅalam which was given in

exchange for Miḷagaṇūr and reaching the bank of Perrān-ēmbal, it lies to the east. Then going northwards and crossing the channel which carries water to Kaṭṭikuḷam, and going eastwards along the southern boundary of Tirumāliṇḷōlai in Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai which is a tax-free *dēvadāna* of Tirumāliṇḷōlai-Ālvār and the holding (*kāṇi*) of Pullāṇi Mādēvaṅ *alias* Nuḷambādarāyar, the headman of Mālaṅguḍi, and then leaving to the left the *tiruvāḷikkal* (*i.e.*, disc-bearing stone) planted on the southern boundary of this Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr and going in east and south-east directions and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the south-east corner of Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of the channel which carries water to the tank at Miḷagaṇūr which was added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted on the eastern boundary of Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr, and then going northwards on the western bank of this channel and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-eastern corner of this Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr, it lies to the east. Then going in westerly and north-westerly directions on the south bank of the channel, which carries water to the tank of this Miḷagaṇūr and forms the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the northern boundary of Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr, and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of this Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr and reaching the *tiruvāḷikkal* planted at the north-west corner of this Tirumāliṇḷōlainallūr, and then going north-west along the south bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr, which forms the northern boundary of Śirukuḍi *alias* Virakāmugamaṅgalam in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil and the southern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and then going northwards on the west bank of the channel of Miḷagaṇūr which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūrkuṇuchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil, the *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār and the western boundary of Vāgaikuḍi, and crossing this channel and reaching the southern boundary of Viḍattal *alias* Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Kiraṇūr-nāḍu, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards on this boundary along the *kalar-parippu* and reaching the northern extremity of the tank of Vāgaikuḍi, it lies to the east. Then going eastwards along this bank and descending this bank and going eastwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the northern boundary of Vāgaikuḍi and the southern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and leaving to the right the temple of Māṇābharaṇa-Īsvaramuḍaiyār at Vāgaikuḍi and going eastwards on the boundary ridge and reaching the boundary channel flowing eastwards from the tank at Vāgaikuḍi, then going eastwards along the northern ridge of this channel, and passing this channel and going eastwards on the ridge, which is to the north of Ariyāḷ-vayakkal in Vāgaikuḍi-paṇṇu and to the south of Uyyavandāḷ-vayakkal in Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalappaṇṇu, and reaching the channel which carries water to the tank of Nakkamaṅgalam, and then going (*successively*) in north, north-west and north-east directions on the western bank of this channel and approaching the western extremity of the tank of Tuttiyūr and going on the western bank of this channel (*successively*) in north, north-east and north-west directions, and then going westwards on the boundary ridge, which forms the southern boundary of the land called Araimākkūṇṇu in Tiruvāvaṇam and the northern boundary of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, and reaching the bank of the tank of Māṇābharaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, it lies to the east. Then going northwards along the grassy bank of this tank and reaching the bank of Śiṇṇēmbal of Araimākkūṇṇu, then going westwards on the southern bank of this *ēmbal* and crossing the channel which carries water to the tank of Miḷagaṇūr, and going (*successively*) in north and north-west directions on the western bank of this channel and getting into this channel and then getting up the eastern bank of this channel and then going northwards along the *nir-nakkal* in the *ēmbal* of Araimākkūṇṇu and crossing the channel which was carrying water to the tank of Tuttiyūr, and going northwards on the western ridge of Kaṇavadi-vayakkal, which forms the eastern boundary of Veḷḷūrkuṇuchchi in Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakkuḷakkil, a *dēvadāna* of Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, and the western boundary of Tiruvāvaṇam, and leaving to the right Vāykaṭṭātturavu in the north-western corner of this

Kaṇavadiṅṅayakkal and crossing the channel of Tiruvāvaṇam, and going northwards on the boundary, which is to the east of Veḷḷūrkuruchchi and to the west of Tiruvāvaṇam, and descending into the Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallaḥappērāru, (*it lies to the east*).

(Ll. 317-338) The northern boundary : Going eastwards along this Vaigai *alias* Śrīvallaḥappērāru and getting up the northern bank of the channel carrying water to the tank of Paṇaṅgalūr, then going eastwards along this bank and descending into (*the river called*) Kaḷavaḷināḍaṅ-āru and going northwards along this river and reaching the road leading to Vēmbaṅguḍi from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr and getting up the eastern bank, it lies to the south. Then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and crossing the channel which carries water from this Kaḷavaḷināḍaṅ-āru to the tank of Śeyyakuḷattūr, then going in a north-easterly direction along this road and getting up the bank of the tank of Adikarai, and then going in a north-westerly direction along this bank and reaching what forms the northern extremity of this tank and the southern boundary of Āykuḍi, it lies to the south. Then going eastwards along this boundary and reaching the northern entrance of the *nattam* of Vēlaṅguḍi and further on reaching the western extremity of the tank of this Vēlaṅguḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and reaching the western boundary of Kuḍaṅjāḍi, and then going in north and north-easterly directions along this boundary and reaching the *kombu* on the western extremity of the tank of Kuḍaṅjāḍi, it lies to the south. Going from this in a north-easterly direction and then in east and south-east directions on the *nir-nakkal* of the tank which forms the southern boundary of Śuṇḍaṅkuruchchi and the northern boundary of this Kuḍaṅjāḍi, and crossing the channel which flows from the eastern extremity of this tank, and then going in a south-easterly direction and crossing the big road leading from Iḍaikkāṭṭūr of Vēlūr-Śirukūḍi to Vēmbaṅguḍi and then going eastwards, then going again eastwards on the *agavāy* of Uḍaikuḷam, which is called by the names Kāṭṭutteyvam and Piḍārikuḷam, and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank and going south-east, and then leaving to the right the dry lands ploughed by Śemberumāṅ, a neighbouring resident of Kīraṇūrnāḍāḷvāṅkōṭṭai, and going in east and south directions and crossing the road leading from Śeyyakuḷattūr to Vēmbaṅguḍi, then going eastwards and crossing the channel that was caused to be dug by Muttan Ḍālvāṅ *alias* Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārāyaṅ for feeding the tanks of Śeyyakuḷattūr, then going east and north-east, and (*afterwards*) passing eastwards along the *agavāy* of the Uḍaikuḷam of Mēṅ-Chūrai and then going eastwards along the *agavāy* of the tank of Kīṭ-Chūrai and getting up the eastern extremity of this tank, the she-elephant stopped (*having come to the place*) where she originally started.

(Ll. 338-9) I wrote this charitable edict : this is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāni* Araiyaṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ of Kaṭṭikuruchchi, (*a resident*) of the glorious Parāntakanallūr in Naḍuviṅkūṛru, (*a sub-division*) of Miḷalai-kūṛram.

(L. 340) This is the signature of the *puravuvāri-kaṅkāni* Parāntakan Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyāṅ of Taṇḍalai in Kīḷ-kūṛru, (*a sub-division*) of Miḷalai-kūṛram.

(L. 341) This is the signature of *puravuvāri-kaṅkāni* Karuṅākaradēvaṅ Puṇḍavaṇamuḍaiyāṅ of Perumāraṅpūr *alias* Palamaṇḍalādiechanallūr in Aḷaḷiyapāṇḍiyakkūḷakkīḷ.

(L. 342) This is the signature of Piḷḷai Ḍālvāṅ Poṇṇambalakkūṭṭaṅ of Karuppūr in Tirumuṇaiṅpāḍi-nāḍu, the *kaṅkāni* of the *tiruvāyakkēḷvi* Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyar.

#### No. 12.—TIRUPPUVANAM SUPPLEMENTARY PLATE.

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

This is a single plate which bears writing on both the sides, the first having 17 lines and the second, 15 lines.

Excepting the last two and a half lines, the writing on both the sides bears close resemblance to that on the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I edited above. The sign of *visarga* is used as a punctuation mark in lines 1 and 15. This and the employment of the symbol resembling *ya* to denote *ppa* (l. 11), the preferential use of *r* before hard consonants, *t* in *ūrgaḷiṟ-t<sup>o</sup>* (ll. 2 and 17), *taviṟtu* (ll. 4 and 19) and *pāṟtu* (ll. 3 and 8), *ch* in *aruḷāṟ=ch<sup>o</sup>* (l. 27), and *k* in *sabhai-yāṟku* (ll. 2 and 16), as well as the general shape of all the letters point to the fact that the writer of this plate must be identical with the one that incised the previous set of eleven plates. In the above examples, *sabhaiyāṟku*, *taviṟtu* and *pāṟtu* are instances of wrong spelling.

There are, strictly speaking, two inscriptions on this plate. Lines 1 to 15 register an order issued by king *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṅ* to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam, while lines 15 to 32 purport to emanate from the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the same assembly. The subject in both is practically the same as will be seen in the sequel. The first contains the date "11th year (of reign) and 108th day" but mentions the king only by the general title *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍāṅ*. The second states the name of the king to be **Sundara-Pāṇḍya** 'who presented the Chōḷa country'; eleventh year (of reign) occurs in the body of the record.

In the Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I, we are informed that in constituting the new village of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam, three of the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, viz., Vāgaikuḍi in Kiraṇūr-nāḍu (l. 20), Muttūranāroṭṭai in Mēṟkuḍi-nāḍu (ll. 59f.) and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr in Puṟapparaḷai-nāḍu (l. 68), were taken up and included in it. It is usual in such cases to give other lands in exchange. The Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍu plates evidence such a practice. And even in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates we find it stated that in place of Miḷagaṇṟi which, like the *dēvadāna* lands of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, had been taken up and included in Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam, a number of lands were given and they were formed into a fresh village called Rājēndraśiṅganallūr which was placed in the Division of Achchaṅkāṭṭirukkai (ll. 111f.). But it is not stated in those plates what was done to compensate the Tiruppūvaṇam temple for the loss it sustained in being deprived of certain properties. What is not stated there forms the subject of this supplementary plate.

The first inscription on this plate states (1) that the villages of Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr, which were among the *dēvadāna* properties of the temple of Tiruppūvaṇamuḍaiyār, had been taken away and added to Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam; (2) that up to the tenth year (of the reign of Sundara-Pāṇḍya I), after annual crop examination, the lands of the said three villages had been regularly paying *kaḍamai* to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam; (3) that this payment was then put a stop to and in its place, it was settled that an amount of twenty-five *kāṣu* in all,—ten *kāṣu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāṣu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāṣu* for Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr,—had to be paid every year from the eleventh year onwards to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam and that in paying this, half must be given in *kāṣu* and the other half in paddy, on the basis of a never diminishing (*i.e.*, permanent) investment; (4) and that on this settlement being recommended to the king by his brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāḷ, he ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to that effect, and directed also the engraving of the same on stone and copper. It bears the date '11th year and 108th day' and is signed by three officials.

The second inscription calls the first document a *piḍiṟpāḍu* issued by Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōḷa country' to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam, recites its contents and lays down the procedure to be adopted in making the payment, settled therein. It says that the agreed amount of money (*kāṣu*) must be paid and the quantity of paddy measured out, every year, in the premises of the temple kitchen, and for the payment thus made, receipts



must be obtained from the temple signed by the accountant and the *kaṇmi*. The signatories to this inscription are a *Saivāchārya*, two *Śivabrāhmaṇas* and *Mudal-Kaṇakku* (the treasury accountant). At the end, it is said that the document was caused to be made by Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, son of Jaṭādhara the ornament of the village of Aṅgārakamaṅgalam. It must have been on this occasion that the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates, wherein the inclusion of the three *dēvadāna* villages in Rājagambhira-chaṭurvēdimāṅgalam is specified, must have been engraved and kept along with the supplementary plate as its *mūlasāna*. Hence, it is that we find that all the plates are written in the same hand and are in the possession of the Tiruppūvaṇam temple.

Ordinarily the State did not interfere with temple properties. This is made plain by such statements as "*iv-ūrgaliṅ-ṣaḷan-dēvadānam paḷḷichchadam.....nīkki*" found in the large Tiruppūvaṇam plates.<sup>1</sup> It is also clear from the fact that the Tiruppūvaṇam temple, in spite of the inclusion of three of its *dēvadāna* lands in the newly formed *brahmadēya*, had been regularly getting the *kaḍamai* from them from the date of the grant of the *brahmadēya*, which, as we know from the large set, was the eleventh year opposite to the thirteenth year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I (A.D. 1204) till the tenth year of the reign of Maṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1226). When, owing to any special reasons, *dēvadānas* had to be taken away and turned to other purposes—here for forming the *brahmadēya*—the original incumbents were not deprived of their income but were adequately compensated. The king's brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāḷ must have been appointed to hold an enquiry and settle the compensation to be awarded to the dispossessed owner of the resumed *dēvadāna*. The result of his enquiry is embodied in this inscription.

The first inscription being a State document is signed by State officials, and the second, being one issued by the temple, bears the signatures of temple officials. The temples in those days had regularly constituted bodies of their own to see to their management. These bodies were known as *uṇṇāḷigaiyār* or *uṇṇāḷigai-sabhaiyār*.<sup>2</sup> I have referred to the constitutional character of the bodies known as Paṇ-Māhēśvaras in the case of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in the case of Viṣṇu temples elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> Here we may note some of the numerous officers that were employed in temple bodies.<sup>4</sup> They are (1) *Kaṇakku-Mudal* or *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, (2) *Kaṇakku*, or *Karaṇattāṅ*, (3) *Dēvakaṇmi*, (4) *Sihānāchārya* or *Saivāchārya*, (5) *Pūjikkum-Nambi* and other *Nambis*, (6) *Kōyil-Nāyakam*, (7) *Tiruvilaichchiṇai-kaṇkāṇi*, (8) *Por-Paṇḍāri*, (9) *Sādāna* (*Sāsana*)-*Paṇḍāri*, (10) *Śrī-Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, (11) *Śrīkāryam-ṣeyvār*, (12) *Śrīkōyil-Vāriyam-ṣeyvār* or *Vāriya-Perumakkal*, etc.

In transactions in which the temple is concerned, some of these officials affix their signatures. In a record of the time of Kulōttuṅga I five temple officials, viz., *Māhēśvara-Kaṇkāṇi*, *Śivabrāhmaṇa*, *Pūjikkum-Nambi*, *Karaṇattāṅ* and a *Paṇ-Māhēśvara* have attested.<sup>5</sup> Another record gives ten of the different officials noticed above.<sup>6</sup> A third document is addressed to *Śrīkōyil-vāriyam-ṣeyvār*, *Dēvarkaṇmis*, *Paṇḍāris* and *Karaṇattāṅ*.<sup>7</sup> It is consistent with this custom that the second document issued by the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam to the assembly of

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 111, text-lines 69 f.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 91, 158 & 835.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 275.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427; also Nos. 293, 296 & 985 of Vol. V and Nos. 33 & 36 of Vol. VI.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 473.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 427.

<sup>7</sup> No. 33 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in pursuance of the royal order, was signed by the Śaivāchārya, Śivabrāhmaṇas and the *Mudal-Kaṇakku*, besides Śāstra-Bhattāraka, son of Jaṭādhara.

A few terms that occur in this plate deserve to be noted. These are *kēlvi*, *piḍipāḍu*, *aḍuk-kaḷaiṅṅaṅṅam*, *kaḍamai* and *vāḍā-kkaḍamai*. *Kēlvi* is the noun derived from the root, 'kēl' to 'hear'. It is used in inscriptions to denote both 'an office' and 'a royal order'. Among the official attendants on the king, some were called '*kēlvi*' and the duty of the *kēlvi* officers seems to be 'to communicate to the Department concerned any order of the king just as they heard it said by him'. In communicating such oral orders, they stated the occasion when, and the attendant circumstances under which the king gave them. Besides meaning the class of officials, the term *kēlvi* came to be applied to the document containing the royal oral order put in proper form and signed by the State officials.<sup>1</sup> This term is sometimes re-placed by (*nam-ōlai*) 'Royal order'. It is worthy of note that in this plate *kēlvi* and *piḍipāḍu* are made to refer to the same thing. In the Vēlvikuḍi plates we meet with the expression *kēlvi-andaṅṅālar*<sup>2</sup> which conveys the same sense as *śrōtriya-Brāhmaṇa*. The term *piḍipāḍu* consists of the roots *piḍi* 'hold or bind' and *pāḍu* 'terms or sources' and means 'a deed of support, a letter of authority embodying the conditions to be fulfilled and authorising the possession of a thing or property', or 'a title-deed'. It is of such a general nature that it could be applied to any kind of document. The following extracts will make its application clear :—

"*ūriya iṅṅa paḍikku eṅṅum idu piḍipāḍāga*"<sup>3</sup> meaning "for having given it back, this shall be the deed of support"; "*ivo-āṅṅu kār-mudal kaḍamai irukkumiḍattu mātṭāl nellu paḍin-kalamāga pū oṅṅurukku nellu... kuḍuttu ivar kaiyāl taravu koḷōmāgavum iṅṅaḍi sammadittu piḍipāḍu kuḍuttōm*"<sup>4</sup> meaning "agreeing to pay ten *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land at each harvest and to obtain receipt therefor we gave this *piḍipāḍu* (i.e., deed evidencing the terms of holding)". It will be seen that this passage is almost similar to the one in the Tiruppūvanam supplementary plate, and that the record belongs to the time of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I.

Another inscription which registers a tax-free gift of land, with its previous owners removed, as a *nandavaṅṅappuram*, i.e., for the maintenance of a flower garden, uses the words "*iṅṅaḍi nam-ōlai piḍipāḍāga koḍu chandrādityavar-śelvaḍāga*"<sup>5</sup>. Here the word *piḍipāḍu* means 'a deed embodying the terms and authorising the holding of the land as a tax-free gift'. As in the present plate, the royal order (*nam-ōlai*) is termed a *piḍipāḍu*.

*Kaḍamai* means 'assessment on land'. The fact that the temple of Tiruppūvanam was getting from the three *dēvaḍāna* properties *kaḍamai* annually, after crop examination, shows that they must have been assigned by the State and the temple was entitled to all the dues which it was previously entitled to. The fresh settlement by which the *sabhā* of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam was made to pay annually twenty-five *kāṅṅu*, half in money and the other half in paddy, must be equal to the value of the *kaḍamai* which the temple was receiving. The word *kaḍan* being not much different from *kaḍamai*, *vāḍā-kaḍamai* may be equated with *vāḍā-kaḍan*. This is quite appropriate in this case where the temple had been realising *kaḍamai* on lands and the

<sup>1</sup> See above, note on *tiruvōykēlvi*, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> No. 293 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 300, text-line 36.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 415.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 419.

lands had been given over to the *brahmadēya*. The term *vāḍā-kaḍamai*<sup>1</sup> is used in other inscriptions also in the sense of 'permanent assessment on lands'. As applied to debts, *vāḍā-kaḍaṅ* means a loan in which fixed interest had to be paid, the capital remaining unchanged or undiminished. This is the case in all permanent endowments. Sometimes it is even stated that the debtor should not at any time offer to pay up the capital and free himself from the binding to pay interest. Fuller expression for such debts is *mudal-vāḍā-kaḍaṅ*.<sup>2</sup> *Aḍukkalaippuṟam*<sup>3</sup> means 'for the requirements of the kitchen, i.e., for offerings'. All gifts to temples are *dēvadānas*. According to the purpose for which the gifts are made, they fall under different heads such as *tirunandavaṅṅappuṟam*, *tirumālaiappuṟam*, *aḍukkalaippuṟam*, *tiruvilakkuppūṟam*, etc.

## TEXT.

## First Side.

- 1 Svasti śrī ḡ Tribhuvanachchakrava[r\*]tti Kōṅēr[i\*]ṅmaikoṅḍāṅ Rājagambhira-vaḷanāṭṭu Rājagambhira-chaṭu-
- 2 rrvēdimāṅgalattu=ssabhaiyāṟku [i\*] Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṅam-uḍaiyār dēvadānamāṅa ūṅgaḷiṅ-  
taṅgaḷ=ūruḍaṅ kūṭ-
- 3 ṭiṅa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m\*] Muttūranāroṭṭaiyūm Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pāṟtu-  
k-
- 4 kaḍamaiy=iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu taviṟtu=ppadiṅ-oṅṟāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāsu pat-  
tum Muttū[ra\*]-
- 5 nāroṭṭaikku=kkāsu pattum Śirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāsu aiṅjum āga āṅḍ-oṅṟukku=kkāsu
- 6 irubatt-aiṅjum oṭṭāga niśchayittu=kkāsu pādiyun=neṅ-pādiyum-āga iṟukka-pperavēṅum-  
eṅṟu maob-
- 7 chuṅṅāṅr-Aḷagapperumāḷ namakku=chchoṅṅamaiyil taṅgaḷ=ūruḍaṅ kūṭṭiṅa Vāgaikuḍiyu[m\*]  
Muttūranāroṭ-
- 8 ṭaiyuṅ=Chirukiḷāṅkāṭṭūrum pattāvaduvarai payir pāṟtu=kkāḍamaiy=iṟuttu-vandamaiyil idu  
taviṟtu=
- 9 ppadiṅ-oṅṟāvadu-mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāsu pattum Muttūranār[o\*]ṭṭaikku=kkāsu pattuṅ=  
Chiru-
- 10 kiḷāṅkāṭṭūrukku=kkāsu aiṅjum āga āṅḍ-oṅṟukku=kkāsu irubatt-aiṅjum oṭṭāga niśchayittu=
- 11 kkāsu pādiyun=neṅ-pādiyum-āga iṟuppadāga<sup>4</sup> kēlvi tara=chchoṅṅōm [i\*] ippaḍi<sup>5</sup> Chandr-  
Ādityavat ſelvadāga ka-
- 12 Ililūṅ=chembilum veṭṭivittu=kkoḷga [i\*] Ivai<sup>6</sup> Sevvirukkai-nāṭṭu Achchutavayal=Araiyāṅ-  
Ādichoha-
- 13 ṛdēvaṅ-āṅa Yādavarāyāṅṅ=eḷuttu [i\*] Yāṅḍu 11-vadu nāḷ 108 [i\*] Ivai<sup>6</sup> Vaḍatalai=chChembi-  
nāṭṭu Vepkāpūr Araya-

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, 373 and Vol. V, No. 416.

<sup>2</sup> No. 345 of S. I. I., Vol. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See Nos. 416 and 450 of S. I. I., Vol. V.

<sup>4</sup> The right hand portion of the medial o sign of *ro* has been omitted to be engraved.

<sup>5</sup> The letters *ppa* are written as a group whose symbol resembles *ya*.

<sup>6</sup> The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol combining the two letters *i* and *vai*.

<sup>7</sup> The *ṣ* sign of *dē* is at the end of the previous line.

- 14 ṅ Kariyamāl-āṇa Adigaimāṇ-e|uttu [I\*] Ivaiy<sup>1</sup>=Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu=pPerumanalūr Mandariy-Irāmaṇ-  
āṇa Pallavarāyaṇ-  
15 ṅ-e|uttu ° Svasti śrī ° Sarvva-lōka-samutpatti-sti(sthi)ti-samhāra-kāraṇam [I\*] śāsanam  
śāsvataṁ Śambhō[h\*] śrī-Pu-  
16 abpavana-vāsinaḥ [||] Rājagambhira-va|anāṭṭu Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu=  
ssabbaiyārku namm-aḍukka-  
17 |aiṇṇam-āṇa ūrga|ṛ=taṅga|=ūruḍaṇ kūṭṭiṇa ūrga|l Vāgaikuḍiyum Muttūranāroṭṭaiyuñ-  
Chiru-

*Second Side.*

- 18 kilānkāṭṭurum nam piḷḷai Sōṇaḍu va|aṅgiṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅku yaṇḍu pattāvadu-  
varai payir pā-  
19 ṛtu=kkāḍamai koṇḍu-vandamaiyil idu tavirṭu paḍiṇ-onṛāvadu-<sup>2</sup>mudal Vāgaikuḍikku=kkāṣu  
pattum Muttūranāroṭṭai-  
20 kku=kkāṣu pattum Śiruki[|ānkāṭṭūru]kku=kkāṣu aiṇṇum āga aṇḍ-onṛukku=kkāṣu irubatt-  
aiṇṇum vāḍa-ka-  
21 ḍaṇ-āga oṭṭāga=kkāṣu [pāḍiyun=neṅ]-pāḍiyum-āga iṇṇupadāga=cheṇṇō[m] [I\*] ippaḍikku  
nam piḷḷai Sundara-Pā-  
22 ṇḍiyadēvar taṅga|ukku=k[kuḍutta] piḍipāṭṭiṇpaḍiyey i-kkāśāl vanda nel[lum kā]śum  
23 naṅ=kaṇakkar kaṇṇiga| va[śa]m namm-aḍukka|aiṇṇarattēy-a|andum oḍukki[|yu]n=taravu  
koḷga [I\*]  
24 Aru|āl <sup>3</sup>Śavyāchāryyaṇ Bhāradvāji Pālaṅvā[ya]ṇ Viśvēsvaraṇ-āṇa [A|agiya]dēva-Bhaṭṭaṇ  
25 e|uttu [I\*] Aru|āl Tiruppūvanamuḍaiyāṇ Vighnēsvaraṇ-āṇa Viṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṇ e|uttu [I\*]  
I-nNā-  
26 yaṇār Śivabrāhmaṇaril dēvakaṇmi Pālaṅvāyaṇ Ammaiddēvaṇ-āṇa A|agiyanāyaka-  
27 Bhaṭṭaṇ e|uttu [I\*] Aru|ār=Chattargalil Ēnādimāṅgalattu Kāsyapaṇ Kēsavaṇ  
28 \*Kshētrajñāṇ-āṇa Brahma-pPallavaraiyaṇ-e|uttu [I\*] Aru|āl mudaṅ-karaṇattāṇ Dāṇavi-  
29 ṇḍa-Mūvēndavē|āṇ-e|uttu [||] Vidyā-prauḍha-vilāsinī-paribriḍha<sup>4</sup>-śrī-Śāstra-  
30 Bhaṭṭāraka[h\*] khyāt=Om̄gāra-kamaṅgal-aika-tilaka[ś\*]=śrī-Rājagambhīrakē [I\*] grā-  
31 māṇām pravarē<sup>5</sup> Jaḍā(tā)dhara-sutō vidvat(d)-vadāny-āgrāṇi[h\*] patraṁ kārayati sma sa-  
32 [ta]tam=ita(da)m aiṇṇas=su-ninā(rṇā)yakam<sup>6</sup>!

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 15) Hail! Prosperity! From the Emperor of the three worlds **Kōṇṇṇiṇmai-**  
**koṇḍāṇ** to the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Rājagambhira-va|anāḍu.

<sup>1</sup> The word *ivai* is expressed by a single symbol containing the two letters *i* and *vai*.

<sup>2</sup> This line is written over an erasure from the beginning to *onṛāvadu*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaivā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *ś* sign of *Kshē* is engraved at the end of the previous line.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°vriḷha*.

<sup>6</sup> *Va* looks exactly like *pa*.

<sup>7</sup> The Sanskrit verse at the end covering the latter part of line.29 and the subsequent two and a half lines is engraved in a different hand. Perhaps Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka himself wrote it and the engraver incised it.

As Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the *dēvadāna* villages of (the god) Uḍaiyār Tiruppūvaṇam-uḍaiyār and which, up to the tenth year (of Our reign), had been subject to (annual) crop examination and payment of *kaḍamai* (to the temple of Tiruppūvaṇam), had been included in your village, this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease, and as Our brother-in-law Aḷagapperumāḷ had told Us that (an amount of) twenty-five *kāsu*,—ten *kāsu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāsu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāsu* for Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr,—had been determined to be paid as *oṭṭu*, for every year from the eleventh year (onwards), and that out of this amount, (one) half had to be paid in *kāsu* and (the other) half in paddy, We have ordered the issue of *kēḷvi* to the same effect.<sup>1</sup> You may have this engraved on stone and copper so as to last till the Moon and the Sun (endure). This is the signature of Araiyaṅ Ādiḥchadēvaṅ alias Yādavarāyaṅ of Achebutavayal in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu. The year 11 and days 108. This is the signature of Araiyaṅ Kariyamāl alias Adigaimaṅ of Veṅkāṅūr in Vaḍatalai-Sembi-nāḍu. This is the signature of Mandari<sup>2</sup> Rāmaṅ alias Pallavarāyaṅ of Perumaṅalūr in Aṅḍa-nāḍu.

(Ll. 15ff.) Hai! Prosperity! This is the permanent edict, which was the cause of creation, protection and destruction of all the worlds, of (the god) Śambhu residing in the glorious Pushpavana. To the assembly of Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimāṅalam in Rājagambhira-vaḷanāḍu.

Whereas, after (annual) crop examination, We<sup>3</sup> have been receiving, up to the tenth year of (the reign of) Our son<sup>4</sup> Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva who had presented the Chōḷa country, *kaḍamai* from Vāgaikuḍi, Muttūranāroṭṭai and Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr which were among the villages attached to Our kitchen and which had been included in your village, and whereas this (payment of *kaḍamai*) had been made to cease and (in its place) We had declared that an amount of twenty-five *kāsu* in all—ten *kāsu* for Vāgaikuḍi, ten *kāsu* for Muttūranāroṭṭai and five *kāsu* for Śiṟukiḷāṅkāṭṭūr—should be paid to Us as *oṭṭu* on the basis of a permanent investment, every year from the eleventh year (onwards), (therefore), in accordance with the *piḍipāḍu* issued to you in this wise by Our son<sup>4</sup> Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, (the amount of) paddy and *kāsu* should be measured out and given to Our accountants and *kaṇṇi*s (servants) at the premises of Our kitchen and receipt taken. By order,<sup>5</sup> this is the signature of the *Saivāchārya* Pāḷarāvāyaṅ alias Aḷagiyadēva-Bhaṭṭaṅ of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. By order, this is the signature of Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyaṅ Vighnēsvaraṅ alias Viṅṇāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṅ. By order, this is the signature of Pāḷarāvāyaṅ Ammaidēvaṅ alias Aḷagiyānāyaka-Bhaṭṭaṅ, a *dēvakaṇṇi* among the *Sivabrāhmaṇas* of this god. By order, this is the signature of Kēśavaṅ Kshētrajñaṅ alias Brahma-Pallavaraiyaṅ, a *Kāśyapa* and one of the *chaṭṭar* (students). By order, this is the signature of the treasury accountant<sup>6</sup> Dānaviṅōḍa-Mūvēndavējāṅ.

(Ll. 29ff.) The illustrious Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, who was the lord of the lady Learning, who was famous as the sole forehead-mark of Aṅḡarakamaṅgala, who was the son of Jaṭādhara and who was foremost among scholars, had this permanent grant, properly fixing the boundaries, written at Rājagambhīraka, the best of villages.

<sup>1</sup> The whole of what has been said above is repeated here.

<sup>2</sup> This word may stand for *mantrin* 'minister'. But as in all places where it occurs, both here and in the previous inscription, it is consistently spelt Mandari, there is strong suspicion that it may form part of the proper name of the individual.

<sup>3</sup> 'We' here refers to god.

<sup>4</sup> The king is called the son of the god.

<sup>5</sup> The term *aruḷāl* which literally means 'by the grace' seems to be employed in the sense of 'by command or order' to denote the fact that the individual signs on behalf of the temple.

<sup>6</sup> The term *mudai* may also be taken as 'chief, head or first'.

## No. 13.—KODURU GRANT OF ANA-VOTA-REDDI : ŚAKA 1280.

BY H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc., MADRAS.

The set of plates containing the inscription edited below was discovered in the village of **Koḍūru** in the Guḍivāḍa taluk of the Kistna District by the villagers while ploughing a field. The plates are now in the possession of Vidvān Pūrṇakutumba Rao of Guḍlavallēru, from whom I secured them during my tour in the district in November 1936. The inscription has been reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year (Appendix A, No. 4) and I now publish it with the kind permission of the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The set consists of **five plates** strung on to an oval ring 3½" by 4½" and weighs together with the ring 287 *tolas*. The ring does not bear any seal. The plates measure 10" by 4¾" each and are inscribed on both the sides including the first and the last. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The inscription is in the **Telugu** script of the medieval period. The alphabet does not call for any special comment except that the letter *bha* is written with or without the mark of aspiration at the bottom, as in *-nābhēr-* in l. 6, *gagan-ēbha* in l. 28, etc., but it invariably occurs without it when the vowel signs *ā* or *ū* are attached to it or when it occurs in a conjunct consonant, e.g., *bhāga* (l. 2), *bhū-dāna* (l. 9), *bhūpaḥ* (l. 18), etc., and °*d=bhayarasō* (l. 21), *viprēbhyaḥ* (l. 32), etc. The letter *ṛi* is written like the modern *bhu* without its lower stroke of aspiration but with an additional *kōmmu* or *u* sign attached to it (ll. 36, 39, 41, etc.). The whole record is written in **Sanskrit** verse and prose, except the portion specifying the boundaries of the village granted, which is in **Telugu** (ll. 57 to 72). Lines 1 to 32 consist of fourteen verses in different metres while lines 33 to 56, in which the donees with their respective shares are specified, are in prose. The inscription ends with the usual imprecatory verses and a verse which gives the name of the poet who composed the grant (ll. 72 to 77). In respect of **orthography** the following points may be noted :—(a) The use of the *anusvāra* instead of the class nasal and the unnecessary doubling of the following consonant as in *jaḡam̐ti* for *jaḡanti* (l. 1), °*vaṃttau* for °*vantau* and *rathāṅga* for *rathāṅga* (l. 4), etc.; (b) doubling of the consonant after the *rēpha* as in *kirtti* (l. 12), °*r=vvābhinnū* (l. 15), *Yajur-vvēdi* (l. 42), etc.; (c) incorrect omission of the aspirate as in *Pārta* for *Pārtha* (l. 15), and the sonant for the surd as in *tīdhau* for *tīthau* (l. 29), *Radhītara* for *Radhītara* (l. 50). In *rya* the *r* is always written in full and the secondary form of *ya* attached to it as at present.

The grant belongs to the time of king **Ana-Vōta** of the **Redḍi** dynasty of **Koṇḍaviḍu**. The inscription opens with a verse in praise of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. The subsequent nine verses which are identical with those of the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipaḡru grant of Ana-Vōma<sup>1</sup> recount, in order, the praise of the Sun and the Moon (v. 2), the birth of the fourth caste, i.e., that of the Śūdras from the lotus-feet of Viṣṇu and the birth in it of Prōlaya-Vōma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila, made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri, performed various meritorious deeds and who defeated several hostile kings (vv. 3-7). To him were born Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vōma who were in splendour, like the Sun and the Moon (v. 8). The next three verses are devoted to the description of the might and valour of Ana-Vōta, the donor of the grant, who instilled fear into the hearts of his enemies by the very sound of his war-drums (vv. 9-12). **In the Śaka year 1280** (expressed by the chronogram *gagana 0, ībha 8, and sūrya 12*) **in the month of Pausa, on darśa, Tuesday, during the solar eclipse**, king Ana-Vōta granted to sixty-one Brāhmins of different *gōtras* and *sākhās*, the village of **Koḍūru** renamed **Annāvōtapuram**, on the bank of the **Malāpāhā**, along with the eight kinds of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 269.

*aiśvarya* and *bhōga*. The English equivalent of the date according to the *Indian Ephemeris* of L. D. S. Pillai is A.D. 1358, January 9, Tuesday, on which day *amāvāsya* commenced at 51 of the day. The solar eclipse, however, is shown to have occurred on the next day, i.e., Wednesday, on which day *amāvāsya* lasted till 43 of the day.

The composer of the grant is **Bālasarasvatī**, a name which sounds very much like a title probably acquired by the person on account of his profound scholarship. Besides the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru grant already referred to, he is the composer of two other inscriptions of Ana-Vēma, of which one is a copper-plate record,<sup>1</sup> and the other a stone inscription at Śrīśailam<sup>2</sup>. In all these records Bālasarasvatī calls himself the *Vidvān* of the king's court and he seems to have held this position up to Śaka 1299, in which year he composed the Śrīśailam inscription mentioned above; for, in the next year, i.e., Śaka 1300, we find Trilōchanāchārya figuring as the court-poet of Ana-Vēma and composing a copper-plate grant of the king.<sup>3</sup>

Attention may be drawn here to an unpublished fragmentary copper-plate inscription of Ana-Vōta recorded in the Elliot Collection of *Telugu Inscriptions*<sup>4</sup>, which furnishes us with some important facts. One of the donees figuring in it is a certain Mallu-bhaṭṭa who is called a *Vidyādhikārin*. We know that the famous poet Śrīnātha was the *Vidyādhikārin* in the court of Kōmaṭi-Vēma.<sup>5</sup> Probably he succeeded Mallu-bhaṭṭa in this office. Of the duties of a *Vidyādhikārin* nothing is known from inscriptions, but that it must have been a responsible and high office is evident from the fact that so eminent a poet as Śrīnātha held it.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately nothing is known of his predecessor Mallu-bhaṭṭa. Another donee figuring in the Elliot Collection record is a certain Errāya-pregaḍa. His *gōtra*, however, is not mentioned as in the case of the other donees, but he is introduced in respectful terms and is stated to be a recipient of an exclusively large share of land. It is therefore likely that this person is identical with the famous poet Errā-pregaḍa, who belonged to the Śrīvatsa-*gōtra* and who is reputed to have completed the *Āndhra-Mahābhāratamu* which was left unfinished by the previous authors, and who dedicated his work *Harivamśamu* to his patron Prōlaya-Vēma. A certain Redḍi-Vēma is known to have granted several *agrahāras* to Vennalagaṇṭi Sūranna.<sup>7</sup> The late Rao Bahadur Viresalingam Pantulu who identifies this Redḍi-Vēma with Prōlaya-Vēma believes that Sūranna could not have had a place in Vēma's court as long as Errā-pregaḍa held his position there; and therefore, in as much as Sūranna was patronised by Redḍi-Vēma, Errā-pregaḍa must have died during the time of Prōlaya himself.<sup>8</sup> This supposition of the author is untenable, as instances of more than one poet patronised by kings in their courts are not uncommon. The present reference to the poet is therefore important in establishing that he lived in the court of Ana-Vōta also. Besides the *Mahābhāratamu* and the *Harivamśamu*, Errā-pregaḍa is the author of two other works, the *Rāmāyaṇamu* and the *Nṛisimhapurāṇamu*, of which he dedicated the former to Malla, a brother of Prōlaya-Vēma and the latter, known also as the *Ahōbalamāhātmyamu*, to the

<sup>1</sup> A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* for 1915, App. C, No. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. I, p. 206, kindly brought to my notice by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., of the Madras University.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. V. Prabhakara Śāstri writes, in his *Śrīṅgāraśrīnāthamu* (p. 52), that Bālasarasvatī held the position of the *Vidyādhikārin* in the courts of Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma. But in no inscription of his composition does the poet call himself a *Vidyādhikārin* like his other contemporary Mallu-bhaṭṭa or the famous Śrīnātha.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 315, fn. 2.

<sup>7</sup> Jakkana's *Vikramārkaśrītramu*, I, 62.

<sup>8</sup> Complete Works of Rao Bahadur K. Viresalingam Pantulu, Telugu Poets, Vol. X, part 1, p. 173.

god Narasiṃha, the presiding deity of Ahōbalam, the well-known place of pilgrimage in the Kurnoor District.

The chief interest of the present grant lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king so far discovered. Stone inscriptions of Ana-Vōta known till now number only five and range in date from Śaka 1275 to 1283<sup>2</sup>. The earliest date known for his father Prōlaya-Vēma is Śaka 1254,<sup>3</sup> and an inscription from Mallavaram in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur (formerly Nellore) District gives for him the Śaka year 12[7]7, which, if correct, would be his latest date.<sup>4</sup> But the reading of the latter date appears to be wrong for reasons cited in the foot-note below and may have to be equated with Śaka 1267.<sup>5</sup> An inscription of this king from Tripurāntakam is dated in Śaka 1268<sup>6</sup> and this is the latest date so far known for him. His son Ana-Vōta also figures in this record, probably as the crown-prince. That he was a *yuvārāja* in his father's reign is referred to in a verse in *Harivaṃsamu* also.<sup>7</sup> He may therefore be presumed to have succeeded his father some time between Śaka 1268 and Śaka 1275. The record bearing the Śaka date 1283 quoted above refers to the reconstruction of the Amarēśvara temple at Dharaṇikōṭa by Vēma-Chamūpati, the son of Mallinātha who was the minister of Ana-Vōta. As the renovation was made for the increase of the life, health and prosperity of Ana-Vōta, it may be reasonably presumed that he was ruling in Śaka 1283. His defeat at the hands of Māda and Ana-Vōta, sons of Śinga, a general, probably, of the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra, is referred to in the *Velugōṭivāri-Vaṃśāvali*, and this incident has been assigned to Śaka 1283.<sup>8</sup> Ana-Vēma is said to have succeeded his brother Ana-Vōta after the latter's death.<sup>9</sup> We do not know of any record of Ana-Vēma earlier than Śaka 1293,<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only other copper-plate grant of this king known to us is that given in the Elliot Collection mentioned already, but its whereabouts are not now known.

<sup>2</sup> The five records referred to above are (1) *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part III, p. 1037. This record, dated in Śaka 1275, is included in Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Ins.* (Guntur No. 405) and it refers to Ana-Vōta's minister Mallinātha on whose death his brother made some grants. (2) No. 185 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, dated in Śaka 1278. (3 and 4) Nos. 601 and 602 of 1909, both dated in Śaka 1280 and (5) No. 258 of 1897. Another record (No. 250 of 1905) dated in Śaka 1269 belongs to the reign of Annama Redḍi. This has been assigned to Ana-Vōta by Sewell and Krishnaswami Ayyangar (*Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 191). But it is reasonable to ascribe it to Anna, a younger brother of Prōlaya-Vēma, since the date falls within the period of the latter's rule.

<sup>3</sup> No. 340 of 1915 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>4</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions*, Part III, Ongole 73.

<sup>5</sup> The eclipse is stated to have occurred at the end of (the month) Āśvina. It must therefore have been an eclipse of the Sun (*ahimāṃku*, not *himāṃku*, i.e., Moon, as understood by Butterworth and Venugopala Chetty, *ibid.*, p. 1025). According to the *Indian Ephemeris* the details given in the inscription, *viz.*, *Āśvinasy-āvāsānē rāhu-grastē-himāṃsau sura-guru-dīvasē*; i.e., the ending of Āśvina, solar eclipse, Thursday, agree regularly for the Śaka year 1267 (current) = A. D. 1344, October 7, Thursday, on which day there was a solar eclipse. In calculating the above date, the months have to be counted as *amānta* ones as it is the system adopted in South India. The word *vārdhī* in the chronogram *śaila-vārdhī-dyumaṇi* as read by the authors mentioned above has therefore to be altered suitably by some such word as *tarkka* to give us the numeral 6 in place of 7, and the chronogram equated with 1267.

<sup>6</sup> No. 191 of 1905.

<sup>7</sup> Ka || Vitata-yuvarāja-vibhav-ōn-

nata Pōtaya-sainyaṇātha naya-mārgga sami-

hita-santata-sēvā-tila-

sita-putra śrisamridha śivagaṇa-siddhā ||

(*Harivaṃsamu*, Part II, Canto 9, v. 260.)

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 12.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 270.

<sup>10</sup> *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1922-23, App. A, No. 9.



which date is nearly a decade later than Ana-Vōta's supposed defeat in Śaka 1283. Whether Ana-Vōta's reign ceased with his defeat at the hands of Śīnga's sons, and his brother succeeded to the throne forthwith, we must leave for future discovery of fresh records to decide.

A few details about this king gathered from the Elliot Collection record referred to already<sup>1</sup> may be added here. The inscription begins, as usual, with the genealogy of the Redḍi chiefs commencing with Prōla and his sons Mācha, Vēma, Doḍḍa, Anna and Malla by his wife Annamāmbā. Here Vēma's two sons Ana-Vōta and Ana-Vēma are mentioned and the former's exploits recounted. His conquests are said to have extended as far as the banks of the rivers Kṛishṇā and Gautamī, a fact which is corroborated by a verse in the *Vishṇupurāṇamu* which refers to the defeat by Ana-Vōta of a certain Rāvutu-Kēśa on the banks of the Kṛishṇā before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara.<sup>2</sup> Ana-Vēma associates himself in this inscription with his brother Ana-Vōta in endowing lands to more than 180 Brāhmins, amongst whom, besides the *Vidyādhikārin* Mallu-bhaṭṭa already mentioned, the mention of Erraya-pregaḍa is of particular interest. Ana-Vēma, it must be noted, is here called Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahārāju (the wording in the inscription is: *yī rāju tammunḍu Ana-Vēma-Bhūpati Mahā[rā\*]ju*). The date of this inscription is unfortunately lost; but it must have been executed some time prior to Śaka 1293, which is the earliest year known for Ana-Vēma, the successor of Ana-Vōta.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription under publication the following, viz., **Saṅkanipalli**, **Vinnakōṭa**, **Kanumerla**, **Poṭṭipāḍu** and **Kalavapūmḍi**, may be identified respectively with the modern Saṅkarshaṇapuram, Vinnakōṭa, Kanumerla, Poṭṭipāḍu and Kaluvapūḍi—all in the Guḍivāda taluk of the Kistna District. **Gurumḥjakōḍu** may possibly be identical with Guṇṭa-Kōḍūru. The other villages, viz., Rājīnāyini Pālaparti, Kṛīnkulamirtṭi or Kṛīnkulamirru, Pālakōḍu, and Pulipāḍu, I am unable to identify. Alliguṇṭa may be a pond and Aiuka-pannāsa, probably a field. Dāmkēru and Vannēru must be two local streams. The village Kōḍūru is said to be situated on the banks of the **Malāpahā**; but there is no stream of this name anywhere in this locality now. The Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Vēma (Śaka 1293) refers to this river as situated in Kurtti-dēśa and the grant village Drujjavaram *alias* Anna-Vēmapuram as situated on the banks of this stream.<sup>3</sup> Drujjavaram is evidently the modern Jujhavaram, which is 12 miles south west of Kōḍūru. Both these villages are situated close to the present Pullēru canal, which appears to be the present representative of the river Malāpahā referred to in the above copper-plate records.

A list of the donees is appended hereto in a tabular form specifying in each case the *gōtra* and the *sākhā* to which they belonged, as well as the shares of land which they received.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Sākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
1	Vissayārya . . . . .	Harita . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
2	Singgayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
3	Sūrayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
4	Dēvayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	

<sup>1</sup> See fn. 4, p. 138.

<sup>2</sup> *Andhra Vishṇupurāṇamu* by Śūraṇa, Āśvāsa I, v. 22.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
5	Gaṅgayārya . . . . .	Harita . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
6	Mādhava-dvivēdi . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
7	Annayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
8	Annayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	R̥ig . . . . .	2	
9	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Bhāradvāja . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
10	Siṅgayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
11	Lakṣhayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
12	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
13	Tallaya-daivajña . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
14	Allāḍa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
15	Allāḍanātha . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
16	Vallabhārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
17	Erapōta-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
18	Chamudayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	R̥ig . . . . .	2	
19	Rāmayārya . . . . .	Śrīvatsa . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
20	Appale-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
21	Chānchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
22	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
23	Errayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
24	Prōlayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
25	Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	R̥ig . . . . .	1	
26	Māchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
27	Bhāskarārya . . . . .	Kauṇḍinya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1½	
28	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
29	Gaṅgādhārārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
30	Brahmadēva . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
31	Siṅgayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
32	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
33	Sarasvatī-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
34	Maṅchchenārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
35	Dēvayārya . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	R̥ig . . . . .	2½	
36	Ayyalu-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	

No.	Name of the donee.	Gōtra.	Vēda or Śākhā.	No. of shares.	Remarks.
37	Sōmaya-bhatta . . . . .	Kāśyapa . . . . .	Rig . . . . .	1	Kāṇva-śākh- ādhyāyi.
38	Nilakāṁthārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
39	Peddanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	1	
40	Annamārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
41	Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
42	Appayārya . . . . .	Śāṅḍilya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
43	Nāgayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
44	Siṁggayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
45	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
46	Appayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
47	Nārāyaṇārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
48	Narahari-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Vasiṣṭha . . . . .	Rig . . . . .	2½	
49	Narasimha-jyautishika . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
50	Sūrayārya . . . . .	Rathitara . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	2	
51	Vallabhārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
52	Siṁgayārya . . . . .	Gautama . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
53	Māchayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
54	Jiyyanārya . . . . .	.. . . .	Rig . . . . .	1	
55	Perumāṇḍi-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kauśika . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	1	
56	Mārayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
57	Mañchenārya . . . . .	Maitrēya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2	
58	Tippayārya . . . . .	Bhārgava . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
59	Gōpāla-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Viṣṇuvardhana . . . . .	Rig . . . . .	1	
60	Vāmaya-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kāṇva . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1	
61	Mallayārya . . . . .	Gārgya . . . . .	Yajus . . . . .	1	

TEXT.<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 7 and 9, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 2, 5, 6 and 8, *Upajāti*; vv. 3 and 4, *Indravajrā*; vv. 10-13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 14-18, *Anuṣṭubh*.]

*First Plate; First Side.*

1 Pāyād=Varāṇa-vapushaḥ paramasya puṁsō darśhtrā jagamtti(ti) śi-  
2 kharē dharāṇīm dadhānā [\*] [śri]ṅg-āgrabhāga-parichumbita-mēgha-bi-

<sup>1</sup> From original plates.

- 3 mbā samlakshyamāṇa-susham=ēva śasāṅka-rēkhā || [1\*] Tamō ha-  
 4 rētām tava pushpavānttau(vantau) rākāsu pūrvv-āpara-śaila-bhājau [1\*] rath-  
 āṅga(ga)-lilā-  
 5 m=iva darśayānttau(tau) purā Purārēḥ pṛidhi(thi)vī-radha(tha)sya || [2\*] Pād-āravim-  
 6 dād=Aravimdanābhēr=gGaṅg=ēva puṇyā ghāna-jivana-śrīḥ | jāt=ābhijātā śatadhā  
 7 vibhinnā jātis=chaturtthī jagatām hitāya || [3\*] Tasyām=abhūt=Prōlaya-Vēma-  
 8 nāmā Śrīśaila-sōpāna-vidā(dhā)na-śāli | Hēmādri-kalp-ōdita-dāna-dakshō nis-sī-

*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 9 ma-bhū-dāna-nirūdha-kīrtiḥ || [4\*] Vēma-kshitisō vṛisham=ēka-pādam khamja-prachāram  
 10 Kali-kāla-dōshāt | datt-āgrahāra-dvija-vēda-śaktyā pada-kramair=askhalitām chakāra || [5\*]  
 11 Dharmātmajō Dāsarathih Pṛithus=chatyudīryya<sup>1</sup>māṇāni yugāntta(ta)rēshu | vitarka-  
 12 yō Vēma-narēśvarasya puṇyāni nāmāni purātānāni || [6\*] Yat-kīrti-gāna-sa-  
 13 mayē phaṇi-sundarīnām=ālōkitum cha mukha-rāgam=anaṅga-  
 14 mūlam | śrōtum cha gīta-rachanām yugapan=na dakshō nāg-ādhipō na saha-  
 15 tē nayana-śrutitvam(tvam) || [7\*] Saṅgrāma-Pārta(ttha)sya śarair=vvibhinnā yasya-  
 āri-chū-  
 16 dāmapayō vichēluḥ || (!) ākrāmatas=samīyati rāja-vamśān<sup>2</sup> pratāpa-vahū-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 17 r=iva visphuliṅgāḥ || [8\*] Tasmāch=cha Vēma-nripatēr=udayād=iv=ādrēr=jātau pratāpa-  
 vara-kā-  
 18 mtti(ti)-nidhī kumārau | sūry-ērṇdu-tulya-mahasāv=**Ana-Vōta**-bhūpa[h\*] śrīy-**Anna-Vō-**  
 19 **ma**-nripatir=jaga-raksha-pālah || [9\*] Vira-śrīy-**Ana-Vōta**-bhūtala-patēr=ggambhira-bhēri-  
 ravaiḥ śa-  
 20 trūṇām hridayēshu saṅga(ga)ra-mukhē bhinnēshu pūrvam rasam(sam) | yad=vī-  
 21 ram nirakāsayat(d)=bhaya-rasō vēgāt kutō=py=āgatō yuktaṁ prakta-  
 22 nam=am̐bu nirggamayati pratyagram=aty-ūrjitaṁ(tam) || [10\*] Yadhthāṭishu<sup>3</sup> virōdhi-rā-  
 23 ja-nīlayē yōdh-ālayē yōjitō vahniḥ kalpita-hēma-kuṭṭima-ghana-syam-  
 24 da-sphuliṅg-ōjva(jjva)lah | Hēmādrēr=iva bbūmikām kalayati prauḍhaḥ pratāp-ō-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 25 shmanā sa-pratyāntta(ta)girēḥ sa-hēmasaritaḥ samvyūpta-tār-āvalēḥ || [11\*] Yasy=ārīn  
 kulīsa-  
 26 dhvanim kalayatō dhātishu bhēri-ravam nāmāni drutam-Arjunassa<sup>4</sup> japatas=samgrāma-  
 27 Gāṅdhīvinah | samgrām-ōpapadāni tāni bhavatām rakshā-kṛitē sarvādā varnyānttām(tām)=i-  
 28 ti bōdhayānty=adhipatin dhī-yamtriṇō maṁtriṇah || [12\*] Śāk-ābdē gagan-ōbha-sū-  
 29 **rya-gaṇitē Paushasya darśē tidhau(thau) Bhūsūnōr-divasē him-ētara-ruchah**  
 puṇy-ōpa-  
 30 **rāg-āntta(ta)rē** | grāmam prādisad=**Anna-Vōta**-nripatih **Kōḍūru**-nām-āṅkki(ki)taṁ  
 31 s-āshṭ-aiśvaryakam=ashṭa-bhōga-sahitam bhūdēvatābhyō mudā || [13\*] Malāpah[ā]-  
 32 nadī-tirē viprēbhyah pratipāditam(tam) | **Annavōtapuram** nāmā jayaty=ā-chāndra-  
 tā-

<sup>1</sup> Read =ch=ēty=udīryya<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Read =vamśān.

<sup>3</sup> Read =yūdh-āṭishu.

<sup>4</sup> Read =Arjunasya.

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 33 rakarḥ(kam) || [14\*] Asya grāmasya pratigrahitarāḥ || Haritagōtrāḥ | Viasayāryaḥ |  
 Simggayā-  
 34 ryaḥ | Sūrayāryaḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ | Gaṁggayāryaḥ | ētē pañcha pratyēkam dvi-  
 bhāgināḥ |  
 35 Mādhaba-dvivedī | Annayāryaḥ | ētē dvādaśa Yajuḥ-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Annayāryaḥ  
 36 dvi-bhagī Rīg-vēdī | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāḥ Mādhavāryaḥ dvi-bhagī | Simggayāryaḥ |  
 37 Lakkhayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Tallaya-daivajñāḥ | Allāḍa-bhaṭṭaḥ | Allāḍarāthāḥ |  
 38 Vallabhāryaḥ | Erapōta-bhaṭṭaḥ | ētē daśa Yajuḥ-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Chamudayā-  
 39 ryaḥ | dvi-bhāgī | Rīg-vēdī | Śrīvatsa-gōtrāḥ Rāmayāryaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Appale-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ |  
 40 dvi-bhāgī | Chārchayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Erayāryaḥ | Prōlayāryaḥ | ētē  
 aṣṭa

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 41 Yajuḥ-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Māchayāryaḥ pād-ō-  
 42 na-bhāgī | Yajur-vvēdī | Kaumḍinya-gōtrāḥ | Bhāskarāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-bhāgī |  
 Mādhavāryaḥ | Gaṁgādhaḥ(dha)-  
 43 rāryaḥ | Brahma-dēvaḥ | Simggayāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Sarasvatī-bhaṭṭaḥ |  
 Mañchchenāryaḥ | ētē  
 44 Yajuḥ-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ | Dēvayāryaḥ s-ārdhdha(ārdha)-dvi-  
 bhāgī |  
 45 Ayyalu-bhaṭṭaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Sōmaya-bhaṭṭaḥ | Nilakaṁṭhāryaḥ | ētē Bhurag(Rīg)-  
 vēdi-  
 46 naḥ | Peddanāryaḥ | Annamāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgī | ētau Yajur-vvēdinau | Viśvēśvara-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ  
 47 Kāṇva-śākh-ādhyāyī | Śāṁḍilya-gōtrāḥ | Appayāryaḥ | Nāgayāryaḥ | Simgga-  
 48 yāryaḥ | Mādhavāryaḥ | Appayāryaḥ Nārāyaṇa(ṇā)ryaḥ ardhhdha(ardha)-bhāgī |  
 ētē Ya-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 49 juḥ-śākh-ādhyāyinaḥ | Vasishṭha-gōtrau ||(l) Narahari-bhaṭṭaḥ s-ārdhdha-dvi-bhāgī | Narasim-  
 50 ha-jyautishikāḥ dvi-bhāgī | ētau Rīg-vēdinau | Radhī(thī)tara-gōtrau | Sūrayāryaḥ dvi-bhā-  
 51 gī | Vallabhāryaḥ [\*] ētau Yajur-vvēdinau | Gautama-gōtrau | Simggayāryaḥ | Māchay-  
 āryaḥ  
 52 ētau Yajur-vvēdinau | Jiyyanāryaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Kauśika-gōtrau | Perumām-  
 53 ḍi-bhaṭṭaḥ | Mārayāryaḥ | ētau Yajur-vvēdinau | Maitrēya-gōtraḥ Mañ-  
 54 chenāryaḥ dvi-bhāgī | Yajur-vvēdī | Bhārggava-gōtraḥ Tippayāryaḥ | Yajur-vvēdī | Vi-  
 55 śṇuvardhdhana(vardhdhana)-gōtraḥ Gōpāla-bhaṭṭaḥ Rīg-vēdī | Kāṇva-gōtraḥ Vāmaya-  
 bhaṭṭaḥ  
 56 Rīg-vēdī [\*] Gārgya-gōtraḥ Mallayāryaḥ pād-ōna-bhāgī Yajur-vvēdī || Śrī[h|\*]

*Fourth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 57 Atha grāmasya sīmā-chihnāni | tūrpunaku Mrānikoṇḍa-guṁṭa paḍumaṭi gaṭṭu-  
 58 nnu ā kuṁṭa dakshinapu maḍi tūrpugaṭṭunnu dakshina-mukhamai Dāmkēru sahi-

- 59 tamai ā ēṛu dām̐ti Saṁkka(ka)nīpalli kōḍu sīmagānu vachchi a(ā)gnēyaṁ mūla Sa-  
 60 mkanīpalli polamēra-gaṭṭu mōchenu | dakṣhiṇamunaku Vinnakōṭa polamu vāya-  
 61 vyaṁ mūla magiḍi dakṣhiṇaṁ-mukhamai pōyi Alligum̐ta mōchi aṭṭē pa-  
 62 ḍumaṛa-mukhamai pōyi nairriti-mūla Kanumallapūm̐ḍi polamu mōchenu[\*]  
 63 paḍumaṭi sīma Vaṭṭūri Akka-ḍom̐ka paḍumaṭi kara paṭṭikoni vachchi Vannēṛu  
 sahita-  
 64 mu-gānu Prattipāṭi polamu āgnēyaṁ mūla mōchi uttarāṁ-mukhamai

*Fifth Plate ; First Side.*

- 65 Nam̐di-vam̐ppu sahitamugā vachchi Rājīnāyini-Pālapaṭi vellaḍi polamu mō-  
 66 chi mēḍitāpai Kṛim̐kulamiṭṭi polamu paḍumaṭi kara-vaṭṭukoni uttarāṁ-mukhamai  
 67 pōyi Pālakōḍu dām̐ti uttara-mukhamai pōyi vāyavyaṁ mūla Kalu-  
 68 vapūm̐ḍi kara mōchenu | uttarāṁ sīma ā karē sīmagānu tūrpu mukhamai  
 69 sāgi vachchi aluka-pannāsa dakṣhiṇapūm̐-gara sīmagā vachchi Vannēṛu mōchi  
 dakṣhiṇaṁ<sup>1</sup>  
 70 mukhamai Vannēṛē sīmagānu Kṛim̐kulamiṭṭu Pulipāḍu sahitam̐gā vachchi  
 71 Gurum̐jakōḍu vāsina chōṭunu Vannēṛu dām̐ti tūrpu-mukhamai iśānyaṁ  
 72 mūla Mrānikom̐ḍa polamu mōchenu || Sva-dattā[d\*]=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ā-

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 73 nupālanam̐(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattam̐ nishphalam̐ bhavēt [| 15\*] Sva-  
 dattam̐ para-dattam̐  
 74 vā yō harēta vasum̐ddharām̐(rām) | shashṭim̐ varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām̐ jāyatē  
 kṛim̐ḥ [| 16\*]  
 75 Ek=aiṇa bhaginī lōkē [sarvvēshām=api bhūbhujām̐(jām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā  
 vipra-dattā vasum̐-  
 76 ddha(dha)rā || [17\*] Ana-Vōta-narēm̐drasya vidvān **Bālasarasvatī** | akarōd-ākarō  
 vāchām̐ ni-  
 77 rmmalam̐ dharma-śāsanaṁ(nam) || [18\*] Śivam=astu | Śrī[h [\*]

**TRANSLATION.**

(Verse 1) May the tusk of the Boar-incarnation of the Supreme Being, bearing the earth on its extremity and looking most beautiful like the crescent which is kissed at its cusp by the clouds, protect the worlds.

(Verse 2) May the Sun and the Moon resting (*respectively*) on the western and eastern mountains during the full-moon evenings and displaying, as it were, (*their*) former act of being the wheels to the chariot, the earth, of Purāri (*i.e.*, Śiva), dispel your darkness.

(Verse 3) From the lotus feet of the lotus-navelled god (*i.e.* Vishṇu) was born, for the good of the world, the noble fourth caste, virtuous, illustrious with rich life and divided hundredfold like the sacred Ganges rich with profuse water and split into a hundred branches.

<sup>1</sup> The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

(Verse 4) In that (caste) was born (a king) named **Prōlaya-Vēma** who constructed steps to Śrīśaila (mountain), who was expert in making gifts mentioned in the work on rituals (*Kalpa*) by Hēmādri and whose fame was established by his gifts of limitless lands.

(Verse 5) King Vēma made the Vṛisha (*lit.* bull, *i.e.*, Dharma) which was one-legged on account of the evil of the Kali age and (so) was limping in his walk, steady in its course by the power of the Vēdas (being chanted with *pada* and *krama*) by the Brāhmins to whom *agrahāra* (villages) had been given.

(Verse 6) I fancy that the names spoken of in other *yugas* such as Dharmātmaja, Dāśarathi and Pṛithu are the sacred old names of king Vēma (*himself*).

(Verse 7) When the Nāga women were chanting his (*i.e.*, Prōlaya-Vēma's) glory, the serpent king, being unable to see the beauty of their faces, which was the root of love, and at the same time listen to the musical composition (*sung by them*), could not bear (*the reputation of*) hearing through the eyes.

(Verse 8) When he attacked (*the enemy*) kings in fight, the crest-jewels of his foes, split by the arrows of him who was (*like*) Pārtha in battle, scattered about as though they were the sparks of the fire of his valour.

(Verse 9) From this king Vēma were born as from the eastern mountain, two sons (*viz.*), prince **Ana-Vōta** and prince **Śrī-Anna-Vēma**, the protector of the world—who were the receptacles of valour and great splendour, who were equal to the Sun and the Moon in lustre.

(Verse 10) When the hearts of the enemies were broken by the deep sounds of the war-drums of king Ana-Vōta, the sentiment of fear coming from some unknown quarter drove away the spirit of heroism which was there already. It is meet that a powerful (*current*) of new water drives away the old water.

(Verse 11) The fire lit to the military barracks during the attacks on the palace of the enemy kings, shining with sparks that are the thick drops flowing from the pavement made of gold, looks, by the heat of its great glow, like (*lit.* puts on the garb of) the golden mountain (*i.e.*, Hēmādri) which is combined with its hill ranges and the golden streams and is covered with rows of stars.

(Verse 12) The shrewd (*lit.* who had wisdom as their support) ministers (*of the enemy kings*) advise their masters, who were repeating the names of Arjuna immediately after hearing the sound of his (*i.e.*, Ana-Vōta's) war-drums which resembled the sound of thunder, that those military titles of him who was the Arjuna on the battle-field (*i.e.*, Ana-Vōta) should (*instead*) be repeated always for their protection.

(Verse 13) In the Śaka year counted by *gaganā* (0), *idha* (8), and *sūrya* (12), (*i.e.*, 1280), in the month of Pausa, on a Tuesday which had the *darśa* (*tūhi*)—during the solar eclipse, king Ana-Vōta gladly gave to the Brāhmins the village **Kōḍūru** along with the eight *aiśvaryas* and eight *bhōgas*.

(Verse 14) May the village by name **Annavōtapuram** situated on the banks of the river **Malāpahā** and given to the Brāhmins shine (*supreme*) as long as the Sun and the Moon (*last*).

(Lines 33 to 56) The names of the 61 donees with their *gōtras* and shares are enumerated (see list on pp. 140 ff.).

(Lines 57 to 72) The boundaries of the gift village are specified in Telugu.

(Lines 72 to 77) Three imprecatory verses and a verse stating that the composer of the grant was **Bālasarasvatī**, the *vidvān* of king Ana-Vōta, are given here.

No. 14.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM MAYURBHANJ.<sup>1</sup>

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## A.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 11" by 8½". It contains 41 lines of writing engraved on both sides. A **circular seal**, representing a full-blown lotus, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate. The seal has a diameter of 3½", and on its surface is engraved, in relief, inside a raised circular rim, the figure of a humped bull with that of a small crescent above it, and the **legend** 'Śrī-Narēndrabhañjadēvasya' below. There is a floral design underneath the legend. The seal bears a very close resemblance to that of Tribhuvana Mahādēvi of the Kara dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

The plate was discovered in 1927 by a Kōl peasant in course of digging a field near the village of **Ādipur** in the Pāñchpir Sub-division of Mayūrbhanj State, and is now preserved in the Mayūrbhanj State Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. K. C. Neogy, the Dewan of the Mayūrbhanj State, kindly sent the plate to me for decipherment, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except a small part of the reverse which is badly corroded, with the result that a few letters in the formal portion of the grant are not legible.

The **alphabet** belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in the Pāla records of the tenth century A.D. It contains **numerical symbols** for 200, 90, 3 and 1.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of eleven verses, including the usual imprecatory verses, the inscription is written in prose. Some of these verses are, however, very faulty, and require addition or omission of letters to suit the requirements of the metre. The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor and there are many mistakes both in spelling and in grammar.

As regards **orthography**, *b* and *v* are not distinguished; the *anusvāra* is represented in some cases by guttural *ṅ* (*vaṅśē* in line 6), while the final dental *n* is represented by *anusvāra* (*śatrūṅ* in line 11, *bhūpālām* in line 15). Consonants are usually doubled after *r*, but there are exceptions (*kṛimār=bhūvā* in line 29). Some other peculiarities seem to have been due to the ignorance of the author. Mention may be made of the use of *ś* for *s* (*āśit* in line 3, *Śmara* in line 10, *praśaktaḥ* in line 13, *śalīla* in line 20); of *ri* for *ri* (*kṛiyatē* in line 32, *śriyam=* in line 34); of *i* for *ī* (*Bhavānīśaḥ* in line 2, *āśit* in line 3, *śariram=* in line 31, *kirttayō* in line 35); and of *u* for *ū* (*purva* in line 17).

As examples of the faulty knowledge of grammar may be mentioned *mānīs=tyāgīr* in line 6, *uktatī=cha ddharma-śāstrē* in line 24, *chēta* in line 32, and *vīndu-llōlām* in line 33.

The author's scanty knowledge of Sanskrit literature is best exemplified by the way in which the names of *gōtras* and *pravaras* are given in lines 17-18.

The inscription records the grant of the village **Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi** in **Urṭti-vishaya** in **Khijjiṅga** by king **Narēndrabhañja**, son of king **Vibhramatuṅga**, and grandson of **Kōṭṭabhañja**. At the end of the record proper, there is a sort of postscript written in smaller characters, referring to a Grant in the same district by **Mahārāja Raṇabhañjadēva**, son of **Vibhramatuṅga**, and, therefore, a brother of **Narēndrabhañja**. The **date**, **samvat 293**, at the end of the record, evidently refers to this latter Grant. It appears at first sight that after the inscription recording the grant of **Narēndrabhañja** was engraved on the copper-plate, a small space remained vacant,

<sup>1</sup> For the sake of convenience the historical materials in all the three Grants have been discussed together in the Introduction to A.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e.g., the plate facing p. 425, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II.



and it was subsequently utilised for making a brief record of the other Grant, leading to the natural presumption, that Raṇabhañja was the younger brother of Narēndrabhañja and ruled after him. But some peculiarities in Inscription B, edited below, seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The donee in the first Grant was Bhaṭṭaputra **Śītaladēva**-śarman belonging to Bahv-riḥa-*charaṇa*, Āśvalāyana-*śākhā*, and Vatsa-*gōtra*. The donee in the other case was Bhaṭṭaputra **Trivikrama**.

The inscription is of great historical importance as it furnishes new materials for the reconstruction of the history of the **Bhañja** dynasty. The kings mentioned in it, *viz.*, Kōṭṭabhañja, his son Vibhramatuṅga, and the two sons of the latter, *viz.*, Narēndrabhañja and Raṇabhañja, belong to what has been called the second group of Bhañja kings by Mr. R. D. Banerji.<sup>1</sup> This group is now known to us from the following eight copper-plate grants, though Mr. Banerji knew only the first three of them.

1. Bāmanghāṭi<sup>2</sup> plate of Raṇabhañja.<sup>3</sup>
2. Khaṇḍadēuli plate of Raṇabhañja.<sup>4</sup>
3. Bāmanghāṭi<sup>2</sup> plate of Rājabhañja.<sup>5</sup>
4. Ukhunda plate of Prithvibhañja.<sup>6</sup>
5. Kēśari plate of Śatrubhañja<sup>6</sup> (re-edited below, C).
- 6-7. Two Ādipur copper-plates of Narēndrabhañjadēva (edited below, A and B).
8. Ādipur copper-plate of Durjayabhañjadēva.<sup>7</sup>

The first two Grants now edited (Nos. 6-7) closely resemble Nos. 1-4 and possess all the special characteristics which distinguish them from those of the other Bhañja kings.<sup>8</sup> As a matter of fact the texts of the historical portion of all these Grants (except Nos. 5 and 8) seem to have been derived from a common draft, though slight modifications have been introduced here and there. No. 5 contains some important additions which are not to be found in others, while No. 8 omits altogether the traditional account of the origin of the family.

All these records (except No. 8) begin with a reference to **Virabhadra**, the **Ādi-Bhañja** or the First Bhañja, also called **Gaṇadaṇḍa**. He is said to have come out of an egg of pea-hen in the hermitage called **Kōṭyāśrama** and was brought up by the sage **Vaśiṣṭha**.<sup>9</sup> Only No. 5 adds a few more details, particularly that he was the lord of 88,000 villages.<sup>10</sup> All the records (except No. 8) refer next to Kōṭṭabhañja who must be regarded as the first historical king of the

<sup>1</sup> R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> The Grant is also known as Jamdapir plate from its findspot (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 300-1).

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 1 and 3 were originally edited by Babu Pratāpa Chandra Ghōṣha in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XL, pp. 161ff., and subsequently re-edited by Babu Nagendranāth Vasu in the *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, pp. 141ff. A stanza engraved on the pedestal of an image, now in the Khiching Museum, refers to a king called Rāyabhañja who may be the same as this king Rājabhañja (*Ann. Rep. Arch. Survey*, 1922-3, p. 128). But it contains no historical information. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji this Rāyabhañja was a different king (*Orissa*, p. 183).

<sup>4</sup> Edited by MM. H. P. Śāstri in *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 172.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 427 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 429 f.

<sup>7</sup> Below, pp. 172 f.

<sup>8</sup> For these characteristics cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 180. *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Ins. No. 8 applies some of these epithets to Raṇabhañja.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Misra, who edits the plate, translates the passage as follows: "..... Virabhadra who formerly was busily engaged by 88,000 sages, and in view of their request Rāmadēva served him and then made him the lord of 88,000 villages". This meaning is very doubtful. The word read as 'muni' is probably 'sānu'. Cf. C, edited below.



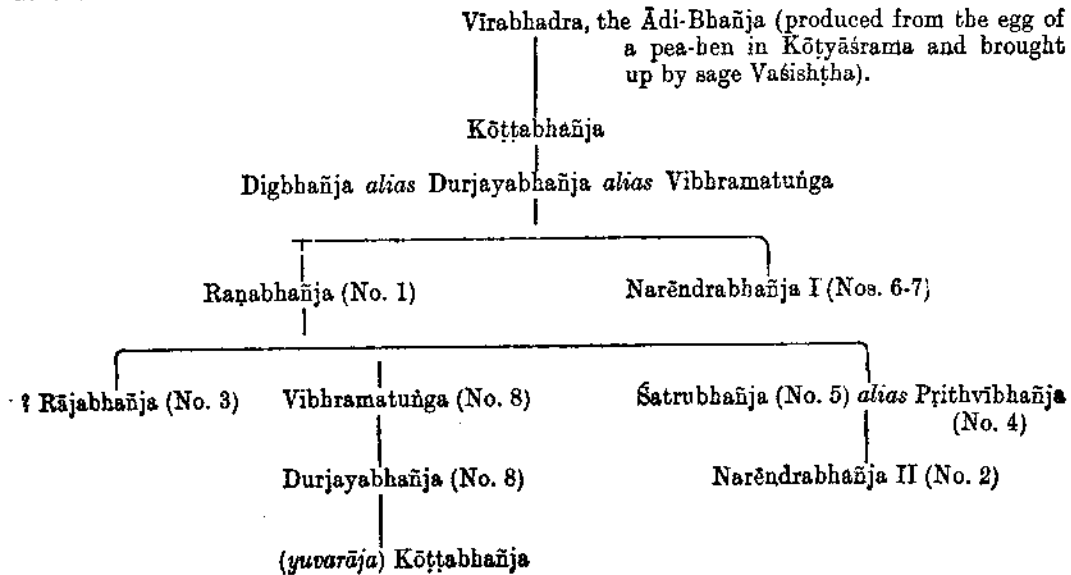


At first sight the different genealogical accounts seem to be hopelessly conflicting and any attempt to reconcile them may justly be regarded as a vain and fruitless task. But there are some points of agreement in the majority of records which might give us a clue to the ultimate solution of the problem.

All the records are unanimous, firstly, in their accounts of the origin of the founder of the family, Virabhadra, from the egg of a pea-hen in the hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha known as Kōṭyāsrama; and secondly, in regarding Kōṭṭabhañja as the first historical ruler. Here the unanimity ends. But with the exception of Nos. 3 and 4 all the other records represent Raṇabhañja as the grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja, and as the statement in No. 4 is not in conflict with this view, we may accept it as an established fact. The name of the father of Raṇabhañja is given as Digbhañja in Nos. 1 and 2, Durjayabhañja in No. 5, and Vibhramatuṅga in No. 6. There would thus appear to be three different kings bearing the same name Raṇabhañja. But on the other hand we should remember that all of them ruled in Khijjiṅga, and all of them evidently were contemporaries, being grandsons of the same king. This is specifically proved in respect of two of them as they issued Grants in the years 288 (No. 1) and 293 (No. 6). Three grandsons of the same king, bearing the same name, and ruling in the same locality at the same time (or at least within a few years of each other), may not be theoretically impossible, but must be regarded as very unusual indeed. We may, therefore, reasonably infer the identity of the three kings bearing the name Raṇabhañja. This would imply also the identity of Digbhañja, Durjayabhañja and Vibhramatuṅga, though it must be regarded as very unusual that the same king should have been referred to by three different names in the official records of the family.

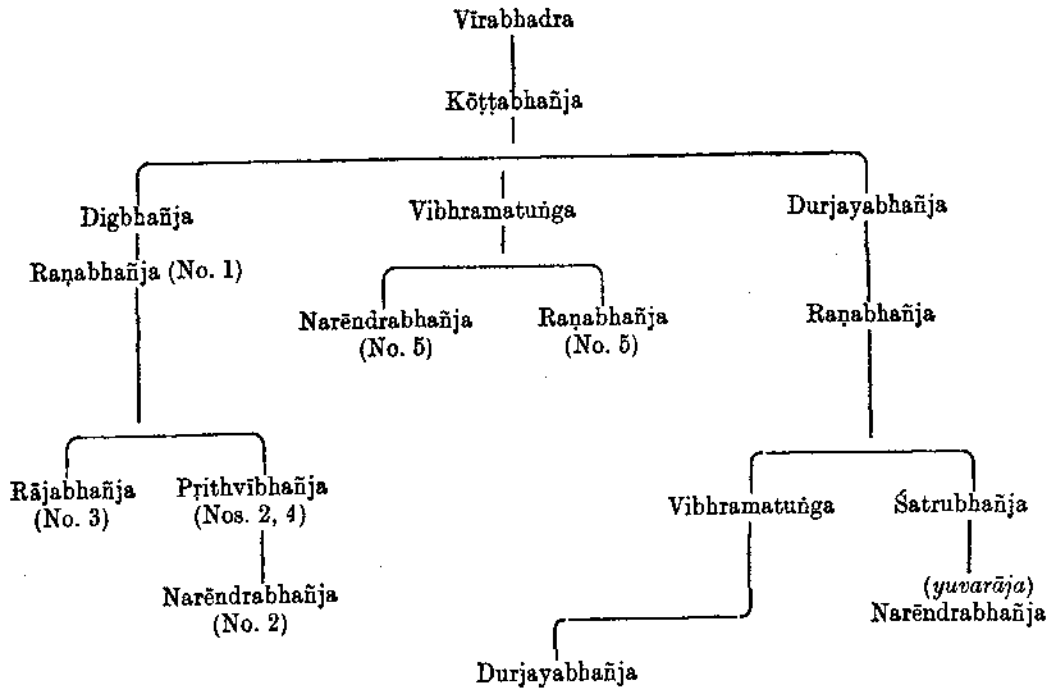
Then, again, according to MM. Śāstri's interpretation of No. 2, Raṇabhañja had a son (*auṇyika* or reputed) named Pṛithvibhañja and the latter's son was Narēndrabhañja. Now No. 4 confirms the first part of the statement, *viz.*, that Raṇabhañja had a son called Pṛithvibhañja, and No. 5, the second part of the statement, *viz.*, that he had a grandson called Narēndrabhañja. No. 5, however, gives Śatrubhañja as the name of the father of Narēndrabhañja, and the only way of reconciling Nos. 2, 4, and 5 is to identify Śatrubhañja with Pṛithvibhañja.

On the basis of the above hypotheses we may draw up the genealogy of the family tentatively as follows :—



Although this genealogy of the family cannot be regarded as finally settled, the above represents, I believe, the most reasonable inference that can be drawn from the data at present available to us.

If we reject the proposed identifications, and treat the kings with different names as so many different persons, the resulting genealogy would be as follows :—



It is unnecessary to discuss here the history of the other Bhañja kings known from copper-plate grants; no connection or relationship between them and the Bhañja kings discussed above has yet been established. The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal upheld the view that all the known Bhañja kings belonged to one single family,<sup>1</sup> but this theory has been shown to be untenable by Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>2</sup> and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.<sup>3</sup>

As to the status of these kings, the late Mr. R. D. Banerji laid much stress on the fact that the kings of this group bore no royal titles. "The absence of any title", says Mr. Banerji, "at a time when even petty kings had assumed the imperial titles of the Gupta period, is extremely significant. It proves that the second group of Bhañja kings were subordinates to some higher power".<sup>4</sup> The title *Mahārāja* applied to Raṇabhañja in the two Grants (Nos. 6, 7) edited below, and the title *Mahārājādhirāja* applied to the same king (or another king of the same name) in Ins. No. 8, prove the erroneous character of Mr. Banerji's assumption. For he himself concluded, from the assumption of the title *Mahārāja* by Raṇabhañja of the first group, that he was an independent king.<sup>5</sup> And we may equally presume that Raṇabhañja of the second group

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 179.

<sup>3</sup> *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181. Dr. H. C. Ray also holds the same view, cf. *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 423.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 166.

was also an independent king. Indeed in this respect the fact that a ruler issues land grants with a distinctive royal seal of his own is a far stronger evidence in support of his status as a *de facto* independent ruler than mere assumption of royal or imperial titles. It would be more reasonable, therefore, to regard the Bhañja kings, who issued royal charters with their own seals, as independent rulers, at least for all practical purposes, irrespective of the question whether they assumed royal and imperial titles or not.

The Grant No. 5 refers to Virabhadra as *Chakravarti-samah* or 'like an emperor', gives the titles '*Mahāmaṇḍal-ādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*' to Śatrubhañjadēva, and calls him the lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). This is also an indication of the power and independence of the Bhañja kings of this group.

As to the period when these kings flourished we have two specific dates of Raṇabhañja, viz., Samvat 288 (No. 1) and Samvat 293<sup>1</sup> (No. 6). The era to which these dates are to be referred is not easy to determine. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar held that the alphabets of the records could not be earlier than the tenth century A.D., and referred the year 288 to the Gāṅga Era, which began according to him in 778 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This view was accepted by Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>3</sup> and Mr. C. C. Das Gupta.<sup>4</sup> Many scholars, however, now hold that the epoch of the Gāṅga Era is to be placed in the sixth century A.D. or at the close of the fifth century A.D.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, king Raṇabhañja has to be placed towards the close of the eighth or in the ninth century A.D. Mr. Binayak Misra refers the date to the Harsha Era.<sup>6</sup> That would place Raṇabhañja towards the close of the ninth century A.D. The palaeographic evidence, as noted above, does not militate against this view.<sup>7</sup>

Assuming that the Harsha era was used, the date of the present Grant would be A.D. 899, and Raṇabhañja must have been on the throne during the years 894-899 A.D. The rule of the Bhañja dynasty of Mayūrbhanj from Kōṭṭabhañja to Narēndrabhañja II may thus be placed between 850 and 950 A.D.

Utkala or Orissa was conquered by Dēvapāla in the first half of the ninth century A.D. This must have brought about the political disintegration of the kingdom, and as soon as the Pāla power was weakened by the middle of the ninth century A.D., local feudal chiefs found a good opportunity to carve out independent kingdoms for themselves. The rise of the Bhañja family to power may be explained in this way.

The Capital of these kings was undoubtedly Khijjiṅga, modern Khiching (situated about ninety miles to the west of Bāripadā the present Capital of Mayūrbhanj) which contains extensive ruins and has yielded a large number of fine medieval sculptures. All the Grants, except Nos. 5 and 8, refer to Khijjiṅga as the place of residence of the king. The village granted in No. 5 is situated in Urtti-vishaya, and this district, according to the present Grant, was included in

<sup>1</sup> The numerical symbol used to denote 200 is 'lu'. Kielhorn, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, expressed a doubt about the correctness of this interpretation (Above, Vol. V, App. p. 88, n. 6). Bühler's chart, however, gives the value 200 for the symbol (Pl. IX, Col. XVIII). Subsequently, Kielhorn also changed his view and took the symbol as denoting 200 (Above, Vol. VI, p. 134). This is now generally accepted (*History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 181).

<sup>2</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> *Annals, Bh. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, pp. 171 ff.; *J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 272-4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI (1932), p. 237.

<sup>6</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, p. 427. Mr. Misra says that this was also the view of Kielhorn. He does not, however, give any reference, and I cannot find any in support of this statement.

<sup>7</sup> Bühler in his *Palaeographic Chart* places the alphabet of the Bāmanghāṭi Ins. of Raṇabhañja in the 9th century A.D. (Plate IX, Col. XVIII.)

Khijjiṅga (*Khijjiṅga-pratibaddha*). The villages granted by the records seem to indicate that the kingdom of this group of Bhañja kings corresponded roughly to the present states of Mayūrbhanj and Keonjhar which are still ruled by chiefs bearing names ending in Bhañja. The name Mayūrabhañja undoubtedly preserves the tradition that the Bhañja family originated from the egg of a *mayūri* (pea-hen), and the legends that the ancestor was born out of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha are to be found in the records of the present ruling family.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, very probable that the present Bhañja chiefs are descended from the group of Bhañja kings referred to above.

An attempt has been made to connect this Bhañja family with the famous **Maurya clan**, and even to identify Virabhadra, the traditional founder of the family, with the Maurya emperor Chandragupta. The suggestion which rests mainly on the following grounds was first made by Mr B. Misra while editing No. 5<sup>2</sup> (re-edited below as C.).

1. The *Mayūra*-origin of the family really indicates an association with the Moriya clan, Moriya being the Prākṛit form of *Mayūra*.<sup>3</sup>

2. According to the Pāli *Mahāvagga*, the dominion of Bimbisāra embraced 80,000 townships. It is needless to say that the same dominion was included in the empire of Chandragupta. Evidently the lordship of Virabhadra over 82,000 villages (as recorded in No. 5) has some similarity with that of Chandragupta.

3. *Gaṇadaṇḍa*, the epithet of Virabhadra, means Republican Chief and signifies one whose army consisted of individuals combined for a definite object. If taken in this sense, Virabhadra may be supposed to have raised an army as Chandragupta did to overthrow the Nanda dynasty.

The arguments are wholly unconvincing. As regards the first, it refers merely to a totemic conception, and we need not necessarily find any historical allusion in it unless there are other valid grounds for doing so. As regards the second, the inference rests palpably on a very weak foundation. As to the third, *Gaṇadaṇḍa* has been interpreted by Rai Bahadur Hiralal as an officer of some *Gaṇa* or Hindu Republic. He takes it to be an abbreviated form of *Gaṇadaṇḍa-nāyaka* or *Gaṇa-daṇḍapāla*, i.e., either a minister or a commander of army.<sup>4</sup> There is no justification for going further beyond this.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription other than Khijjiṅga, **Kōṭyāśrama**, the reputed hermitage of Vaśiṣṭha where Virabhadra was born, has been identified with Kuting, thirty-two miles from Bāripadā.<sup>5</sup> **Urṭi-vishaya** may be identified with a village called Urti in the Keonjhar State, about twelve miles to the north-west of Khiching, on the right bank of the river Vaitaraṇī. There is a village called Sorai near Urti,<sup>6</sup> and this may represent either of the two villages, **Bṛihat-Sārāi** and **Svalpa-Sarāyi** mentioned in the Grant. It is not also impossible that both the names referred to two parts of the same village distinguished by the prefixes *bṛihat* and *svalpa* (i.e., big and small) and that this entire village is now represented by Sorai.

<sup>1</sup> While recently visiting the Museum at Bāripadā, I noticed the following documents: (1) Copy of a *Sanad* granted by Mahārājā Viravikramāditya Bhañja in 1121 A.D. (i.e., 1713-14 A.D.) in which the ancestor of the royal family is said to have been born of an egg of pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha. (2) A letter from the ruler of Talcher addressed to Lakṣmī Nārāyaṇa Bhañja, ruler of Mayūrbhanj (1660 A.D.) containing reference to the same legends. Upendra Bhañja, the famous poet of Orissa, who flourished about the end of the seventeenth century A.D., refers to these legends in respect of the kings of Mayūrbhanj.

<sup>2</sup> *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 420 ff.

<sup>3</sup> [It may be pointed out that *mora* is the Pkt. form of *mayūra* and *Moriya* that of *Maurya*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 300. But Mr. P. Acharya, the archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, rejects this identification on the ground that there are no remains of antiquities in the place.

<sup>6</sup> I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of Mayūrbhanj, for the information about the discovery of Plates A and B and for the identification of villages mentioned in them.

The fact that the villages are situated on the right bank of the Vaitarani river, in the State of Keonjhar, is of great importance, as it proves that at least a part, if not the whole, of this state was included within the dominions of the Bhañjas of Mayurbhanj in the ninth or tenth century A.D. This in a way lends some support to the local tradition recorded by Hunter that Keonjhar originally formed part of Mayurbhanj and was formed into a separate state about two centuries ago.<sup>1</sup>

The two copper-plates (Nos. 6 and 7) now edited being clearly engraved, enable us to correct some mistakes and remove some doubts about the reading and interpretation of the records of this group of Bhañja kings. MM. H. P. Śāstri, while editing the Khaṇḍadēulī plate claimed to have corrected some mistakes. "For instance," observed he, "my predecessors read *Kōtyāśrama*, but my plate distinctly says *Kautsāśrama*. They read the same word *Suladaṇḍa* in one plate and *Svarṇadaṇḍa* in another, but it is really *Galad-aṇḍa*, the *breaking egg*". The present records confirm the reading *Kōtyāśrama* and show beyond doubt that the other word is really *Gaṇa-daṇḍa*, which also seems to be quite clear on the estampage of the Khaṇḍadēulī Inscription. In the three published records the adjective '*Khijjiṅga-Kōṭṭavāsī*' is applied to Raṇabhañja and it has been taken to mean that the king was usually resident in Khijjiṅga. The corresponding expression in the present records is *Khijjiṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsāt* meaning that the Grant was issued from Khijjiṅga. This is the more usual expression used in land-grants, and there is hardly any doubt that it was the original form which was misconstrued in others.

### TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, *Āryā*; v. 5, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 7-9, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 10, *Drutavilambita*; v. 11, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

#### Obverse.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svasti [1\*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō
- 2 bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavāni(ni)śaḥ | vividha-samādhi-vi-
- 3 dhijñāḥ sarvvajñō vaḥ Śivāy=āstu || [1|1\*] \*Āśi(sī)t=**Kōtyāśrama**-ma-
- 4 hā-tapōvanāt=māyūr-āṇḍam bhit[1\*]vā Gaṇa-daṇḍa-**Virabhadr**-ākhyah [1\*]
- 5 pratipaksha-nidhana-dakshō Vāśiṣṭha-muni-pālitō nṛpa-
- 6 tiḥ || [2|1\*] Tasy=**Ādi-Bhañja**-vañ(vam)śē mānis<sup>4</sup>=tyāgī<sup>5</sup>=adaṇḍakah khyā-
- 7 taḥ [1\*] sūrah śuchir=vvinitō [6 jāta[h\*] śri-**Kōṭṭ**(tt)**abhañj**=ēti || [3|1\*] Pu-
- 8 tras=tad-ānurūpa<sup>7</sup> [6 śrēṣṭhaḥ śrīmān=maśaksha<sup>8</sup>-sāmantaḥ [1\*] nṛi-
- 9 pati-śat-ārchchita-charaṇō śrī<sup>9</sup>-**Vibhramatuṅgō** jagat-prathi-
- 10 taḥ || [4|1\*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ Śma(Sma)ra-samō va(ba)lavān=varishṭhaḥ sūrah
- 11 [samuna]nta<sup>10</sup>-yaśāḥ pravijitya śatrūm(n) | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira

<sup>1</sup> Hunter's *Orissa*, Vol. II, App. III, p. 86.

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

<sup>3</sup> In this verse the words *Kōtyāśrama-mahā-tapōvanāt* must be left out in order to suit the metre. Read *Āśin-māyūr-āṇḍam* etc.

<sup>4</sup> Read *māni*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *tyāgī*.

<sup>6</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read =*tad-ānurūpaḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> This is probably a mistake for *asamkhyā*.

<sup>9</sup> Omit *śrī* as in B for the sake of the metre.

<sup>10</sup> Read *samunnata* as in B below.



- 12 riv-āvanī<sup>1</sup>-pālanē oha |<sup>2</sup> nityam rataḥ kuśala-karmma-vidhau  
 13 praśa(sa)ktaḥ [|5|\*] **Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsāt** |<sup>3</sup> Hara-charaṇ-ā-  
 14 rādhana-kṣhapita-pāpaḥ | śrīmān=Narēndrabhañja-dēvaḥ<sup>4</sup> s-ā-  
 15 nunayam prāha bhūpālām(lān) | [6|\*] **Khijjīṅga-prativeddhō**(baddha) **Urtti-visha-**  
 16 **ya-saṁmandha**<sup>5</sup>. **Vṛi(Bṛi)hat-Sārāi-grām-ābhidhānō** |<sup>6</sup> grāmō=yam  
 17 pu(pū)rvva - vidita-sīmāntaḥ |<sup>7</sup> Vāvbi<sup>8</sup>-charaṇāya |<sup>9</sup> Aślāya-  
 18 na<sup>10</sup>-śākhāya |<sup>11</sup> Vachcha<sup>12</sup>-gōtrāya |<sup>13</sup> pañchā-rirshaya<sup>14</sup>-pravara-  
 19 ya |<sup>15</sup> Tilapudraka-vinigrata<sup>16</sup>. |<sup>17</sup> bhaṭṭaputra-Śi(Śi)tala[dēva]-  
 20 [śa]rmaṇāya<sup>18</sup> |<sup>19</sup> śa(sa)lila-dhārā[m\*] puraskṛity-ākaratv[na vā]

Reverse.

- 21 ..[māttā(tā)].-pitṛōr=ātmana ....  
 22 ....ndatō=amābhīḥ puṇyasētun=dadāya<sup>18</sup> [|\*] yāvat=pri-  
 23 [thvī]dharmma-dākshinya(ṇya)tō vā | tāvat=kālam=pāla[nīyō]  
 24 bhavadbhīḥ [|\*] uktañ=cha ddharmma<sup>19</sup>-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā  
 25 rājabbhis=Sagar-ādībhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s\*]=ta-  
 26 aya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [7|\*] Mā bhūya phala-śānkā vaḥ para-  
 27 dat=ēti pārthivām | svadattā phalam=āntam para-  
 28 datt-ānupālānē<sup>14</sup> || [8|\*] Sva-datta para-dattām=vā |<sup>2</sup> yō harēti  
 29 vasundharām<sup>15</sup> | sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā |<sup>2</sup> pitṛibhīḥ sa-  
 30 ha pachyatē || [9|\*] api cha[|\*] Kshitir=iyam kulaṭ=ēva va(ba)hu-  
 31 priyā |<sup>2</sup> hata-śari(ri)ram=idañ=cha vini(na)śma(śva)ram(ram) | su-kṛi[taṁ]  
 32 adya na chēta<sup>16</sup> kṛi(kri)yatē dhruvam |<sup>2</sup> vipadi dhakshyati vō=  
 33 nuśay-ānalāḥ || [10|\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-vindu-llō-  
 34 lām<sup>17</sup> śpi(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitāñ=cha | sakala-  
 35 m=idam=uddhṛitadbhī<sup>18</sup> vudhvām<sup>19</sup> |<sup>2</sup> na hi purushai[h\*] para-ki(ki)rtta-  
 36 yō vilōpyām(pyāḥ) || o || [11|\*] Likhitaṁ Rājakula-Hēra-  
 37 mvē(mbō)ḥ=ēti || o || Śri-Vibhramatuṅga-sutēna Mahārāja-śri-Rapa-

<sup>1</sup> Read *iv-āvani*.

<sup>2</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The *danda* is unnecessary; to suit the metre we have to read *kōṭṭa-vāsāt=Dhara*, or *Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭavāsāt* as in other inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> Omit *dēva* for the sake of the metre.

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

<sup>6</sup> Read *Bahuricha*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *Aśvalāyana*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Vata*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Pañcharshi*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *vinigrata*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-harmanāt*.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps the correct reading is *dattō=amābhīḥ puṇya-sēt-ūdayāya*. [The text from *māttā* to *bhavadbhīḥ* seems to form a verse in *Śālinī* metre.—Ed.]

<sup>13</sup> Read *dharmma*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *Mā bhūd=aphala-śānkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | eva-dattāt=phalam=ānantyam para-datt-ānupālānē ||*

<sup>15</sup> Read *Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēti vasundharām*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *ekritam=adya na chēti*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-llōtam*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *uddhṛitāñ=cha*.

<sup>19</sup> Read *buddhvā*.

A.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF NARENDRABHANJADEVA.

Obverse.

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Reverse.

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38 bhañja-dēvēna Uratti-vishay-āntaḥpāti - Svalpa-Sarāyi-grāmaḥ sali-  
 39 la-dhārā[m\*] puraskṛitya tāmra-sāsanēna bhaṭṭaputra-Trivikramāya pra-  
 40 dattaḥ āto<sup>1</sup> bhavishyad-rājabhiḥ pālaniya iti [ ]  
 41 Samvat 200 90 3 Phālguna va ḍi 1 likhitam kulaputraka-[Yaksha.....]<sup>2</sup>

#### TRANSLATION.

*Om svasti.* (Verse 1) May the omniscient Bhava (Śiva), who is the sole protector of all the worlds, the destroyer of the fear of re-birth, the lord of Bhavāni, and conversant with the rules of the various modes of meditation,—bring you prosperity.

(V. 2) There was a king called Gaṇadaṇḍa (an officer in a republic ?) **Vīrabhadra**, skilful in killing enemies, who burst out of an egg of a pea-hen in the great hermitage, called **Kōṭyāśrama**, and was brought up by the sage **Vaśiṣṭha**.

(V. 3) In the family of this first Bhañja (*king*) was born śrī-**Kōṭṭabhañja**, who was highly honoured, liberal, famous, brave, pure, and modest, and was averse to inflicting punishment (*adaṇḍaka*).

(V. 4) Then there was his worthy son śrī-**Vibhramatuṅga**, who was famous in the world, most excellent, and endowed with beauty ; who had numerous feudatories, and whose feet were worshipped by hundreds of kings.

(Vv. 5-6) His son *śrīmān* **Narēndrabhañjadēva**—who was like cupid (*in appearance*), strong, weighty, and brave ; who had acquired fame by defeating enemies ; who, like king **Yudhisṭhira**, was constantly engaged in protecting the earth, and was extremely fond of performing good deeds ; and whose sins were expiated by the worship of the feet of **Hara** ;—from his residence at the fort of **Khijjiṅga** says respectfully to the kings :

(Ll. 15-21) (*There is*) a village called **Bṛihat-Sārāi**, in the district (*vishaya*) of **Urṭti**, situated close to the city of **Khijjiṅga**. This village, the boundaries of which are already known, is granted by me, free of rent, for the sake of (the religious merits of) my mother, father, and myself, with libations of water, to **Bhaṭṭaputra Śītaladēvaśarman** an emigrant from **Tilapudraka** and belonging to **Bahvṛicha-charaṇa**, **Āśvalāyana-sākhā**, **Vatsa-gētra**, and having the five *rishis* as his *pravaras* (or the noble ancestors).

(Ll. 22-35 contain the usual imprecations.)

(L. 36) Written by the **Rājakula** **Hēramba**.

(Ll. 37-40) By **Mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva**, son of śrī-**Vibhramatuṅga**, the village of **Svalpa-Sarāyi** in the district (*vishaya*) of **Uratti** has been granted to **Bhaṭṭaputra Trivikrama**, after sprinkling water and by a copper-plate deed. So this should be upheld by the future kings.

(L. 41) The year **200** (and) **90** (and) **3** ; (*the month*) **Phālguna** ; the dark fortnight ; (*the lunar*) day 1.

Written by **Kulaputraka** **Yaksha**.

#### B.—Ādipur Copper-plate of Narēndrabhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring about 10·6" by 8·8". It contains 38 lines of writing engraved on both sides. The engraver at first deliberately left a margin of about 3 inches at the top on the reverse side, but later, as the inscription could not be contained in the remaining part, he engraved the concluding portion in this space with the letters written in an opposite direction. This is a very natural and common method in letter-writing of the present day, but seems to be

<sup>1</sup> Read *atō*.

<sup>2</sup> [There seem to be only two letters at the end ; the reading may, therefore, be *Yakshān-ṭi*.—Ed.]

rather unusual in respect of engraving copper-plates. The original plate contained a circular projection at the middle of the top, and to this was later soldered a circular seal with a diameter of about 3". It bears the legend "*Srīmān-Narī(rē)ndrabhañjadēnasya*" in a single line. Above the legend are the figures of a crescent with a conch below, and underneath it is the figure of a humped bull above a floral design, resembling those in the Plate A noticed above. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round. A portion of the back of the seal had to be cut away, as otherwise some letters, already engraved on the reverse of the plate, would have been bidden by it. This is an important and interesting point. For, as in Plate A, this portion of the plate contains, like a post-script, a short record about the donation of king Raṇabhañjā. It is obvious that it was not a later addition, but was already engraved before the royal seal was attached.

The plate was found in the possession of one Sira Dās of the Ādipur village, the same person from whom Plate A was obtained. According to the statement of Sira Dās it was found some eighty years ago, and kept concealed in a house which was washed away by the flood of 1927 and hence abandoned. It was again brought to light some six years ago while digging the earth in that deserted plot. The plate is now in the Museum at Bāripadā. The Curator of the Museum, Mr. P. Acharya, who supplied me with the above account, kindly gave me the plate on loan, and I am editing it from the original.

The plate is in a fair state of preservation, except that a small portion of the edge, on both sides, along the length of the plate has been corroded, with the result that some letters at the beginning and the end of a number of lines have been rendered indistinct or altogether effaced.

The language is Sanskrit and the alphabet closely resembles that used in Inscription A. As a matter of fact the record is a close copy of that record with a few modifications. The only important additions are: (1) some additional conventional concessions in the formal portion of the grant (ll. 16-17), and (2) one additional imprecatory verse (ll. 29-30). These are, however, well-known phrases and occur in other Orissa records and the verse occurs in another grant of this family (cf. C below).

The author's knowledge of Sanskrit was rather poor, though he has avoided some of the glaring mistakes of A. As the errors and orthographic peculiarities in the two records are very similar, these need not be noticed in detail.

The inscription records the grant of the village Śarapadraka in the Kōrakōra-vishaya by king Narēndrabhañja whose genealogy is given in the same words as in A. The donee, whose name I doubtfully read as Bhaṭṭa Dēvadēvadāma<sup>1</sup>, migrated from Ōdra-vishaya and was evidently associated (in a manner which is not quite clear) with the village Rāmāparkaṭi in the Khijjīṅga-maṇḍala<sup>2</sup>. The grant was made on the day on which the summer solstice began (*Ravisamkramaṇa-vilāyām*). The second record, at the end, refers to the grant of a village by Raṇabhañjā. The name of the village may be doubtfully read as Pādōvā, but there may be another letter at the beginning.

Of these localities Kōrakōra is still the name of a village in Ghoshdāpir in Ādipur Pargaṇā, situated about twelve miles to the South-South-East of Khiching. It is shown as Kerkera in the Indian Sheet Atlas (Scale 1"=4 miles, sheet 73 G). Near by is a village called Soras in the same sheet and this may be the same as Śarapadraka. The village called Saradaha in Karanjia Pargaṇā may also be the modern representative of Śarapadraka. Rāmāparkaṭi may be identified with the village called Ramasahi in Kiāpir in Joshipur Pargaṇā. I am unable to identify Pādōvā. The

<sup>1</sup> [See p. 160, n. 10 below.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [To me it appears that the donee was a resident of the village Rāmāparkaṭi in Khijjīṅga-maṇḍala and that he originally hailed from Āllāvdrāha, a Brahmin village (? Bhaṭṭa-grāma) in the Ōdra-vishaya.—Ed.]

mention of *Ōdra-vishaya* is very interesting, showing that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province was as yet confined only to a small region and originally denoted only a small district.

The history of *Narēndrabhañja* and his predecessors has already been discussed. As noted above, the inscription also records, at the end, the grant of a village by *Bhañja Mahārāja-Raṇabhañja*. The word immediately preceding this seems to be clearly *naptā* or grandson. Unfortunately, the word of three letters before *naptā*, although very clearly engraved, cannot be read with certainty. The first and third letters are 'ā' and 'va', but the letter in the middle is a peculiar one, and looks like *sai* or *stai*, none of which, however, gives any sense. In any case, for the present, *Raṇabhañja* of this short record must be identified with king *Raṇabhañja*, a similar short record of whom is engraved at the end of Plate A. It is very curious that a short record of this king was in both these instances added as a sort of post-script to the record of *Narēndrabhañja*. In the present case, at any rate, we are tolerably certain, by the position of the last few letters of the plate in respect of the back part of the seal, that the whole record was engraved before the seal was attached, *i.e.*, during the reign of king *Narēndrabhañja*. The only reasonable conclusion seems to be that *Raṇabhañja* was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*, and an earlier grant made by him, perhaps to the same donee or to his family, was repeated in brief at the end at the latter's request, so that the same plate might serve him as a charter for both the grants.<sup>1</sup>

One peculiarity in the text of this grant requires special mention. In all the copper-plate grants of this family of kings, the word *kuśalī* or *kuśalinah*, generally added as an adjective of the king in the prose portion, immediately after his proper name, is omitted, and in most of them the words *s-ānunayam prāha bhūpālān* take the place of the usual verbs *mānayati bōdhayati samādīśati*. In the present grant we have all these three combined, with the exception only of *samādīśati*.

Attention may be drawn to the expression '*Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shaṭpada*' (l. 13) used with reference to *Narēndrabhañja*. The corresponding expression in A is '*Hara-charaṇ-ārādhana-kshapita-pāpaḥ*' (ll. 13-14). These prove that king *Narēndrabhañja* was a devoted worshipper of Śiva. The invocation to Śiva at the beginning also shows that the family was Śaiva. The discoveries at Khiching fully corroborate this. The finest image unearthed from the ruins at Khiching is that of a standing Śiva which was no doubt installed in the main temple whose magnificent ruins have been laid bare by recent excavations.

#### TEXT.

[The metres are noted above in connection with A, but the verses 2 and 3 are defective as some words have been left out as pointed out in the footnotes.]

#### Obverse.

- 1 Svasti [!]\*
- 2 Ōm<sup>2</sup> namō Avighnēśvarāyaḥ\* || Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nā-
- 3 thō bhava-bhaya-bhidurō Bhavō Bhavām(nī)śaḥ [!]\* vividha-samādhi-vi-

<sup>1</sup>[It is difficult to believe that *Raṇabhañja* of the postscript grants in A and B was a predecessor of *Narēndrabhañja*. It is not impossible that a portion of the back of the seal of B had to be cut away to make room for the last line of the subsidiary record for which no other space was available. In ll. 36-37 B clearly states that the subsidiary grant was inserted in the original grant (*ēlasmīnn-ēva śāsanē prakshīpya*). The duct of writing in these additional grants is quite different from that of the original grants. The writer in the two additional grants appears to be the same person, *viz.*, *Yakshadatta* and the donor is also the same *Raṇabhañja* in both. The reading in l. 35 of B is *āsaiva naptā*. If *āsaiva* stands for *asy-aiva*, the person referred to must be the first ruler mentioned in the original grant, *i.e.*, *Kōṭṭabhañja* whose grandson *Raṇabhañja* was. — Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> There is a symbol preceding *Ōm*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *namō= vighnēśvarāya*.

- 4 dhijñō(jñah) sarvajñō vaḥ śivāy=āstu || [1|\*] Āśi(sī)t=Kōṭyāśrama-  
 5 mahātapōvanān<sup>1</sup>=māyūr-āṇḍam bhivā<sup>2</sup> Gaṇa-daṇḍa-Vīrabhadra-ākhyā[h\*] [1\*]  
 6 ksba<sup>3</sup> -nidhana-dakshō Vasishṭha-muni-pālitō nripati[h\*] | [1 2|\*] Tasy=Ādi-Bharī-  
 7 ja-vañśē(vañśē) māni(nī) tyāgi(gī) adaṇḍaka[h\*] khāta(khyātaḥ) [1\*] jāto(taḥ)<sup>4</sup> śrī-Kōṭṭa-  
 bhariḥjō=pi [1 3 |\*]  
 8 Putras=tad=ānurūpāḥ śrēṣṭhāḥ śrīmān=asaṅksha(saṅkhya)-sāmantaḥ | nripati-śa-  
 9 t-ārchchita-charaṇō Vibhramatūṅō jagat-prathitaḥ || [4 |\*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ  
 10 Smara-samō va(ba)lavān=vari(ri)shṭhāḥ śūrah samunnata-yaśā yudhi ni-  
 11 rjīt-āriḥ<sup>5</sup> | rājā Yudhiṣṭhira iv =āvani-pālanē cha nityaṁ rataḥ  
 12 kuśala-karma-vidhau praśa(sa)ktaḥ [1 5 |\*] Khijjīṅga-kōṭṭ-ādhivāsakāt [1\*]  
 13 Āśi(si)-dhār-ārjita-kirttiḥ Śiva-charaṇa-sarōja-shatpadāḥ śrī[mā-  
 14 n] | ripu-vanitā-vaidhavya-da-Narēndrabhañja-kuśali(lī) jagata(t)-khyā[taḥ |\*]<sup>6</sup>  
 15 sānūyayam prā[ba\*] bhūpālān yath-ārham mānāyati vō(bō)dha[ya]ti Kōrakō-  
 16 ra-vishaya-pratīva(ba)[dḍha]-Śarapadraka-grāmas=chatuḥ-simā-paryantaḥ ś-ō-  
 17 pari(ri)kara-s-ōd(dd)ēsa-sa-tantravāya-gō-kūṭa-śaundī(ṇḍi)k-ādi(di)kām prā-  
 18 [kṛi]tika-sarvva-piḍā-varjīt-ālēkhani(nī)-pravēsatayā bhūmī(mi)chchhī(chchhi)dr-ā-

## Reverse.

- 19 pi(bhi)dh[ā]na-nyāyēn=āchandr-ārkku-kshiti-sama-ka(kā)la[m\*] mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ [ya]-  
 20 śah-puṇy-ābhividdha[ye] | Odra-vishayē Bhaṭṭagrāma Āllavida . . .<sup>7</sup>  
 21 nirggataḥ Khijjīṅga-maṇḍalasya Rāmaparkaṭi-grāma-śāsa . . . . .  
 22 Vyavbhṛicha-charaṇāya<sup>8</sup> Vatsa-gōtra-pañchārshaya<sup>9</sup>-Ya(Ja)madagni(gni)-pravara(rāya)  
 bhāṭṭa-  
 23 D[ē\*]vadēvadāma(h)<sup>10</sup> bhāṭṭa-[Vadḍha]kā<sup>11</sup>dāma-suta(sutāya) Ravisāṅkramaṇa-  
 vēlāyām  
 24 hast-ōdakēna tāmra-śāsanīkṛity=ākshaya-ni(nī)vi-dharmmēṇ=ākaratvē-  
 25 na pratipāditō=smābhīḥ || tad=ēs(sh)=āsmad-[d\*]attir=ddharma-gauravād=bha-  
 26 vadbhīḥ paripālani(nī)ya | uktañ=cha dharmma-sā(śā)strē [1\*] Va(Ba)hubhīr-vasudhā da-  
 27 ttā rājabhīḥ Śagar-ādibhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s\*]=tasya tasya tadā  
 28 phalam(lam) | [1 6 |\*] Mā bhuh(bhūd=a)phala-sāṅkā va[h\*] para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ |  
 sva-dattāt phalam =ā-  
 29 nantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanē | [1 7 |\*] Sva-dattā[m] para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) |<sup>12</sup> yō harēta  
 vasundharām(rām) [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> To omit the metre omit *Kōṭyāśrama-mahātapōvanān*= as in A.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhivā*. There is a sign after this which is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> Read *pratīpaksha* as in A, the first three syllables of which have obviously been dropped through mistake in this record.

<sup>4</sup> The words *śūrah śuchir=vinītō* occurring in A have been left out before *jāto(taḥ)* through inadvertence.

<sup>5</sup> A has *pravijītya śatrūm(n)*.

<sup>6</sup> This seems to be a verse in *Gīti* metre.

<sup>7</sup> [ To me the reading appears to be *Allivadraka-vinirggataḥ(tāya)*.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> Read *Bahvricha*. [Reading after *grāma* seems to be *śāsaṣṭa-vāstavya-Va(Ba)hvricha*. *Śāsaṣṭa* may be a mistake for *śāsaṣṭa* in which case Rāmaparkaṭi, the residence of the donee, would be an *agrahāra* or a gift village.—Ed.]

<sup>9</sup> Read *pañcharshī* or *pañch-ārshēya*.

<sup>10</sup> [ I think the name of the donee is *Dēvadāman*. The syllables *Dava* at the beginning of the line seem to have been wrongly written and may be considered superfluous. Read *Dēvadāmnē*.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> The reading of this name is very doubtful.

<sup>12</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.







- 30 sa viṣṭhāyām kṛimī[r\*]=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē [18 ||\*] Haratē hāratē(yēd)  
bhūmim [manda]-
- 31 [bu\*][ddhi][s\*]=tamā(mō)vṛitō(taḥ) [1\*] sa va(ba)ddhō vārunī-[pā\*]śā=ēva tṛigayyōnī  
shu<sup>1</sup> jāyatē | [19 ||\*] Iti ka-
- 32 mala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śrī(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-[jivitañ=cha] [1\*]  
33 [saka]lam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha |<sup>2</sup> vuddhā(buddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-kirttayō<sup>3</sup>  
vilō-
- 34 pyāḥ || [10 ||\*] Iti(ti) tāmbra<sup>4</sup>-śāsana-vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa kāryyaḥ<sup>5</sup> ||
- 35 Ōm<sup>6</sup> svasti [1\*] āsaiva<sup>7</sup> [na]ptā Bhañja-mahārāja-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvāna  
36 Pādēvā<sup>8</sup>-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmā-paryantaḥ ētasma(emi)nn=ēva tāmbra-śāsa-  
37 nē prakshipya salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇa pratipāditō bhavadbhiḥ  
38 paripālanīyaḥ | khanitam Yakṣhadattēn=ēti ||

### C.—Kōśari Copper-plate of Śatrubhañjadēva.

This is a single plate measuring 8½" by 6½". It contains twenty-four lines of writing engraved on both sides. A circular seal, a little more than 2½" in diameter, is attached to the middle of the top of the plate on its longer side. It contains one line of legend with the figure of a couchant bull below, and there are figures of a trident and a crescent respectively on the upper right and upper left of the bull. The edge of the seal is turned up so as to form a raised rim all round.

The record was first published with a text and English translation by Mr. Binayak Misra in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIII, pp. 429 f. and 431. According to him, it was discovered by a Ho servant of Arjun Giri at Kōśari, 10 miles north-west of Khiching. The plate is now in the Bāripadā Museum. I am indebted to Mr. P. Acharya for having kindly lent the original plate for re-editing it.

The plate is in a good state of preservation. The alphabet belongs to the Northern type and resembles that used in Plates A and B edited above. The language is Sanskrit. As regards metre, orthography, and the author's knowledge of Sanskrit, the remarks made in connection with Plate A apply equally well in this case, and detailed notices are unnecessary.

The inscription records the grant of the village of Syallāmāyi in the Urtti district by Mahā-maṇḍalādhipati-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Śatrubhañjadēva, lord of eighty-eight thousand (villages). He was the son of Raṇabhañja, grandson of Durjayabhañja, and great-grandson of Kōṭṭabhañja. Reference is made to Virabhadra's birth, as in Plates A and B. Some additional information is, however, given about this Virabhadra in ll. 3-5 which is not to be found in the other records of the family. The exact meaning of the passage is obscure, as the grammatical construction seems to be faulty. It begins with a reference to Virabhadra's eighty-eight thousand sons (and not sages as interpreted by Mr. Misra). What follows seems to indicate that on account of the prayer of these sons Virabhadra was protected (sēvitaḥ) by Rāmadēva and made lord of eighty-eight thousand villages.<sup>9</sup> Rāmadēva is no doubt the god Rāma. The phrase 'Rāmadēvāna

<sup>1</sup> Read vārunaiḥ pāsais-tiryag-yōnīshu.

<sup>2</sup> Daṇḍa unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> There is a superfluous na after yō.

<sup>4</sup> Read tāmbra.

<sup>5</sup> The reading of the word is very doubtful. The word vitāṇi-bhāṇḍa can be clearly read but offers no meaning. There is a letter ka written just below the space between the last two letters.

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

<sup>7</sup> The second letter looks like sai but the word offers no meaning. [See above, p. 159, n. 1.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> A letter may have been effaced at the beginning of this line.

<sup>9</sup> [According to my reading only one son, who was protected by Rāmadēva, seems to have been favoured with this gift. See p. 162 n. 13 below.—Ed.]

*sēvitaḥ* ' can therefore be hardly interpreted as ' served by Rāmadēva ' as translated by Mr. Misra. According to the dictionary, the root ' *sēv* ' also means ' to protect, ' and I have taken that interpretation. The word ' *vyāpitaḥ* ' is also a difficult one. I think *v* is a mistake for *dh* (which resembles it very closely) and the word ' *dhyaṅpitaḥ* ' has been used to indicate that the eighty-eight thousand sons were made to perform meditations (*dhyaṅāna*) in order to please Rāmadēva and obtain the boon from him.

The very important and far-reaching conclusions of Mr. Misra based on the above data have already been discussed above.<sup>1</sup> The only other information of historical character supplied by the record is the mention of two members of the royal family viz., **Anakadēvi** (perhaps a mistake for **Anakadēvi**), the chief queen, and **Narēndrabhaṅja**, the *Yuvarāja* (ll. 12-13), and of a number of officers (ll. 13-14).

Attention may be drawn to the expression *Bhagavad-bhāṅāraku-Saṅkaram samuddiśya* occurring in ll. 14-15. The reference may be to the great Saṅkarāchārya in whose honour the gift was made, though it is possible to take it in the ordinary sense to refer to God Śiva. In the latter case, however, the form ordinarily met with, is ' *Bhagavat-Śiva* [*Nārāyaṇa* or *Buddha*]-*bhāṅāraku*.

As to the localities mentioned, *Urṭi-vishaya* has been discussed above. I am unable to identify the village **Syallāmāyi**. Mr. Misra reads the name of the village as ' *Llāmāyi* ' remarking in a footnote that ' *sya* ' is unnecessary. I do not see any reason to uphold this view.

#### TEXT.

##### Obverse.

- 1 Ōm<sup>2</sup> svastiḥ<sup>3</sup> [||\*] Sakala-bhuvan-aika-nāthō bhava-bhaya-vi(bbi)durō Bhavō Bhavāni-  
(nī)śa[h|\*] vivi-
- 2 dha-samādhi<sup>4</sup>-samādhi-vi[dbi\*]jñāḥ sarvva<sup>5</sup>jñō vaḥ si(śi)vāy=āstu || [||\*] Āśita(sit)\* Kōṭṭā-  
śrama(mō) nā[ma]<sup>7</sup>
- 3 tapō-dhishṭhānam=uttamāḥ<sup>8</sup> [J\*] mayūr-āpḍ-ōdbhava[s\*]=tasmāta(d-) gaṇa-daṅḍō VI\*(VI)-  
rabhadr-ākhyah<sup>10</sup> [|| 2 ||\*] Aṣṭāśi-
- 4 ti-sahasrai[h\*] sūnubhi[h\*]<sup>11</sup> vyāpitaḥ<sup>12</sup> purā-[I\*] tēshān-tu prā[r]thanām dṛiṣṭvā Rāma-  
dēvēna sēvitas(taḥ) [|| 3 ||\*] Tatō<sup>13</sup>
- 5 sbtāśiti-sahaara<sup>14</sup>-grāmasy=ādbipatiḥ kritah [I\*] chakravi(va)[r]tti<sup>15</sup>-sama(mah) sarvvpādō-  
nācha vāsthiti<sup>16</sup> [|| 14 ||\*]

<sup>1</sup> See p. 154 above.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *svasti*.

<sup>4</sup> The second *samādhi* is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *sarva* (M. denotes Mr. Binayak Misra).

<sup>6</sup> M. reads *āśit*, but the word actually engraved is *āśita*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *Kōṭṭāśrama-mahā*.

<sup>8</sup> M. reads *uttama[m]*.

<sup>9</sup> There is no sign of medial *i* on *v* as M. reads.

<sup>10</sup> This *pāda* conforms to the fourth *pāda* of an *Āryā* metre. This is apparently due to its being copied verbatim from the other records.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *sahasrais=tu mu[ni\*]dhiḥ*. [ I would read *-sahasrais=tu [sū\*]nubhi[r=]*.—Ed.]

<sup>12</sup> M. reads *vyāpiḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> [ To me the reading appears to be *sēvita(taḥ)* [||\*] *Sutō*. — Ed.]

<sup>14</sup> [ Read *-sahasra-* as the sixth syllable in this *pāda* should be long.—Ed.]

<sup>15</sup> M. reads *varti*.

<sup>16</sup> M. reads *sarvō pādōnāchanasthitah*. Perhaps the word intended is *sarvv-ōpādānān=ch=āvasthitiḥ*. [ But this would make the *pāda* short by one syllable.—Ed.]



Obverse.

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 16  
 18

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 18

Reverse.

20  
 22  
 24

20  
 22  
 24

SEALS.  
 (From Photographs).  
 A.



B.



C.



- 6 pratipakṣa-nidhana-dakṣhō Vaśi(śi)śhṭha-mu[ni\*]-pālītō nṛipatiḥ 1<sup>1</sup>. A<sup>2</sup>(Ā)dibhañjaḥ  
ripu-dahana<sup>3</sup>-dā-
- 7 vānaḥ | śaraśvatirvvinittō<sup>4</sup> jātaḥ | Śrī-Kōṭṭabhañja-suta-māṇḍalika-sa(śa)t-āreḥchita-  
chara-
- 8 ṇa-kamalaḥ | śrī-Dū(Du)rjayabhañjadēvō=bhūta(t) [l] tasy=ātmajaḥ su(śu)chih pratāpi(pī)  
k[ri]tajñah satya-
- 9 vādī<sup>5</sup> Hara-charaṇ-ā[rā\*]dhana-tatparaḥ guru-dēva-pūjakaḥ śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvō=  
'bhūta(t) tasy=ā-
- 10 tmajaḥ sūraḥ prātāpi(pī) nirjita-śatruḥ satya-dharm-ā[n]vitaḥ Yudhisṭhira-samaḥ prajā-  
pālana-ta-
- 11 tpara[h\*] Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati-Mā(Ma)hārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara[h\*] aśtāśīti-sahaśra-  
a(sr-ā)dhipa-
- 12 ti[h\*] | śrī-Śatrubhañjadēva-pādaiḥ<sup>6</sup> | mā(ma)hādēvi(vī)-śrī-Anakadhēvi(vī) || ju(yu)-  
varājā(ja)-śrī.
- 13 Nārīndrabhañja | sandhivigrahi-śrī-Prajāpati[h\*] | mudrabasta-śrī-Bhi(i)ma[h\*] | prati-  
hāra<sup>7</sup>-śrī-Manōratha[h\*] | pura-
- 14 śrēṣṭhi-śrī-Viṣṇudattaḥ mātā-pitarō<sup>8</sup>r=ātma[na\*]ś=cha<sup>9</sup> |<sup>10</sup> dharmma-yashō(śō)-vṛi[d\*]-  
dhayē<sup>11</sup> | Bhagavata(d)-bhaṭṭāraka-Śaṅka-
- 15 ra[m]<sup>12</sup> samu[d\*]diś[ya\*] Urtti-visa(sha)yā-pratīva(ba)ddha-Syallāmāyī<sup>13</sup>-grāma(maḥ) sa-  
jala-sthala(laḥ) chatu[h\*]śīmāvatsina<sup>14</sup>
- 16 sa-viṭapa-latā |<sup>15</sup> Madhya<sup>16</sup>dēsa(śa)-vina(ni)rgata-bhaṭṭaputra-Nārāyaṇasya pautrāya  
bhaṭṭaputra-Cha-
- 17 krapāṇisya<sup>16</sup> putrāya | Bhaṭṭaputra-Daṇḍapāṇi<sup>17</sup> | Kauśi(Kauśi)ka-sagōtrāya triyāri-  
shaya<sup>18</sup>-pra[va\*]rāya<sup>19</sup> ||<sup>20</sup>
- 18 Vasishṭha-gōtrāya Vasishṭha-pra[va\*]rāya | tāmbra<sup>21</sup>-sā(śā)śani(nī)kṛita(tya) pradāt-  
[t\*]ō=smābhīḥ [||\*] Bhūmi[m\*] yaḥ pratigrihṇā-
- 19 ti |<sup>20</sup> yaś=cha bhūmi[m\*] prayachcbbati | ubhau ttāu<sup>22</sup> punya(ṇya)-karmmāṇau niyatau<sup>23</sup>  
svargga-gāminau || [5 ||\*]

<sup>1</sup> This forms half of a verse in *Āryā* metre. See A, v. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The initial vowel is *a* and not *ā* as M. reads.

<sup>3</sup> M. reads *dhana*.

<sup>4</sup> M. reads 'śaraśvatinnimittō and emends it as *Sarasvatī-nimittō*. There is no doubt that the phrase intended is *sūraḥ śuchir-uvinitō* as in A, l. 7.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *sarvāpā*, but the word *satyavādī* is quite clear.

<sup>6</sup> M. reads *pādēḥ*. The correct form should be *pādāḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *Pratīhāri*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-pitrōr-*.

<sup>9</sup> M. reads *pitararātmasya*.

<sup>10</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *dharmayasō(śō)bhībrīk(ddd)ayē*.

<sup>12</sup> M. reads *Bhagavantam bhaṭṭārakam Śaṅkaram*.

<sup>13</sup> M. reads *°yī*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-śīm-āvachchhinnāḥ*.

<sup>15</sup> M. reads *madha-*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *°pānēḥ*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *°pāṇayē*.

<sup>18</sup> Read *triyāśhēya-*.

<sup>19</sup> M. reads *ścha* after it, but I find no trace of it. [As there seems to be only one donee the *gōtra* and *prataras* mentioned first were probably engraved by mistake and later corrected as found in l. 18.—Ed.]

<sup>20</sup> *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

<sup>21</sup> Read *tāmbra-*.

<sup>22</sup> Read *tau*.

<sup>23</sup> Read *niyatam*.

## Reverse.

- 20 Ānandanti<sup>1</sup> pitara[h\*] prava[iga]nti<sup>2</sup> pitāmahā[h\*] [f\*] bhūmi-dātā kulē jātā ssami-  
trātā bhaviśya(sya)-
- 21 ti<sup>3</sup> | [16 ||\*] Haratē hārayatē(yēd=)yas=tu manda-vudhis<sup>4</sup>=tamā(mō)vṛitaḥ<sup>5</sup> | sa  
va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇē pāsē triyaga<sup>6</sup> yō-
- 22 nisu(shu)<sup>7</sup> jāyētē<sup>8</sup> | [17||\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattām=vā yō harēta<sup>9</sup> vasundharā[m!]\*  
sa vishṭhāyā[m\*] kṛimira<sup>10</sup> bhūtvā<sup>11</sup>
- 23 pitribhi<sup>12</sup> saha pachyatē | [19 ||\*] Sva-dānāta<sup>13</sup> phalam=ānantam<sup>14</sup> para-dat[t\*]-ānu-  
pālanē[i\*] sashṭhi-varisha-<sup>15</sup>
- 24 sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ || [10\*] ||<sup>16</sup>

## No. 15.—AN INCOMPLETE GRANT OF SINDA ADITYAVARMAN : SAKA 887.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A. AND M. G. DIKSHIT, B.A.

Of the two leaves of a set of copper-plates, which are edited here for the first time, the first is from the collection of the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, a well-known researcher of Khândesh. It is now deposited in the Rājwāde Samśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhūlia. The second plate was found in the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona. No definite information is available regarding the original findspot of these plates, but they were probably discovered somewhere in the Poona District of the Bombay Presidency.<sup>17</sup> They are edited here with the kind permission of the authorities of the two Institutions in which they are now preserved.

They are the **last two plates** of a set which must have originally consisted of three or four copper-plates. The initial one or two plates, which probably contained a glorification of some ancestors of the donor, are not now forthcoming. The present plates contain a hole  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter at the top, which indicates that the plates were held together by a ring. But the ring together with the seal, if it had any, is now lost. The plates measure from 9·5" to 9·7" broad and from 7·5" to 8·2" high. The first plate weighs 66 *tolas* and the second 44 $\frac{1}{2}$  *tolas*.

<sup>1</sup> M. reads *āsphālayanti*. The usual expression is *āsphōṭayanti*.

<sup>2</sup> M. reads *pragalbhanti*.

<sup>3</sup> M. reads the passage as follows: *bhūmi-dātā kulē jāta(h\*) sa no[s]=trātā bhavishyati*. This is undoubtedly the correct form, (cf. Manhali Copper-plate line 53, *J. A. S. B.*, 1900, pp. 65 ff) but not the correct reading of the text.

<sup>4</sup> Read *-buddhis-*.

<sup>5</sup> M. reads *tamōvritaḥ* which is undoubtedly the more usual form.

<sup>6</sup> Read *tiryag-*.

<sup>7</sup> M. reads *tiryag-yōnau [sa] jāyatē*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *jāyatē*.

<sup>9</sup> M. reads *jō harat*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *kṛimir-*.

<sup>11</sup> M. reads *kṛimirbhūtvā*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *pitribhiḥ*. This is M's reading.

<sup>13</sup> Read *-dānāt*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *-ānantam*. M. reads *ānantam*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *shashṭhi-varsha-*.

<sup>16</sup> There is one ornamental mark between the two sets of *daṇḍas*.

<sup>17</sup> As shown below, the donated village is in the Poona District. Another Sinda copper-plate, dated Saka 833, has been recently discovered at Nārāyaṅāon near Junnar in the same district.

The extant portion of the inscription, which is in a state of excellent preservation, contains fifty-two lines of writing, of which sixteen are engraved on the first and seventeen on the second side of the first plate. The second plate has nineteen lines inscribed on one side only. The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet. Several letters appear in a transitional stage and exhibit more than one form each. Besides, the record was written in a cursive hand and engraved in a careless manner, several strokes being left out. The reading of a few *aksharas*, especially in lines 32-33 and 51-52, is consequently not free from doubt. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the forms of *kh* in *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1 and *śākhā*, l. 28, the former of which has a loop in the left limb, while the latter is without it. Similarly the letters *g*, *m*, *n* and *r* present looped and unlooped forms, see, e.g., *g* in *garvbhasthō*, l. 5 and *nagara*, l. 10; *m* in *chīmāmāṇi*, l. 3 and *vismaya*, l. 18; *n* in *janānām*, l. 4 and *sēnāpati*, l. 9 and *r* in *jarad-*, l. 12 and *guṇa-rāsi-*, ll. 1-2. The several forms of the palatal *ś* seen in *śrī-*, l. 2, *guṇa-rāsi-*, ll. 1-2 and *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and of *v* in *vilōlāḥ*, l. 19 and *ēv-aikāḥ*, l. 21, are also noteworthy. The left limb of *dh* is undeveloped, *bh* and *h* are almost identical in shape, and *ph* is drawn cursorily, see *samadhiḡat-*, l. 6, *Bhīm-ākhyō*, l. 1, *mahōdadhiḡ*, ll. 4-5 and *phaṇḡdra* l. 7. Finally, the record exhibits here and there the use of the *prishṡha-mātrās* to denote medial diphthongs.

The language is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed in a good style, but contains several mistakes due to careless writing. The extant portion contains one incomplete and ten complete verses<sup>1</sup> in ll. 1-5, 17-21, 40-45, and 48-51, the rest being in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are the use of the vowel *ri* for *ri* in *āśrita*, ll. 3-4 and that of *v* for *b* as in *mahāśavda*, l. 6 and the reduplication of a consonant following *r* as in *kuhara-varṡi*, l. 14 and *gandharva-*, l. 16.

The inscription is one of the Sinda king, the *Mahāsāmanta Ādityavarman*, who had obtained all *mahāśabdās* and was born in the lineage of Dīshṡivisha, the lord of Nāgas.<sup>2</sup> The object of it is to record the grant, by Ādityavarman, of a village named *Kiṇṡihikā* which was included in the (larger) village *Paṅgarikā* and was situated in the *Rāmatīrṡhikā*-Eighty-four. Among the boundaries of the village, which are specified in ll. 33-35, are mentioned a *layana-giri* (hill containing cells) which bounded it on the west and a river named Indra which flowed on its north. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa *Navasiva*, son of Chandrabhaṡṡa, who belonged to the *Kauṇṡinya-gōṡra* and was a student of the *Bahvṡicha-śākhā* (of the *Rigvēda*). He had emigrated from the *Madhyadēśa*. The grant was made by Ādityavarman, while residing at *Junninagara*, on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *Chaitra* in the expired *Śaka saṡvat 887*, the cyclic year being *Krōdhana*. The date is regular. The expired *Śaka 887* (corresponding to A.D. 965-66) was *Krōdhana* according to the southern luni-solar system and there was a solar eclipse on the *amāvasyā* of the *paurṡimānta* *Chaitra*. The corresponding Christian date is Monday, the 6th March A.D. 965.

The genealogy of Ādityavarman which was given in the initial portion of the record is now almost wholly lost. The extant portion of the record contains only two names, viz., *Bhīma* and his son *Muṅja*, the grandfather and the father respectively of *Ādityavarman*. About *Muṅja* we are told that he was superior to (another) *Muṅja* in merits. It is not clear who this latter personage was. The reference can scarcely be to the homonymous king of the *Paramāra* dynasty, the celebrated poet and patron of Sanskrit learning; for he was not a contemporary of

<sup>1</sup> The verse in ll. 17-19 occurs also in the *Bhādāna* grant of *Aparājita*, *Śaka 919*, above, Vol. III, pp. 273-74.  
<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XII, pp. 141ff.



Ādityavarman's father and had not in fact ascended the throne even at the time when the present record was incised. His father Siyaka was ruling in V. S. 1029<sup>1</sup> (i.e., A.D. 972-73) and was, therefore, on the throne for at least seven years after the issue of the present charter. It is not, therefore, likely that Muñja was already so famous in A.D. 965 as to induce the author of the present record to institute a comparison between him and the father of Ādityavarman. The name of one other Muñja, who also belonged to the Sinda family, is known from his Tidgundi plates,<sup>2</sup> but he belongs to a much later age, as he was a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI of the Later Chālukya dynasty.

As said above, Ādityavarman belonged to the Sinda family and claimed descent from the Nāga lineage. He had on his banner the figure of a golden lion. As he does not claim a higher title than *Mahāsāmanta*, he was plainly subordinate to some paramount power. His suzerain was probably the powerful Rāshtrakūṭa king **Kṛishṇa III**, for whom, it is interesting to mention, we have a record bearing the same date as the present record, viz., 6th March A.D. 965.<sup>3</sup>

The Sindas, Chhindas or Chhindakas of the Nāgavamśa are known from several earlier and later records. Most of these come from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency and Mysore and Hyderābād states, while some are found in the Bastar state of the Central Provinces. Legendary accounts of the origin of the family are furnished by some later inscriptions. Thus, according to the Bhairanmaṭṭi stone inscription the eponymous founder of the family was a certain long-armed Sinda, who was born from the serpent king Dharaṇendra at Abichchhatra in the region of the river Sindhu and reared by a tiger.<sup>4</sup> According to another account Sinda was born from the union of the god Śiva and the river Sindhu and was brought up by the king of serpents on tiger's milk.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, that the original habitat of the family was somewhere in North India, probably in the valley of the Indus. Many of these Sinda or Chhinda kings call themselves *Bhōgavati-pura-var-ādhiśvara* 'the lord of Bhōgavati, the best of towns'. The exact location of Bhōgavati is not settled, but according to the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* of Padmagupta it was situated to the south of the Narmadā, perhaps in the Bastar state.<sup>6</sup>

From their original home in North India several branches of the family migrated to the South and established themselves in different parts of the peninsula. According to one account the aforementioned Sinda married the daughter of a Kadamba king and had by her three sons who established the family of Sinda kings. This Sinda was probably a feudatory of the contemporary Kadamba king and seems to have been ruling somewhere in the Kuntala kingdom. The Jāvali plates<sup>7</sup> of the Western Gaṅga prince Śripurusha-Pṛithivī-Kōṅguṇi speaks of a *Sindavishaya* which, according to Mr. Rice<sup>8</sup>, extended over parts of the Dhārwar, Bijāpur and Bellary Districts. Another account states that the long-armed Sinda, the founder of the family, settled in the Karahāṭa-Four-thousand province, which evidently comprised the territory round Karhāḍ in the Sātārā District of the Bombay Presidency. Later on we find several branches of the family established at Bāgaḍagē<sup>9</sup> (Bāgalkōṭ in the Bombay Presidency), Erambaragē<sup>10</sup> (Yelburgā in the Nizām's Dominions) and Chakrakōṭya<sup>11</sup> (in the Bastar state).

<sup>1</sup> See Dhanupāla's *Pātalachchhimālā*, verse 198.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 262.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 231.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 103 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, *Introd.*, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *J. B. Br. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 219 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 174 ff.

Most of these Sinda or Chhinda families distinguished themselves from the 10th to the 12th centuries A.D. as feudatories of the Later Chālukyas. But some we can trace to earlier times. The Nēsari plates<sup>1</sup> of the Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III, dated Śaka 727, mention a prince named Nāgabastin who was an ornament of the great Chhinda family and belonged to the lineage of the lord of serpents. The family of Ādityavarman also was, as we have seen, a feudatory family which probably owed allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas.

We have not so far come across records of the Sindas or Chhindas earlier than the age of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But that does not mean that these families rose into prominence for the first time in the ninth century A.D. As we have already seen, the founder of the family was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Kadambas. He must, therefore, have lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D. when the Kadambas were powerful in the South. As a matter of fact we find in that age a family with the analogous name Sēndraka which was subordinate to the Kadambas. The territory under its rule was called *Sēndraka-vishaya*. From the statement in the Bennur grant<sup>2</sup> that the Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II made the gift of a village in the *Sēndraka-vishaya* while on a victorious march to Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi in North Kanara), it is conjectured that the *Sēndraka-vishaya* lay not far from the Banavāsi kingdom. It is generally identified with the Nagarakhanda division of the Banavāsi-Twelve-thousand which from another inscription<sup>3</sup> is known to have been under the rule of the Sēndrakas. It was thus contiguous to, if not identical with, the *Sinda-vishaya* mentioned above. The Sēndrakas appear first as feudatories of the Kadambas,<sup>4</sup> but on the downfall of the latter they transferred their allegiance to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, with whom some of them had become matrimonially connected.<sup>5</sup> When Pulakēśin II conquered Mahārāshtra and Lāṭa from the Kalachuris, he placed a trusted Sēndraka chief named Bhānuśakti<sup>6</sup> in charge of part of the conquered territory, viz., Southern Gujarāt and Khāndesh. Grants of land<sup>7</sup> made by Bhānuśakti's grandson Allaśakti have been discovered in those parts of the country. Later on he was ousted from Southern Gujarāt, but he and his son continued to rule in Khāndesh. The latest record of the Sēndrakas found in Khāndesh is the Mundkhēḍē copper-plate inscription<sup>8</sup> of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti, which is dated Śaka 602 (A.D. 680).

The inscriptions of the Sēndrakas do not generally connect their family with any eponymous hero, but the Lakshmēśvara stone inscription<sup>9</sup> states that they were of the *bhujagēndr-ānvaya* or 'lineage of the king of serpents'. It seems, therefore, that the Sēndrakas came in course of time to be called Sindas or Chhindas; for, besides similarity in their names, the two families claimed descent from the same race and in some cases ruled over the same territory.

<sup>1</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (Marāṭhi), Vol. I, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pp. 594 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See the Baḷagāmvē inscription of the time of Vinayāditya, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See Hālsi grant of Harivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> The Sēndraka prince Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja was a maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II, above, Vol. III, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>6</sup> No records of this chief have so far come to light, but as his grandson Allaśakti was ruling in A.D. 653 and 657, Bhānuśakti has to be placed in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. He was thus a contemporary of Pulakēśin II.

<sup>7</sup> One of these was discovered at Bagumrā in South Gujarāt and two in Khāndesh. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747. Bühler gives this chief's name as Nikumbhallaśakti, but Nikumbha was only a *viruda*. It is used as such with the name of Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti also. The recently discovered Sēndraka plates spell the chief's name as Nikumbh-allaśakti. See *New Ind. Ant.*, Vol. I, p. 747.

<sup>8</sup> This record was first published in the first volume of the Marāṭhi magazine *Prabhāta* of Dhūlia. See also the *An. Rep. of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, for Śaka 1834, pp. 169 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 106. This record is, however, held to be spurious.

After Jaysakti we have no records of the Sēndrakas from Mahārāshtra. After the lapse of nearly three centuries we get the present grant of the Sinda family. It is not known if the family of Ādityavarman was connected with any other Sinda families. But we may note that the names Bhīma and Muñja, which occur in the present record, figure again as names of Sinda feudatories in the Tidgundi plates of the time of Vikramāditya VI. The similarity of names suggests some sort of connection between the two families. The present plates state that the banner of Ādityavarman had the figure of lion on it and it is noteworthy that the seal of the aforementioned Tidgundi plates also contains a figure which Kielhorn took to be that of a tiger or a lion.<sup>1</sup>

As the provenance of the plates is not known, it would have been difficult to identify the localities mentioned in them, but the mention of the Indra river and a *layana-giri* among the boundaries of the donated village affords an important clue. The former is evidently identical with the Indrāyaṇī river which forms the northern boundary of the Poona *tālukā*. The donated village Kīṇihikā is probably identical with Kinhai situated on the south bank of the Indrāyaṇī near Shelārwaḍi, about 16 miles North by West of Poona. There are some caves to the west of it.<sup>2</sup> Its situation therefore exactly answers to the description in the present plates. Paṅgarikā cannot, however, be traced in its vicinity. Rāmatīrthikā, the headquarters of the subdivision in which Kīṇihikā was included, is probably identical with Rāmatīrtha where Ushavadāta made certain gifts to Brāhmaṇas as recorded in a Nāsik cave inscription.<sup>3</sup> The latter is taken by some to be a holy *kuṇḍa* situated in or near Śūrpāraka<sup>4</sup> with which it is mentioned in the aforementioned inscription. But the description in the present plates shows that it was the headquarters of a small subdivision of eighty-four villages and must have been situated not very far from Kinhai. No place of that name can, however, be traced now in its neighbourhood. Junnāgarā, where the king's camp was pitched, is probably identical with Junnar,<sup>5</sup> a well-known place about 55 miles north of Poona.

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

*First Plate<sup>7</sup>; First Side.*

- 1 पू(वृ)णामतिदुर्जयः<sup>8</sup> ॥[१॥\* [ तत[ख]नूजश्च<sup>9</sup> भीमाख्यो गु-  
2 णराशिरभूवृ(वृ)पः । उदपादि ततः श्रीमाखुंजो मुं-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 307.

<sup>2</sup> There are about twenty caves at or near Shelārwaḍi, all of about the first or second century after Christ. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 212; *Cave Temples of India*, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Inscription No. 10, above, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> As the inscription reads *Śōrpāragē cha Rāmatīrthē*, Bhagwanlal and following him Senart take Rāmatīrtha to be the modern Rāmakūṇḍa reservoir in Śōpārā (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 572, n. 3 and above, Vol. VIII, p. 79). But the draftsman of the record has offended against Sanskrit grammar in other places also. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar translates the above expression as 'in Śōrpārāga and Rāmatīrtha' (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 24) and Bühler as 'at Rāmatīrtha near Śōrpārāga' (see *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 100).

<sup>5</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar suggested that Junnar was derived from Jirṇanagara (i.e., 'old town'). See *Collected Works*, Vol. III, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>7</sup> As stated above, this plate was originally the second or third plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Rājwāde Samśōdhana Maṇḍala, Dhulia.

<sup>8</sup> Read *satrūṇām-ati-durjayaḥ*. Metre of this and the next verse: *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *tatas=tanūjō*.

- 3 जगुणा[धिकः ॥[२॥\*] अहितकुलकालकेतुः चिंतामणिरा-  
 4 श्रु(त्रि)तजनानां(नाम्) [।\*] आदित्यवर्धनयोभूत्ततो धैर्यमहो-  
 5 दधिः<sup>1</sup> ॥[३॥\*] 'यश्च गर्भस्थोरात्रम[यु]वतिगर्भ[ह]ना[त्रा]<sup>2</sup> अ[प]रि-  
 6 ण प्रस्थायतः ॥ तदसी समधिगताशेषमहा[श]ब्द(ब्दो) महावा(सा)-  
 7 मंत(तो) दृष्टी(ष्टि)विषफणीन्द्रवंशीश्लवः[\*] सिन्दान्वयप्रसूतः[\*] [स्व]र्धम-  
 8 यमृगेन्द्रध्वजः[\*] कुशली कुचित(न)गरावस्थितश्रीमदादित्यवर्धः<sup>3</sup>  
 9 सर्वान्स्वसंव(ब)ध्यमानकान् महामात्यसे[ना]पतिमहासाह[सि]-  
 10 करारज[पु]त्रनगरग्रामस्थान(न्) पौरविस्त्रिज्ञक<sup>4</sup>ग्राम[कू]टनि-  
 11 युक्तानि[यु]क्तप्रधानाप्रधानन<sup>5</sup> । समनुवो(बो)धयत्वस्तु वो वि-  
 12 दितं यथा वाताहतजलतरंगवीचीभंगुरा विभवाः ।<sup>6</sup> जरद्रा-  
 13 क्षसीयस्वमान(नं) पत्रटिन<sup>7</sup> विकारभागस्थिरं यौवन(नं) ।<sup>8</sup> कृता(ता)न्ता-  
 14 स्यकुहरवर्त्तिजलवुद्दु<sup>9</sup>दवत्क्षणदृष्टनष्टमायुः [रं]मास्त[अ]-  
 15 सारवदसारं शरीरकं ।<sup>10</sup> स्वप्नोपालंभमृगदृष्टिकाश्रःसम(मं)  
 16 वा[पि] गन्धर्व्वनगरोष(प)मम[स]त्क[स्व]प्रायं च चा[रु]क(त्वं)

*First Plate ; Second Side.*

- 17 चला विभूतिः क्षणभंगि यौवनं ।<sup>9</sup> कृतान्तदंतांत[र]वर्त्ति  
 18 यौवनं(नम्)<sup>10</sup> [।\*] तथाप्यवन्ना परलोकसास(ध)ने अहो नृणां विस्मयका-

<sup>1</sup> Metre *Upajithi*. The last *pāda* of this verse is faulty.

<sup>2</sup> Read *garbbhasthō=rāti-yuvati-garbbhaha-nāmn-āparēna*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Śrīmad-Ādityavarṃmā*.

<sup>4</sup> I have not come across the name of this official elsewhere. Perhaps he is identical with the *Purapati* (Mayor of a town) mentioned in the Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, above, Vol. III, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> Read *pradhān-āpradhānān*. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read *pratidinān*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *jala-budbudavat*.

<sup>9</sup> This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

<sup>10</sup> As *yauvanam* is already mentioned, some word like *jīvanam* is required here. The aforementioned Bhādāna grant has *jīvanam* in this verse.

- 19 रि चेष्टितं(तम्)<sup>1</sup> #[४५\*] तथा च । संपदो जलतरंगविलोलाः यौवनं चिचतु-
- 20 राणि [दि]नानि । शारदाभ्रचलचंचलमायुः किं ध[नैः] कुवत धर्मम-
- 21 निन्द(द्यम्)<sup>2</sup> #[४५\*] सर्वमेवासत्कल्पमेवमवगत्य धर्म एवैकः सा(शा)[श्च]त[सु](स)-
- 22 क्[ः]\* सखा व(व)न्धुरमुचांपर[च] च नाभ्योस्तीत्यवधार्यं शकनृपकालाती-
- 23 तसंबन्धरशतेष्वष्टसु(सु) सप्ताशीत्यधिकेषु क्रीधनसंब[न्ध]रान्तर्ग-
- 24 तचैचामावा[स्या]मादित्यपहृषपर्वणि मी(मा)तापिचीरैहिका-
- 25 मुभिकफलावाप्तये आत्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिहृषये पूर्व-
- 26 जैरघहारस्थित्या एतदीयातीतपुत्रवाचां प्रतिपालितोवि-
- 27 [रुच]<sup>4</sup>रि[दा]नीं सर्वपरिहारान्विधाय मया मध्यवे(दि)श्रविनिर्गतकौ-
- 28 षि(षि)न्यसगोचव(व)भृच[शा]सासत्र(त्र)श्चचारिणे महाद्विजाय श्री-
- 29 नवशिवाय श्रीचन्द्रभद्रसुताय परमया भक्त्या पांदा<sup>5</sup> प्रज्ञाञ्च ह-
- 30 स्तोदकप्रदानपूर्वकं रामतीर्थि[श्चा]चतुरशीति[वान्तः]पातिकि-
- 31 षिहिकाप्राप्तः पं[ग]रिकाप्राप्त एवाभ्यन्तरः पूर्वदत्तदेवदायत्र(त्र)-
- 32 द्वा[दा]यवा(वा)द्वाः त्र(त्र)द्वाधामदे(?)विह्वक्थाम<sup>6</sup>विष्टो(?)सासनेतः प्रद-
- 33 त्तः [1\*] यस्याचष्टनानि [पू]र्वतः सीमा [चे]मगणपतिः

Second Plate.<sup>7</sup>

- 34 दक्षिणतः सीमा च चैरी डोहरिका । पश्चिमतः सीमा लघ-
- 35 षगिरिः । उत्तरतः सीमा इन्द्रनदी । एवं चतुराघाटसमे-
- 36 तः साभ्यन्तरसिद्धिः सदृक्कदशापराधोपि भवि[ष्]दागामिभोक्तृ-

<sup>1</sup> Metro: *Vaiśaṣṭha*

<sup>2</sup> Metro: *Svāgātā*.

<sup>3</sup> *Aparātra* seems to have been used here in the sense of *ātra*,

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *pratipādīt-āviruddham-śidānīm* is the intended reading.

<sup>5</sup> Read *pāda*.

<sup>6</sup> Compare with this the expression *māṣu (?) vallikā-prāvēśukaḥ* in ll. 41-42 of the Tōrkh&ā plates (above, Vol. III, p. 56).

<sup>7</sup> This plate was originally the third or fourth plate of its set. It is now preserved in the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona.

<sup>8</sup> This word, which means the same as *āgāmi*, is superfluous.



34 चित्रितः श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३४ ॥ ३४  
 36 लक्ष्मिः श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३६ ॥ ३६  
 38 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३८ ॥ ३८  
 40 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४० ॥ ४०  
 42 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४२ ॥ ४२  
 44 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४४ ॥ ४४  
 46 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४६ ॥ ४६  
 48 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४८ ॥ ४८  
 50 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ५० ॥ ५०  
 52 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ५२ ॥ ५२

SCALE: ONE-HALF.

ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ २ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥  
 श्री गणेशाय नमः ॥ १० ॥

SCALE: FOUR FIFTHS.

- 37 पतिभिः सर्वैरपि अस्मद्दंशजैरपरवंशजैर्बानुमोदयितव्यः  
 38 सत्कत्तव्यः प्रतिपालयितव्यश्चास्व<sup>1</sup> पुत्रपौत्रान्तिकमपि भुञ्जतः भोज-  
 39 यतश्च कृपतः कर्षयतश्च केनापि परिपंथना न विधातव्या ॥ यतः  
 40 अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्षं भूर्वैश्वी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] लोकत्रयं तेन  
 41 भ[वे]र्हि<sup>2</sup> दत्तं यं(यः) काचनं गां च महीश्च दद्यात् ॥[1६॥\*]<sup>3</sup> चास्कोटयन्ति<sup>4</sup>  
 पितरः  
 42 प्रव[ल]न्ति पितामहाः [1\*] भूमिदोऽम्बुले जातः स नः संतारयिष्यति ॥[७॥\*]  
 43 सितान्यातपत्राणि<sup>5</sup> दन्तिनश्च मदोद्धताः [1\*] भूमिदानस्य पु[ष्पा]णि फलं [स्व]-  
 44 द्य(र्गः) पुरंदरः<sup>6</sup> ॥[८॥\*] अपरं च [1\*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-  
 दिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य य-  
 45 दा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[९॥\*] एवं मुनिवचनान्वगत्य [स]र्वैर-  
 प्ययं भूष-  
 46 [न्म]दाय[ः\*] प्रतिपाख्योनुमोदयितव्यश्च [1\*] यस्वप्नानतिमिरपटलाहृतमतिरा-  
 47 ष्टि[न्या]दाष्टिद्यमान[म]नुमोदयेद्वा स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकै[श्च]  
 48 सं[यु]क्तो भवेत् । तथा चोक्तं(क्तम्) । गामेकां स्वर्षमेकं [च\*] भूमेरप्येक-  
 मंगुलं(लम्) । हरश्चर-  
 49 कमा[प्रो]ति यावदाहृतसंप्रव(वम्) ॥[१०॥\*] तथा च ॥ स्ववंशजान(न्) परभू-  
 पतिवंशजान्वा  
 50 सर्वामि(ने)तान्याचते रामभद्रः [1\*] सामान्योर्य धर्मसितुः शृपाणां<sup>7</sup> काले काले ॥  
 51 लनीयो भवद्भिः<sup>8</sup> ॥[११॥\*] साक्षिणौ चात्र<sup>9</sup> कोण्डू(?)ल मीख[र]हेहीः । पाठभ[?]म-  
 52 तिली(?) लिखितमिदं रेवदासानुमतं गोगमाउरैवेन बुद्ध्यष्टमे[न ?] [1\*]

<sup>1</sup> Read *pratipālayitavyat=cha* | *Asya*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *bhavēd=āhi*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Indravajrā*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre of verses 7-10: *Anuśtubh*.

<sup>5</sup> This *pāda* has one *akṣara* wanting. Read *Susīlāny*-. The usual reading is *dhaivalānya*.

<sup>6</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śtur=śripāṇān*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Śālinī*. The first *pāda* is irregular.

<sup>9</sup> We are not sure about the reading of the last thirteen *akṣaras* in lines 51 and 52 each.



## No. 16.—ADIPUR COPPER-PLATE OF DURJAYABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M.A.

This copper-plate was in possession of one Rajakisore Pattanayak of Adipur, a village about three miles to the north-west of Khiching, the ancient capital of the rulers of Mayūrbhanj. The owner at first brought it to the notice of Mr. Sailendra Prasad Bose of the Khiching Museum and then of Mr. K. C. Neogi, the Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, who acquired it for the Archaeological Museum at Bāripadā. Mr. P. Acharya, the State-Archaeologist, handed it over to Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University for publication. I am indebted to Pandit Misra for the kind permission he has given me for editing the plate.

The plate measures about 8" × 6" and contains an inscription of only seven lines on its obverse. A seal surmounted by an *āmalaka* is attached to the top, which contains in relief the figure of a couchant humped bull but no legend. The engraving has been neatly and carefully done and the inscription is in perfect preservation. The characters used in this grant point to an age when the Oriya characters were in the process of assuming their present forms. This is evident from the forms of *shṭh* (1.1), *pt* (1.2), *p* (1.3), *th* (1.4), *ṭh* (1.5), and *ṭ* (1.6) which distinctly look like the modern Oriya characters.

The letters of this plate especially the letters *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *p*, *r*, *ś*, and *s* closely resemble those used in the Mahada Plates of Yōgēsvaradēvavarman<sup>1</sup> and the Patna Museum Plate of Sōmēsvaradēva<sup>2</sup>. On palaeographical grounds the latter grant has been assigned to the fourteenth or fifteenth century A. D. though the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was not inclined to assign such a late date to it.<sup>3</sup> The orthography of the plate deserves more than a passing notice. Though an attempt has been made to compose the text in Sanskrit as is evident from the use of several *visargas*, the composer of the inscription seems to have no knowledge in Sanskrit at all. The text makes no distinction between the long and short vowels, nor does it often use the three sibilants—dental, palatal and lingual—correctly, a fact which has been illustrated throughout the inscription. It also presents a number of phonetic peculiarities of colloquial Oriya language, e.g., *Hēmvā* (1.1), *lladdha* (1.1), *uptana* (1.2), *tikla* (1.2), *māhārājāddhīrāja* (1.2), *vibhama* (1.3), *Dujaya* (1.3), *sāsana-dīna* (1.4), *sa-jala-thala* (1.4), *sandagrīhī* (1.6), *mudrahārītha* (1.7), *Narīndā* (1.7) and *pura-sēṭhī* (1.7) which are the corrupt forms of Sanskrit *Hēramba*, *labdha*, *utpanna*, *tilaka*, *māhārājāddhīrāja*, *vibhrama*, *Durjaya*, *sāsan-ādīna*, *sa-jala-sthala*, *sandhivīgrahin*, *mudrā-hasta*, *Narēndra* and *pura-śrēṣṭhīn* respectively. Another peculiarity of the text is that it contains no verb at all<sup>4</sup>, and its sense can be made out only by adding certain verbs in their proper places. I have deemed it better to publish the text as it is, for, an attempt to correct it will result in its wholesale change.

The introductory passages common to the Bhañja records of Mayūrbhanj, are conspicuous in this grant by their absence. The inscription abruptly begins with certain epithets of **Rāpa-bhañjadēva**, surnamed **Vibhramatūṅga**<sup>5</sup>, representing him as having been nurtured by the sage Vaśiṣṭha, as a receiver of boon from Hēramba, as born in the Mivara family and as the frontal mark of the Bhañja lineage. He has further been given the title of *Māhārājāddhīrāja*. Then it gives out that his son **Durjayabhañjadēva**, who has been given no title at all, granted the village **Ōllāṅga** along with **Pāñchapālī** and **Trīsamāpadā** (probably two other villages)

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 218 ff.<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 97 ff.<sup>3</sup> P. R. A. S., E.C., 1916-17, p. 4, para. 5.<sup>4</sup> {The text does contain a verb and that twice, which Mr. Panigrahi seems to have overlooked. In 1. 4 *sāsana dīna* and again in 1. 5 *sāsana dīnaḥ* mean 'grant has been given', the form *dīna* 'given' being derived from the Prakrit *dīna*.—B.C.C.]<sup>5</sup> [Dr. Majumder assigns this surname to Durjayabhañja; see above, p. 151.—Ed.]

to Ṭhākura śrī-Gōmata for unimpeded enjoyment. At the time the grant was made, **Chhīpa** the chief queen, **Kōṭabhañja** the heir-apparent, **Ātaḥī** the Minister for war and peace, **Kundahāthī** the custodian of the Royal Seal, **Narindā** the chief feudatory and **Ddhuvaha** the town-banker were present.

Durjayabhañjadēva, the donor, has been represented in this record as the son of Raṇabhañjadēva and the father of Kōṭabhañja. In the Keshari plate of Śatrubhañjadēva,<sup>1</sup> however, Durjayabhañja figures as the son of Kōṭṭabhañja and the father of Raṇabhañja. Evidently the donor of the present grant is not identical with Durjayabhañja of the Keshari plate. Until further discoveries are made, it is not possible to assign a place to Durjayabhañja of this record in the Bhañja genealogical table.

The plate does not mention the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja grants of Mayūrbhanj do. It, however, refers to a Mivara family (ll. 1-2) to which Raṇabhañjadēva is said to have belonged. Judging from the numerous mistakes of the text, it may at once be conceded that Mivara is a mistake for Mivāra (Mewār in Rājputānā). The author of the inscription, therefore, seems to refer the original home of the Bhañjas to Mewār. But the tradition<sup>2</sup> ascribes the connection of the Mayūrbhanj family with Jaipur which was never a part of Mewār. Moreover, the name Mewār itself is not to be found in early inscriptions. This, together with the unorthodox style in which the plate has been written, points to the fact that the document was drawn up by a person sometime about the fifteenth century A. D., who not only did not know much about the copper-plate grants, but also did not know the origin, either real or traditional, of the family he was describing.<sup>3</sup>

The villages **Pāñchapālī** and **Ōllānga** may conveniently be identified with Pañchupālī and Dēlāng, both situated in the Anandpur Sub-division of the Keonjhar State. As to the village Trisamāpadā, I cannot suggest any identification.

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

- 1 Siddham<sup>5</sup> [I\*] Ōm Vasishṭha-muni-pālitaḥ Hērmva-vara-laddhaḥ Mi-
- 2 vara-vamśa-uptanaḥ Bhañja-kūla-tiklaḥ mähārājāddhīrājaḥ śrī-Raṇa-
- 3 bhañjadēva-sūta Vibhamatuṅga-sūta śrī-Dujayabhañjadēvaḥ Ōllānga-grāma Pā-
- 4 ṇchapālī Trisamāpadā sahīta sāsanadīna sa-jala-thala sarva-vāddhā
- 5 vivarjīta Ṭhākura śrī-Gōmata sāsanadīnaḥ śrī-Chhīpa-mähādē-
- 6 vī śrī-Kōṭabhañja-jūvarājadēva śrī-Ātaḥī-sandagṛihī śrī-Kundahā-
- 7 thī-mudrahārtha śrī-Narindā-mähāsāmanta śrī-Ddhuvaha-purasēthī [I\*]

#### No. 17.—HALAYUDHASTOTRA FROM THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

BY PROF. P. P. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, B.A. (OXON.), M.A. (MADRAS).

Halāyudha (one who wields the *halā* or plough as a weapon) is a well known name in Sanskrit literature. Dr. Aufrecht has listed more than sixteen works under Halāyudha. On the inner

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, p. 429.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> [All these combined with the fact that the language of the record is full of errors seem to show that the grant never passed through the secretariate and thus makes one doubtful about its genuineness.—Ed.]

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

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

side of the southern wall in the *mandapa* of the **Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā** on the left bank of the river Narmadā in the Nimar District of the Central Provinces is carved a *stōtra* called the **Halāyudha-stōtra** (*vide* Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151). Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, has been good enough to send me an impression of this *stōtra*. There are several manuscripts of the Halāyudha-stōtra in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (D. Nos. 11271 to 11278). A critical edition of the Halāyudha-stōtra, using the text as appearing on the Amarēśvara temple wall as the basic text ( म ) and giving variant readings from three other manuscripts of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library is appended to this note. The record at the Amarēśvara temple is dated **Samvat 1120, Kārttika-vadi 13** or A. D. 1063.

From the *stōtra* above referred to, we are sure that its author Halāyudha must have been a staunch devotee of Śiva. We agree with Dr. Chakravarti that as the *stōtra*-record is dated 1063 A.D., the author of the *stōtra* must have lived prior to the 11th century and could not therefore be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the court of King Lakshmanasēna of Bengal and who is the author of several *sarvasvas* like *Brāhmanasarvasva*, *Paṇḍitasarvasva*, *Mīmāṃsāsarvasva*, etc.

The Telugu poet Pālkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.D., refers in his *Dvipada Basavapurāna* to a Halāyudha, a follower of the Śaiva cult, and who was a native of Navagrāma. The last verse of the *stōtra* in the Amarēśvara temple distinctly refers to its author as a native of the village Navagrāma. We are therefore on sure ground if we identify the author of the *stōtra* with the Halāyudha referred to by Sōmanātha as an ardent devotee of Śiva. The last stanza above referred to reads as follows :

Dvijō dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhīyō Navagrāma-vinirgataḥ |

Halāyudha-vu(bu)dhas-Śambhōr-imām stutim-arīrachat || (v. 64)

Of the works listed under the name Halāyudha by Aufrecht, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* deserves our attention. In stanza 25, p. 4, of the work edited by Aufrecht in 1861 we find that among the several names of Viṣṇu, 'Śambhu' also is given as one. This is rather interesting as it reveals the mentality of the author. No other lexicographer has given the name Śambhu as synonymous with Viṣṇu. And only a staunch Virāśaiva, who believes that every word should ultimately denote only 'Śiva' as Śiva is all-pervasive, could have allowed himself to use 'Śambhu' as a synonym of Viṣṇu. Thus, it is not too much to assume the identity of authorship between the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the Halāyudha-stōtra.

In his instructive introduction, Dr. Aufrecht has argued that Halāyudha the lexicographer should be assigned to a date earlier than the eleventh century A.D. And we find that the author of the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* should be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya* as the last stanza of the last mentioned work reads as follows :

Iti samāptam=avāpta-guṇ-ōdayam Kavirahasyam=idam rasika-priyam |

sad-abhidhāna-nidhāna-Halāyudha-dvija-varasya kṛitiḥ sukṛit-ātmanaḥ ||

The third quarter is indeed an indirect reference, in accepted poetic style, to the author's other work, his lexicon, *Abhidhānaratnamālā*. Dr. Keith has fixed the date of Halāyudha, the author of *Kavirahasya* as contemporaneous with his patron the Rāshtrakūṭa King Kṛiṣṇa III.

We therefore conclude that the author of the Halāyudha-stōtra should be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the *Kavirahasya* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and should have flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

The edition of the *stōtra* is based on four texts of which *म* is the record found at the Amareśvara temple, and is printed as the basic text.

च represents the manuscript described in D. No. 11271.

क represents the palm-leaf manuscript written in Telugu script described in D. No. 11274.

ग represents the paper manuscript in Telugu script described in D. No. 11272.

### TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1-61, *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 62, 64, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 63, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 १ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ विष्णं निष्पन्निरदवदनः प्रीतये वोस्तु<sup>१</sup> नित्यं वामे कूटः  
प्रकटितद्व(ह)दृष्टिणस्थूलदन्तः । यः श्रीकण्ठं पितरमुमयास्त्रिष्टवामार्धदेहं दृष्ट्वा  
नूनं स्वयमपि<sup>२</sup> दधावर्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥१॥ ज्ञाच्यः पुत्रः स भवति किल  
स्वस्य वसुः सकाशाद्वत्ते कै[ञ्चित् कचिदपि गुणैर्य]<sup>३</sup>
- 2 : समुत्कर्षलेखाम् । इत्थं वाञ्छ(वाञ्छ)न् पितुरधिकतां पंचवक्त्रस्य नूनं षष्ठं वि(वि)भ्रह्म-  
दनमपरं पातु विश्वं विशाखः ॥२॥ एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवलज्ञान-  
मूर्त्तिर्देवी सा च त्रिभुवनमिदं यद्विभूतिप्रपंचः । यत्कूटस्थं मिथुनमविनाभाव-  
संबंध(बन्ध)योगाग्निश्री[भूतं तदखिलजगत्स]-
- 3 श्चबीजं नमामि ॥३॥ एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयंभूस्ताता तेषां त्रिभुव-  
नगुरुर्वर्वासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः । यस्तौ द्वावप्यतुलमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाले कस्तस्थान्यो  
भवति सद्यः श्रीमहाकालमूर्त्तेः ॥४॥ वक्तुं वाञ्छां हर निरवधि त्वन्महिम्नः  
[स्वरूपं चेतश्चैतत्क]-
- 4 तिपयपदज्ञानमात्रावसर्ज(व्रम) । 'ज्ञात्वैवेदं चिनयन' मया त्वद्गुणस्तोत्रभक्त्या स्वात्मन्येव  
स्वयमपि कृतो दृष्टतापदव(व)न्धः ॥५॥ वागीशस्त्वं शुभपदखिलज्ञानसंपत्तियुक्तः  
का ते<sup>४</sup> तुष्टिः स्तुतिरचनया मादृशस्याल्पशक्तेः । एवं ज्ञात्वा हर विर[मति स्तोत्र-  
हेतौ हठा]-
- 5 ओ भक्त्यावेशात्प्रसरति सुखाद्भारती किं करोमि ॥६॥ यत्ते तत्त्वं निरुपधि परं  
वाङ्मनःपारभूतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनामपि हर गिरस्तत्र भग्नाः प्रवेष्टुं(ष्टुम्) । अर्वा-  
चीनं यदपरमिदं<sup>५</sup> पार्व्वतीवक्त्रभक्ते रूपं भक्त्या वरद तदहं वाग्भिरभ्यर्चयामि  
॥७॥ अन्यैः स्तो[त्रं रचितममृतस्य]-

<sup>१</sup> नीःस्तु (ग)

<sup>२</sup> दधावर्ध (ग)

<sup>३</sup> The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses has been restored from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras.

<sup>४</sup> शिवस्य (क)

<sup>५</sup> भमस्य (क)

<sup>६</sup> ज्ञात्वा च (ग)

<sup>७</sup> त्रिपयन (च, क)

<sup>८</sup> काशे (ग)

<sup>९</sup> यदि परिमितं (क), यदि परमिदं (च)

- 6 दिभिर्व्याग्विलासैः फलुप्रायैः किमिदमियता त्यज्यते महचोभिः । किं वा कैचित्कान-  
ककमलैरर्चितं पादपीठं भक्त्या शंभो न पुनरपरः<sup>1</sup> पूजयत्यर्कपुष्पैः ॥८॥ पथ्या-  
हारौ<sup>2</sup> हर जलमुचां यौ च यौ पन्क(ङ्)जानां मित्रामित्रौ वरद हवि[षां  
दाहकथाहकौ]
- 7 यौ । यौ गंधस्य प्रजनवहनी तानहं तुष्टिहेतो<sup>3</sup>रष्टौ वन्दे त्रिभुवनगुरोर्मूर्तिभेदांस्तवे-  
तान् ॥९॥ सन्सा(संसा)रेस्मिन्ध्रुवमसुलभं मानुषं जन्म लब्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा) युष्मानेको  
भजति सुकृती कश्चिदन्यं च देवं(वम्)<sup>4</sup> । चारुटोऽपि स्मरहर गिरिं रोहणं  
भाग्ययो[गादेको रत्नं कलय]-
- 8 ति महत्काचमन्थश्च फलु<sup>5</sup> ॥१०॥ ये त्वामर्हन्मुगत इति वा भक्तियोगाद्भजन्ते तेभ्यः  
शंभो फलमभिमतं त्वं ददासीति युक्तं(क्तम्) । अध्वक्तात्तैः स्वरुचिरुचिरं नाम  
किञ्चिद्गृहीत्वा शीतं पीतं<sup>6</sup> जलमिह जनैः किं न दृशिं करोति ॥११॥ [आदि-  
त्यादिग्रहप]-
- 9 रिकरो याति चायाति नित्यं कालखायं दिवसरजनीपक्षमासर्तुचिह्नः । एतत्सर्वं ननु  
[न घटते] प्रेरकत्वं विना ते<sup>7</sup> कार्यं चास्मिन्न पुनरपरस्थास्ति सामर्थ्यमेतत्  
॥१२॥ तस्यागारे गिरिश्च रमते धेनुवत्कामधेनुः<sup>8</sup> क्रीडावाटे विटपि[सदृशः  
कल्पते क]-
- 10 [स्पृह्यः । लाक्षारक्षामणिरिव करे तस्य चिन्तामणिः स्याद्यस्मिन् सिद्धः<sup>10</sup> सकृदपि  
कृपादृष्टिपातप्रसादः<sup>11</sup> ॥१३॥ मौली लोलचिदग्रतटिनीतोयश्रीतेष्टतांशुं कण्ठे क्रूरं  
कवलितविषश्यामली व्यालराजं(जम्) । ज्योत्स्नागौरि [वपुषि वि]-
- 11 शदं वि(वि)भ्रतो भस्मरागं ज्ञाता सम्यक्चिन्तयन्<sup>12</sup> मया योगभूषा तवैव<sup>13</sup> ॥१४॥ धत्ते  
शोभां सुस्रणतिलकस्यर्धिं चन्दुर्ललाटे मौली लम्बा<sup>14</sup> चिदग्रतटिनी भालतीमालिकेव ।  
क्षेडं क्रीडासृगमदमयी पत्रलेखेव कण्ठे [झाद्यः शश्वो स्फुरति सहजः को]-
- 12 पि भूषाविधिस्ते ॥१५॥ दग्धं येन त्रिभुवनमिदं देव दुर्वारधाम्ना दग्धः सोपि  
चिन्तयन्<sup>15</sup> भ[व]दृष्टिपातेन कामः । युक्तं चैतन्नवति पुरुषो यः परस्योपतापी

<sup>1</sup> पुनरपि परः (ग)<sup>2</sup> पन्थाहारी (च)<sup>3</sup> दृष्टिहेतोः (च, ग), दृष्टिहेतोः (क)<sup>4</sup> देहम् (क)<sup>5</sup> भव्ययोगात् (म)<sup>6</sup> फलुम् (ग)<sup>7</sup> Four letters seem to have been first engraved after this and then erased.<sup>8</sup> काले (क)<sup>9</sup> क्रीडावाटौविटपि (क, म)<sup>10</sup> [To me the reading here seems to be °दस्या[मौलिः]—Ed.]<sup>11</sup> दृष्टियातः प्रसादः (च, क)<sup>12</sup> चिन्तयन् (क, म)<sup>13</sup> [I read समायोगभूषा तवैव —Ed.]<sup>14</sup> मया (क)<sup>15</sup> चिन्तयन् (क, म)

तस्यावश्यं पतति शिरसि क्रोधदण्डः प्रभूणां(णाम्) ॥१६॥ कस्य क्षेमो भ[वति  
बलिना स्वर्धमानस्य सार्धं]

- 13 यस्त्वत्कोपाच्चिनयन<sup>1</sup> भवञ्चक्षु[षा वञ्चि]तोभूत् । प्रेम्णा दष्टेऽधरकिसलये दृष्टवान् यः  
स गामी<sup>2</sup> लीलानृत्यञ्चतुरवनिताभ्रूलताप्रेक्षणानि ॥१७॥ ये दारिद्र्योपहतवपुषो  
ये च दौर्भाग्यदग्धा ये वा शत्रुव्यसनविकला ये च मौर्व्योपतप्ताः<sup>3</sup> । [ये  
वा कैश्चित् चिनय<sup>4</sup>]-
- 14 न<sup>4</sup> दृढं पीडिता<sup>5</sup> दुःखशोकैस्तेषामेकस्त्वमसि<sup>6</sup> शरणं तर्षितानामिवाश्वः ॥१८॥ श्लाघ्यं  
जम्भ श्रुतिपरिणतिः सत्क्रियायां प्रवृत्तिः प्रौढिः शास्त्रे ललितमधुरा संस्कृता  
भारती च । स्मृता लक्ष्मीर्वपुरपि दृढं चन्द्रलेखाङ्गमौले <sup>7</sup>युष्मत्सेवा[पद<sup>8</sup>विरहितं  
सर्वमे]-
- 15 तत्पलालं(लम्) ॥१९॥ त्वत्पूजायां कुसुमहरणे धावतः पादयुग्मं <sup>9</sup>यत्पाषाणत्र[ज]परिकरो-  
त्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् । यत्तस्यैव <sup>10</sup>त्वदनु चरतो रुद्रलोकं गतस्य ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनां <sup>11</sup>मकुट-  
किरणश्रेणयः शोणयन्ति<sup>12</sup> ॥२०॥ येषां युष्मत्प्रतिष्ठातिष्ठहं लि[म्पतां पाणयो ये<sup>13</sup> त्व]-
- 16 ब्रह्मानां सलिललुलितैर्गोमयैः संप्रलिप्ताः । तेषामौघं त्रिदशनगरीनायकत्वं गतानां  
ते लिप्यन्ते मृगमदरसैः खेचरीणां कुचेषु ॥२१॥ यस्ते कृत्वा स्रपनममृतैः पञ्च-  
भिश्चन्द्रमौले पञ्चात्कैश्चित्कुसुमनिकरैर्भूर्ध्नि बध्नाति [मालाम् । तस्यावश्यं]
- 17 सकलभुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषिक्ते<sup>14</sup> बध्नस्त्वन्ते<sup>15</sup> शिरसि परमैश्वर्यसाम्राज्यपट्टम् ॥२२॥ एतच्चिह्नं  
क्वचिदपि मया नैव दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तद्विस्पष्टं कथय किमिदन्नाथ कौतूहलं मे ।  
यत्ते भक्त्या हर चरणयोरर्पितं पुष्यमेकं सद्यः सूते फल[मभिसतं कौटि]-
- 18 शः कामरूपं(पम्) ॥२३॥ यस्ते भक्त्या वरद चरणहृदमुद्दिश्य दद्यादेकं नीलो-  
त्पलदलमपि त्वत्प्रसादेन नूनं(नम्) । तत्प्रत्यंतं निपतति पुनर्दृष्टिरालोल<sup>16</sup>तारैर्दिव्य-  
स्त्रीणां कुवलयदलश्रेणिदीर्घैः कटाक्षैः ॥२४॥ कृत्वा मालां घनपरिमलां[ज्ञार-  
धाराकदम्बे]-

<sup>1</sup> चिनयन (क, ग)

<sup>2</sup> यस्य गामी (ग), यः स कामी (ग) [Reading seems to be दृष्टवान्यत्र कामे.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> मौर्व्योपतप्ताः (न)

<sup>4</sup> चिनयन (क, ग)

<sup>5</sup> दुःखिता (ग)

<sup>6</sup> त्वमपि (क)

<sup>7</sup> यस्मिन् (ग)

<sup>8</sup> फल (ग)

<sup>9</sup> यः पाषाणं ब्रजपरिकरोत्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत् (ग)

<sup>10</sup> त्वदनुभवतां (ग)

[Reading is परिकरोद्कीर्णरेखाङ्गमासीत्तस्यैव.—Ed.]

<sup>11</sup> मुकुट (क)

<sup>12</sup> शोणयन्ते (ग)

<sup>13</sup> प्राङ्गणियं (ग)

<sup>14</sup> भुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषिक्तैः (ग)

<sup>15</sup> [Reading is बध्नासि त्वं.—Ed.]

<sup>16</sup> दृष्टतालील (ग)

- 19 यस्ते कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्रापयेन्नौलकण्ठ । दिव्यस्त्रीणां विपुलपुलकैर्वाहुभिः कण्ठ-  
लग्नैस्तस्यापि त्वं वितरसि चिरं निर्भ्र(भ)राश्लेषसौख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥२५॥ कृत्वा पूजां  
तव चरणयोरादरादष्टमूर्ते यः साष्टाङ्गं प्रणमति महीष्टष्ट(ष्ट)पीठे(ठे) लुठित्वा ।  
प्रत्यास[न्नं क्षितिपतिपदं]
- 20 प्रीतिव(व)न्नानुरागा तस्योत्सङ्गे लुठति धरणी रेणुचक्रच्छलेन ॥२६॥ त्वामुद्दिश्य चिन-  
यन<sup>1</sup> जनो यः प्रदीपं ददाति<sup>2</sup> ज्योतिर्व्वालादलिततिमिरं द्योतितान्तर्निकेतं(तम्) ।  
तस्मै मायारजनिविलस<sup>3</sup>हाठमोहान्धकारच्छेदप्रौढं त्वमपि दि[शसि ज्ञानभास्वप्रका]-  
सं(शम्) ॥२७॥ चिन्मालारचितकुसुमैर्दूर्जटे<sup>4</sup> पूजयित्वा यः स्तौति त्वां जय जय  
महादेव देवेति<sup>5</sup> वाचा । सोप्यारीहृन्हर तव पुरं<sup>6</sup> मीलिव(व)वाप्लीनां शक्रा-  
दीनां स्तुतिविषयतां त्वत्प्रसादावयाति ॥२८॥ भस्मस्नानं वहसि शिरसा स्व[र्धुनी-  
वारिभारं<sup>7</sup> शा-
- 22 त्नां मूर्त्तिः(र्त्ति) कलयसि करे कार्मुकं युक्तमेतत् । अप्यन्येषां कतिपयपुरस्वामिनां  
चित्रभूताखेष्टा दृष्टास्त्रिभुवनपतेः किं महेशस्य न स्युः ॥२९॥ त्वामाराध्य  
द्व(त्रि)दशपतयो भुञ्जते राज्यलक्ष्मीं भिक्षामुक्तां तदपि च महादेवशब्दै(ब्दै)क-  
वाच्यः । [नैराशिष्यं वरद]
- 23 परमैश्वर्यकोटिप्रतिष्ठ<sup>8</sup> तच्चेदस्ति त्वयि किमपरैः फलाभिः श्रीविलासैः<sup>9</sup> ॥३०॥ अस्थि-  
धंयिः पितृवनभवं भस्म<sup>10</sup> भूषाङ्गरागः प्रीतिः<sup>11</sup> प्रेतैस्तव सहचराः फेरवाः कोच  
दोषः । यस्यैश्वर्यं परमपदवीं प्राप्य विश्रान्तमुच्चैस्तस्य यावा कनकमण्य[वा  
सर्वमेतत् समा]-
- 24 नं(नम्)<sup>12</sup> ॥३१॥ आवासस्ते पितृवनमहिः क्रीडनं यानमुक्ता भिक्षापाचं हर नरशिरः-<sup>13</sup>  
कर्परं नैष दोषः । आरातीयस्त्रिनयन<sup>14</sup> भवत्प्रत्यसंस्थो हि<sup>15</sup> लोको निस्त्रैगुण्ये पथि  
विचरतां को विधिः को निषेधः ॥३२॥ प्रेतावासः शयनमग्नं [भैक्षमाशाश्च वा]-
- 25 सः खट्वाङ्गं च ध्वजमुपहृ(हि)तं त्वस्थि नेपथ्यमङ्गे । यद्यप्येवं तदपि भगवन्नीश्वरेत्थ-  
स्य<sup>16</sup> नास्त्रो निःसामान्यस्त्वमसि विषयो नापरः कश्चिदस्ति ॥३३॥ दारुस्थाने  
द्विजवरवधूपुष्पवो रेतसाग्नी होमः सन्धानटनमिति ते चेष्टितं नैव दुष्टं(ष्टम्) ।  
[मिथ्याज्ञानीप]-

<sup>1</sup> चिन्मय (क, ग)<sup>2</sup> घूर्जाटं (ग)<sup>3</sup> स्वर्णदीवारिपुरं (ग)<sup>4</sup> पितृवनभवद्भस्म (ग)<sup>5</sup> हुण्डिचशिरसः (ग)<sup>6</sup> हुंम इत्यस्य (ग)<sup>7</sup> दधाति (ग)<sup>8</sup> देवेश (क)<sup>9</sup> प्रतिष्ठा (क)<sup>10</sup> प्रीतः (ग)<sup>11</sup> चिन्मय (क, ग)<sup>12</sup> विगलद (ग)<sup>13</sup> पुरी (क)<sup>14</sup> श्रीविलासैः (क)<sup>15</sup> पलासम् (ग)<sup>16</sup> संस्थोऽपि (क)

- 26 इतमनसां मार्गामुञ्जं ह्य दूरं ये निःक्ता(निष्क्रान्तास्त्रिनयन<sup>1</sup> न तां(तान्) लोकवादाः स्पृश-  
न्ति ॥३४॥ देवाः सर्वे दधति वपुषा भूषणं हेमरत्नं गुञ्जामात्रं कनकमपि  
ते<sup>2</sup> नास्ति कर्षे करे वा । मार्गातीतं स्फुरति सहजं यस्य सौन्दर्यमङ्गे  
<sup>3</sup>तस्याहार्ये[श्चितरजनवत्वा]-
- 27 दरः स्याद्गुणेषु ॥३५॥ त्वं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मादित्रिदशगुरुभिः<sup>4</sup> पूजितः स्वार्थहेतोरित्याम्नायो न  
खलु भवता प्रार्थितः कश्चिदन्यः । इच्छामात्रात्स्वयमुपनमन्थप्रतो यस्य भावा-  
स्तस्यापेक्षा कथमिह भवेदीश्वरस्येतरेषु ॥३६॥ खण्डखण्डः शिर[सि परशुः  
खण्डमे]-
- 28 वायुधन्ते भिक्षापात्रं द्रुहिणशिरसः खण्डमेकं कपाल(लम्) । खण्डप्रायस्तव परिकरो  
यद्यपीत्यन्तथापि त्वं सर्वेषां स्मृतिमुपगतः<sup>5</sup> सर्वपूर्णात्वहेतुः ॥३७॥ पृथ्वीपीठे  
<sup>6</sup>कृतपदमदः स्वच्छमाकास(श)लिङ्गं तारापुष्पैः शिरसि रचिताभ्यर्चनं चन्द्रचूड ।  
इत्थं भावाद]-
- 29 वहितधियो ये भवन्तं भजन्ते ते लीयन्ते त्वयि जलनिधौ निम्नगानामिवौघाः ॥३८॥  
वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं सै(शै)वं ज्योतिः सकलभुवनालोकना-  
दर्शभूतं(तम्)<sup>7</sup> । कृत्वा तस्मिन्प्रमहसि पदे चैत्रसंन्यासयोगं [त्वय्ये]कत्वं ब्र[जति  
पुरुषस्तेज]-
- 30 सौव प्रदीपः ॥३९॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं सकलभुवनाद्यर्थभूतं विभाति ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं कनककपिशं  
श्रीगिरौ व्योम्नि दिव्यं(व्यम्) । तत्पश्यन्तः शिव सुकृतिनस्यक्तसंसारबन्धास्वत्का-  
रुष्याश्चिर<sup>8</sup>गणपदप्राप्तिभाजो भवन्ति ॥४०॥
- 31 वाचाधौशं<sup>9</sup> हुतवहतनुं शक्तिपाणिं भवन्तं ये ध्यायन्ति त्रिनयन<sup>10</sup> मनस्तेजसा निर्द्वन्द्व-  
(तम्)<sup>11</sup> । गङ्गास्रोतःसदृश-
- 32 विलसद्गद्यपद्यप्रवाहैः<sup>12</sup> सद्यस्तेषां प्रसरति [सुखाङ्गा]रती नात्र चिह्नं(चम्) ॥४१॥  
भास्वज्योतिःकिरणमरुणं [दक्षि]णेऽक्षिण<sup>13</sup> स्थितं त्वां ये वीक्षन्ते पुरुषमुदितं<sup>14</sup>  
व्यात<sup>15</sup>मादित्यमूर्त्तिं(र्त्तिम्) । ते सर्वत्राप्रतिहतदृशः सूर्यपर्यन्तलीकं पश्यन्त्यथे  
कारतललुठक्कां[दुकास्पष्टरूपम्]

<sup>1</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>2</sup> कपिशे (ग)<sup>3</sup> तस्याहार्यैर्विरत (ग)<sup>4</sup> त्रिदशपतिभिः (ग)<sup>5</sup> भवगतः (ग)<sup>6</sup> कृतपदमपि स्वच्छमाकाशलिङ्गं (ग)<sup>7</sup> भुवनादर्शनालोकभूतम् (ग)<sup>8</sup> [Probably the reading isकारुष्या\* [त्] स्थिर<sup>c</sup>—Ed.]<sup>9</sup> वाचातीतं (ग) [Reading seems to be vāchy-ātinam(tam).—Ed.]<sup>10</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>11</sup> तमस्तेजसां निर्द्वन्द्वम् (ग)<sup>12</sup> प्रभावा (क)<sup>13</sup> दक्षिणाधि (च)<sup>14</sup> पुरुषसदृशं (ग)<sup>15</sup> श्यामं (ग)



- 33 ॥४२॥ ये ध्यायन्ति स्वहृदि विमलं चित्त<sup>१</sup>मात्मैकरूपं विश्वादर्श<sup>२</sup> प्रसरदमितो भूर्भुवः-  
स्वस्त्रिलोकी(कीम्)<sup>३</sup> । इत्थं गत्यागतिपरिचयात्ते तत्रैव प्रसादात्सर्वज्ञत्वं हर  
विकरणीं शीलयन्ती लभन्ते<sup>४</sup> ॥४३॥ ये त्वां शंभो हृदयभवनांभोरुहाभ्यन्तरस्थं  
<sup>५</sup>ज्ञान[ज्योतिस्तदुपधिव]-
- 34 शाङ्गीहिशूकायसूक्ष्मं(स्वम्) । उद्दीक्षन्ते दृढतरलयं तेषुपाधिप्रणाशात्त्वय्येकत्वं नभसि  
कलशाकाशवन्निर्विशन्ति ॥४४॥ अर्चिर्विद्युत्प्रभृतिभिरलं मार्गाविश्रामलोके(कै)र्ये गच्छन्ति  
त्रिनयन<sup>६</sup> पथा देवयानेन केचित् । भुक्त्वा भोगाननुपमरसान् स्वेच्छ[या ब्रह्म-  
लोके]
- 35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनरपि शिव त्वन्मयत्वं भजन्ते ॥४५॥ यत्रानन्दः स्फुरति परमज्योति-  
रालोकजम्भा भुज्यन्ते च स्वयमुपनता<sup>७</sup> यत्र दिव्याश्च भोगाः [।\*] यत्राहर्त्तिर्ध  
भवति पुनः पञ्चमाध्वप्रसिद्धं तद्द्वैराजं<sup>८</sup> पदमपि शिव प्राप्यते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥४६॥  
त्वयात्मानं निहितम्]-
- 36 खिलैस्त्वद्गुणैः संप्रयुक्तं स्वच्छादर्शं मुखमिव चिरं चेतसा निश्चलेन । ये पश्यन्ति  
त्रिनयन<sup>९</sup> मनोवाञ्छितार्थप्रसूतिस्तेषामाविर्भवति सुधियामिव<sup>१०</sup> धर्मः समाधिः ॥४७॥  
ज्ञानज्योतिः सकलजगतां स्व<sup>११</sup>प्रकाशस्वरूपं त्वामात्मानं परिहितगुणस्पर्श[मीशान-  
मौले]
- 37 <sup>१२</sup>यत्रैकस्मिन्नवहितधियां<sup>१३</sup> योगदृष्टिस्थितानां स्वच्छादर्शं प्रतिफलितवद्दिश्वमेतच्चकास्ति ॥४८॥  
भूतं भूतस्मरणविषयं भावि<sup>१४</sup> नान्यत्र काले सूक्ष्मं मध्यं क्षणमि<sup>१५</sup>ह तयोर्वर्त्तमानं  
वदन्ति । तस्मिन्सौख्यं कियदमतयो येन मत्ता<sup>१६</sup> मनुष्या यु[ष्मत्सेवां भव भ]-
- 38 वभयध्वन्सि(ध्वंसि)नीं नाद्रियन्ते ॥४९॥ ज्ञानं न स्यात्कचिदपि किल ज्ञेयसम्ब(संब)न्धशून्यं  
ज्ञेयं सत्तामपि न लभते ज्ञानवा(वा)ह्यं कदाचित् । इत्यन्योन्यप्रथितमुभयोर्व्या-  
पिकं यत्स्वरूपं<sup>१७</sup> तस्ते प्राहुः प्रकृतिपुरुषस्यार्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥५०॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं  
न भ[वति नृणामि]-

<sup>१</sup> चित्तं (च)<sup>२</sup> विश्वादर्शं (ग)<sup>३</sup> त्रिलोकान् (ग)<sup>४</sup> भजन्ते (क)<sup>५</sup> ज्ञानज्योतिः (ग)<sup>६</sup> त्रिनयन (क, र)<sup>७</sup> उपगताः (ग)<sup>८</sup> तद्द्वैराज्यं (च)<sup>९</sup> त्रिनयन (क, ग)<sup>१०</sup> सुधियामेषः (ग) [Reading seems to be सुधियात्ममे(ए)कः समाधिः—Ed.]<sup>११</sup> सुप्रकाश (ग)<sup>१२</sup> There is a sign of visarga before this danda.<sup>१३</sup> धिया (ग)<sup>१४</sup> भावि नास्त्रात्र काले (ग)<sup>१५</sup> इव (ग)<sup>१६</sup> मित्ताः (ग)<sup>१७</sup> यत्स्वरूप (ग)

- 39 न्द्रियाणामशक्तेर्यत्सम्ब(संब)न्धग्रहणविरहाश्रानुमेयं च किञ्चि(किञ्चि)त्<sup>1</sup> । शब्दा(ब्दा)दीनामपि न विषयं यत्परीक्षस्वरूपं ज्ञानज्योतिर्यदिह परमं सत्व(त्त्व)मध्यात्ममूर्तिः<sup>2</sup> ॥५१॥ त्वामात्मानं वरद परमानन्दबो(बो)धस्वरूपं ये वु(वु)ध्यन्ते<sup>3</sup> विगलितजगद्धेदमायाप्र-पञ्चम् । रागत्यागात्]
- 40 स्मितमनसो देव जीवन्त एव [भ्रश्य]न्माया<sup>4</sup>निबिडनिगडग्रंथयस्ते विमुक्ताः ॥५२॥<sup>5</sup> श्लाघ्यं<sup>6</sup> यत्तत्कृपि(प)णमनसां<sup>7</sup> सप्तलोकाधिपत्यं या<sup>8</sup> मृग्यंते तरलमतिभिः सिद्धयश्चा-णिमाद्याः । एतत्सर्वं मदनदहन त्वत्पदप्राप्तिभाजां तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानासृतर[सजुषां<sup>9</sup> योगि]-
- 41 नामन्तरायः ॥५३॥<sup>10</sup> आशा वासः शयनमवनिर्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मचर्यं च दीर्घं मौनं दण्डग्रहणम-शनं भिक्षया भस्म शौचं(चम्) । वैराग्यञ्च त्रिनयन<sup>11</sup> भवत्तत्वबो(त्त्वबो)धादिहीनं मूलादेवं ध्रुवमलवणं सर्वमेतद्विभाति ॥५४॥ स्थित्वा कालं चिरतरमपि ब्र(ब्र)-ह्मशक्रादि[लोके कर्म]-
- 42 ष्छेदात्पुनरपि ततः स्यादवश्यं निपातः । एकं नित्यं पदमुपगतः<sup>12</sup> क्लेशकर्म्मोर्न्निर्पाकं शैवं ज्योतिर्यदिह सुलभं ज्ञानयोगेन पुन्सां(पुंसाम्) ॥५५॥ शक्रादीनां क्रतुफल-यु(जु)षां यत्सुखं नाकलोके<sup>13</sup> तत्कौटादेर्ब्र(ब्र)कनिलयस्यापि तुल्यं विभाति । येनै-कान्तं]-
- 43 न भवति सुखं कस्यचिन्नापि<sup>14</sup> दुःखं इन्द्रयस्तं त्रिभुवनमिदं त्वं तु तस्माद्विमुक्तः ॥५६॥ व(व)त्सच्छेदादिह तनुभृतां यत्त्वया साकमैक्यं सा चेन्मुक्तिः शिव किम-नया यातु यद्वात्सकूपं(पम्) । त्वं मे स्वामी भवदनुचरः शर्वं यत्सर्वदाहं तच्च श्लाघ्यं स्वपति[पदवीं काम]-
- 44 यन्ते न मृत्याः ॥५७॥ वातोद्भूतस्फुटपुटकिनीपत्रतोयोपमाने को विश्वासं ब्रजति चपले जम्बिनो जीवितेस्मिन् ।<sup>15</sup> कास्तस्त्रीणां प्रियसहचरैर्निर्भरालिङ्गितं मे चेतः शम्भो स्वपिति न यथा तद्वसादं<sup>16</sup> कुरुष्व ॥५८॥ त्वन्नेत्राग्नि<sup>17</sup>व्यतिकारमिव प्रा[क्तनं पुष्यधा]-

<sup>1</sup> कदाचित् (च, क, ग)<sup>2</sup> मूर्ते (ग)<sup>3</sup> ग reads ये बुध्यन्ते etc., as third quarter and रागत्यागात् etc., as second quarter.<sup>4</sup> निगलनिविड (च, क)<sup>5</sup> ग reads this stanza as 60th stanza.<sup>6</sup> जन्तोः कृपयमनसः (ग)<sup>7</sup> सर्वं (च)<sup>8</sup> ये (ग)<sup>9</sup> सुजा (ग)<sup>10</sup> ग reads this stanza as 62nd stanza.<sup>11</sup> त्रिणयन (क, ग)<sup>12</sup> उपनतलेश (ग, भ)<sup>13</sup> नाकलोके (ग)<sup>14</sup> नास्ति (च, क, ग)<sup>15</sup> [Reading seems to be चात(चत)सुखाप्र(प्रि)यसहचरो etc.—Ed.]<sup>16</sup> तद्वसादं (च, क)<sup>17</sup> क्षुतिशरमयं (ग)

- 45 पः<sup>1</sup> अत्वा नूनं व्यवसितमतिर्वैरनिर्यातनाय । यसन्स(त्स)त्तं तव चरणयोर्देव  
सेवानुरागात्तन्मे चेतः प्रहरति शरैस्त्वक्ष तद्रक्ष यत्नात् ॥५६॥ भिक्षापात्रं मृग-  
जमजिनं जीर्णकौपीनमेकं कंधा रथ्यानिपतितज्वरश्चौरश्लेघ्रैश्च सञ्चौ । एतावा-  
[न्मे हर परिक]-
- 46 रक्ष्वअसादेन नित्यं भूयाद्भूयस्तव चरणयोर्भयसी भक्तिरिका ॥६०॥ देवस्तावद्भवति  
भगवन्भर्त्सर्गस्य सारस्तास्मात्पूर्वं महदिति पदं प्रीत्तसुत्कर्षमाह । माहात्म्यं ते  
अरहर महदेव नाम्नैव लोके दूराकूटं वरद किमहं स्तोत्रमन्यत्करोमि  
॥६१॥<sup>२</sup> कालेन]
- 47 नीतः<sup>4</sup> सर्वोपि पुनरावर्तते जनः । महाकालेन नीतस्य नाद्विर्विद्यते पुनः ॥६२॥  
अव्यक्ताक्षरजल्पितैरपि शिशोः प्रीतिर्गुरूणां भवेत्तेनास्त्रदहनं मलीमसमपि स्वासु-  
ष्टिहेतुस्तव । आन्तस्त्वङ्गुणकीर्तनात्किमपि यत्पुण्यं मयोपा[र्जितं तेन]
- 48 स्याज्जननाम्सरेपि महती त्वय्येव भक्तिर्नम ॥६३॥<sup>३</sup> द्विजो दक्षिणराठीयो नवशामवि-  
निर्मातः । हलायुधव(वु)धशशभोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरश्चत् ॥६४॥

<sup>1</sup> *Danda unnecessary.*<sup>२</sup> सर्गसर्गस्य (ग)<sup>३</sup> ष, क, and ग read the following two stanzas as 62nd and 63rd stanzas and कालेन नीतः etc., as 64th stanza :—

यव कश्चिद्भवतु देव मनुष्यतिर्यग्योगौ स्वकर्मपरिपाकवशात् प्रसृतिः ।  
तव स्थितस्य मम बालकगाढमौलि त्वयादभक्तिरचलास्तु भवप्रसादात् ॥  
तव चरणसरोजे दक्षमेकं प्रसूतं फलति जलधिबिलावेष्टिता भूतधामीम् ।  
प्रतिदिवससपयाभक्तिकौतुहलानां फलमिदमिति शम्भो शक्यते किं वक्तुम् ॥

<sup>4</sup> This syllable should ordinarily be short.<sup>५</sup> शात् (क)<sup>६</sup> क adds the following before द्विजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन सेवे कदाचिद्बलमिच्छया ।  
संसारभ्रमणीपेतप्रसापनयने क्षमा ॥  
अट्टहासमहाकालसितस्त्रीवै(र)हये तवः ।  
यतः कारणमुत्पत्तिरुपचारैः प्रवर्तते ॥

and reads the stanza द्विजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :

द्विजो दक्षिणराठीयो नवशामविनिर्मातः ।  
हलायुधमिदं शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमञ्जशत् ॥

D.11271 (ष) adds the following stanza before द्विजो दक्षिण etc. :—

महाकालेन सेव्यत्नामानोदेन विरक्तया ।  
संसारोद्भूतदेहस्य स्वरूपपरहर्षणं क्षमम् ॥

and reads the stanza द्विजो दक्षिण etc., slightly modified :—

द्विजो दक्षिणराठीयो नवशामविनिर्मातः ।  
हलायुधधुवः शम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमञ्जशत् ॥

## No. 18.—A NOTE ON THE HALAYUDHA STOTRA IN THE AMARESVARA TEMPLE.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

There are several Sanskrit *stōtras* engraved on the side walls of the *ardhamandapa* in the Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā, which were copied by me early in 1938. The northern wall contains three of these, viz., (1) a *stōtra* in 8 lines and 9 verses in praise of the river Narmadā, (2) the well known Śiva-Mahimna-*stōtra* in 40 verses taking up 22 lines and (3) a single verse in 3 lines in praise of Śiva and Pārvatī. The main record on the southern wall contains the text of the *Halāyudha-stōtra*. Several manuscripts of this *stōtra* are preserved in the Government Oriental Library at Madras (Nos. 11271-11278), some of which are with commentaries in Sanskrit, Telugu and Kanarese. I have already noticed these records in the *Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India*, for the year 1937-38 in the chapter on Epigraphy. Though Hiralal<sup>1</sup> noticed all these records as unimportant, I found the colophon of the *Halāyudha-stōtra* to be of sufficient interest for the history of Sanskrit literature, and as the *stōtra* has not yet been published, I requested my friend Vidyāsāgara Vidyāvāchaspati P. P. Subrahmanya Śāstrī, Professor of Sanskrit in the Madras Presidency College and honorary Curator of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library at Madras, to undertake to edit the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*—a request to which he readily responded. This note only supplements the information contained in his introduction to the text edited above. I have also given below the text of ll. 48-56 of the record which Professor Śāstrī has omitted as it is not relevant to the *Halāyudha-stōtra*.

The whole record is in 56 lines, and is engraved on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the wall on the southern side. The first slab contains 10 lines, the second 21 lines, the third 22 lines and the fourth only 3 lines of writing. The last lines of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th slabs (*i.e.*, ll. 31, 53 and 56) are only half lines. A few letters at the end of each complete line are now missing but wherever possible these have been restored from manuscripts now preserved in the Government Oriental Library. The script is Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout. The engraving is rather shallow but on the whole well executed. There are a number of grammatical and other errors, particularly in the portion which is the writer's own composition. All these have been noticed in footnotes or in the body of the text. These mistakes show that the writer, though he calls himself a Pandit, was not well versed in Sanskrit.

The record opens with the phrase *Om namaḥ Śivāya* which is immediately followed by the *Halāyudha-stōtra* in praise of Śiva. The *stōtra* actually finishes in v. 63, the last verse being a colophon containing an account of the author of the hymn. This is immediately followed by another hymn (ll. 48-50) in 5 verses the text of which is identical with that found in the *Śiva-dvādaśa-nāma-stōtra*<sup>2</sup> and gives the 12 principal names of Śiva. Then comes a verse enumerating five *jyōtirlingas*, viz., those at Avimukta (Benares) and Kēdāra, besides Ōmkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjayinī). It may be noted here that though the names of Ōmkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other great *lingas* have been omitted in this list.

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaiva teachers in the following terms: In the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Namdiyaḍa was the Pāsupata teacher Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvavālmika whose disciple was Bhaṭṭāraka śrī-Bhāvasamudra. L. 53 mentions also Paṇḍita Bhāvavirimchi. Apparently the two mentioned last were responsible for setting up the records found on these four slabs. The next two lines contain an account of the

<sup>1</sup> *List of Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar* (2nd ed.), p. 84, No. 151.

<sup>2</sup> See *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras*, Nos. 9259-9261.

writer, Paṇḍita Gāndhadhvaja of the Chapala-gōtra. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāśi who was again a disciple of the Paramabbattāraka śrī-Supūjitarāśi.

The last line contains the date, undoubtedly of the setting up of the record, which I have read as *Samvat 1[1] 20 Kārttika vadī 13*. The reading of the second digit is, however, uncertain which may also be read as 2. The same date is given at the end of the *Mahimna-stava* found engraved on the northern wall which was also written by the same Paṇḍita mentioned there as Gandhadhvaja, and also at the end of the Narmadā-stōtra, without giving the month and the *tithi* in both the places. But in these instances also the second digit is not clear. Unfortunately the date cannot be verified for want of sufficient details. If the year is 1120 the date would ordinarily correspond to Friday, the 21st November, A.D. 1063 and if read as 1220 the corresponding date in Christian era would be Sunday, the 27th October, A.D. 1163, taking the year as Chaitrādi and the month *pūrṇimānta* in both cases.

I have in the *Annual Report* referred to above discussed in detail the identity of the poet Halāyudha and also of Dēchaya who wrote a commentary on this *stōtra* in the sixteenth century A.D. I have shown there that the Halāyudha of our record could not be any of the three scholars of the same name mentioned by Mr. J. C. Ghosh,<sup>1</sup> all of whom flourished during the reign of the Sēna kings of Bengal. Prof. Śāstri has now adduced an additional proof that undoubtedly the same Halāyudha has been referred to in the Telugu *Dvipada Basavapurāna*<sup>2</sup> of Pāṅkuriki Sōmanātha who lived towards the end of the twelfth century. I have also suggested in the same place that our Halāyudha may be identical with the author of the *Kavirahasya*, the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* and the *Mṛitasāñjivani*, the last mentioned being a commentary on Piṅgala's *Chhandahsūtra*. It need not worry us that the first named work was written in the court of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja III (A.D. 939-967) and the last mentioned work in the court of a different ruler, *viz.*, the Paramāra Muñja-Vākpati (A.D. 974-993), as it is quite possible that the poet after the death of his Rāshtrakūṭa patron moved to the Paramāra court which was noted for its patronage for learning at that time. Mr. Ghosh has identified Navagrāma in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut *parganā* of the Hooghly District in Bengal.<sup>3</sup> We cannot argue that it is not possible for a poet hailing from far off Bengal to be at the courts of two prominent Indian rulers, one having his capital at Mālkhed in the Nizām's Dominions and the other at Dhār in Central India, when we know of several other scholars from Bengal who held a similar position.<sup>4</sup>

L. 51 of the record mentions Bhōjanagara and a monastery there known as Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha. One is tempted to identify Bhōjanagara with Dhārā, the capital city of the Paramāras and the monastery with an establishment built probably by the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who for a time occupied the Paramāra kingdom. But it is to be remembered that the capital city of the Paramāras is always referred to as Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors also continued to use the same name. It is not also certain whether the *maṭha* was built by a ruler called Sōmēśvaradēva or was simply attached to a temple of Śiva known as Sōmēśvara. I am also not able to identify Namdiyaḍa, the original residence of the Śaiva ascetic Bhāvavālmika.

<sup>1</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to this work Halāyudha belonged to Navapura which is apparently the same as Navagrāma of our record, see *Basavapurānamu* (Andhra-granthamālā series), p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 503. Bhurshut is the ancient Bhūriśrēshṭhi in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha where Śrīdhara completed his *Nyāyakandalī*, a commentary on the *Padārthapravēśa* in Śaka 913 (A.D. 991). It is also the Bhūriśrēshṭhika of the *Prabādhachandrōdaya* of Kṛishṇamiśra (11th century), which is stated to be the birth-place of 'Ahaṅkāra'. This leaves no doubt that the place was well known in the 10th and 11th centuries.

<sup>4</sup> See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 702 and Vol. II, pp. 380 f. See also the Kollagallu Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 263 ff.) which mentions a Gadādhara of Taḍā-grāma in Bengal.

TEXT.

- 48 Prathamam tu<sup>1</sup> Mahādevam dvitīyam cha Mahāśvaram(ram) | tri(tri)tiyam Śaṅkaram  
jñeyam<sup>2</sup> chaturtham Vṛishabhadhvajam(jam) ||1||<sup>3</sup> Pañchamam Kṛi[ttivāsam cha sha\*]-<sup>4</sup>
- 49 śhṭham Kāmāṅganāśanam(nam) [|\*] saptamam Dēvadēvēsam<sup>5</sup> Śrīkaṅṭham ch=āśhṭamam  
smṛitam(tam)<sup>6</sup> ||2||<sup>7</sup> Navamam Iśvaram<sup>8</sup> dēvam<sup>9</sup> daśamam Pārvvatipriyam(yam) [|\*]  
Rudram=ēkādaśam nāma dvādaśam Śivam=uchyatē ||3||<sup>10</sup> Dvādaś=aitāni<sup>11</sup> nāmāni ubhay  
samdhyat yaḥ paṭhēt<sup>12</sup> [|\*] gōghnaḥ kṛitaghnas=ch=siva vra(bra)hmahā guru-talpakam<sup>13</sup>  
||4||<sup>14</sup> Strī-vā(bā)la-ghātakaś=ch=siva\*]<sup>15</sup>
- 50 surāpayi<sup>16</sup> vṛishali-patiḥ<sup>17</sup> [|\*] muchyatē sarvva-pāpēbhyō Rudra-lōkam<sup>18</sup> sa gachchhati  
||5||<sup>19</sup> Avimuktaś=cha Kēdāra Ōmkāraś=ch=Āmaras=tathā [|\*] pañchamam(mas=) tu  
Mahākālah pañcha-līngāḥ prakīrttayē<sup>20</sup> ||6||<sup>21</sup> Ajñānā[d\*]=jñānatō vā=pi yad=viruddham=  
anushṭhitam(tam) | tat=sarvvam paṣu-bhūpasya kshantavyam kāraṇ-ēśvara ||7||<sup>22</sup>
- 51 Svasti [|\*] Śrī-Bhōja-nagarē śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha-nivāsī Namdiyaḍa-vinirggatam\*(taḥ)  
praṇāma-gōtra-yama-niyama-samja(ya)ma-svādhyāya - dhyān - ānushṭhāna - rata - parama-  
Pāsupat-āchārya-bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvavālmika[h\*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēvō(va)-trailōky-  
ādhipatiḥ(tēḥ) dhyāna-puṇya-sa- .<sup>23</sup>
- 52 etat(ch)-si(chhi)shya i[shṭ-ādhi]ka-pradāna-rata-triḥ(tri)kāla-samdhya(dhyā)-samādhi-  
kāraṇa-guru-pāramparya-vidhāna-yukta[h\*] śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-pāda-paṅkaja-bhramara  
ādhvina(ādhvānika ?)-pathasrī(śrā)nta-tapōdhan-ābhyāgat-ālaya<sup>24</sup> - - samtāpaḥ ||<sup>25</sup>
- 53 śrī-Amarēśvaradēva-vikshaṇa-mūrtti-sadā-nivāsī bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Bhāvasamudraḥ || paṇḍita-  
Bhāvavirimchi[h\*] praṇamati Śivah(vam)||
- 54 || Ōm<sup>26</sup> svasti[|\*] Śrī-Amarēśvara-dēvasy=āyatan[ē] trailōkyā-viśrut[ē] sthānē dēva-dānava-  
dur[|jaya]-dēva-guru-na(ta)pōdhata(na)-su(śu)śrūshā-rata-paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Supū-
- 55 jitarāsi(śiḥ) [|\*] etat(ch)-si(chhi)shya-Vivēkarāsi(śiḥ) [|\*] puṇaḥ tasya śishya(śishyēṇa)  
Chapalagōtra-vinirggata-sahaja-bhakti-sānta-mūrtti-panḍita-Gāndhadhvajēna parama-  
bhaktyā mahimna<sup>27</sup> Ha-
- 56 lāyudha-stutim ātmasy=ārthē<sup>28</sup> svayam likhitam=iti || Samvat I[1]20 Kārttika-vadi 13[|\*]  
Maṅgalam mahāśrīḥ || ||

<sup>1</sup> M. cha (M. denotes Ms. No. 9260 in the Govt. Or. Manuscripts Library, Madras).

<sup>2</sup> M. nāma.

<sup>3</sup> Restored from M.

<sup>4</sup> M. Dēvadēvam cha.

<sup>5</sup> M. Nīlakaṅṭham=ath=āshṭamam.

<sup>6</sup> Read Navamam=I°.

<sup>7</sup> M. nāma.

<sup>8</sup> M.=aitāni.

<sup>9</sup> Read as in M. tri-sandhyam yaḥ paṭhēt=naraḥ.

<sup>10</sup> M. brāhmaghṇō guru-talpakam.

<sup>11</sup> Read surāpō.

<sup>12</sup> M. surā-pān-ādi-pātakaḥ.

<sup>13</sup> M. Śivalōkam.

<sup>14</sup> Read prakīrtitāḥ.

<sup>15</sup> Metre of verses 1-7 is Anushṭubh.

<sup>16</sup> These two letters are illegible. A few letters after these also appear to have been missing.

<sup>17</sup> There is some space between tā and la but this portion seems to have been left un-engraved owing to a damage in the stone.

<sup>18</sup> Daṇḍas unnecessary.

<sup>19</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>20</sup> Apparently intended for Śiva-mahimnō.

<sup>21</sup> Read atma-brēyēṛthē.

## No. 19.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A., OOTACAMUND.

These **copper-plates** which were in the possession of a peasant of the village **Nūtimadugu** in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C. N. Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikanta Srouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were somewhat corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archæological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are **three** in number each of which is  $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and  $9\frac{1}{2}$ " in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 *tolas*.

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a **palimpsest** containing two records, **one**, an **Eastern Chālukya** grant of the 10th century A.D. and the **other**, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the **Vijayanagara** prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original **Eastern Chālukya** grant which I shall call **A**, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called **B**) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, *gōtra*, family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (*i.e.*, on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of an arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (*i.e.*, the first side of the first plate of **B**) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. On the second side of the second plate of **B**, only half the portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in

deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D. and the language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

In spite of the shortcomings noted above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of **Vikramāditya** (II) is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is **Jayasimhavallabha** (*i.e.*, Jayasimha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to Vikramāditya (II) who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25—27) with the *birudas* of *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Mahārājāhīrāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Paramabrahmaṇya*. He issues a command to the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and others inhabiting the **Kaṇḍōrvvāḍi-vishaya**. The name of this *vishaya* occurs in different forms as *Gaṇḍōruvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍōruvāḍi*, *Kaṇḍōruvāḍi* and *Kaṇḍrāvāḍi* in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town *Kaṇḍōru*, after which the district was named, has been identified with *Kantēru* in the Guntur District.<sup>1</sup> The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, *viz.*, king Vikramāditya II. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to **Vijayāditya** II, the builder of 108 temples of *Narēndrēśvara*. He is here stated to have reigned only for 40 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copper-plate grants. The verses describing the reign of Vikramāditya (II) are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by *Tālapa* after killing him. The verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with *Fame*. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with *Tāla* or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression *rājyam kīrttyā samam=agrahit*, his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by Vikramāditya in regaining the throne from *Tāla*. No doubt the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant of *Ammarāja* II tells us that Vikramāditya (II) slew "at the head of a rough battle this *Tāla-rāja* together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (*and*) had troops of furious elephants"<sup>2</sup>. It is, however, not certain whether Vikramāditya was engaged in fighting *Tāla* and his allies after *Tāla* became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to *Tāla* a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of *Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta* by *Tāla*, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

Of inscription B the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in *Kannaḍa* numerals. The record, like many other grants of the *Vijayanagara* kings, is written in *Nandināgarī* characters except the sign-manual *śrī-Triyambaka* in line 68 which is in

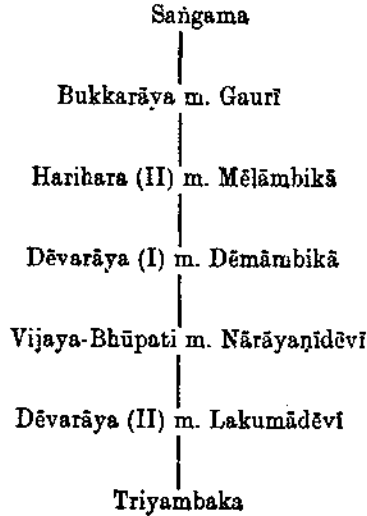
<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 56.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 55.



**Kannaḍa-Telugu** script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna<sup>1</sup> dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīsailam plates of Virūpākṣa of Śaka 1388.<sup>2</sup> The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words *śrī-Gaṇādhīpatayē namaḥ* in the beginning of l. 1 and *śrī-Triyambaka* in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of *anusvāra* or *visarga*, using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the **second known grant** of the *Yuvarāja Triyambaka*; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1925,<sup>3</sup> though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from **Saṅgama** down to Triyambaka is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu and Gaṇeśa respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant **Yadu** who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given:—



The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka's father had gone to heaven, **Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra** (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna<sup>4</sup>) became king. Verses 15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount titles of *Rājādhīrāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara* and give a list of the king's *birudas*—the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as *Yuvarāja*. This prince who was also called **Chikkoḍeya** was established (as Governor) at **Ghanādri** (*i.e.*, Penugonda) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghanādri) he granted the village of **Bommeḥālu**, renaming it as **Lakshmīpura**, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman **Māchivōkta**, son of **Vallabhōkta** of the Śuklayajuś-*ākḥā* on Monday, the full-moon day of **Kārttika** in the cyclic year **Yuva**, the **Śaka year** being **1377** which is expressed by the numerical words *dhātu* (7) *adri* (7) *guṇa* (3) and *bhū*(1). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttika in the year cited fell on Saturday, the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 98 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Ep. Car.* Vol., III, Srīngapatam 89 and Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 497.

25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sōmavāra by mistake for Saurivāra ; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this latter day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and to have mastered the science of polity (*nīti-śāstra*). The *Yuvarāja* made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at **Bhāskarakshōtra** (*i.e.*, Hampi). The donated village Bommehāḷu was situated in **Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi**, which was a sub-division of **Gutti-rājya** in the *valita* (district) of **Penugonḍa**. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka.

The donor *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11—12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of Dēvarāya. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother Mallikārjuna succeed to the throne ? The question can be answered in two ways ; one is to consider that Mallikārjuna, who ascended the throne after the death of Triyambaka's father, was the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) and Triyambaka, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to Mallikārjuna after his father's death. The second is to regard Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as sons of brothers, that is to say, Mallikārjuna belonged to the senior line and Triyambaka to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.<sup>1</sup> This raises an important issue, *viz.*, if Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were actual brothers, were they the children of Dēvarāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya ? From the use of the epithet *praudha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ* which is applied in the present grant to Dēvarāya, the father of Triyambaka, it would appear that they were the sons of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of Praudha-Pratāpa.<sup>2</sup> From the inscription under publication we learn that Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra became king after the death of Triyambaka's father who, if Triyambaka and Mallikārjuna were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers *i.e.*, Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, was the predecessor of Mallikārjuna on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1446)<sup>3</sup> might have been issued by Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is known from an inscription<sup>4</sup> to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. Abdur Razak, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of Dēvarāya II, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (Pratāpa) was killed in A.D. 1443, *i.e.*, 3 years before the death of his elder brother.<sup>5</sup> And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were the sons of Dēvarāya II this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that Dēvarāya II, the father and predecessor of Immaḍi-Praudha-Dēvēndra was also described as *praudha-pratāpa-vibhava*. This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a *biruda* both of Dēvarāya II and his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya or, that it was not a *birudā* and had no

<sup>1</sup> As it is not known from any source that Mallikārjuna was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 195.

<sup>3</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.* for 1907-08, p. 251.

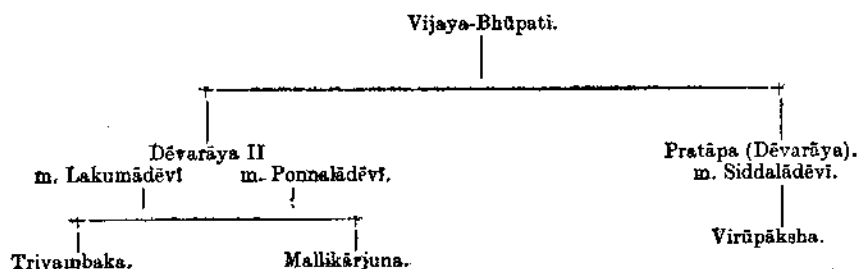
<sup>4</sup> *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921, p. 30.

<sup>5</sup> Sewell : *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 73 ff.

special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa's elder brother (*i.e.*, Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna's copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of Dēvarāya II where he is described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-prakāṣita-mahimā* or *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ*. If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri,<sup>2</sup> to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvendra (*i.e.*, Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka's father Dēvarāya after the latter's death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for sometime after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka, as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen) ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna's mother was Ponnalādēvī<sup>3</sup>; and Triyambaka's mother was Lakumādēvī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below :—



Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkoḍeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named<sup>4</sup> Pinarao who was assassinated. If we could rely upon this writer's account—in many places his statements are inaccurate—there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkoḍeya to be identical with Pinarao, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannada form Chikkoḍeya.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription it is well known that **Bhāskara-kshētra** is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village **Bommebāḷu** may be identified with Bommeparti situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. **Gutti**, after which the division Gutti-rājya was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. **Ghanādri** is the Sanskritized form of **Penugonda** which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the

<sup>1</sup> See *e.g.*, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

<sup>2</sup> *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-08, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.

<sup>4</sup> Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 303.

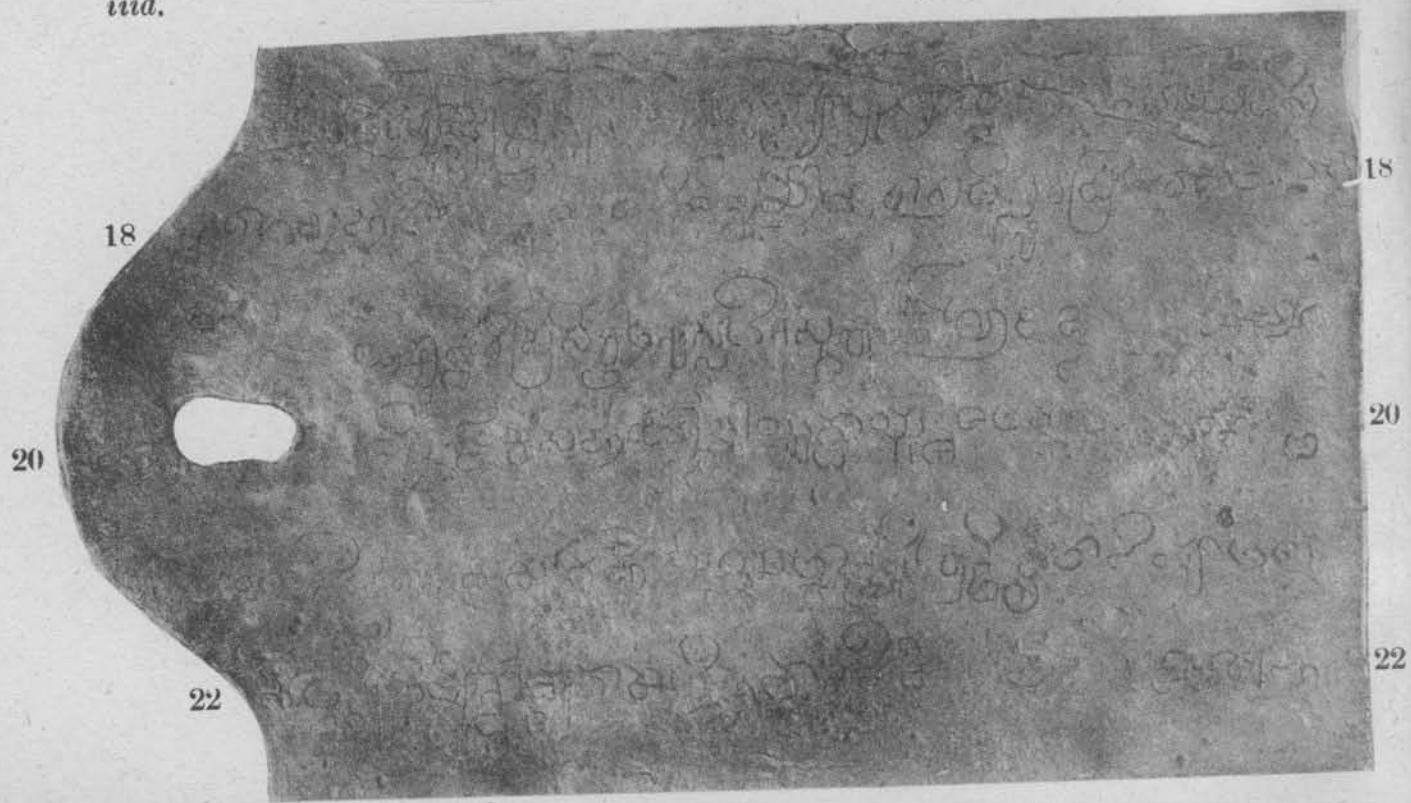


TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU.  
 A.—Incomplete grant of the Eastern Chalukya Vikramaditya (II).

*iib.*



*iii.*



time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceroyalty<sup>1</sup> and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Tālikōṭa disaster. The sub-division **Paṇḍemēru-māgaṇi** was apparently named after the stream Paṇḍamēru which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyasamudram at Anantapur.

TEXT of A.<sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>Second Plate ; First Side.

- 1 .....Tat-putrō **Jayasirṅha-vallabhas**=trayastrimśad<sup>4</sup> -va[rshāṇi] | tad-anu-  
 2 [j-Ēndra-rā\*]<sup>5</sup>jasya priya-tana[yō] **Vishṇuvarddhanō** nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō **Marṅgi-**  
 yu-  
 3 [varājah pa\*]<sup>6</sup>ñchavimśati[m\*] | tat-putrō **Jayasirṅhas**=trayōdaśa vatsarān [I\*] tad-  
 dvaimātur-ānujah  
 4 [Kōkki\*]<sup>7</sup>lih shaṇ=māsān | tasya [jyēshthō] bhrātā **Vishṇuvarddha[naḥ]** sv-ānujam=  
 ājā[v=u]-  
 5 [chchā\*]<sup>8</sup>tya saptatrimśat<sup>4</sup> | tat-tanujō **Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ** ashtā[daśa]  
 6 [varshāṇi\*] tad-aurasō **Vishṇurājah** shattrimśad-abdān<sup>9</sup> | tat-sutō **Vijayādityas-**  
 chatvārimśata  
 7 .....<sup>10</sup>[a]shṭōttara-śata-śrīman-Narēndrēśvara-kārakaḥ [I\*] tad-ātmajah [Ka]li-Vishṇu-  
 varddhanas=s-ārddha-  
 8 [samāh | tat-sutō\*] **Vijayāditya[h]** chatuschatvārimśad<sup>9</sup>-varshāṇi | tad-bhrātur-  
 yuvarājasya **Vi-**

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 9 [kramādityasya\*] tanayah **Chālukya-Bhīmas**=trimśad<sup>9</sup>-varshāṇi |<sup>10</sup> tat-sutō **Vijayādi-**  
 10 [tyah shaṇ=māsā\*]<sup>11</sup>n [<sup>10</sup>sapta-samvatsarān=ta(rāms=ta)sya sūnur=**Amma-mahīpatiḥ** [I\*]  
 Yātē Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū[bhu]  
 11 ∪ ∪ — prāpt-ābhishēkas=ta[ta]s=sūnum — ∪ vaśāt=sa — ∪ **Vijayādityarṅ** punas=  
 Tālapa[h I\*]  
 12 — — — ru-gataṁ vidhāya ba ∪ — — [bhūya] bhūmīśva[rō] bhūmim pālayati  
 13 ∪ — ∪ ∪ — tam śrutvā vachō — ∪ — [||1\*]<sup>11</sup> Āgatyā drutam=āyata-pratimukha  
 14 — — ∪ — n=uddhatān=hatvā tad-rudhirā ∪ bhīma-[ba]la — nistrimśa-bhāsvad-bhuja-  
 [h | ] tan=dagdhvā  
 15 ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪ ∪ śrīmad-**Vikramāditya**-bhūpālas=Tālapam=ēsha paṭṭam=avahach-  
 chū  
 16 — ∪ — — ∪ — [ ||2\*]<sup>11</sup> Viśāl-āvakāśam=imaṁ..... kshiti-payōrāsī[shu] kūla-śālī

<sup>1</sup> An. Rep. A. S. I., 1907-08, pp. 239 and 241.

<sup>2</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>3</sup> The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasirṅha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chālukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.

<sup>4</sup> Read \*śatam varshāśi.

<sup>5</sup> The portions enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chālukya grants.

<sup>6</sup> Read \*śatam abdāni.

<sup>7</sup> From here up to kārakaḥ the text appears to be half an *Anuśṭubh* verse.

<sup>8</sup> Read \*śatam varshāṇi.

<sup>9</sup> This punctuation mark has been engraved after erasing a superfluous sa.

<sup>10</sup> From here up to mahīpatiḥ the text seems to contain a half verse in *Anuśṭubh*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

*Third Plate; First Side.*

- 17 .....t-prabhur=adhipatēr=yyasya sarōruhāsanaḥ || [3\*]<sup>1</sup> Yad-asi  
 18 ◡ ◡ — — tv-āgādham=mahad-ripur=ambugair=vviṣati vimukhō vārām rāsīm sphurad-  
 raṇa-rāṅgataḥ | ya  
 19 ◡ ◡ vanitā-chakṣhur=vvāri-prasikta-tanus=satīn=asakṛid-akbilā jajñē — — ◡ — ◡  
 20 ◡ — ◡ — || [4\*]<sup>2</sup> Vikram-aika-sahāyō=sṣṭau yu[d\*]dhvā yuddha-śataṁ samāḥ || yuddhē  
 labdha  
 21 ◡ — rājyaṁ yaḥ kirttyā samam=agrahīt || [5\*]<sup>3</sup> Yat-kūnti-vikrānti-kṛit-ābhībhūtī la  
 22 — ◡ — — ◡ ◡ chitta-vṛitī(vṛittī); [1\*] chandrō mṛig-ārāti-ruchāv=ap=imau jātau  
 ◡ — — ◡ guhā

*Third Plate; Second Side.*

- 23 ◡ — — || [6\*]<sup>4</sup> [A]panudati parēshāṁ rāga-mō[hau ya]dīyō [di]śati cha karavāla  
 24 — ◡ — — ◡ — — | chirayati samagraṁ bbūri-sāmsāra-mōhan=Nara iva  
 25 [bhu ?]vi siddhō lōka-vikhyāta-kirttiḥ || [7\*]<sup>5</sup> Sa samastabhuvanāśraya-śri-  
 26 [Vi]kramāditya-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra-  
 27 [ka-pa]ramabrahmaṇyaḥ Kaṇḍōrvvāḍi-vishaya-nivāsīnō rāshtrakūta-pramukhā-  
 28 [n=kuṭumbinas=sa]rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati viditam=astu {.....mādityā..\*}

TEXT of B.<sup>7</sup>

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3-35 *Anuṣṭubh*, v. 2 *Sragdhārā*, v. 36 *Śālīnī*.]

*First Plate.*

- 1 Śrī-Geṇādhipatayē namaḥ | Avyād=vaḥ prathamah Pautri(Pōtri) sarasā-  
 2 m=udvahan=rasā[m 1\*] priy-āṅga-saṅga-saṁjāta-śā(sā)ndra-śvē(svē)d-ōdayām=i-  
 3 vaḥ(iva) |[1 1\*] Rīmga[n\*]n=utsaṅga-ratāṅē nija-radana-dīyā(dhiyā) Saṁ(Saṁ)karaḥ  
 4 s-ōttamāṅgād=a(ā)karahan(nn)=indu-lōkhām pitari gata-rada-stēyam=  
 5 ārōpayānī=chaḥ(cha) [1\*] mātuḥ prōtsāhayaṁtyā smita-śuchi-vadanaṁ vikshamā-  
 6 ṇa(ṇaḥ) sa-hāsam bālō vāskalya(vātsalya)-bhūmiḥ kalayatu muditō maṁ-  
 7 galānyakadantaḥ(lāny=Ēkadantaḥ) |[1 2\*] Asti kaustubha-kalpadru-kāmadhēnu-sahōdarā-  
 (raḥ) [1\*]  
 8 Ramānuja[h\*] Sudhānāthaḥ kshīra-sāgara-sambhavaḥ |[1 3\*] Udabhūd=anvayē ta-  
 9 sya **Yadu**-nāmā mahīpatih | pālitaṁ yat-kulinīna(nēna) Vasudēvēna bhū-  
 10 tāraṁ(lam) |[1 4\*] Abhūd=asya kulē śrīmān=abham[gura\*]-guṇ-ōdayaḥ | apāsta-durit-ā-  
 11 saṅga[s\*]=**Saṅgamō** nāma bhūpatih |[1 5\*] Dik-karīdra(ndra)-du(dhu)r-ādhāra-dakṣhiṇa-  
 12 skandha-bandhuraḥ | **Bukkarāya**[s\*]=tataḥ śrīmān=āsīd=āhava-ka-  
 13 rkasah(śah) |[1 6\*] Ahina-bhōga-saṁ(saṁ)saktir=asau rāja-śikhā-  
 14 maṇiḥ | gōptā **Harīharaṁ Gauryaṁ** kumāram=udapā-  
 15 dayat |[1 7\*] Sishṭām(Śiṣṭān) saṁra[ksba\*]tō yasya dusṭān=api pi(ni)gri-  
 16 ṇataḥ | labdh-ārthair=vidushā[m\*] sārthai[ś\*]=ślāghyām(ghyā) Hā(Ha)ri-

<sup>1</sup> Metro may be *Aryā*.<sup>2</sup> Metro: *Harīnī*.<sup>3</sup> Metro: *Anuṣṭubh*.<sup>4</sup> Metro: *Indravajrā*.<sup>5</sup> Metro: *Mālinī*.<sup>6</sup> The continuation is missing.<sup>7</sup> From the original plates and ink-impressions.

- 17 Har-ātmatā || 8\*] Tasya **Mēlāmbikā**-jānēs=tanayō vina-  
 18 y-ōnnataḥ || ( ) Pratāpa-**Dēvarāy**-ākhyā[h\*] putra[s\*]=Sutrāma-  
 19 vikramaḥ || 9\*] Tasya **Dēmāmbikā**-jānēs=ta[na\*]yō [vīuay-ō\*]na(ōnnataḥ |  
 20 vidyā-vinaya-vijñāna-nidhir=**Vijaya**-bhūpati[h || 10\*]  
 21 Tasya [**Nā**]rāyanīdēvyā[m\*] prādūrāsīd=[d\*]urāsada[h\*] | prau-  
 22 ḍha-pratā[pa\*]-vibhavō **Dēvarāya**-mahīpatiḥ || 11\*] Tasya śrī-  
 23 **Lakumādēvī** bhāryv=ābhūd=bhūpā(pa)tēḥ priyā [l\*] Lakshmīr=iva Murā-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 24 rātō[h\*] Pārvat=iva Pināki[naḥ] || 12\*] Tayō[h\*] prāchīna-puṇyānām  
 25 paripāka-viśēsbataḥ | tasyā[m\*] **Triyambaka**[s\*]=sākshāt=kumārāḥ sa-  
 26 majāyata || 13\*] Bhuvanā hitvā divanā yātē tātē tasya mahātmani |  
 27 **Im(I)mmaḍi**-**Prauḍha**-**Dēvēndrō** rāj=ābhūj=jagatīpatiḥ || 14\*] Rājādhi-  
 28 rājas=tējasvī yō rājaparamēśvaraḥ [l\*] bhāsh-ōllamghī-mahīpāla-  
 29 bhujanīgama-vihāṅgarāt || 15\*] Vairi-bhūpati-vētaṅḍa-chaṅḍa-  
 30 khaṅḍana-kēsari | gaj-augha-gaṅḍabhērūṅḍō gajēdra(ndra)-mṛi-  
 31 gayā-rata[h\*] || 16\*] Tri-rāja-bhujag-ōnnaddha-para-rāja-bhavanā-  
 32 karaḥ | Hī[m\*]du-rāya-suratrāṇa ity-ādi-bhi(bi)rud-ōnnataḥ || 17\*]  
 33 Jyāyā[m\*]sam bhrātarānī rājā Triyambaka-mahīpati[m](tim) | prada-  
 34 rsa(rsa)ya[m\*]ś=cha saubhrātraṇī yauvarājyē=bhīśēsa(shēcha)yan || 18\*] Śrīma  
 35 ch=**Chikkoḍey**=ākhyāṅ cha **Ghanādrau** sthāpan-ātaram(āntaram) | ēvaṅ  
 36 bhrātrā pradattē tu rājyē Chikkoḍahō(Chikkoḍeyō) balī || 19\*] sva-rājya[m\*]  
 37 pālavan=atrarū(atra) dīvyati śrī-Triyambakaḥ ||-|| ( ) Śāli-  
 38 vāhana-nirṇīta-Śa[ka\*]-varsha-kram-āgatē || 20\*] **Dhāt**v-adi(adri)-**gupa**-  
 39 **bhū**-yuktē **Śak**-ābdō **Yuva**-vatsarē | **Kārttikyār** su(śu)kla-pa-  
 40 **kshē** cha **pūrṇamyā**(pimā)yā[m\*] mahā-tithau || 21\*] **Sōma**-vārō<sup>1</sup> puṇya-  
 41 kāl-ōdayē tathā | pavitrē **Bhāskarakhētrē** śrī-Tri-  
 42 yambaka-sannidhau || 22\*] **Penugorṅḍ**-ākhyā-valitē **Gutti**-rā-  
 43 jyē samanvagē(nvitē) || ( ) **Parṅḍemērū**-māganau cha sthitām(tam) bādhā-  
 44 vivarjitām(tam) || 23\*] **Bommōhālu**-nāmānāṅ grāmaṅ hi sarva-  
 45 sasyakāṅ | Gururāyasya hōbaḥyā vaṅcha chāru svākṛitām<sup>2</sup> || [24\*] Nidhi-ni

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 46 kshēpa-vāry-as(ś)ma-siddha-sā[dhy-ā]kshīṅ=īti cba | āgām=ity=a-  
 47 shta-bhōg-āḍhyāṅ tēja-svāmāya-samanvitām(tam) || 25\*] **Kuly**-ārām-ādi-  
 48 samyuktāṅ samasta-balī(li)-samīyutām(tam) | agrahāram=īmaṅ sarvaṅ  
 49 mānyam=ā-chaṅdra-tāraḥ(kam) || 26\*] Sa-hirany-ōdaka[m\*]dā-  
 50 na[m\*]dhārā-pūrvaṅ yathā-vidhi | nityāṅ Lakshmīpuram  
 51 ch=ēti mātur-nāmnā vidhāya cha | [ 27\*] - - -  
 52 Śukla-yajuh-śākhā-pāram-gatas=tathā<sup>1</sup> | Vallabhōkt-ā-  
 53 tmajō vidvān Māchivōktō dvij-ōttamaḥ || 28\*] **Vēda**-śā-  
 54 stra-praviṇas=cha nīti-śāstra-parāyaṅḥ | par-ō-  
 55 pakāra-kuśalaḥ Śiva-pūjā-paras=tathā || 29\*] **Natvā** ta-

<sup>1</sup> Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this *Anuṣṭubh* verse.<sup>2</sup> The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendation.



- 56 smai dvij-ēdrā(ndrā)ya bbōkṭum dātum yath=ēpsayā | sa prādādd=yu.  
 57 varāj-ākhyas=Triyāmbakā(ka)-mahipatiḥ || 30\*] Brāhmaṇaḥ sa cha sām-  
 58 ḥṣiṣṭaḥ putra-pautra-samanvitaḥ | rājānam=āsīṣhaṁ cha-  
 59 krē śchi(chi)rañjivī bhavatv=iti ||| 31\*]

*Third Plate.*

- 60 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasum̄dharām(rām) | śam̄sbṭir<sup>1</sup>=varsha-sa-  
 61 hasraṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatē krimiḥ || 32\*] Sva-datvā(dattād=)dviguṇam̄ puṇyam̄ paṁ  
 (pa)-  
 62 ra-datt-ānupālanam̄(nē) | para-datt-āpāhūrēṇa sva-dattām̄ niśphalam̄ bha-  
 63 vēt || 33\*] Ek=aiva bhagini lōkē sarvēśā(shā)m=ēva bhūbhujām̄(jām̄)[1\*] na bhōjyā na ka-  
 64 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasum̄dharā || 34\*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chhrē-  
 65 yō=nupālanam̄(nam) | dānāt=svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutam̄ padam̄(dam) || 35\*]  
 66 Sāmānyō=yam̄ dharmā-sētu[r\*]=nṛipāṇām̄ kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [1\*]  
 67 sarvām=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārhiv-ēmdrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmācham̄[draḥ] || 36\*]  
 68 śrl-Triyāmbaka

No. 20.—SANTA-BOMMALI PLATES OF INDRAVARMAN : [GANGA] YEAR 87.

By R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALCUTTA.

The copper-plates, which bear the subjoined inscription, were secured in 1925 from a farmer of the village of **Sānta-Bōmmāli** in the Ganjām District by Mr. Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadev, M.R.A.S., Rājā Bāhādur of Tēkkali, in whose ownership they now lie. The inscription seems to have been first published in the *Utkala Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā* of Cuttack, Vol. XXXI, which is not accessible to me. It was next dealt with by its present owner in the *Journ. of the Andhra Hist. Res. Society* (Vol. IV, pp. 21 ff. and plate). His introduction to and reading of the text of the inscription, however, having contained a number of inaccuracies, I take this opportunity to publish a revised edition. The present treatment is based on a reproduction of the plates accompanying the Rājā Bāhādur's paper referred to above.

The plates are three in number and measure<sup>2</sup> 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The first and the third plates bear writing on their inner faces only, while the second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a perfect state of preservation. Towards the proper right end of each plate there is a hole for a ring of 2 $\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter to connect them. The seal,<sup>3</sup> on which the ends of the ring are secured, measures about 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ " and on it is said to be engraved the figure of a (couchant ?) bull. The weight of the plates together with the ring is 52 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are almost of the same type as is found in the Achyutapuram plates<sup>4</sup> (Year 87) and the Parlā-Kimēḍi (Year 91)

<sup>1</sup> Read *śaśṭim varsha-*.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 21. I have not had any opportunity to verify this and the following information in this paragraph from the original plates. This record has also been noticed in *Ann. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1925-26, p. 10, Appendix A, No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> No shape of the seal is given; perhaps it is of the usual small oval shape.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 127 ff.

plates<sup>1</sup> of Indravarman. They have also a general resemblance to the script of the stray Tirlingi plate<sup>2</sup> (Year 28 ?) as well as to that of the Narasingapali<sup>3</sup> (Year 79) and Urlam<sup>4</sup> (Year 80) plates of Hastivarman.

The numerical symbols 80, 7 and 30 occur in line 23.

As in the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates, the heads of the letters have in many places an imperfect and disjointed appearance, as if they had been partially worn away by rust. But as observed by Dr. Fleet,<sup>1</sup> this is due, wherever it occurs, to faulty execution on the part of the engraver, in omitting sometimes to complete the *mātrās* and sometimes even to commence them at all. Otherwise, the engraving is fairly clearly done. There are six lines inscribed on each plate, the whole inscription containing twenty-four lines in all.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of three customary verses (ll. 19-23) and one concluding verse (l. 24), the inscription is written in prose throughout.

In respect of **orthography**, we have to notice (1) the use of the guttural nasal (*ṅ*) before *h* in °*siṅha*, line 24, (2) the substitution of *anusvāra* by the class nasal of the following consonant in *āyan-dāna*, l. 18, (3) the doubling of *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* in *-ānuddhyātaḥ*, l. 7, (4) the frequent doubling of consonants after *r*, (5) the occasional doubling of consonants before *r* and (6) the use of *anusvāra* in place of the final form of *m* in *phalam* (l. 20) and *-nupālanam* (l. 21). The letters *b* and *v* are indicated by separate signs, the solitary exception being in *parivādhā* (l. 14). The rules of *sandhi* are observed throughout except in lines 5 and 17.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the gift of three *halas* of land towards meeting the expenses of offering regular worship and repairing the temple of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka in Dantayavāgū. Of these two *halas* lay in the village of Haribhaṭa in the district of Krōṣṭukavarttanī and the third at Dantayavāgū itself. The gift was made into a permanent free-hold *dēvāgrahāra* by Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha, who is described as belonging to the spotless family of the Gāngas.

The **date** of the inscription is given, in figures only, as the years of the prosperous victorious reign (*pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁvatsarāḥ*) 80 7 ; (*the month*) Jyēṣṭha : the day 30 (l. 23).

The charter was written by **Vinayachandra**, the son of Bhānuchandra (l. 24).

We have had as yet three published records of the reign of Indravarman, *alias* Rājasimha : they are (1) the Achyutapuram plates of the Year 87, (2) the Parlā-Kimēḍi plates of the Year 91, and (3) the record under discussion.

Another single plate from Tirlingi (in the Ganjām District), apparently the last of a set, bears an inscription which is dated, according to Mr. S. N. Rajaguru<sup>2</sup>, in the year 28 of the Gānga era. The writer (and engraver) of this stray plate describes himself as

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff. For a lithograph of the plates Dr. Fleet refers us to his *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 18. The plates are preserved in the Madras Museum. This work of Dr. Fleet does not seem to have been eventually published.

<sup>2</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

Vinayachandra, the son of Bhānuchandra, who has been taken by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>1</sup> to be the namesake of the writer of the three records of Indravarman-Rājasimha mentioned above. Proceeding from this conjecture, Dr. Bhandarkar suggests<sup>2</sup> that the word read by Mr. Rajaguru as denoting twenty-eight may actually be read as eighty-eight, thus satisfactorily adjusting the date of the plate within the reign of Indravarman of the present record. The reading of the date on this plate has also been doubted by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.<sup>3</sup> The reproduction of the plate in question accompanying Mr. Rajaguru's paper<sup>4</sup> is unfortunately too obscure to admit of verification on this point. What little however remains does not seem to support the reading *ashthaśitas* . . . . = *asya* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar.<sup>5</sup>

Of the localities mentioned, Kalinganagara has been variously identified with modern Kalingapatam<sup>6</sup> at the mouth of the Varṇasadhara river or with Mukhalingam near Chicacole. The Krōśhtukavarttanī (*vishaya*) is mentioned in a number of early and later Gāṅga records.<sup>7</sup> It has been identified by Dr. E. Hultzsch<sup>8</sup> with modern Chicacole. A district (*bhōga*) called Dantayavāgu (really *vāgū*) is mentioned in the Bṛihatprōshthā grant of Umavarman (above, Vol. XII. p. 5. l. 5). But I am unable to identify both this village and that of Haribhata.

Vinayachandra, the writer of the present record, was also responsible for preparing the draft of the two inscriptions of Hastivarman and two of Indravarman<sup>9</sup> mentioned above.

The *birada* Rājasimha applied to Indravarman in the present record, also occurs in the Narsingapalli and Urlam plates of Hastivarman and also in the Achyutapuram and Parlā-Kimēdi plates of Indravarman.

The date of our inscription can be ascertained only very approximately. If, as is held by Prof. R. Subba Rao,<sup>10</sup> the epoch of the Gāṅga era began from 494 A.D., the date of our record would fall at  $494 + 87 = 581$  A.D. Without caring however to arrive at any one particular year, we would not be far wrong if we placed our record in the period 570-625 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 285, f. n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 2047.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63, f. n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> In any case, it begins with *ashā*. Of the two letters following, the second appears to be a ligature most probably with a guttural nasal (*ṅ*); while the preceding one has a clear medial *i* sign. The arguments advanced by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-83) for doubting the genuineness of this stray plate do not appear to be conclusive. His reading of the date *sitya=ashtha(ṅ)itī* also is not borne out by the plate; for, the conjunct (read by Mr. Rajaguru as *eya* being a possessive case-ending) coming immediately after *samvatsara* cannot possibly be broken up into *si* and *tya*.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 132.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., Urlam pls. (Yr. 80) of Hastivarman, Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.; Chicacole pls. (Yr. 183) of Dēvendravarman, Above, Vol. III, pp. 131 ff.; Parlā-Kimēdi pls. (Yr. 204) of Anantavarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff., etc.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 332 ff.

<sup>9</sup> He was also probably the same as the writer and engraver of the stray Tirlingi grant (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) the donor of which must remain, pending the discovery of the remaining plates of the set, a mysterious personality. Prof. R. Subba Rao however suggests (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 71) that the donor may be identified with Mitravarman, father of Indrādhirāja, mentioned in the Gōdāvari plates of Prithivimūla (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 118 ff. and pls.). This Indrādhirāja has further been held by Dr. Bhandarkar (*List*, p. 266, No. 1904 and f. n. 1) to be identical with Indravarman of the Jirjingi pls. of the Gāṅga Year 39 (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 61 ff.).

<sup>10</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 267-76.



- 22 Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi mōdatē divi bhūmidāḥ [1\*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva  
 23 narakē vasēd=iti<sup>1</sup> | pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarāḥ 80 7 Jyēshṭha-divasa  
 30<sup>2</sup> [1\*]  
 24 \*Idam Vinayachandrēṇa Bhānuchandrasya sūnūnā [1\*] śāsanam Rājasinhasya<sup>3</sup> likhi-  
 tam sva-mukh=ājñayā [4\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ōm Hail! From the victorious (*city of*) **Kaliṅganagara**, which is pleasant in all seasons, the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarman<sup>4</sup>** . . . . . addresses (*the following*) order to all the householders *en masse* at the village of **Haribhaṭa** in (*the district of*) **Krōshṭukavarttani** :

“ Be it known to you that We have granted, after portioning it off, and on being informed by Talavaradēva,<sup>5</sup> the *Bhōgika*,<sup>6</sup> and for increasing the religious merit of (*Our*) parents and of Ourselves, two *halas*<sup>7</sup> of land in this village for the sake of performing (*rites known as*) *bali*, *charu* and *sattra*, and for the repairs of dilapidations (*of the temple*) of god Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka (*situated*) in (*the village called*) **Dantayavāgū** and (*in addition to that*) another *hala* of land in (*the same*) **Dantayavāgū**, having constituted it as an *agrahāra* for god (Rāmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka) which is to last as long as the moon and the sun, and having exempted it from all impositions.

Having known this, nobody should cause any hindrance ”.

(Ll. 15-18) The boundary marks of the land (*granted*) in (*the village of*) **Haribhaṭa** are as follows :—On the north, the storm-water channel of the tank (*called*) *Kshatriya-taṭāka* ; on the east, an *arjuna* tree, after that a row of ant-hills, then up to the artificial line of heaped-up stones, then a *nimba* tree ; on the south, the same channel of that tank (*Kshatriya-taṭāka*) ; on the west, a well, then the twin *arjuna* trees, then the royal road.

(Ll. 18-23) The future kings should maintain this religious gift. And likewise the verses sung by Vyāsa are quoted :—

(Here come three of the customary verses.)

(Ll. 23-24) The **year 87** of the prosperous victorious reign ; (*the month*) **Jyēshṭha**, the **day 30**.

This edict (*śāsana*) of **Rājasinha** has been written at the command of his (*the king's*) own mouth, by **Vinayachandra**, the son of **Bhānuchandra**.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read *vasēt* [3\*] *iti*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*).

<sup>3</sup> For a translation of the long string of epithets that follows see above, Vol. III, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Taravara* as an official title (*Mahāprathāra-Taravara-Vinayaśūrasya*) occurs on a Basarh seal (*An. Rep., A. S. I., 1903-4, p. 109, No. 16*). *Mahātalaravari* (along with its feminine *Mahātalaravi*) in the sense of a high dignitary with indefinite function is frequently mentioned in inscriptions of Ikshvāku kings from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (above, Vol. XX, pp. 6-7 and f. n. 1).

In the present instance also *Talavaradēva-Bhōgika* (or *Talavara-dēvabhōgika*?) seems to have been used as the title of an officer who did the dual function of a *talavara* and a *bhōgika*.

<sup>5</sup> For the explanation of the term *Bhōgika*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64. Also *C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 100, n. 1*.

<sup>6</sup> In explaining the technical word *kula*, in *Manu*, VII, 119, Kulluka observes thus : *shadgavam madhyamam kalam=iti tathāvidha-haladvayēna yāvati bhūmiv=vāhyatē tat=kulam=iti vadati*. Here the connotation of *hala* is not clear. In any case, *hala* appears to be a recognised kind of land-measure.

<sup>7</sup> I am grateful to my revered teacher Dr. R. G. Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Calcutta, for kindly suggesting a number of corrections in my interpretation of the text of the inscription.

## No. 21.—PURSHOTTAMPURI PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA : SAKA 1232.

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

These plates were brought to my notice by Mr. E. M. Bhusari, M.A., Professor of Marāthī, in the Osmania College, Hyderābād (Deccan). At my request Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, supplied me with excellent ink-impressions of them. The original plates were kindly procured by Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E., Director of Archæology, Hyderābād State, and their ink-impressions taken by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. I am indebted to Mr. Yazdani for permission to edit the plates in this Journal.

The copper-plates, which are three in number, were discovered in the possession of a Gōsāvī at Purshōttampuri on the southern bank of the Gōdāvāri, about 40 miles due west of Parbhāṇi, in the Bhīr District of H. E. H. the Nizām's Dominions. They are very massive, each measuring 1' 2½" broad, 1' 8" high and ¾" thick. Their total weight is 47·25 lbs.<sup>1</sup> The ends of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of the writing. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. The plates have in the centre at the top a round hole 1½" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held them together; but neither the ring nor the seal, which must have been connected with it<sup>2</sup>, is now forthcoming. The writing is in a state of excellent preservation. There are 141 lines in all, of which thirty-four are written on each of the first two inscribed sides, thirty-eight on the second side of the second plate, while the last plate has thirty-five lines. The technical execution is very good, there being few mistakes of writing or engraving. In line 51 two redundant *aksharas* have been cancelled by incising two vertical strokes on the top.

The characters are Nāgarī. Except in a few cases they closely resemble the ordinary Nāgarī characters of the present time. The only peculiarities that call for notice are that the curve for the medial *u* is in some cases added to the side and not to the bottom of the vertical stroke, see *Vishnu-*, l. 81 and *-achyutam*, l. 137; the medial diphthongs are in many cases denoted by *prish-ṭhamātrās*; the subscript member of the ligature *gg* like that of *nn* is denoted only by a horizontal stroke, see *svarggam-*, l. 136; *ñ* appears with a dot in one case and without it in another, see *Sārīga-* in ll. 2-3 and 30; the form of the rare *jh* in *Vimjhadēva*, l. 105, is noteworthy; the letters *n* and *ñ* approximate to their modern forms, see *ramaṇa-*, l. 2 and *yajñair-*, l. 124; the letters *t* and *n*, *th* and *dh* as well as *v* and *ch* are in some places written alike; the left member of *dh* is fully developed except in ligatures like *ddh*; there was thus no possibility of confusion between *dhā* and *vā*, still the horizontal line joining the vertical strokes of the former *akshara* is not discarded, see *nī-dhānam*, l. 2; finally, *v* and *b* are denoted by their proper signs except in *vrahma-sv-*, l. 133.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is written partly in prose and partly in verse. There are 59 verses in all. Of the initial 18 verses which eulogize the reigning king Rāmachandra and his ancestors, one completely and another partly<sup>3</sup> occur in the earlier Paīṭhan plates of the same king. It is again noteworthy that in the concluding portion, which contains benedictive and imprecatory verses, there is one verse which is only a hemistich, and another, which is an *Anuśh-*

<sup>1</sup> In their size and weight the present plates resemble the Paīṭhan plates of the same king Rāmachandra edited by Dr. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 314 ff. Of the three plates here the first weighs 18 lbs., the second 14·25 lbs. and the third 15 lbs.

<sup>2</sup> The aforementioned Paīṭhan plates have a Garuda seal.

<sup>3</sup> These are verses 4 and 13. The second half of the latter verse occurs as the first half of the corresponding verse in line 46 of the Paīṭhan plates.

*ṭubh* verse of six *pādas*. The inscription is composed in a good style and contains an interesting use of *double entendre* in several verses of the eulogistic portion. Of **lexicographical interest** are the old Marāṭhī words, *phulabaḍḍū* and *ḷōṣi* (modern *Jōṣi*). The former which is the title of a royal functionary<sup>1</sup> occurs also in an old Marāṭhī work of the same age, *viz.*, the *Sisupāluwadha* (v. 51) of Bhāskarabhaṭṭa. The nasalisation of the final syllable in the Marāṭhī names of villages is also noteworthy. As regards **orthography** we may note that *kh* is used for *sh* as in *pari-tōkhēṇa*, l. 41 and *vice versa* as in *ratna-shanyaḷ*, l. 48. The dental and palatal sibilants are used each in its proper place except in a few cases such as *sprisyatē*, l. 25. The letters *v* and *b* are almost everywhere clearly distinguished. In one case (namely, in *Mahādēopurī*, l. 116), *va* is changed to *ō* as in old Marāṭhī works. The rules of *sandhi* are violated in several places, the most common instance being the addition of an *anusvāra* before final *n* as in *ullāsayanu=*, l. 12, *uddharanu=*, l. 18, etc.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Rāmachandra of the Later Yādava dynasty. The object of it is to record the grant, by Rāmachandra, of some villages to his minister Purushōttama *alias* Purushai Nāyaka, for the formation of an *agrahāra* and the donation, by Purushōttama, of the *agrahāra* which he named Purushōttamapurī after himself, to certain Brāhmaṇas. The *agrahāra* consisted of the four villages, Pōkharī, Aḍagau<sup>2</sup>, Vāghaurē and Kurupapāragau, which were situated in the Kānhairī-*khaṇṇapāka* (subdivision) of the Kānhairī-dēsa. The first three of these villages had three hamlets (*khēṭakas*) attached to each of them, *viz.*, Sāēgāhvāṇa, Pimpalagāhvāṇa, Pālipōkhari, Pimpalavāḍi, Kājalakōvi, Sōijapē, Sīmpivihirē, Gōlēgāhvāṇa and Dhāravāghaurē. The *agrahāra* was bounded on the east by Dāṇḍigau, and Sādulē, on the south by Kēsavapurī, Sāvarigavā and Harikinibagau, on the west by Rājagau, Hivarē, Chinchavali and Mahādēvapurī joined to Drugalēgāhvāṇa and on the north by the Gaṅgā. The land of these villages was divided into 86 parts (*ṽṛittis*<sup>3</sup>) of which two were assigned to two gods, whose names have not been specified, one was set apart to provide for the annual performance of the *agnishikā* rite<sup>4</sup> and the maintenance of a charitable water-shed (*prapā*)<sup>5</sup>, while the remaining 83 parts were donated to 83 Brāhmaṇas, one being assigned to each. The names of the donees and their fathers together with such details as their *sākhās* and *gōtras* are given in lines 80-114. Of the eighty-three Brāhmaṇa beneficiaries, fifty-seven belonged to the Ṛigvēda, twenty-one to the Taittirīya-*sākhā* of the Black Yajurveda, one to the Kāṇva and one to the Mādhyandina-*sākhā* of the White Yajurveda and the remaining three to the Sāmavēda. Among the *gōtras* the following are represented :—Kāsyapa, Bhāradvāja, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa, Vasishṭha, Vishṇuvṛiddha, Kauśika,

<sup>1</sup> *Phulabaḍḍū* means the Superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. See v. 25.

<sup>2</sup> I have not nasalized the final vowel of this and other place-names.

<sup>3</sup> That *ṽṛitti* meant an actual plot of land, not a share of the produce, is clear from the Chaujē inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 281) where in line 11 some *ṽṛittis* are mentioned as defining the boundaries of the donated land.

<sup>4</sup> The *agnishikā* rite is performed in the cold seasons of Hēmanṭa and Śīsira. It consists in the kindling of fire with the recitation of appropriate *mantras* and the feeding of Brāhmaṇas and supplicants every morning and evening, commencing from an auspicious day in the month of Mārgaśrīsha. It is believed to yield great religious reward in the next world as the fire is enjoyed by the people who sit round it in the cold seasons and talk on all sorts of matters, political, religious and social. For a description of the rite, see Hēmadri's *Dānakhaṇḍa, prakaraṇa* xiii (*Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, ed. by Pandit Sadāśiv Achārya Dikshīt, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 859 ff.) The *Līlā-charitra*, a Mahānubhāva work of the Yādava period, mentions the *agnishikā* fire at Pimpalagaon not far from Dēvagiri, which was visited by Chakradhara, the founder of the Mahānubhāva sect.

<sup>5</sup> The *prapā* is a charitable water-shed maintained usually in summer, where thirsty travellers and cattle get free drinking water.

Agastya, Viśvāmitra, Kaunḍinya, Harita, First Ātrēya,<sup>1</sup> Vishṇuvṛiddha-Āṅgīrasa, Vādhryaśva, Gautama, Naidhruva, Dēvarāta, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Kapi, Gārgya, Pūtimāsha, Śrīvatsa and Lōhita. Unlike some other Yādava inscriptions such as the Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi plates of the time of Kṛishṇa<sup>2</sup> and the Paiṭhan plates of Rāmachandra, the present record does not, except in four cases, mention the family names of the Brāhmaṇa donees and it is noteworthy that at least three of these four family names, viz., Mīśra, Dubē and Trivēdi, are of North-Indian Brāhmaṇas.

The inscription contains **two dates**, one in lines 33-34 and the other in lines 72-73. Both of them refer themselves to the Śaka era and are expressed in years which are said to have elapsed since the time of a Śaka king.<sup>3</sup> It is noteworthy that there is no reference in them to the king Śālivāhana as the founder of the era. This manner of mentioning the era confirms Dr. Fleet's suspicion that the date of the Thāṇā plates of Rāmachandra also, of which the original plates are lost, did not probably contain any reference to this legendary king<sup>4</sup>. The earliest inscriptions which mention this king's name in connection with the dates of the Śaka era are those of the king Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara, as has already been pointed out by Dr. Fleet.

The **earlier of the two dates** mentioned in the present inscription, which records the grant of the aforementioned four villages by Rāmachandra is **Saturday, the 11th tithi of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of Śaka 1232**, the cyclic year being Sādhāraṇa. This date regularly corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 1232, to the 5th September A. D. 1310, on which day the aforementioned tithi ended at 11 h. after mean sunrise. The cyclic year was Sādhāraṇa according to the southern luni-solar system. The **second date** which registers the donation of the *agrahāra* of the same four villages by the minister Purushōttama is mentioned as *Kapilashashthi* in the month of **Bhādrapada in Śaka 1232** and the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa. The fortnight and the week-day are not expressly stated in this case. They are, however, implied by the mention of the *Kapilashashthi*; for it is well known that the latter name is given to the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada when it falls on a Tuesday and is joined with the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta. It is regarded as particularly auspicious if the sun is besides in the *nakshatra* Hasta<sup>5</sup>. This date also is quite regular. It corresponds, for the same expired Śaka year 1232, to Tuesday, the 15th September A.D. 1310, when the sixth tithi of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Bhādrapada ended at 12 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. This tithi was *Kapilashashthi*; for on that day the moon was in the constellation Rōhiṇī till 3 h. 20 m. and the *yōga* Vyatīpāta ended at 12 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise<sup>6</sup>. The sun also was then in Hasta; for it had entered that *nakshatra* only a week before, viz., at 18 h. 8 m. after mean sunrise on the 8th September A.D. 1310. The inscription states that Rāmachandra had asked Purushōttama several times before to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself. The latter was evidently awaiting the tithi *Kapilashashthi*, a grant made on which is regarded as specially meritorious. He finally made the grant on the aforementioned day when the rare combination of the particular tithi, week-day, *nakshatras* and *yōga* necessary for a *Kapilashashthi* occurred in the early hours of the morning.

<sup>1</sup> There are four *ganās* in the Atri *gōtra* which differ from one another only in respect of the third *pravara*. The *pravaras* of the first Ātrēya *gōtra* are Ātrēya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvāśva.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The same manner of mentioning the date is met with in the earlier Rāshtrakūṭa grants, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

<sup>6</sup> For calculations of the *yōga* I have used the tables for the *Sūrya Siddhānta* in Diwan Bahadur S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. i.



Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the grant, we shall now turn to the historical information furnished by it.

The genealogy of the reigning king Rāmachandra is here traced from **Simha** (Simhaṇa). Verse 4 states that Simhaṇa defeated **Ballāla** and the lord of **Bhambhāgiri**, imprisoned the king **Bhōja** on the crest of a fortress and vanquished **Arjuna**. These exploits of Simhaṇa are enumerated in other records also. In fact the aforementioned verse was already known from the **Paīṭhan** plates of Rāmachandra. Most of the kings mentioned in it have already been identified by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet in their respective works.<sup>1</sup> Still there are a few more details about them which can now be gathered from records which have recently come to light.

**Ballāla** defeated by Simhaṇa was evidently the Hoysala king **Vira-Ballāla II**, who flourished from circa A.D. 1173 to A.D. 1220<sup>2</sup>. The war in which he suffered a defeat seems, therefore, to have been fought in the beginning of Simhaṇa's reign (circa A.D. 1210 to 1247). **Hēmādri's Vratakhanda** gives credit to Simhaṇa for the annexation of the entire kingdom of **Ballāla**. This is no doubt an exaggeration; but as Fleet has shown, Simhaṇa seems to have annexed some territory to the south of the **Malaprabhā** and the **Kṛishṇā** which formed the southern boundary of the **Yādava** kingdom during the reigns of his predecessors **Bhīllama** and **Jaitugi**. The **Āndhra king** defeated by Simhaṇa was probably **Gaṇapati** of the **Kākatīya** dynasty who had been released from imprisonment and placed on the throne by Simhaṇa's father **Jaitugi**<sup>3</sup>. The battle does not appear to have been decisive; for **Gaṇapati** also claimed success over his **Yādava** antagonist<sup>4</sup>. No definite information about the third king **Kakkalla** overthrown by Simhaṇa was available until recently. Dr. Bhandarkar suggested that he belonged to the **Kalachuri** dynasty of **Tripuri**; for some kings of that dynasty were known to have assumed the analogous name **Kōkkalla**.<sup>5</sup> From a stone inscription recently found at the village **Uddari** in the **Sorab tālukā** of the **Shimogā District** in the **Mysore State**,<sup>6</sup> it seems however that this **Kakkalla** (who is called **Kākala** in that record) was a mighty ruler of **Varāṭa**. **Varāṭa** is mentioned in several southern inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> The **Hoysala king Vishṇuvardhana** is said to have dispersed like a gale the clouds which were the **Varāṭa kings**.<sup>8</sup> The exact location of the country is not known, but it seems that it was situated somewhere in **South India**, probably to the north of the **Mysore State**.

<sup>1</sup> See *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii), pp. 239 ff. and *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (*ibid.*), pp. 522 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See *Sewell's Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 316. Some inscriptions describe Simhaṇa as the uprooter of the water-lily that was the head of the **Tēlānga king** (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524 and *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 142). But a similar exploit is mentioned in connection with **Mahādēva** also. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 194. So it is doubtful if Simhaṇa really killed a **Kākatīya king**. Perhaps he fought in the war in which his father **Jaitugi** is said to have cut off the head of **Gaṇapati's** uncle **Rudra** (see **Hēmādri's Vratakhanda**, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272). Or he may have killed **Gaṇapati's** father **Mahādēva**, who also is known to have met with death on a battlefield; see above, Vol. III, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> *Early History of the Deccan* (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, pp. 142 ff. and plate XVII. This inscription is fragmentary. It opens with the date, **Śaka 1198**, which would assign it to the reign of **Rāmachandra**, but the extant portion contains epithets which are usually applied to **Simhaṇa**. The same draft seems to have been used in the **Tiḷavalli inscription** (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. IX, p. 32), but owing to imperfect readings the reference to **Kākala**, the king of **Varāṭa**, seems to have escaped the notice of earlier writers.

<sup>7</sup> *Mysore Inscriptions*, pp. 14, 20, and 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 496.

The next king mentioned in the present record as overthrown by Simhāṇa was the lord of **Bhambhāgiri**.<sup>1</sup> Hēmādri mentions his name as Lakshmidhara. The Āmbē inscription No. 2 names him as Lakshmidēva and furnishes the additional information that he belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Bhambhāgiri has not yet been satisfactorily identified. Mr. G. H. Khare has suggested that it might be either Bhāmbhōri in the Ahmednagar District or Rājāchī Bhām near Yeotmal in Berār.<sup>3</sup> But neither of these identifications can be upheld in the absence of a fort near by; for the name Bhambhāgiri suggests that it was a fortified place. As Lakshmidēva, the lord of Bhambhāgiri, belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty, he was probably ruling somewhere in Khāndesh, which still has a large population of Ābhīras or Ahīrs. There is even now a ruined old town called Bhāmēr, four miles south of Nizāmpur in the Pimpalnēr *tāluka* of the West Khāndesh District. It lies at the foot of a great fortified hill which has many ruined gateways, gates, towers, and also some old caves locally known as Rājā's houses.<sup>4</sup> The hill near Bhāmēr is, therefore, probably Bhambhāgiri. The aforementioned Āmbē inscription describes Khōlēśvara, a general of Simhāṇa, as a very wild fire which burned the forest of the family of Lakshmidēva, the Ābhīra king of Bhambhāgiri and a similar statement occurs about Simhāṇa in the Uddari stone inscription. This shows that Simhāṇa probably exterminated the whole family of the Ābhīra prince.

The king **Bhōja**, who was confined on a hill, has already been identified with Bhōja II of the Śilāhāra dynasty of Kolhāpur. Some southern inscriptions<sup>5</sup> describe Simhāṇa as a very lord of birds (Garuḍa) in routing the serpent, viz., the king Bhōja who resided on Praṇāla. Praṇāla is plainly Panhālā, a strong fort 12 miles to the north-west of Kolhāpur. After this defeat of Bhōja, the Śilāhāra kingdom was annexed by Simhāṇa; for the inscriptions of his governors are thenceforth found at Kolhāpur and the adjoining territory. The earliest of these is dated A.D. 1218 which shows that the defeat of Bhōja must have occurred some time before that date. The Āmbē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 also mention a king named Bhōja who was defeated by Simhāṇa's general Khōlēśvara.<sup>6</sup> But as he is said there to have belonged to the Paramāra dynasty and to have been the lord of Chāhanda, he must be different from the homonymous Śilāhāra king. Chāhanda where he ruled may be Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District of the Central Provinces. And it may be noted in this connection that a stone inscription of a Paramāra chief, dated Śaka 1308, has been found at Bhāndak,<sup>7</sup> which lies only 16 miles north-west of Chāndā.

**Arjuna**, the lastnamed antagonist of Simhāṇa, was identified by Dr. Fleet with Arjunavarmadēva, king of Anhilwād of the Vāghēlā branch of the Chālukya family. Though he did not come to the throne till A.D. 1261-62, Fleet thought that he might have held a command under his father Viśaladēva (A.D. 1243-44 to 1261-62) and thus might have been a contemporary of Simhāṇa.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Bhandarkār, on the other hand, proposed to identify him with Arjunavarmadēva, king of Mālwā.<sup>9</sup> In several other inscriptions Simhāṇa's victories over both the Gurjara and Mālava

<sup>1</sup> Mss. of Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda* give the place-name as *Rambhāgiri* (v. l. *Bhangāriga*), but the name *Bhambhāgiri* occurs also in the Paithan plates (ll. 26-27) and the Āmbē inscription No. 2 (l. 30). The reading *Rambhāgiri* which occurs in line 24 of the latter record is probably a mistake for *Bhambhāgiri*.

<sup>2</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XII, pp. 434 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 524, n. 1; *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

<sup>7</sup> Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (second ed.), pp. 15-16.

<sup>8</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 525, n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 239.

kings are spoken of, but the name of Arjuna is rarely coupled with either of them. In the stone inscription from Uddari, to which attention has been called above, Simhaṇa is described as a lion who curbed the pride of the rutting elephant, namely, Arjuna, the king of the Mālava country.<sup>1</sup> This corroborates Dr. Bhandarkar's view that the king Arjuna belonged to the Paramāra dynasty.

Our inscription next mentions Jaitrapāla, the son of Simhaṇa. But the praise lavished on him is wholly conventional and affords no proof that he even came to the throne. In fact, epigraphical records make it clear that Simhaṇa was succeeded by his grandson Kṛishṇa, the son of Jaitrapāla.<sup>2</sup>

Of the two verses (7 and 8) which describe the achievements of Kṛishṇa, the first refers to his victory over Kāmapāla. This king, so far as I know, is not named elsewhere and there is no express mention of the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. The Āmbē inscriptions Nos. 2 and 3 mention one Rāmapāla, the king of Benares, who was routed by Khōlēśvara.<sup>3</sup> The similarity of the names Rāmapāla and Kāmapāla may be taken to indicate that both of them belonged to the same royal family; but the description in verse 7 that the overthrow of Kāmapāla delighted cowherds suggests that he belonged to the Ābhīra dynasty and he may therefore have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh. This conjecture receives some support from the recently discovered Tāsgaon plates which intimate a victory over a chief of cowherds (*gōpaka-pālaka*) obtained by Kēsava, a feudatory chief of the Yādava Emperor Kṛishṇa.<sup>4</sup>

Verse 8 intimates Kṛishṇa's victories over the kings of Gurjara, Mālava, Chōla and Kōśala. Some other inscriptions also claim for Kṛishṇa successes over most of these princes, but they do not specifically name any of them. Hēmādri, however, mentions Kṛishṇa's defeat of the extensive forces of Visaladēva, the king of Gujārāt<sup>5</sup> and the Bēhaṭṭi plates describe the fierce fight in a graphic manner.<sup>6</sup> The Muṇḍli stone inscription<sup>7</sup> dated A. D. 1252-53 eulogizes Kṛishṇa as 'a very Trinētra to Madana in the form of the king of Mālava'. The contemporary king of Mālwa was probably Jaitugidēva for whom we have the dates V. S. 1292 and 1300.<sup>8</sup> The same inscription speaks of Kṛishṇa as the sovereign of the king of Chōla.<sup>9</sup> There is, however, no actual proof of Kṛishṇa's encounter with the contemporary Chōla king who was Rājendra III (1246-79).<sup>10</sup> The king of Kōśala was evidently the contemporary Kalachuri ruler of Ratanpur. He was probably the successor of Jājalladēva who was defeated by Simhaṇa<sup>11</sup>; but we have now no means of ascertaining his name, for the last inscriptional record of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Ha(A)ryjuna-Mālavi-kshiti-pati-matta-mātanga-mada-dalana-pamchānana*, *Mysore Arch. Sur. Rep.* for 1929, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 244.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, pp. 64 and 74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 14. See v, 18 :—

Tvaṃ rē Kōṅkaṇa-bhūpatir=bhava tad=āham Chandradēvaḥ kṣhaṇam  
 tvaṃ chēd=gōpaka-pālako=ai tad=arē jātō=smy=aham Kēsavaḥ |  
 raksha tvaṃ vishayaṃ nijam [cha\*] tad=ararē(arē) dhātyā grahishyē kṣhaṇād=  
 itam(ttham) yaṃ(n)-nripa-mandirē kalakal-ākshēpāḥ śiśu-kriḍanē |

This verse which the editor found difficult to interpret refers to the personation of the ruler of Kōṅkaṇa and the chief of cowherds by some boys and of Chandradēva and Kēsava (the two brothers who were feudatories of Kṛishṇa) by others, while they were playing in the palace of Chandradēva. The description is evidently intended to suggest the victories of the two brothers over the king of Kōṅkaṇa and the chief of cowherds (Ābhīras ?).

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 42.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>8</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar's Report, 1883-84, pp. 105 and 392.

<sup>9</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> K. Nilakanta Sastri—*The Chōlas*, Vol. II, pt. i, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 240.

Kalachuris of Ratanpur which can be referred to that age, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla<sup>1</sup>, is dated K. 965 (A. D. 1214), i.e., more than thirty years before the accession of Kṛishṇa.

The present inscription mentions only one exploit of Mahādēva, the younger brother and successor of Kṛishṇa, viz., his destruction of Sōma. The latter is evidently Sōmēśvara of the Śilāhāra dynasty, the ruler of North Kōṅkaṇ, two records of whose reign have recently been edited in this journal.<sup>2</sup> Mahādēva seems to have continued the hostilities which were begun by his predecessor Kṛishṇa; for the aforementioned Tāsgaon plates intimate a victory over a king of Kōṅkaṇ won by Chandradēva, a feudatory of Kṛishṇa.<sup>3</sup> The description in verse 10 of the present record suggests that Sōmēśvara was killed in a naval engagement with the fleet of Mahādēva.

Mahādēva's son and successor was Āmaṇa<sup>4</sup> to whose glorification the present inscription devotes two verses. They are, however, altogether devoid of historical interest. Verse 13, of which the latter part was already known from the Paiṭhan plates, states that Rāma (i.e., Rāmachandra), the son of Kṛishṇa, having occupied the fort of Dēvagiri, forcibly wrested the kingdom from Āmaṇa. The next verse gives an interesting description of the ruse which Rāmachandra adopted to obtain possession of the impregnable fort. He entered it with a party of dancers who were his soldiers in disguise. When admitted inside, he rallied his foot-soldiers and attacked his antagonists apparently while they were engaged in seeing the dance. The dancers also, throwing off their ornaments (i.e., disguise), joined in the fight. Rāmachandra seems to have won an easy victory as his enemy was taken unawares. The *Lilācharitra*, a work of the Mahānubhāva sect from which some extracts of historical importance have recently been published,<sup>5</sup> gives a graphic account of the confusion caused by this sudden attack. Chakradhara, the founder of the sect, was then sojourning at the village Savitā<sup>6</sup> (v. l. Sēvatā) near Dēvagiri. Seeing that the people were panic-stricken and some carts carrying wounded persons were passing through the village, Chakradhara sent his disciple Indrabhaṭṭa to inquire what had happened. He confirmed what Chakradhara had already come to know by intuition that a revolution had taken place at Dēvagiri, that Rāmadēva had deposed Āmaṇadēva and himself occupied his throne, that Narasimhadēva (who seems to be Āmaṇadēva's general or minister) had fled away and that Rāmadēva had put out the eyes of Āmaṇadēva. As this account occurs in the *Lilācharitra*, which is a biography of Chakradhara, written by his disciple Mahindrabhaṭṭa, we may take it as trustworthy. The *Ratnamālāstōtra* of Kēśava Vyāsa, another disciple of Chakradhara, furnishes the further detail that the aforementioned incident took place in the evening.<sup>7</sup> The *Smṛitisthala* of Paraśarāma Vyāsa, who

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 278 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 204, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> He is called Ammaṇa in the present plates and Āmaṇa in the Paiṭhan plates.

<sup>5</sup> These extracts were first published by Mr. Y. K. Deshpande in his *Mahānubhāvīya Marāṭhī Vānmayā* (1925), pp. 16 ff. and their historical importance was brought to the notice of scholars by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in his article in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. V, pp. 198 ff.

<sup>6</sup> The place-name is given as *Sabhichchha* in a Sanskrit verse cited below. It is possible to fix the exact location of this place. According to the *Lilācharitra*, Chakradhara's itinerary was as follows:—Pimpālvāḍī (about 30 miles south by east of Dēvagiri and 5 miles north of Paiṭhan), Bhōganārāyaṇa, Bābhulgāon (12 miles south of Dēvagiri), Savitā, and Jōgēśvari (6 miles south of Dēvagiri). So Savitā was situated between Bābhulgāon and Jōgēśvari. It seems to have occupied the same position as modern Waḷuj, about 8 miles south of Dēvagiri. It lies on the Dēvagiri-Paiṭhan road. It seems therefore that the wounded persons were being taken to Paiṭhan.

<sup>7</sup> See *Tataḥ Sabhichchham samupētya śāyān vipram prayuktam parigrīhya tailam | samōgatam grāma-jen-airitām tām paprachchha rāḷy-āntara-jāta-vārtām* | cited in the Appendix to the *Lilācharitra*, Part IV, edited by Mr. H. N. Nene.

flourished in the same period, charges Rāmadēva with the murder of his brother, persecution of saints and inefficient administration of his kingdom which culminated in his capture by Muhammadan invaders.<sup>1</sup>

Verses 16-18 describe the achievements of Rāmachandra. Though several inscriptions of the reign of this king have been discovered till now, few of them refer to any historical events. We have, therefore, here for the first time a contemporary account of some important events in Rāmachandra's reign. Verse 16 states that Rāmachandra defeated with ease the mighty lord of the extensive Dāhala country, subjugated the ruler of Bhāṇḍāgāra, dethroned the king of Vajrākara and defeated in battle the prince of cowherds. The lord of the Dāhala country is evidently the Kalachuri king who was ruling at Tripurī, now a small village, 6 miles from Jubbulpore. The Yādavas were often at war with the Kalachuris. In the Puṣunja inscription Simhaṇa is called *Dāhala-hṛit-kutūhala*, i.e., 'a very curiosity of the heart of (the people of) the Dāhala country'.<sup>2</sup> It is not known who was ruling at Tripurī in the time of Rāmachandra; for the last Kalachuri prince known from inscriptional records is the Mahākumāra Ajayasimha mentioned in the Kumbhi plates<sup>3</sup> (A.D. 1180-81) and the undated Bherā-Ghāt stone inscription<sup>4</sup> of his father Vijayasimha.

It is again not known who is meant by the ruler of Bhāṇḍāgāra but it seems fairly certain that Bhāṇḍāgāra is identical with Bhaṇḍārā, 38 miles from Nāgpur, which is now the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Central Provinces. We know that Berār was annexed to the Yādava kingdom as early as the reign of Simhaṇa; for a stone inscription of his reign has been discovered at Amrāpur in the Khāmgaon District<sup>5</sup> and several villages in Berār were donated as *agrahāras* to Brāhmanas by his general Khōlēśvara.<sup>6</sup> But the eastern districts of Nāgpur and Bhaṇḍārā were probably occupied for the first time during the reign of Rāmachandra. It is noteworthy that an inscription of his reign has been discovered at Rāmṭek near Nagpur<sup>7</sup> and another at Lānji<sup>8</sup> in the Bālāghāt District, about a hundred miles north-east of Nāgpur.

Vajrākara, the ruler of which was deposed by Rāmachandra, is probably identical with Vairāgarh, 80 miles north-east of Chāndā in the Garh-Chirōli *tahsil* of the Chāndā District. Near the village there is still a large stone fortress in a fair state of preservation surrounded by a moat. Vairāgarh is named in ancient records as Vajra or Vajragadhā on account of its diamond mines which are referred to even in Muhammadan chronicles.<sup>9</sup> It was evidently a place of considerable importance, for it is referred to in several records. Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I, for instance, is said to have captured many elephants at Vayirāgaram.<sup>10</sup> The chief of cowherds defeated by Rāmachandra may, like Lakshmidēva and Kāmapāla, have been ruling somewhere in Khāndesh.

<sup>1</sup> *Smṛitiśāla* (Marāṭhī), ed. by Mr. V. N. Deshpande, p. 26. The editor refers this work to the 14th century A. D.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet says that Kriahṇa destroyed Tripura which seems to be the modern Tēwar near Jubbulpore. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 527). But the expression *Ya(a)ri-baḷia-Tripura-trinētram* in the Muṇḍli inscription (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, p. 35), on which he relies, means only that he was Trinētra (Śiva) to Tripura in the form of the enemy's soldiers. There is no reference to Tripuri there.

<sup>3</sup> *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 116.

<sup>4</sup> Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I. No. 23), p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 127-28.

<sup>6</sup> See his Āmbē inscription No. 2, lines 20 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Above, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P.*, etc., p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> See *Burhān-i-Ma'asir* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 286) and *Āin-i-Akbarī* (ed. by Jarrett), pp. 229-30. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela this place is mentioned as Vajiraghara. See above, Vol. XX, p. 78.

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 128. See also the Ratnapur Stone inscription of Jājalladēva, above, Vol. I, p. 36.

Verse 17 mentions some more victories of Rāmachandra. He subjugated in battle the king of Palli, made the king of Kānyakubja bend low, overran the mountain Kailāsa, routed the ruler of Māhima, captured forcibly the lord of Saṅgama and destroyed the ruler of Khēṭa. The Pallirāja<sup>1</sup> may have been the chief of some hill tribe like the Bhills or Gonds in the Vindhya mountain. There is no corroboration of Rāmachandra's raids on Kanauj and Kailāsa, but his other victories do not seem to be improbable. Māhima is probably identical with the place of the same name near Bombay. According to a tradition preserved in some Marāṭhi records, Kōṅkaṇ was conquered by Bhīma Rāja, the son of Rāmadēva Rāja of Dēvagiri. He is said to have made Māhim his capital and divided the kingdom of Kōṅkaṇ into fifteen *mahāls* or groups containing 444 villages.<sup>2</sup> The lord of Saṅgama, captured by Rāmachandra, was probably ruling at Saṅgamēśvara, about 20 miles north-east of Ratnāgiri. Khēṭa may be Khēḍ, the chief town of the Khēḍ *tālukā* in the Ratnāgiri District. The place dates from early times; for the Khēṭāhāra, which was evidently named after it, is mentioned in the Goa grant of Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja, dated Śaka 532.<sup>3</sup> These three victories of Rāmachandra were probably attained in the same expedition which was mainly directed against the petty chiefs ruling in Southern Kōṅkaṇ.

Verse 18 states that Rāmachandra drove out the Muhammadans from Vārānaśi or Benares and built a golden temple there which he dedicated to Śārngapāṇi. This plainly implies that he held that holy city for some time. There is nothing improbable in this claim. It was always the cherished ambition of powerful Hindu rulers to save the holy places of North India from devastation and plunder by Muslim invaders, though express statements to that effect are rarely found in their inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> There is, of course, no reference to this occupation of Benares by Rāmachandra in Muslim chronicles as there is no allusion to Muslim invasions of the Yādava kingdom in this or any other record of Rāmachandra. The present inscription does not state when this invasion of Benares took place; but it must evidently have occurred before 'Ala-ud-dīn's invasion crippled the power of Rāmachandra in A. D. 1294. It was probably carried out some time during the period from A. D. 1285 to 1290 when there was confusion and disorder in the North after the death of Balban and before the establishment of the power of Jalāl-ud-dīn.

The present inscription is the last record of Rāmachandra. It is not known how long he continued to reign after its issue. According to Muslim chronicles a large army from the North under the command of Malik Kāfūr and Khvāja Hājī passed through Dēvagiri in the course of an expedition against Dvārasamudra and Ma'bar towards the end of A. H. 710 (A.D. 1310-11); but Muhammadan historians are not unanimous as to who was then ruling at Dēvagiri. Baranī<sup>5</sup> and following him, Firishta<sup>6</sup> state that when Malik Kāfūr and Hājī reached Dēvagiri they found that Rāmadēva was dead. Firishta tells us further that the young prince Śaṅkaradēva was not well-affected to the Muhammadans. On this evidence Rāmadēva is believed to have died in A.D. 1309.<sup>7</sup> The present record shows, however, that he was ruling till the end of September A.D. 1310 at least and it is doubtful if he was succeeded by Śaṅkaragaṇa before the end of that year; for Khusrū

<sup>1</sup> [ There is a Pallidēśa mentioned in the Dohad Stone inscription of Mahamuda (Begarha), above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 212 ff. It is also the ancient name of Palnāḍ in Guntur District.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. X, p. 348.

<sup>4</sup> In the inscriptions of the Gāhaḍvālas, for instance, Chandradēva is described as the protector of the holy places Kāśī, Kuśīka, Uttarakōśala and Indrasthāna. *Ind. Ant.*; Vol. XV, p. 7 and Vol. XVIII, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> See *Ta'rikh-i-Firūz Shāhī* (Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 203).

<sup>6</sup> See Firishta's *History* tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Deccan*, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 251

states in his *Tārīkh-i' Alāi* that the Muhammadan generals reached Dēvagiri on the 13th of Ramzān, in A. H. 710 (the 3rd February A. D. 1311) where 'the Rāi Rāyān' Rām Deo forwarded with all his heart the preparations necessary for the equipment of the army'.<sup>1</sup> As Khusrū was a contemporary chronicler<sup>2</sup> and gives definite dates to substantiate his narrative, his account may be taken to be correct. Rāmachandra seems to have died soon thereafter; for at the end of A. H. 711 (A. D. 1312) 'Ala-ud-dīn received the news that the Rājā of Dēvagiri was withholding the stipulated tribute.'<sup>3</sup> This Rājā was Śaṅkaradēva who had in the meanwhile succeeded Rāmachandra.

The present inscription gives in verses 19-28 the pedigree of **Purushōttama**, the minister of Rāmachandra, who made the grant recorded in it. In the lineage of the sage Vasishṭha, there was born a pious man named Bhānusūri who constructed several temples and excavated tanks. His son was Alhadēva<sup>4</sup> who was renowned for his learning. Alhadēva's son was Vināyaka, the father of Sāmvaladēva. Rāmachandra received Sāmvaladēva into his favour and made him the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers. Sāmvaladēva married Akvāmbikā who was the daughter of Sāraṅgasūri, the son of Mādhasvasūri of the Jāmadagnya-Vatsa *gōtra*. Purushōttama was the son of Sāmvaladēva and Akvāmbikā. Being attracted by his intelligence, learning and courage, Rāmachandra made him his minister. Purushōttama carried on the affairs of the state very ably. He ruthlessly put down all traitors and made all people conform to the rules of conduct laid down for the *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas* (orders of life)<sup>5</sup>. Rāmachandra was greatly pleased with him for the execution of all his commands and conferred on him the aforementioned villages to enable him to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself.

Many of the localities mentioned in this grant can be easily identified. **Purushōttama-purī**, the chief place of the newly formed *agrahāra*, still retains its old name. As already stated, it lies on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī in the Bhīr District. **Kānhairī**, the headquarters of the subdivision in which it was situated may be Kanhera, 8 miles south-west of Chālisgaon, in Khāndesh, which has a fort with a strong natural position.<sup>7</sup> Most of the boundary villages of the *agrahāra* can still be traced in the vicinity of Purushōttampurī in their respective directions. Thus **Sādulē** is plainly Sādōlā about 3 miles south by east; **Kēsavapurī**, **Sāvarigavā**<sup>8</sup> and **Harikinibagau** are respectively identical with the modern Kēsapurī, Sāvargaon and Harki Nimgaon which lie about 7 or 8 miles to the south; and **Hivarē** and **Rājagau** still exist as Rājēgaon and Hivrā buzurg 5 and 6 miles respectively to the west. The river **Gāṅgā** which formed the northern boundary of the *agrahāra* is of course the Gōdāvarī.<sup>9</sup> Of the four villages, which constituted the *agrahāra*, two, *viz.*, **Vāghaure** and **Aḍagau**, can now be identified; the former is Wāghur 4 miles south by west and the latter Tiki Aḍgaon about the same distance to the south of Purushōttampurī. Only two of the nine hamlets attached to these villages can now be traced, *viz.*,

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently a corrupt form of the title *Rāya-Nārāyaṇa* assumed by Yādava Kings. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> See Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Khusrū closes his narrative with the conquest of Ma'bar at the end of A. H. 710 (A. D. 1311). He died in A. D. 1325. Barani, on the other hand, is, as remarked by Dowson, very sparing and inaccurate in his dates.

<sup>4</sup> Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. III, p. 204; Firishta's *History*, tr. by Briggs, Vol. I, pp. 378-79.

<sup>5</sup> [See p. 212, n. 7.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> From the *Smṛitiśāla* (ed. by V. N. Deshpande), p. 86, it appears that the Mahānubhāvas were subjected to oppression during the rule of Rāmachandra, probably because of their non-observance of such rules of conduct.

<sup>7</sup> *Khāndesh District Gazetteer*, p. 453.

<sup>8</sup> The endings *gau* and *gavā*, like *gāmvu* used in ll. 94-95 of the Paīṭhan plates, are derived from the Sanskrit word *grāma* meaning a village.

<sup>9</sup> This river is called Gāṅgā in the Paīṭhan plates also. See ll. 59 and 94, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 317-18.

**Pimpalavādi** which now appears in the form Phūlpimpalgaon about 2 miles south of Tiki Adgaon, and **Gōlē āh āpa** which is probably Gōhan Thāḍi, 3 miles north by west of Wāghur. The other villages and hamlets cannot be traced on the maps available to me.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>.

[Metres : Verses 1 and 32 *Mālinī* ; vv. 2, 10, 11, 35 and 37-57 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 3, 5, 15, 17, 19, 21 and 33 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 8, 9, 12, 14, 16, 23, 24, 29, 31 and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6, 7, 13, 18 and 26 *Upajāti* ; v. 20 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 22, 27 and 59 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 25 *Harinī* ; v. 29 *Praharshinī* ; v. 30 *Vaiśaṣṭha* ; v. 36 *Indravajrā* ; v. 58 *Śālinī*.]

## First Plate.

- 1 ॥ श्रीं श्रीं आदिवराहाय नमः ॥ निरतिशयनिरंतानदधि[क्षु]स्वरूपः<sup>2</sup> प्रबलविमलसत्व-  
(स्व)स्त्री-
- 2 कृतव्यक्तशक्तिः । परमरमणसंगं मंगलानां निधान दधधरितसेव्यः सेव्यतां शा-
- 3 र्त्तपाणिः । [1१॥\*] लक्ष्मीनारायणश्रीडासरः<sup>3</sup>चीरसमुद्रजं(जम्) । लीलांशुजं विजयते  
विधुस्त्रिभु-
- 4 वनश्रियाः । [1२॥\*] निःसीमः सीमवंशः स जयति जगति प्रोक्षसत्कीर्त्तवन्निर्मुक्तारजा-  
नि तत्रा-
- 5 प्युरुचिररुची वृणायः स्वच्छहृताः । तेष्वप्येकावली सङ्गणघटिततनुः कंठकातिः  
कवीनां
- 6 तस्थामध्ये चिंतामणिरुचितरुचिर्नायकः सिंहभूपः । [1३॥\*] बलाली विजितः परा-  
भवभुवं सं-
- 7 भावितोभाधिपः ककली दलितः क्षणेन गिलितो भंभागिरिरीश्वरः । दुर्गाद्ये विनि-  
बध्य ॥<sup>4</sup>
- 8 भोजनृपतिर्ग्यस्सोर्जुनी निर्वर्जितः सिङ्गेनिति निशम्य के भुवि भयं भेजुर्न भूमीभुजः  
। [1४॥] तत्पुत्री जै-
- 9 अपान्नः कुलकुमुदविधुर्वीरलक्ष्मीप्रसादप्रासादो रु(रु)पसंपक्षुग्रमितधुषमाकंदकंदर्पदर्यः ।  
यः क-
- 10 र्शः किं दधीचिः किमु किमुत शिभिः किं नु जीमूतवाहः सत्वी(स्वी)द्रेकैकसीमा  
पुनरभवदिति व्यक्ततर्कव्यत-<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From ink impressions.

<sup>2</sup> [The intended reading possibly is *śrī-śrī-svarūpaḥ*, the expression answering to the well-known compound *śaśi-śrī-ānanda-svarūpa*.—B. C. C.]

<sup>3</sup> This *vīraṅga* was added subsequently.

<sup>4</sup> These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.



- 11 किं [॥३॥\*] श्रीकृष्णभूपः प्रभविष्णुरश्माश्चभूव भूयःपरिभूतवीरः [॥\*] पलायमानान-  
वलीक्य वीरान्यस्त्रीर्त्तिदंभेन दि-
- 12 शो हसन्तिः<sup>१</sup> [॥३॥\*] यः कामपालप्रसरश्चरिचः स्वयंवरायातविशाललक्ष्मोः । उद्भास-  
यंगीकुलमादरेण कृष्ण-<sup>२</sup>
- 13 त्वमुच्चैः प्रकटीचकार [॥७॥\*] रे रे गूर्जर जर्जर व्रजरजीराजी<sup>३</sup> भराजीवन रे रे  
मालव मालवं त्यज भज त्वं चील ची-
- 14 लाचलं(लम्) । रे रे कीशल कीशलघनपरी भूयास्त्वमित्यं जगुर्भूपा यद्विजयप्रयाण-  
समये वंदीजनव्यंजनाः [॥८॥\*]
- 15 कृष्णे राजनि लीलया स्वनगरीं वैकुण्ठमालीकितुं यातिशासदिमां महीमथ महादेवः  
स तस्वानुजः । यद्दीः-
- 16 स्तंभविजृम्भमाणवसुधाकस्तूरिकाचिचकभ्रांतिं विश्रव(द)जायत क्षितिभुजां क्षीमाय कौक्षे-  
यकः [॥९॥\*] निमज्जयं(य)क्क-
- 17 लाशेषमपि सीमं पयोनिधौ । स्थानाच्चिचं महादेव एव यः कथ्यते जनैः [॥१०॥\*]  
जज्ञे शक्तिधरस्तस्य स्रुतुरंभणभूप-
- 18 तिः । भूदेवानुद्धरंनुच्चैः<sup>४</sup> करतारकपौडितान् [॥११॥\*] यच्च क्षत्रपितामहे वितरति  
प्रत्यर्धिपृथ्वीश्वराः सर्वे दानम<sup>५</sup>वा-
- 19 [सु]मुत्कमनसो नूनं बभूवुर्भुवि । चंडाशीः किरि(र)णवलीमविरतं संसेव्य लीलावती-  
वाक्यथाकुलमानसैः
- 20 कथमपि व्यालीकि यत्तैः पदं(दम्) [॥१२॥\*] आरुह्य वैरिक्षितिपालमौलिनिश्रेणिभि-  
र्देवगिरिं गरिष्ठ(ष्ठम्) । प्रसह्य तस्मा-
- 21 द्यपह्वत्वं भुंक्ते कृष्णात्मजः स्वामवनिं स रामः [॥१३॥\*] आदौ देवगिरिप्रवेशनमथी  
नृत्तप्रकारेक्षणं पद्मास्वै(स्वै)-
- 22 रपदातिमिलनमथालंकारविज्ञेपणं(णम्) [॥\*] अन्विष्टार्थविरोधिदूरकरणं तस्माद्रसासादनं  
श्रीरामेण कृतं

<sup>१</sup> This *visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>२</sup> Read *ullāsayan=śūkulam=*.

<sup>३</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>४</sup> The sense requires a reading like *-rājīn*.

<sup>५</sup> What appears like an *anusvāra* on *śa* may be due to a fault in the copper.

<sup>६</sup> Read *=uddharann=uchchait*.

<sup>७</sup> The engraver at first incised *dānam=* which he subsequently altered to *dānam=*.

2 श्रीश्रीदेवराहायनमः॥निरतिशयनिरतान्वचिर्लक्ष्यरूपःप्रबलविमलसुवर्ण  
 2 कृतकशक्तिःपरमरमणमंगमंगलानोनिधनेदधेधरितसद्यःसद्यतांश  
 4 कपाणिःलक्ष्मीनारायणक्रीडासरस्वतीरसमुद्रजालीलोबुद्धविजयतत्रिभुवु  
 4 नश्रियाःनिःसीमासामंशःसक्यतिजगतिप्रालसकीर्तिवलिर्भुक्तारनानित  
 6 कुरुविरसुवोत्पन्नःशुभ्रुत्तःतत्रायाकावलीसकृणघटिततत्रुःकठकातिःकवीने  
 6 नयामाप्रघवितामणिरुदितरुविनीयकृषिहप्रपःबल्लालाविजितःपरान्वचुत  
 8 नादितांधाधिपःकह्लान्दलितःकाणनगिलितातंसागिररीश्वरःडुगीयविनवधा  
 8 भाज्यप्रतिश्याप्ताङ्गनानिर्कितःसिंहानतिनिशद्यकभुविनयंतकृत्तमीचुङ्गःतसुत्राडे  
 10 णलःकलकमुदविधुवीरलक्ष्मीप्रसादप्रासादासुपंपमुशमितशुभ्रमाकेदकेदप्यदप्यःयः  
 10 किंदधीधिःकिञ्चकिञ्चतशिविःकिञ्चकीञ्चतदहःसात्राडिकेकसीमापुनरसवदितियकृत्तकीञ्च  
 12 श्रीकृष्णप्रपःप्रतविक्रमस्माद्वप्रवप्यःपारसूतवीरःपलायमानानवालाखवीरस्यकीर्तिदेसना  
 12 ग्राहप्रतिशयःकामपालप्रसरचरित्रःश्रेयवरायातविशाललक्ष्मीःउत्प्रासपत्राकलमादरण्य  
 14 वृक्षःप्रकीचकाराररयर्जुंरजर्जरवज्रराजराजीतराजीवनैररमालवमालवेद्युजसकृत्तिल  
 14 नोचलेररकोशलाकाशनेपनपारासूयःशुभ्रिञ्चकृत्तयायद्विजयप्रमाणसमयवेदीकृत्तयुज  
 16 कृष्णराजनिनीलयाश्चनगरीवेकठमालाकिञ्चपातशासदिमाग्दीमधमहादवःसतस्याचुङ्गःयाद  
 16 नैतविहीतमाणवसुभ्रिकृष्णिकाचित्रकृत्तैवित्रवजायतकिञ्चिनुजाकोचायकोकयकःनिवहयक  
 18 साक्षाधमप्राप्तमप्यानिष्ठाःशुभ्रिञ्चमहादवपयःकद्यातजन्नाःकाशुकिधरस्यसुत्ररुणप्र  
 18 यःप्रादवाचुहृष्टःकरतारकपीडितानाप्रकृत्तपितामाहवितरत्रिप्रयधिपृष्ठीश्वरसविदाममवा  
 20 कृष्णकृत्तनासावनेवचुवृविचैशुभ्रःकिरणवलीमविरतंससद्यतीलावतीदाश्याकुलमानसि  
 20 कृष्णमपियालाकिञ्चैःपदेःआरुह्यवेरिक्तिपालमालिनिष्प्रणिनिदेवगिरिगरेषुप्रसूतस्मा  
 22 पप्रतयाचुक्तकृत्तमजुःश्रीमवनिंसरामःआदोदवगिरिप्रावशनमाघावत्रप्रकारकणपञ्च  
 22 पसतिमलनमवालेकारविक्रपणेअधिष्ठाधिपिराधिरकरणतस्मादसासादनेश्रीरामणकृत्त  
 24 सतप्रतयतास्माकोश्यालाकात्रःश्रीरामःशुर्ववर्माप्रदघटनलघुपाणदुर्गवृत्तियारयाताश  
 24 वाविकरणविलसवत्रनिष्ठादिताध्ववर्षानाकृत्तकामण्यवहरणमणकृत्तयसदृशितादीजता  
 26 याकृत्तानोभिशुरपितदिहस्युत्तनाप्रशष्टिः॥यानात्रालविशालडाहलमहीपालःकृत्त  
 26 ज्ञानाज्ञागारधरधवःपरिवर्णानाचुकेर्लनितः॥यानाशुलितराद्यवरचितावजाधुःदनापति  
 28 कृत्तःकिलासद्योतःशुभ्रतरमहिमामादिमेडःप्रशःउत्तुंगःसंगमेशःप्रसतमधिगातामाटितः  
 28 वृटनाश्रयनाश्रुदिवधुसकृष्णमवितर्षवप्रातरामचुडःयःशुक्तसंकृतलिपिथालापय  
 30 शोयहारशुकराद्यवारयत्रावाराणसीसुत्रमणाद्यामावयत्रहिरण्येशान्धरालयंशु  
 30 सरदाचुवंधिधुणगणालंकरतश्रीम  
 32 कृत्तिकादिकासनाकारादवगिरिपुर  
 32 शकृत्तपकालतीतसवसएशुजाविशद  
 34 कृत्तरोतर्गतज्ञापदशुक्तकादश्यासौ  
 34 काहिरिदशसंबधवकाहिरिदश्यासौ

36 एतस्य विश्वविश्वट कानि सा रेगा ज्ञानाधिपलमाकाशावात्मपोखरी अद्वैतो  
 तस्य विश्वविश्वट कानि साधिपलवाडी काजलकाविमोऽजाणो वाधार 36  
 तस्य विश्वविश्वट कानि साधिपलवाडी गालगाहाणाधरवाधोरा 37  
 38 एतमताश्च त्रायमानसु व विष्टमवरवटकसहितात्तवत्यनि 38  
 धिनाक्षप्रवृत्तिजलप्राणाणदंडशुक्लत रका देसमप्राययुक्तात्वा सिष्टागात्रप  
 40 भाष्यदशारवाधमयिनकुलबडु एसावेलनायकमुतायमहामडली कउरुषेनायका 40  
 प्रसमप्रेनिजाज्ञासंपादनजनितपरितोरवणअथहरकरणयहा प्रादकपूर्वक प्रादा  
 42 अष्टोत्तप्रशान्नाकाः विश्वद्यैकः पुराधीः सुतऽति वेदितप्रपुरात्मादितीयः सप्त 42  
 पावरिष्ठः सजयति तपसा वासन्नमिर्वसिष्ठः पातिव्योपादश प्रधमशुभला उधती यष्टुपद्यो  
 44 ब्रह्मप्राज्ञाष्टकोणे विजगदघतमः कोष्ठयी कामाधुः। तताद्यत्तादृक् सप्तजनितता च्यासु 44  
 निरतिक्रमाय्योश्च वैशः विभुवनवतपः प्रवृत्ता तामा मोहयाहयह कुडुषितानातउष्टताप्रवो  
 46 धृत्वावसरणि किरणा चक्रे मऽवा तवासी ज्ञानुसुरिर्निजसवह विषे निर्गता नापुराणाध 46  
 धीसादत्तया दिशि दिशि विहितायन सापानमायाः किं वा दृक् किला भगतिमपि गाम 47  
 48 क्रमेण योगनडे त्रवाताशानि लक्ष्मलावेधिविशदयशारनेष्यतदायाः नस्मा इष्टवतप्रस 48  
 निधारदृदवस्माकतक्षमसकलार्थकताशुणाना ज्ञाहोहररिक्डगेतितउदेशाधिविद्यास  
 50 लानि सुखेमा सवयथवाक्र विह्वल्लमलिमपिर्विनाय कुरु तिरयातज्ञातावे सुतधी धी 50  
 यद्यमथमर्षणविदधतयकी त्रिगंगत सिद्धराहानुप्रनिशय्यरेनसादागुतामधिना  
 52 माययथेहयनक्ति विगमद्यारथानघाषामहात्राधर्माप्रमशुद्धशः प्रसवत्रः श्राव्यं सारोद्य 52  
 तिकोतिरुमपदरुपा कुलप्रतिर्षयप्रतिष्ठाद्वतः विद्याकाशश्चद्विचारसचिवः सपसतामंडपः  
 54 सुवः सावतदवऽकदतव स्यारमतः स्यातिमत्राप्रकृतिष्टंडले मायं शुभमानादरणकमेकु 54  
 मुमसदृशनिश्चित्यनश्रियः परमास्यदे निपुणधिषणा रामाकापीर्षितयं दुपुगवः कुमुदरव  
 56 नाथकंदकंपसादपराकाराशुचिहितधी मति सत्यवाच्यस्वापरसावतदवसरा विना 56  
 प्रवदतराज चित्तप्रीतिः प्रगल्भाष्टहवलक्ष्मीः सांख्यश्रितनयामवज्ञामदयतदाव्यजना  
 58 वमाधवप्ररिणे वीअक्काविक निविदितायुगरननुषायाषामसा बुदवदद्विधिनान्नायाया 58  
 बुवात्रेदनायानेयाघटितायामिक्षविनास्तस्म विज्राणः पुरुषा त्रभवसहितनामार्धसंश्रि  
 60 प्रत्यायमपरियाह विष्टतादाषाशमविह्वतः स्याद्युजमहारयषवपुषधी कारणतादश 60  
 माहाथ्यादिद्युणम तिवितकव्यादीर्घास्यादिद्युणदशश्रुतिश्रुतियाधेर्यमदिद्युणलेतमक  
 62 यणस्वराष्टय इष्टपतिथं क्षसुधनासविद्युतावाकलयानिजाज्ञया प्रदश्यंतीश्रमायाः एध 62  
 भाशमही प्रतः काशष्टहिमहीयसी सुवर्णदीष्टयतनाघनापमाश्री मिजोहकतामया वलय  
 64 वदकं कुत्तरमनस्यप्रकृतताप्रतापशिषिना नीतेजवादा र्जवांकराष्टुसकंठकुमुमिना 64  
 कृष्णानि कृष्णसतो रामाकाणि पातः सुवर्णसदृशातजः कृताप्राहलापु कृतनिधिषुकाशी 64  
 66 दारकाद्यशुती धिषवहितहृदितस्मि कल्पितानत्यसवा सुनिवचनविचाराभुक्तिमात्रप्र 66  
 दशुम्भुरतिपरमिदानी बुक्ति बुक्ति प्रदवं साचारश्चा मितकृदिनयवतिपरस्वी धनाशपवि 66  
 68 रतस्मिन्त्या डउतापवदति पु उषतापो र्षणश्रुयधो मा त क्ती निर्निर्जि दाना वि वि वि 68

- 23 ततस्तत इतः श्रीकीस्य लोकीत्तरः । [१४॥\*] श्रीरामः शर्ववर्मा पदघटनलघुपाय-  
दृग्दुर्गावृत्तिव्याख्याताशेष-
- 24 सूत्रो विकरणविलसन्नातुनिष्पादितार्थः [१\*] वर्षानां व्युत्क्रमेण व्यवहरणमपाकृत्य  
संदर्शितार्था(र्थो) जेता
- 25 दिव्याकृततीनां शिशुरपि तदिह सृष्ट्य(स्थ)ते नापशब्दैः । [१५॥\*] येनीत्तालविशालडा-  
हलमहीपालः क्षणाभि-<sup>1</sup>
- 26 जितो भांडागारधराधवः परिभवं येनीश्चकैर्लभितः । येनीश्चूलितराज्य एव<sup>2</sup> रचितो  
व्याकर<sup>3</sup>श्चापतिर्ये-
- 27 नाजो विजितः स गोपनृपतिर्वर्ष्यः स रामः कथं(थम्) । [१६॥\*] भल्लीभिः पत्नि-  
राजः समरभुवि जितः कुञ्जितः कन्यकुञ्जः
- 28 क्षिप्तः कैलासशैलः पृथुतरमहिमा माहिर्मेद्रः परास्तः । उचुंगः संगमेशः प्रसभम-  
धिगती मोटितः ।<sup>4</sup>
- 29 खेटनाथी येन खेनैव धाम्ना स कथमवितथं वर्ष्यते रामचंद्रः । [१७॥\*] यः  
शुक्ल(ल्क)संकेतलिपिं व्यलीपयत्स-
- 30 वर्षाहरिषु करान्य(श्च)वारयत् । वाराणसीं खेच्छगणाहयमीचयत् हिरण्यमयं शार्ङ्गधरालयं  
व्यधा-
- 31 त् ॥ [१८॥\*] स खखेवंविधगुणगणालंकृतश्रीमन्त्री(श्री)दप्रतापचक्रवर्ती यादवकुलकमल-
- 32 कलिकाविकासभास्करो देवगिरिपुरपुरंदरी महाराजाधिराजः श्रीरामचंद्रदे-
- 33 वः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरिषु द्वाविंशदधिकद्वादशशतसंख्याकेषु ।<sup>5</sup> साधारण-
- 34 संवत्सरांतर्गतभाद्रपदशुक्लैकादश्यां स(श)नौ कान्हेरिदेशसंबद्धान् कान्हेरिखंपणकांत-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 35 गंतान् पीष(ख)री । तत्रविष्टखेटकानि साएगाज्ञाणं । पिंपलगाज्ञाणं । पालि<sup>6</sup>पी-  
खरी ॥ अडगौ ।
- 36 एतत्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकीवि । सीइजणे ॥ वाघीरे । ए-

<sup>1</sup> Read *kahanān-nirjīṭō*.

<sup>2</sup> What appears like a somewhat displaced *anuvāra* on *va* is probably due to a fault in the copper.

<sup>3</sup> Originally *Vajrākaraś*, subsequently altered to *Vajrākara*.

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

<sup>5</sup> The *repha* on *ga* has been cancelled.

<sup>6</sup> The superscript curve of *i* in *ki* is very faint. The name occurs again in l. 74 as *Pālipōkharī*.

- 37 तत्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपिविष्टिरे<sup>1</sup> ॥ गोलिगाङ्गाण । धारवाघौरं ॥ कु-
- 38 र्पारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरो ग्रामान् स्वप्रविष्टनवखेटकसहितान् तत्रत्वनि-<sup>2</sup>
- 39 चिनिषेपवृक्षत्रि(वृ)णजलपाषाणदंडशुक(स्व)कारकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् वासिष्ट(ठ)मीनाय
- 40 ऋग्वेदशाखाध्यायिने फुलबडुपसांवलनायकसुताय महामंडलीक<sup>3</sup>पुरुषेनायका-<sup>4</sup>
- 41 य समस्तनिजाज्ञासंपादनजनितपरितोखे(षे)ण अघहारकरणाय हस्तीदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ।
- 42 अख्येते प्रशस्तिश्लोकाः । विष्टस्वैकः पुरीधाः सुत इति विदितः<sup>5</sup> अष्टुरात्मा  
द्वितीयः सप्तर्षी-
- 43 शां वरिष्ठः स जयति तपसां वासभूमिर्वसिष्ठः । पातिव्रत्वीपदेशप्रथमगुरुगुणाबंधती  
यस्य पत्नी
- 44 बद्धा यज्ञोष्ठकीणे त्रिजगद्व्रतमःकौमुदी कामधेनुः ॥[१९८॥\*] ततोऽन्यस्तादृशः सम-  
जनि ततोऽन्यो मु-<sup>6</sup>
- 45 निरितिं क्रमात्प्राग्शुर्वशः त्रिभुवनवतंसः प्रवहते । तमीमीहयाहयहकलुषितानां तनुभृतां  
प्रवा-<sup>7</sup>
- 46 धं तन्वानस्तरणिकिरणानुक्रम इव ॥[२०॥\*] तत्रासीद्भानुसूरिर्निजसवहविषे निर्गतानां  
सुराणां धर्म-
- 47 प्रासादभंग्या दिशि दिशि विहिता येन सोपानमार्गाः । किं चीदृत्तुं किलाधी-  
गतिमपि गमिता-
- 48 कर्मयोगेन जन्तून्ब्रूता घ्यातालमूलावधि विशदयशीरद्वष(ख)न्यस्तडागाः ॥[२१॥\*]  
तस्माच्चभूव तपसां
- 49 निधिरख्खदेव<sup>8</sup>संकेतधाम सकलार्थज्ञानं गुणानां(नाम्) । कुक्षौ हरेरिव जगति चतु-  
र्दशापि विद्याख-<sup>9</sup>
- 50 लानि सुखमासत यस्य वज्जे ॥[२२॥\*] विष्टश्रीलिमणिर्विनायक इति ख्यातस्त-  
तोभू[कु]तस्तीर्थान्ध-

<sup>1</sup> The name of this hamlet occurs in lines 75-76 as *Stimpidihiirēm*.

<sup>2</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>3</sup> The correct form of the title would be *Māhāmandalika*.

<sup>4</sup> The *visarga* is imperfectly incised here.

<sup>5</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *khātāh pātāla-*, unless *sh* before *pā* is to be taken as an *upadhmaniya* sign.

<sup>7</sup> [Reading is *°r-Īlhadēvas-* —Ed.]

- 51 अघम<sup>1</sup>र्षणं विदधते यत्कीर्त्तिगंगाभसि । दूराद्दानगुणं निशम्य रभसादाग[च्छ]ता-  
मर्थिना<sup>2</sup>-।<sup>3</sup>
- 52 मये यस्य गृहं व्यनक्ति निगमव्याख्यानघोषी महान् ।।[१२३॥\*] धर्मप्रेमसुहृद्यः-  
प्रसवभूः<sup>4</sup>श्चातुर्यसारी ध-
- 53 तिष्ठातिचेमपदं कृपाकुलपतिर्धैर्यप्रतिष्ठी[च्छ]वः<sup>5</sup> । विद्याकीशगृहं विचारसचिवः संपत्स-  
भामंडपः
- 54 सूनुः सांवलदेव इत्युदभवसूरैस्ततः ख्यातिमान् ।।[२४॥\*] प्रकृतिमृदुलं मान्यं शुद्धं  
मनोहरणक्षमं कु-<sup>6</sup>
- 55 सुमसदृशं निश्चित्यैतं त्रियः परमास्पदं(दम्) । निपुणधिषणी रामञ्जीपीपतिर्यदुपंगवः  
कुसुमर[च]-
- 56 नाध्यक्षं दक्षं प्रसादपरोकरोत् ।।[१२५॥\*] शुची हिते धीमति सत्यवाक्ये सेवापरि  
सांवलदेवसूरौ । दिने दि-
- 57 नेषईत राजचित्ते प्रीतिः प्रगल्भा स्वगृहे [च] लक्ष्मीः ।।[२६॥\*] सारंगसूरितनयामथ  
जामदग्नि(ग्न्य)वत्सान्वयप्रभ-<sup>7</sup>
- 58 वमाधवसूरिपौत्री(त्रीम्) [।\*] अक्षांबिकेति विदितां गुणरत्नभूषां योषामसांबुदवहृदिधिना  
स्वयीग्यां(ग्याम्) ।।[१२७॥\*]
- 59 पुञ्जीभूदनयोर्नयाइतयोर्मैधाविना वेधसा विभ्राणः पुरुषोत्तमत्वमुचितं नाम्नार्थसं-  
स्पर्शिना [।\*]
- 60 मत्स्याद्यंगपरिग्रहे विमृशतो दीर्घांशमं<sup>8</sup>न्विच्छतः श्लाघ्यं जम्ब हरैर्य एष वपुषः<sup>9</sup> स्वीकार  
एकादशः ।।[२८॥\*]
- 61 सन्निध्या(ष्ट्या) द्विगुणमतिं विवेकवत्या दीर्घाभ्यां द्विगुणदृशं श्रुतिसृतिभ्यां(भ्याम्) ।  
धैर्येण द्विगुणवत्सं तमस-

<sup>1</sup> The two aksharas gha and ma, which were wrongly repeated here, have been cancelled.

<sup>2</sup> This anusvāra is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> This visarga is redundant.

<sup>5</sup> The superscript, ch in chchha is imperfectly incised. Read *pratiśthi-śeavah*.

<sup>6</sup> This visarga was added subsequently.

- 62 येण स्त्रे राज्ये यदुनृपतिर्व्यधात्रधानं(नम्) ।।१२६।।\* स विद्युतेवीज्व(ज्ज्व)लया निजाज्ञया  
प्रदर्श्य वर्णाश्रमयोः पृथक्(क्क)-
- 63 मान् । महीपतेः कीशगृहे महीयसी सुवर्षादृष्टिं व्यतनोदनीपमाः<sup>1</sup> ।।१२७।।\*  
स्वामिद्रीहकृतामयीवलय-
- 64 वहकं कठोरं मनस्तस्य प्रज्वलता प्रतापशिषि(स्त्रि)ना नीतं जवादारजवं(वम्) ।  
क्रूरास्तेषु सकांटकद्रुमनिभाः।]
- 65 भुष्टा निरुष्टास्ततो रामचोणिपतेः सुवर्षसदृशं तेजः कृतं प्रीज्व(ज्ज्व)सं(लम्) ।।१२८।।\*  
सुकृतनिधिषु काशी-
- 66 द्वारकाद्येषु तीर्थेष्ववहितद्वदि तस्मिं<sup>2</sup> कल्पितानल्पसचे । मुनिवचनविचाराशुक्तिमात्रप्र-<sup>3</sup>
- 67 देषु स्फुरति परमिदानीं भुक्तिभु(मु)क्तिप्रदत्वं(त्वम्) ।।१२९।।\* स्वाचारे स्वामिभक्ते  
विनयवति परस्त्रीधनाशविदू-
- 68 रे तस्मिन् प्रौढप्रतापे वहति पुरुषतां पौरुषेण स्फुटार्थी<sup>4</sup>म् । तत्कीर्तिं निर्जिहानां  
दिशि दिशि

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 69 बहुशो [हृष्ट]ता सज्जनानामासीत्कपी रा(ग)रीयांश्चिरसि<sup>5</sup> मनसि चाहर्मिशं दुर्जना-  
नां(नाम्) ।।१३०।।\* श्रीमां<sup>6</sup>न् रामनृपः प्रसन्नद-
- 70 यो लोकद्वयश्रेयसे कुर्वाती[चि]तमग्रहारमिति तं वारान्बङ्गनादिशत् । तस्मै चाद्य  
महाप्रसाद इति तां स्त्री-
- 71 कुर्वते सत्क्रियां धारापूर्वमनल्पसारविषयान्प्राप्तानदाभ्यानदः ।।१३१।।\* सीयमेवंविधगुण-  
रत्नाकरश्रीमन्महा-
- 72 राजाधिराजश्रीरामचंद्रदेवीयमहामंडलीक<sup>7</sup>पुरुषेनायकः शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरेषु द्वात्रिंशद-<sup>8</sup>
- 73 धिक्कहादशशतसंख्याकेषु साधारणसंवत्सरांतर्गते भाद्रपदमासि कपिलषष्ठां(ष्ठां) कान्हेरि-  
देशसंबन्धान् कान्हे-

<sup>1</sup> Read =ghan-ōpamah.

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

<sup>3</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

<sup>4</sup> The engraver first incised *tasmin* which he subsequently altered to *tasmin*.

<sup>5</sup> This *anusvāra* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Read *gartyān=chchhīrasī*.

<sup>7</sup> This *anusvāra* is redundant.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Mahāmāṇḍalika*.

- 74 रिखंपणकांतर्गतान् ॥ पोष(ख)री ॥ तत्प्रविष्टानि वे(खे)टकानि । साएमाह्वान ॥  
पालिपोखरी ॥ अडगौ ॥
- 75 तत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । पिंपलवाडी । काजलकीवि । सोडजणे ॥ वाघीरे ॥  
एतत्प्रविष्टानि खेटकानि । सीपि-
- 76 दिहिरें<sup>1</sup> । गोलगाह्वान । धारवाघीरे ।[\*] कुरुणपारगौ ॥ एवमेतांश्चतुरी ग्रामान्  
सप्तविष्टनवखेटकसहि-
- 77 तान् तत्रत्यनिधिनिक्षेपटणजलपाषाणदंडशुक्र(सक)कारुकादिसमस्तादाययुक्तान् षडशीतिसं-  
ख्याका वृत्तौ[:]
- 78 परिकल्प्य(स्य्य) देवद्वयार्थं वृत्तिं(त्ति)द्वयं अग्निष्टिकाप्रपार्थं(र्थ)मेका वृत्तिं(त्ति)ब्राह्मणार्थं  
अथशीतिसंख्याका वृत्तयः इत्यनया
- 79 भागकल्पनया नानागोत्रेभ्यो नानाशाखाध्यायिभ्यः अथशीतिसंख्यविप्रेभ्यो देवद्वयाग्निष्टि-  
काप्रपाम-
- 80 हितेभ्यः स्वाभिलखि(षि)तफलसिद्धार्थं हिरण्याक्षतोदकपूर्वकं प्रादात् ॥ अथ ब्राह्मण-  
नामानि । तत्र बह्वृचाः [\*]
- 81 केशी<sup>2</sup>भट्टसुतमहादेवभट्टः । कीमणसुतविष्णुभट्टः । विष्णुमंचिसुतः पेदिभट्टः ।  
गोविंदभट्टसुतो
- 82 लाक्षणभट्टः<sup>3</sup> । एते काश्यपाः ॥ मल्लिदेवभट्टसुतलक्ष्मीधरभट्टः । पद्मनाभभट्टसुतदामीदर-  
भट्टः । आ-
- 83 पदेवंभट्टसुतमैरालभट्टः । योगिभट्टसुतवासुदेवभट्टः । राघी<sup>4</sup>भट्टसुतः कमलदेवभट्टः ।  
देवणभट्ट-
- 84 सुतो महादेवभट्टः । जोगदेवभट्टसुतः गदीभट्टः । ध्वा(?)मिदेवभट्टसुतः लघुमिदेव<sup>5</sup>भट्टः ।  
नागनाथभट्ट-
- 85 सुतः कालिदासभट्टः । गंगाधरमिश्रसुतः पद्मनाभभट्टः । एते भारद्वाजाः । सूदन-  
भट्टसुतदामीदरभ-

<sup>1</sup> This name occurs above in line 37 as *Simpivshirém*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Késava*. Similar corrupt forms of names occur in some places below.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Lakshmana-bhattah*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Rāghava*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *Lakshmidēva*.



- 86 इ. । गणपतिभट्टसुतः वीरभट्टभट्टः । योगदेवभट्टसुती यज्ञेश्वरभट्टः । सारंगनायकसुती  
गोविंदना-
- 87 यकः । दामोदरभट्टसुतः महादेवभट्टः । महानायकभट्टसुतकृष्णभट्टः । वामनाचार्य-  
सुती धनेश्वरभट्टः ।
- 88 एते जामदग्नि(मन्त्र)वत्साः । पद्मनाभभट्टसुती जानुभट्टः । विनायकभट्टसुती राघवना-  
यकः । नागनायक-
- 89 सुतपुरुषोत्तमदेवः । नरसी(सिंह)भट्टसुतचांगदेवभट्टः । महादेवभट्टसुतः कमलादेवभट्टः ।  
परशराम-
- 90 भट्टसुतः केशवभट्टः । एते वाशिष्ठाः(ठाः) ॥ पुरुषोत्तमभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । पुरुषो-  
त्तमभट्टसुती गोविंदभट्टः [1\*]
- 91 महादेवभट्टसुती वासुदेवभट्टः । एते विष्णुवृद्धाः । नागदेवभट्टसुतः खंडदेवभट्टः ।  
सुदर्शनभट्टसुतः
- 92 पुरुषोत्तमभट्टः । विश्वनाथभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । गोविंदभट्टसुती महादेवभट्टः । एते  
कौशिकाः ॥ प-
- 93 पद्मनाभभट्टसुती नागदेवभट्टः । देकभट्टसुतः आदित्यभट्टः । एतावागस्त्री<sup>1</sup> । शारंगपा-  
णिदेवसुतः क-
- 94 ण्णदेवः । रामदेवभट्टसुती ब्रह्मदेवभट्टः । एतौ विश्वामित्रौ । सांवलदेवसुती  
जोगदेवभट्टः दादं-
- 95 भट्टसुती दामोदरभट्टः । एतौ कौडिन्धौ । अनंतभट्टसुती वैजनाथभट्टः । पद्मनाभ-  
भट्टसुती दा-
- 96 मोदरभट्टः । एतौ हरितौ । शारंगपाणिभट्टसुतः चक्रपाणिभट्टः । कमलदेवभट्टसुती  
दादंभट्टः [1\*]
- 97 एतौ प्रथमात्रेयौ । भास्करभट्टसुतः कृष्णभट्टः । बापदेवभट्टसुतः सिंहभट्टः । एतौ  
विष्णुवृद्धांगिर-
- 98 सौ । मांडदेवभट्टसुतखंडिकाभट्टः । मांडदेवभट्टसुती रामेश्वरभट्टः । एतौ वाध्यश्री ।  
पद्मनाभ-

<sup>1</sup> *Agastya*, which was first incised, was subsequently altered to *Agastya*.

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- 99 भद्रसुती नागदेवभद्रः । गौत्तमः<sup>1</sup> ॥ महादेवभद्रसुतर्षांगदेवभद्रः । नैधुवः ॥ दामी-  
दरभद्रसुतपुरु-
- 100 वीत्तमभद्रः । देवरातः । गोपालभद्रसुती महादेवभद्रः । आचेयः । भास्करभद्रसुत  
आपदेवभद्रः ।
- 101 वल्लगीचः । गायत्रीभद्रसुतः कृष्णभद्रः । कपिमो(गी)चः ॥ नागदेवजीइसीसुतः परश-  
रामजीइसी ।
- 102 गार्ग्यः । नागणसुतकेशवदासः । पूतिमाणः । विष्णुभद्रसुती नरसींहदासभद्रः [I]
- 103 वासिष्ठः । अथ तैत्तिरीयाः । नारायणपेदिसुती मैरालभद्रः । माधवभद्रसुतत्रिवी(वि)-
- 104 क्रमभद्रः । गंगाधरभद्रसुतः सीमनाथभद्रः । माधवभद्रसुती मांइदेवभद्रः । एते
- 105 भारद्वाजाः । कृष्णभद्रसुती विह्वदेवभद्रः । ब्रह्मदेवभद्रसुती गणपतिभद्रः । महादे-
- 106 वभद्रसुती विश्व(स्त्रे)श्वरभद्रः । नागश्वा(स्वा)मिभद्रसुती रामेश्वरभद्रः । विष्णुभद्रसुत  
आपदेवभद्रः [I\*]

## Third Plate.

- 107 एते कौडिन्याः ॥ विष्णुभद्रसुतसीमनाथभद्रः । सिंहपेदिसुत आदित्यभद्रः । विष्णुभद्र-  
सुती ना-
- 108 गदेवभद्रः । एते आचेयाः ॥ श्रीधरभद्रसुती धनेश्वरभद्रः । केशवाचार्यसुतपुरुषोत्तम-
- 109 भद्रः । एतौ जामदग्नि(म्य)वत्सी । नागदेवभद्रसुतकीटेश्वरन(नं)[दि]ः । रु(रु)पदेव-  
भद्रसुत आपदे-
- 110 वभद्रः । एतौ गौतमौ । विष्णुभद्रसुती(तः) शार्ङ्गपाणिभद्रः [I\*] श्रीवत्सगीचः ।  
दामीदरभद्रसुतः स-
- 111 र्यभद्रः [I\*] लोहितगीचः । लक्ष्मीधरभद्रसुती रामेश्वरभद्रः । हरितः । नरसी(सिं)-  
हृषिवेदी(दि)सुतक-
- 112 मलदेवभद्रः । प्रथमाचेयः । एहणदूवेसुतनारायणपेदिः । काश्यपगीचा(चः) [I\*]  
सीमनाथप्रतिसुतः पञ्च-
- 113 नाभर्षाता । काश्यपो माध्वंदिनः । अनंतभद्रसुतसारंगभद्रः । काश्यपकाण्वः ।  
दादंभद्रसुतः काकभद्रः ॥(I)

<sup>1</sup> Read *Gautamah*.<sup>2</sup> Read *Narasimhaddaa*. The *visarga* which was wrongly incised after *aa* has been cancelled.

- 114 काकांभङ्गसर्वलभः । पृथ्वी । हरिनी । राक्षसदितसुतवसंतपंडितः । भारद्वाजः ॥  
एते सामगाः । अथे-
- 115 तद्व्यहारभूमेशाघाटाः । पूर्वतः दंडिनी । कन्दुले । दक्षिणतः केयवपुरी<sup>१</sup> ।  
सांवरिगवा । हरिकीनि-
- 116 वगौ । पश्चिमतः राजगौ । हीपरे । विंचवली । द्रुगलेगाणासंबध(ह)महादे-  
चीपुरी । उत्तरतः गंगा [1\*]
- 117 एव(वं) चतुराघाटविश्वः पुरुषोत्तमपुरापरनामधेयीषहारः कृतः [1\*] अथ ब्राह्मण-  
नियमाः । अ(का)-
- 118 चंद्रार्कमिदं भोव्यमेभिरिषां च वंशजैः । नाधेयं न च विक्रीयं सदा सखार्कवर्धि-  
[भिः] [1३१॥\*] पञ्चाननन्यां सद-
- 119 नं न देयं क्षु(क्षु)तप्रचारीपि निवारणीयः । शस्त्रादिकं वापि न धारणीयं सत्क-  
र्मान्निष्टै(ष्टै)भं(भं)वितव्यमेभिः [॥३६॥\*]
- 120 राजसेवकानां वसतिप्रयाणदंडो न स्तः । अथ भूमिदानप्रशंसा । सिंहासनं तथा  
[च्छ]वं वरास्त्रा वरवा[र]-
- 121 शाः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि फलं स्वर्गस्तथैव च [1३७॥\*] नृत्वंति पितरस्तस्य  
वलांति च पितामहाः । भूमिदोष-
- 122 त्कुले जातः सोऽर्कान्तारयिष्यति<sup>२</sup> [1३८॥\*] आदित्या इव दीप्यते तेजसा दिवि  
मानवाः [1\*] ये प्रयच्छ(च्छं)ति वसुधां त्रा-
- 123 ऋणायाहिताग्नेये [1३९॥\*] यथा जनिषी पुण्याति चीरेव स्वसुतं नृपा[1\*] एवं  
सर्वगुणैर्भूमिर्दातारमनुपुष्यति [1४०॥\*] अग्नि-
- 124 शोमादिभिर्यज्ञैरिष्टा विपुलदक्षिणैः । न तत्प(त्फ)लमवाप्नोति यहत्का(का) वसुधां नृप  
[1४१॥\*] नृत्वीर्हि<sup>३</sup> किंकरा दंडा
- 125 अग्नितापाः सुदारुणाः । वीराश्च वारुणाः पाशाः नोपसर्षन्ति भूमिदं(दम्) [1४२॥\*]  
संस्पर्शयति दातारं भूमिः प्रभव-

<sup>१</sup> Read Kēlavapuri.

<sup>२</sup> Read śōmanān śantīrogyiṣyati.

<sup>३</sup> Read Mrītyūr=hi.

- 126 तां वर । कृशय कृशयत्यथ वृत्तिक्षीणाय सीदती १[१४३॥\*] भूमिं वृत्तिक्षीणं  
दत्त्वा(त्वा) ऋषी भवति मानवः ॥[१४४॥\*] षट् वर्षसहस्रा-
- 127 षि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्वा(त्ता) आनुमंता च ताम्बेव नरके वसेत्  
॥[१४५॥\*] वारिदस्तृप्तिमाप्नोति सुखमक्ष-
- 128 वनप्रदः । तिलप्रदः प्रजापतिः दीपदश्च कुरुत्तमं<sup>१</sup> । भूमिदः सर्वमाप्नोति दीर्घमा-  
युस्तथैव च ॥[१४६॥\*] अथ
- 129 ब्राह्मणभूमिहरणे दीपाः ॥ गार्भिकां रत्निकामिकां भूमिरप्येकमंगुलं(लम्) । हरं(रन्)  
नरकमाप्नोति यावदा-
- 130 मृतसंज्ञवै(वम्) ॥[१४७॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा धी हरत यक्षुधरां(राम्) । षट्  
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायं जायते कृमिः ॥[१४८॥\*] स्वद-
- 131 तां परदत्तां वा हरत सुरविप्रयीः । वृत्तिं स जायते विद्वग्वर्षाणामयुतायुतं(तम्)  
॥[१४९॥\*] निष्ठाटकोष्ठीयाश्च
- 132 शुष्ककोटरशायिनः [१\*] कृष्णसर्पाः प्रजायन्ते ब्रह्मभूम्यपहारकाः ॥[१५०॥\*] हिनस्ति  
विषमन्तार वज्ररश्मिः प्र-
- 133 शाम्यति । कुलं समूलं दहति ब्र(ह्म)ह्मस्वारणिषावकः ॥[१५१॥\*] ब्रह्मसं दुरनुज्ञातं  
भुक्तं हन्ति त्रिपूरुषं(षम्) । प्रसङ्ग<sup>२</sup>
- 134 तु बलाद्भुक्तं दश पूर्वान् दशाघरान् ॥[१५२॥\*] गृह्णं(ञ्)ति यावतः पा(पां)सून्  
कन्दतम्रशुबिन्दवः । विप्राणां हतवृत्तीनां व-
- 135 दान्यानां कुटुम्बिनां(नाम्) ॥[१५३॥\*] राजानी राजकुल्याश्च तावतीन्द्राचिरंकुशा[१\*] ।  
कुम्भीपाकेषु पश्यन्ते ब्रह्मभूम्यप-<sup>३</sup>
- 136 हारिणः ॥[१५४॥\*] अथ भूमिपालनफलं(लम्) ॥ दानपालनयोर्मध्ये दानाच्छेयोनु-  
पालनं(नम्) । दानात्सुर्गमवाप्नोति-
- 137 ति पाणनादश्चुतं पदं(दम्) ॥[१५५॥\*] गच्छन्ते पांशवी भूमिर्गच्छन्ति वृष्टिबिन्दवः । न  
गच्छन्ते विधात्रापि भूमिसंर-
- 138 क्षणे फलं(लम्) ॥[१५६॥\*] बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[\*] सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य  
यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-

<sup>१</sup> Read either *kum=uttamam* or *Kur=uttama*.

<sup>२</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.

<sup>३</sup> This mark is to show that the word is continued in the next line.

- 139 लं(लम्) ।[५७॥\*] सामान्त्रोयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवन्निः ।[\*]  
सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवै(वै)द्रान् भू-
- 140 यो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः ।[५८॥\*] महंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेत-  
मनसो भुवि भाविभूयाः । ते
- 141 पालयंतु मम धर्ममि[मं समर्थं] तेभ्यो मया विरचितौजसिरेष मूर्द्धिः<sup>1</sup> ॥[५९॥\*]  
मंगलं महान्त्रोः ॥ छ ।

## TRANSLATION.

Om ! Obeisance to the holy primeval Boar !

(Verse 1) May Śārngapāṇi (Vishṇu) be worshipped !—(he) whose proper form consists of unsurpassed and infinite bliss and consciousness ; whose manifest power is possessed through mighty and stainless *sattva* ; who has an extremely attractive body which is an abode of auspicious things (and) who is the refuge of those who are worsted by others !

(V. 2) Glorious is the moon, the pleasure-lotus (*in the hand*) of the goddess of fortune of the three worlds, which sprang from the milk-ocean which is the pleasure-lake of Lakshmi and Nārāyaṇa !

(V. 3) Glorious is that infinite race of the moon, the creeper of whose fame shines in this world. In that race,<sup>2</sup> again, there were the bright and round pearls possessed of great and attractive lustre, *viz.*, the Vṛishṇis of unblemished character. Among them, again, there is a one-string necklace formed with a beautiful thread, (*viz.*, the Yādava family of Dēvagiri which is possessed of excellent merits) which gave lustre to the necks of poets.<sup>3</sup> In it, again, there is this central gem possessing the beautiful lustre of the wish-fulfilling jewel, (*namely,*) the king *Siṃha*.

(V. 4) What kings were not terrified to hear that by *Siṃha Ballāla* was vanquished, the lord of *Āndhra* was made to suffer a defeat, *Kakkalla* was overthrown, the lord of *Bhambhāgiri* was devoured in a moment, the king *Bhōja* was thrown into confinement on the crest of a fortress and *Arjuna* was subjugated ?

(V. 5) His son was *Jaitrapāla*, the moon to the *kumuda* which was (*his*) family (*and*) a very gracious temple of the goddess of heroism ; who by his excellent form completely quelled the pride of the god of love, the tap-root of beauty ; who was concluded to be the unique limit of the excess of magnanimity by the people who (*at first*) expressed (*their*) doubts as to whether he was *Karṇa*, or *Dadhichi*, or *Śibi*, or *Jīmūtavāhana*.<sup>4</sup>

(V. 6) From him was born the lord, the illustrious king *Kṛishṇa*, who frequently vanquished brave men. Seeing warriors fleeing away (*before him*), the regions laughed at them under the guise of his fame.

<sup>1</sup> *Visarga* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> The original has *vamsaḥ* which means also a bamboo. On this *double entendre* is based the following metaphor. According to a poetic convention, pearls are produced also from bamboos.

<sup>3</sup> Because it supplied them with an excellent subject for their poems.

<sup>4</sup> All these were noted for their great liberality.

(V. 7) He whose activities extended to Kāmapāla and to whom extensive fortune resorted of its own accord, clearly manifested himself to be Kṛishṇa,<sup>1</sup> delighting zealously a multitude of cowherds.

(V. 8) On the occasion of his march for conquest, princes disguised as bards sang as follows :— Collect, O old Gūrjara, the mass of dust in the cowpens throughout (*thy*) life ! Do not, O Mālava, stop mowing ! Cling, O Chōla, to the hem of the lower garment (*of ladies*) ! Be intent, O Kōśala, on giving up (*thy*) treasure !

(V. 9) When the king Kṛishṇa went sportively to his own city Vaikuṅṭha in order to have a look at it, that younger brother of his (*viz.*), Mahādēva, ruled over this earth thereafter ;—(*he*) whose sword, which produced the misapprehension that it was the ornamental mark of musk (*on the forehead*) of the Earth who was shining on his arm, caused terror among hostile kings.

(V. 10) Though he plunged the crescent moon into the ocean, removing her from her proper place, he is, strange (*to say*),<sup>2</sup> still called Mahādēva by the people.

(V. 11) (*Then*) was born his son the king Ammaṇa, who was possessed of great strength<sup>3</sup> and who greatly rescued the Brāhmanas oppressed by taxes, even as Skanda rescued the gods oppressed by (*the demon*) Tāraka.

(V. 12) When the Grandsire of warriors<sup>4</sup> was giving away (*in charity*), all hostile kings, indeed, became eager to receive the gifts ; since having continuously exposed themselves to the rays of the hot-rayed (*sun*), they whose minds were distressed by the reproachful words of (*their*) beautiful (*wives*), regretfully cast a (*wistful*) glance at their kingdoms.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 13) Climbing the highest Dēvagiri by means of the ladder which were the heads of hostile princes, the (*famous*) Rāma, the son of Kṛishṇa, enjoys his kingdom, forcibly wresting it from him (*i.e.*, Ammaṇa).

(V. 14) First entrance into the fort of Dēvagiri, then observation of the manner of dancing, afterwards rallying of self-willed foot-soldiers, then throwing off of ornaments, removal of the opponent who obstructed (*his*) desired object and wresting of the earth from him—these were successively accomplished by the illustrious Rāma. Hence his glory<sup>6</sup> is extraordinary !

<sup>1</sup> Kṛishṇa also is known for similar deeds. He gave protection to Kāma (*i.e.*, the god of love) who became his son Pradyumna. He was chosen by Lakshmi (who had incarnated herself as Rukmiṇī) at her *svayamvara*. Finally, he used to delight herds of cows by his sweet music.

<sup>2</sup> The astonishment is due to the fact that the god Mahādēva (whose name the king bears) always keeps on his head the crescent moon which had sprung from the ocean. The contradiction in this verse is only apparent, the figure being *Virōdhābhāsa* ; for Sōma means here the Śilāhāra king Sōmōśvara whom Mahādēva killed in a naval engagement.

<sup>3</sup> *Saktidhara* (the wielder of a spear) is also a name of Skanda.

<sup>4</sup> *Kshatra-pitāmaha* 'Grandsire of kings' was one of the *birudas* of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Thāpā plates mention in two places (lines 28 and 35-36) a similar title in connection with Rāmachandra.

<sup>5</sup> The idea seems to be that these princes were standing in the hot sun the whole day in the hope of receiving back their kingdoms as gifts from Ammaṇa. As they went home empty-handed, they were rebuked by their wives. *Līlavatī* is also the name of the first section of Bhāskarāchārya's *Siddhānta-sirōmaṇi*. Is there, then, a play on the word *chaṇḍāmētu* also (meaning Bhāskara) ? Bhāskarāchārya is not, however, known to have written a work named *Kiraṇāvālī*.

<sup>6</sup> *Śloka* means also a verse. This verse which describes the successive achievements of Rāmachandra is superior to the following traditional verse which describes in a similar manner the successive doings of Rāma, an incarnation of Vishṇu :—*Ādau Rāma-tapōvan-ābhigamanam hatvā mṛigaṁ kūrchanam Vaidhī-haraṇam Jatāyumarāṇam Sugrīva-sambhāshanam ; Vālī-nirdalanam samudra-taraṇam Laṅkā-purī-dāhanam paśchād-Rāvāna-Kumbhakarṇa-hananam-etad-dhī Rāmāyaṇam ;*



(V. 15) The illustrious Rāma,—who noticed an easy way of securing his kingdom, whose entire policy is explained by his occupation of the fort (of *Dēvagiri*), who obtained his object by his personal energy which shone by the use of various means, who showed the way to acquire wealth by forbidding actions of the auster in transgression (of the dictates of the *Śāstras*), who surpassed celestial beings<sup>1</sup> in that though a boy<sup>2</sup> he was not affected by abuse —is (verily) Śarvavarman,<sup>3</sup> who noticed an easy way of forming *paḍas*,<sup>4</sup> all of whose aphorisms are explained by Durga's<sup>5</sup> commentary, who derived the (intended) sense from roots shining with conjugational signs, who showed how to obtain the meaning (of abbreviations) without writing the letters (of the alphabet) in the reverse order,<sup>6</sup> and who has surpassed the primeval grammarians,<sup>7</sup> since not even a boy (who studies his grammar) is tainted by the use of wrong words.<sup>8</sup>

(V. 16) How can that Rāma be described?—(he) who vanquished in a moment the king of the great and extensive *Dāhala* country; who made the lord of the country of *Bhāṇḍāgāra* suffer a great defeat; who deprived the king of *Vajrākura* of his kingdom, and who subjugated in battle that (well-known) king of cowherds?

(V. 17) How can that Rāmachandra be truly described?—(he) who only by his prowess defeated with arrows the lord of *Palli* on a battle-field, made the king of *Kaṅṅakroṭja* bend low, captured by force the mighty lord of *Sanḡama* and crushed the chief of *Khēta*?

(V. 18) He abrogated the conventional rules about tolls, exempted all *agrahāras* from taxes, freed *Vatṅṅarī* from a heard of *Mlechchhas* and constructed (there) a golden temple of *Śāringadhara*.

(Lines 31-42) He, the *Pravṛṭhapratāpa-Chakravartin*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious king *Rāmachandra*, adorned by a multitude of such excellences, the sun which makes the lotus-bud, viz., the *Yādava* race, bloom, the Purandara of the city of *Dēvagiri*, granted with joy caused by the execution of all his commands, by pouring water on the hand, on *Saturday*, the eleventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Bhādrapada* in the (cyclic) year *Sādhārana* when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the *Śaka* king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the *Kānhairi khampanaka* (sub-division) included in the *Kānhairi dēsa*, together with the treasures, deposits, trees, grass, water, stones, and all dues such as fines, taxes, and cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely), *Pōkharī* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Sāgāhvāṇa*, *Piṃpalagāhvāṇa* (and) *Pālipōkharī*; *Aḍagau* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Piṃpalavāḍi*, *Kājalakōvi* (and) *Sōijaṇē*; *Vāghaure* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Simpivihirē*, *Gōlēgāhvāṇa* (and) *Dhāravāghaurē*; (and) *Kurunapāragau*—

<sup>1</sup> *Divy-ākṛitī* means a celestial being such as Rāma who was an incarnation of Vishṇu. He was blamed by the people of *Ayōdhya*, because he took back his wife *Sītā* after her stay in *Rāvaṇa's* house. (See *Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa* (Bom. ed.), *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *sarga* 63.)

<sup>2</sup> As Rāmachandra had a long reign of about forty years, he may have been in his teens when he wrested the crown from his cousin.

<sup>3</sup> Śarvavarman is the reputed author of the *Kātantra* system of Sanskrit grammar.

<sup>4</sup> A *paḍa* is a nominal or a verbal form ending in a case-affix or a termination.

<sup>5</sup> Durga or Durgasimha is a well-known commentator of the *Kātantra sūtras*.

<sup>6</sup> In the *Māhēsvara sūtras*, on which the system of Pāṇini is based, the natural order of the letters of the alphabet is reversed for the sake of the *pratyāhāras*. In the *sūtras* of Śarvavarman, however, the natural order of the letters is retained.

<sup>7</sup> In the second sense we have to make the *paḍa-chchhēda* as *jētā ādi-vyākṛitīnām* (who surpassed the primeval grammarians like Pāṇini).

<sup>8</sup> The *Kātantra* system is much easier than the Pāṇinian, so that even a boy can soon master the Sanskrit language with its aid. For the story of its origin, see the *Kathāsaritāyoga*, *lambaka* 1, *lāraṅgas* 6-7.

to the *Mahāmāṇḍalika Purushai Nāyaka*, the son of the *Phulabaḍuē Sāmvala Nāyaka*, who belongs to the *Vāsishṭha-gōtra* and is a student of the *Rigvēda-sākhā*. The following are the eulogistic verses about him :—

(V. 19) Glorious is *Vasishṭha*, the abode of austerities, who is the sole preceptor of the world, the son of the Creator, known as his second self, (and) the foremost of the seven sages ; whose wife is *Arundhatī* whose virtue is the foremost teacher for (*giving*) instruction in chastity ; and in a corner of whose cowpen there is the celestial cow which is a very moonlight for (*dispelling*) the darkness, namely, the distress of the three worlds.

(V. 20) From him another son was born like him and then from him another. Thus in course of time there sprang a noble family, an ornament of the three worlds, resembling a succession of the sun's rays causing awakening among the embodied beings troubled by the alligator-like darkness and infatuation.

(V. 21) In that (*family*) was born *Bhānusūri* who constructed in every quarter, staircases in the guise of temples for the sake of gods who had come out (*of heaven*) to receive offerings in his sacrifices ; and who, in order to raise up the creatures who had sunk low by reason of their (*bad*) deeds, excavated, as deep as the surface of the nether regions, tanks which were the mines of jewels in the form of his bright fame.<sup>1</sup>

(V. 22) From him was born *Alhadēva*,<sup>2</sup> (*who was*) a treasure of austerities, and a meeting place of all fruitful excellences ; in whose mouth dwelt with ease the fourteen lores even as the fourteen worlds do in the belly of *Hari* (*at the time of world-destruction*.)

(V. 23) From him was born a son named *Vināyaka*, the crest-jewel of (*all*) learned people In the water of the Ganges, namely, his fame, even the holy places perform the purificatory rite ; (*and*) the loud noise of the exposition of the *Vēdas* discloses his house to the supplicants who come in haste, having heard of his virtue of liberality.

(V. 24) From that learned man sprang a famous son named *Sāmvaladēva*, the friend of the love of piety, the source of glory, the essence of cleverness, the abode of contentment, forgiveness and happiness, the head of the family of compassion, the festivity of the establishment of courage, the treasury of learning, the minister of discrimination and the assembly-hall of wealth.

(V. 25) Having ascertained that like a flower he was gentle by nature, venerable, pure, capable of attracting the mind and the best abode of fortune, the king *Rāma*, the foremost of the *Yadus*, who has a keen intellect, being intent on showing favour to him, made him, (*who was*) vigilant, the superintendent of the arrangement of flowers.

(V. 26) Day by day there grew in the mind of the king affection for *Sāmvaladēva*, who was honest, beneficent, intelligent, truthful and devoted to service even as fortune did in his home.

(V. 27) Then he married, according to the sacred rite, a wife named *Akvāmbikā*, worthy of himself, who was the daughter of *Sāraṅgasūri* and the son's daughter of *Mādhavasūri* born in the family of *Jāmadagnya-Vatsa*, and who was adorned by the jewels of excellences

(V. 28) To these, who were designedly united by the wise Creator, there was born a son, bearing the fitting and significant name of *Purushōttama*. This is the eleventh incarnation of *Hari*, who reflecting on the slight blemish in incarnating himself as the fish, etc., was seeking a noble birth.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., he became famous by excavating these tanks.

<sup>2</sup>[See above, p 212, n. 7.—Ed.]

(V. 29) The Yadu king made him a minister of his Government—(him) who had double wisdom due to his association with good people marked by discrimination, double vision by his study of the extensive *śrutis* and *smṛitis*, (and) double strength by his inexhaustible courage.

(V. 30) Having shown by his brilliant command separate courses of conduct for the castes and orders of life, even as a cloud shows different paths by its lightning, he poured a large shower of gold into the treasure-house of the king.

(V. 31) The crooked and hard mind of treasonous people was quickly made straightforward by his brilliant prowess, even as the hard and curved bracelet of iron is made straight by burning fire. The cruel ones among them were burnt like thorny trees and then taken out. Then the glory of the king Rāmachandra was made bright like gold.

(V. 32) When he, who had devoted his heart to the holy places like Kāśī and Dvārakā which are the treasures of religious merit, established charitable feeding houses (in them) the capacity to yield (both) enjoyment and liberation now shines in those (holy places) which, from a consideration of the declaration of sages, were (previously) held to confer liberation only.

(V. 33) While he, who is well-conducted, devoted to his lord, modest, extremely averse to others' wives and wealth and possessed of great prowess, was conducting himself as a (noble) man, displaying herosim, there generally followed, day and night, in the wake of his glory which went forth in every direction, joy in good people and great trembling in the head and heart of wicked ones.

(V. 34) The illustrious and gracious-minded king Rāma asked him many times to make an *agrahāra* worthy of himself for (the attainment of) well-being in both the worlds. And when he accepted that honour as a great favour, he (i.e., the king) who humbles the pride (of his foes), conferred on him villages of great value by pouring water (on the hand).

(Ll. 71-80) He, that Purushai Nāyaka, the mine of such jewels of excellences, the *Mahā-māṇḍalika* of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmachandradēva*, has conferred, for the attainment of his desired object, making first the offerings of gold, rice and water on the *Kapilashashthi* in the month *Bhādrapada* included in the (cyclic) year *Sādhāraṇa* when twelve hundred years increased by thirty-two had elapsed since the time of the Śaka king, the four villages together with nine hamlets included in them, situated in the *Kānhairi khampanaka* (sub-division) of the *Kānhairi dēsa*, together with the treasures, deposits, grass, water, stones and all dues such as fines, taxes (and) cess on artisans,—(the four villages, namely), *Pōkharī* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Sāgāhvāṇa*, *Pimpalagāhvāṇa* (and) *Pālipōkharī*; *Aḍagau* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Pimpalavāḍi*, *Kājalakōvi* (and) *Sōijanē*; *Vāghaurē* (with) the hamlets included in it, (viz.), *Sūmpidihirē*, *Gōlēgāhvāṇa* (and) *Dhāravāghaurē*; and *Kuruṇapāragau*—after dividing them into *vṛttis* (i.e., parts) numbering eighty-six (and) assigning (them) to the *Brāhmaṇas*, eighty-three in number, who belong to various *gōtras* and are students of various *śākhās*, together with two gods, *agnishikā* and *prapā*, in this manner, namely, two *vṛttis* to the two gods, one *vṛtti* for (the performance of) the *agnishikā* rite and (the maintenance of) a *prapā* (charitable water-shed) (every year) and the remaining *vṛttis* numbering eighty-three to (the following) *Brāhmaṇas*. Now the names of the *Brāhmaṇas* :—

(Here follow the names of eighty-three *Brāhmaṇas* together with those of their fathers, *gōtras* and *śākhās*.)

(Ll. 114-117) Now the boundaries of this *agrahāra* land :—To the east *Dāṇḍigan* (and) *Sādulē*; to the south *Kēśavapurī*, *Sāvarigavā* (and) *Harikinibagau*; to the west *Rājagau*, *Hivarē*, *Chīncha-*

valī, (and) Mahādēvapuri joined to Drugalēgāhvāna; to the north the Gaṅgā. The *agrahāra*, which has the other name of **Purushōttamapurī**, has thus been formed with the four boundaries well-determined in this manner.

(Ll. 117-20) Now rules for the conduct of the Brāhmaṇas. This land shall be enjoyed by these (*Brāhmaṇas*) and their descendants, following always the righteous path; it shall not be mortgaged or sold. No quarter shall be given to prostitutes; the custom of gambling also shall be prohibited; (and) weapons and (*such*) other things shall not be used<sup>1</sup>. These Brāhmaṇas shall (*always*) be intent on (*performing*) good deeds. There shall be no forced contribution (*for the expenses of*) royal officers halting at and departing from (the *agrahāra*)<sup>2</sup>.

(Ll. 120-41) Now the praise of a gift of land:—

(Here follow twenty-three benedictive and imprecatory verses.)

(Line 141) May there be bliss and great fortune!

#### NO. 22.—TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI.

By MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

In August 1936 when Mr. Vats was Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona, three grants consisting of seven copper plates were sent to him by the Collector of Nāsik. They were found with a Marāṭhī Patel family, surnamed Shid, of Anjaneri village in the headquarters Taluka of the Nāsik District. **Three** of the **plates** were found to make one grant, marked **A** and **two** another, marked **B**, both issued by a king named **Prithivichandra Bhōgasakti**. Lines 1-25 of the former are identical with lines 1-27 of the latter. The remaining two plates were found to make a third grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭa III. Below are described the first two grants mentioned above as A and B.

Each of these grants was held together by two copper rings. To one of the two rings of the one marked **A** is affixed a tubular **seal** containing the figure of a lion in relief. The surface of the seal is circular and  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The three plates of this set along with the rings and the seal weigh 308 *tolas*. There is also the figure of a boar engraved in the middle of the second half of the second plate of this grant. The plates measure  $12\frac{1}{4}$  to  $12\frac{3}{8}$  inches in length and  $7\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 inches in width. As usual, the first and the third plates are inscribed on the inner faces only and the middle plate on both the sides. The inscription consists of 55 lines of writing, 14 on each of the first, second and fourth faces and 13 on the third one.

A circumscribed lotus is incised on the unscripted outer face of the first plate, while a large figure of conch shell appears upside down across the **outer face of the third plate** which bears a **postscript record** of king **Tōjavarman** in 9 lines.

The **two plates** making up the **second grant** measure  $11\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$  to  $7\frac{7}{8}$  inches. One of the two rings of this grant is missing and the remaining one has a tubular seal similar to that found in A. The weight of the two plates forming this grant together with the ring and the seal is

<sup>1</sup> Such restrictions date from ancient times. See, for instance, vv. 31 ff. of the Sirpur inscription of the time of Mahā-Sivagupta, above, Vol. XI, pp. 192 f.

<sup>2</sup> The same expression occurs also in the Paiṭhan plates. It was first interpreted by Dr. Fleet as referring to the exemption of the king's servants from fines either for staying at or for setting out on journeys from them. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 315). Later on he gave the alternative explanation that "the expression... may refer to 'fines' i.e., 'forced contributions of money or supplies' obligatory on the holders of villages on such occasions" (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 98, n. 2). There is no doubt that the latter is the correct interpretation.

178 *tolas*. In this, the inscription consists of 38 lines only, 12 being inscribed on the first plate, 14 and 12 respectively on the inner and outer faces of the second plate.

Both the grants are, on the whole, well preserved, but in some cases owing to portions of the plates being more or less corroded certain letters of grant B are not quite legible.

The **characters** in the inscriptions belong to the southern variety of the seventh century A.D. and are similar to those of the Valabhī and Gurjara grants of the same period. They are crowned by small circles and are more angular than rounded, mark. for instance, the letters *m*, *v*, and *d*. Among peculiarities of the inscription in grant A, it may be pointed out that the sign for the medial long *ū* is used in two ways, cf. *Pūrvatrikūta*, l. 38 and *Pūrvvā satam*, l. 39. The sign for initial *ē* in l. 54 deserves to be noted specially with reference to the same sign in ll. 14 and 31 of grant B. Equally remarkable are the forms of letters *ph* and *bhū* in lines 52 and 53 respectively. It may also be noted that both the forms of *l* are found in this inscription. As regards the **orthography** it may be stated that the sign for *upadhmanīya* is but once used in l. 44 of A and a consonant is usually doubled both before and after *r* as in *gōtra*, *putra*, *parākkrama*, *vikkraṇta*, *kkriyā*, *kshōbhīt-ārṇava*, *nirvīśeṣa*, *varmma*, *dākshiny-ādābhir-gguṇaṅ*, *pūrvva*, *dēvasy-ārchhana*, *Janārddana*, etc. *Ṇ* is used for *anusvāra* in *vaṅśasy* (l. 6) and *Sīṅhavarmma* (l. 9). The **language** of the records is Sanskrit prose with the exception of the invocatory and the imprecatory verses at the beginning and end.

As regards the **peculiarities** of the inscription in grant B, it may be stated that the signs for the medial *u* and *ri* and the subscript *r* are not easily distinguishable from one another. So also is the case with *ṣ* and *t*. The *rēpha* is turned round to the left of a letter so much so that it goes above it. In this inscription, too, a consonant is usually doubled before and after *r*. Grant A seems to contain Sanskrit renderings of certain local words or phrases e.g., *karaṇē kōvēraṅ*, l. 35, *ghṛita-sētikā*, l. 37. Of the former, the sense is not at all clear, but the latter was possibly a small measure such as a ladle<sup>1</sup>.

In both the grants, the records open with an invocatory verse in praise of the boar incarnation of the god Viṣṇu as is always the case with the inscriptions of the Western Chalukyas of Bādāmi who were acknowledged as their overlords by the kings of the **Harīśchandra family**. Then follows the prose portion describing in usual terms the origin of the **Chalukya** family in which was ruling the emperor **Vikramāditya**, who was an ornament of the whole earth. This is followed by the description of a ruler named **Svāmichandra** whose sovereign **Vikramāditya** Chalukya considered him as his son, who was an ornament of the Harīśchandra family and who enjoyed the possession of the whole of the **Puri-kōṅkaṇa**, consisting of 14,000 villages. Svāmichandra's son was **Simhavarman** and the latter's son was **Bhōgaśakti**, who bore the second name of **Prithivichandra**<sup>2</sup>. Much of the further portion of the inscription is devoted to an extravagant praise of this feudatory king Bhōgaśakti.

The grant marked **A** was issued by Bhōgaśakti after addressing the state officials etc. of **Gōparāshṭra**, eastern **Trikūṭa**, **Amrarājī**, **Mairikā**, two **Mahāgiriḥāras**, and **Palla Aḍhamba[ka]** divisions, and its **object** was to provide for conducting the worship of the god Nārāyaṇa and for dance, music, free kitchen, etc., at the temple which had been built at **Jayapura** by **Bhōgēśvara** who is probably to be identified with **Bhōgaśakti** himself. The endowment made for the above purposes consisted of the revenues of eight villages, *viz.*, **Jayagrāma**, **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa**, **Pālitapāṭaka**, **Kōkilākshaka**, **Kalahaka**, **Mradgāhitaka**<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [He also seems to have had the *biruda* Tribhuvanāṅkuśa (l. 25A, l. 27B).—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]

**Kshēmagiraka** and **Annagrāma** and the income derived from certain taxes. The taxes consisted of certain levies during the *yātrā* festival of the god from every shop in the market and every court-yard(?); and on the import and export of every load of caravan; a handful of corn, and a fixed measure of ghee from (every house in) the principal village in each of the sub-divisions of **Gōparāshtra**, **Āmrarāji**, and **Mairikā**; and in like manner from other villages<sup>1</sup>; one hundred *Krishnarāja* rupees from the sub-division of eastern **Trikūṭa**; two hundred *Krishnarāja* rupees from the western **Mahāgiri**hāra and one hundred from the eastern one; and fifty *Krishnarāja* rupees from the **Palla Ādhamba** sub-division. But the above eight villages, on which taxes were thus imposed, were exempted from all the usual exactions of forced labour, etc. A committee of five or ten merchants was enjoined, in accordance with the established custom of the town, to arrange for the *yātrā* festival of the god **Vishṇu** for a whole fortnight in the month of **Mārgaśīrsha**. The management of the temple was vested in the merchant guild of the town of **Jayapura** and the local merchants were exempted from (all other state) taxes.

This grant is dated in the year 461 of an unspecified era. Its scribe was **Bharatasvāmin**, an inhabitant of **Kallivana**.

The grant **B** refers to the re-colonisation of the formerly deserted **Samagiripattana** (the township of **Samagiri**) along with **Chandrapurī** and four other hamlets called **Ambayapallikā**<sup>2</sup>, **Savānēyapallikā**, **Maurēyapallikā** and **Kamsāripallikā**. All these were vested in the town council of **Samagiripattana**, the merchants whereof were exempted from the payment of custom duties, the *aputradhana*, etc. The town council was also empowered to impose fines for certain moral delinquencies and other crimes.

The outer face of the third plate of grant **A** bears another inscription of nine lines in characters larger in size and slightly different in form from those of the main inscription. It records the grant by king **Tējavarman** of a free pasture land in the village of **Pālitapātaka** near **Jayapura**, already mentioned in the main inscription. In lieu of this land belonging to the god *Bhōgēśvara-dēva*, who is identical with the *Bhōgēśvara-pratishṭhita-Nārāyaṇa* of the main inscription, one hundred rupees were deposited by him with the merchant guild of **Jayapura** as a perpetual endowment, the interest of which was to be utilised for providing *guggula* for the daily worship of the god.

It is interesting to note that **Tējavarman**, who calls himself a *rājan*, is mentioned also in grant **B** wherein he is said to have promulgated the orders contained in the grant. As **Bhōgaśakti** and his predecessors also bore no more assuming a title than *rājan* it is possible that **Tējavarman** belonged to the same family and might even have been a successor of **Bhōgaśakti**, since his record appears as a postscript to grant **A**.

The great historical importance of the present grants lies in the fact that they bring to light a new feudatory dynasty which ruled in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century A.D. over the vast territory comprising the whole of **Purī-kōṅkaṇa** consisting of 14,000 villages which apparently included the present **Nāaik District** under the sovereignty of the **Western Chalukyas**. The first member of this feudatory family, which was named after **Hariśchandra**, was **Svāmichandra**, who acknowledged the sovereignty of **Vikramāditya**, the **Western Chalukya** emperor who, as we know, reigned from 655 to 680 A.D. It is specially noted in the inscriptions that **Svāmichandra** was loved by his overlord as his own son. The figure of a boar, the emblem of the **Chalukya** family of **Bādāmi**, engraved on the reverse of the second plate of Grant **A**, was probably meant to indicate respect and loyalty to the Imperial dynasty, whereas

<sup>1</sup> [See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [See below p. 237, n. 3.—Ed.]

the figure of a lion embossed on the seals attached to the plates was presumably the emblem of the Hariśchandra family. Since nothing is specifically mentioned in the inscriptions to the credit of Svāmichandra's two successors, Śimhavarmanarāja and Bhōgāsakti, it may be concluded that they did little in raising the importance of the family.

There is nothing in the inscription to denote the era to which its date should be referred. The Chalukya emperors, to whom Bhōgāsakti's family owed allegiance, used no doubt the Śaka era in all their grants and ordinarily it might be expected that the same would be used by their feudatories of the Hariśchandra family as well. But that the date 461 of our record cannot be referred to the Śaka era is obvious from the fact that Svāmichandra, the grandfather of Bhōgāsakti who is the donor of the present grant, was a contemporary of the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 655 to 680. This is possible only if the date is referred to the **Kalachuri era** which is found generally used in inscriptions of the period discovered in the Lāṭa country and the Nāsik District<sup>1</sup>. The inscription therefore belongs to the year 709-10 A.D. The Hariśchandra family, although it owed allegiance to the Chalukyas, seems to have adopted the Kalachuri era in their grants because it was current in the country.

The Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II, dated A.D. 634, tells us that this ruler had defeated the Mauryas of Kōṅkaṇa and had subdued the city called Purī<sup>2</sup>, which was the glory of the western sea. But we know that in the concluding years of Pulikēśin's reign his hold over the northern territories had slackened. Svāmichandra of the Hariśchandra family, who was probably ruling over a small territory round about Jayapura in the Nāsik District, seems to have rendered such signal services to the Chalukya emperor Vikramāditya, son of Pulikēśin, in consolidating his power over the western and northern parts of the empire that he was not only considered as his son by the emperor but, as may be inferred from our Anjaneri plates, also appears to have obtained from him as a reward the whole of the territory known as Purī-kōṅkaṇa.

The Dhōṅḍhaka grant<sup>3</sup> of the Chalukya Jayasimhavarman, younger son of Pulikēśin, shows that he was ruling over the Nāsik territory in about Śaka 580 (A.D. 658). Similarly, the Nirpaṇ plates<sup>4</sup> found in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District record a grant by Tribhuvanāśraya-Nāgavardhana, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimhavarman, one of the younger brothers of the emperor Pulikēśin himself, of a village named Balēgrāma in the Gōparāśhṭra *vishaya*. Although there are strong reasons to suppose that the Nirpaṇ plates are spurious, yet from both of these it is clear that a portion of the Nāsik District was for some time in the possession of a scion of the Imperial family. Now our Anjaneri plates show that the divisions of Gōparāśhṭra and others were in the possession of Bhōgāsakti and probably of his predecessors too. This was possible only if Vikramāditya had taken out the territory from the possession of a scion of his own family and granted it to Svāmichandra for his valuable services.

It seems strange, however, that no successor of Vikramāditya has been mentioned in the record, not even the sovereign Vijayāditya (A.D. 697-733) who was reigning at the time of this inscription. It need not be supposed from this that the Chalukya emperors lost hold over the pro-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. (a) Ābhōna (Nāsik District) plates of Śankaragaṇa dated in the year 347 = A.D. 595. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 297 ff. (b) Vaḍṇēra (Nāsik District) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 360 = A.D. 606. Above, Vol. XII, pp. 33 ff. (c) Sarsavṇī (Baroda State) plates of Buddharāja dated in the year 361 = A.D. 609. Above, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff., verses 20-21.

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Medieval History of the Dekkan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

vince in which Bhōgaśakti was ruling, since the latter makes a proper mention of the Chalukya family at the beginning of the inscription and engraved the figure of a boar in the middle of it showing thereby that he had full regard for the Imperial family and owed allegiance to it.

Secondly, a copper plate grant referring to the reign of Vijayāditya was found at Balsār<sup>1</sup> in Gujarāt which was issued from the town of Maṅgalapuri by the Rājā Maṅgalarasa, son of Dharāśraya-Jayasinhavarman, the younger brother of Vikramāditya I. Contrary to the usual practice of the Gujarāt grants, this record is dated not in the Kalachuri era but in Śaka 653 and this fact suggests that the record really belongs not to the Lāṭa country but to the territory above the Ghāts in the direction of Nāsik and Khāndesh. This shows that Vijayāditya's power was acknowledged in the Nāsik District as late as A.D. 731. The failure, therefore, to mention the name of the reigning emperor in the Anjaneri grants indicates not so much the carelessness of the scribe or the draftsman of the record as the troublous times.

We do not know how long after the date of our inscription the Hariśchandra family continued to rule over Puri-kōṅkaṇa, but it seems certain that with the overthrow of the Western Chalukya power by the Rāshtrakūṭas the family of Svāmichandra suffered the same fate, for the Kanheri cave inscription of Śaka 765 (A.D. 843-44) states that the Śilāhāra chief *Mahāsāmanta* Pullaśakti was ruling over the whole of the Puri-kōṅkaṇa holding it through the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amōghavarsha. Pullaśakti's father, Kapardin I, seems to have founded the Śilāhāra family of north Kōṅkaṇa at the beginning of the ninth century. This is another reason to suppose that the Hariśchandra family ruled not later than the middle of the 8th century and ended with the fall of the Imperial Chalukyas.

The mention of the *Kṛishṇarāja rūpakas* in the inscription is important. It shows that at the time of the Anjaneri plates there were in use in the Nāsik District silver coins named after Kṛishṇarāja. There can be no doubt that this Kṛishṇarāja was the famous Kalachuri emperor, whose son Śaṅkaraṇa (Śaṅkaragaṇa) issued the Sāṅkheḍā plate<sup>2</sup> of Śāntilla and whose coins were found not only in Dēvalanā in the Nāsik District but also in the islands of Bombay and Salsette. These bear the legend *Paramamāhēśvara Kṛishṇarāja* and the figure of a bull.

The *yātrā* festival in honour of the god Viṣṇu mentioned in the inscription A is interesting. That it was held in the month of *Mārgaśirsha* is stated in l. 44 of grant A. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs that the occurrence of a special festival in the bright fortnight of *Mārgaśirsha* is a peculiar feature in some parts of the Marāṭhā country. Thus among the Brāhmaṇas of Nāsik and Ahmadnagar there is a regular *Navarātra* festival in this month just as there is the usual festival in the month of *Āśvina* celebrated all over India. The sixth day of the fortnight is called *Champā-shashṭhī* which is particularly observed among the Dēśastha Brāhmaṇas. Most of the people above the Ghāts have as their tutelary deity Khaṇḍōba of Jejuri near Poona, to whom *Champā-shashṭhī* is sacred. Khaṇḍōba is a peculiar deity, perhaps originally equivalent to Skanda, but having quite independent characteristics such as a dog for a *vāhana*. It is very likely that the fair or festival referred to above dates back to the time of the present inscription.

The following localities are mentioned in grant A: **Gōparāshṭra, Pūrva-Trikūṭa, Amrarāji, Mairikā, Mahāgiriḥāra, Palla Aḍhamba[ka], Jayapura, Jayagrāma, Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālitapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka<sup>3</sup>,**

<sup>1</sup> See *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 23 f.

<sup>3</sup> [See below p. 232, n. 2.—Ed.]



**Kshēmagiraka, Annagrāma and Kallivana.** The first six are stated to be *vishayas* or territorial divisions. The approximate situation of **Gōparāshṭra** can be known from the mention in the Nirpaṇ plates referred to above, of a village named **Balēgrāma** as situated in the **Gōparāshṭra-vishaya**. **Balēgrāma** is no doubt to be identified with modern Belgaum-Taralha in the Igatpuri Taluka of the Nāsik District. **Jayapura**, where the temple of Nārāyaṇa was situated, may be Jarvad Budrukh, 10 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Jayagrāma** may be Jaikheda in the Dindori Taluka. **Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa** is Ambegaon, about 23 miles north-west of Nāsik; **Kalahaka** may be Kokangaon, 2 miles south-east of Jaikheda and **Mradgāhitaka**, Maganpara, 5 miles north-west of Jaikheda. **Kallivana** is undoubtedly Kalvan in the Nāsik District, which is also mentioned in some other grants of the period.

The localities mentioned in grant B are **Samagiripaṭṭana, Chandrapurī, Ambayapallikā, Savāṅṅyapallikā, Maurēyapallikā** and **Karṅsāripallikā**, Samagiripaṭṭana cannot now be traced, but it was probably situated near Chandrapurī with which it is coupled in the present grant, and which is probably identical with Chandrachi Met, 12 miles south-west of Anjaneri. **Savāṅṅyapallikā** may be Samundi, 5 miles north-east and **Karṅsāripallikā** may be Karholi or Karohavadi, 6 and 7 miles respectively east of Chandrachi Met. **Maurēyapallikā** may be Morwadi, 3 miles south-west of Nāsik<sup>1</sup>.

#### Grant A.

#### TEXT.

#### First Plate.

- 1 श्री<sup>2</sup> [1\*] जयत्याविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वाराहं श्रीभितार्खव(वम्) [1\*] दक्षिणीव्रतदंष्ट्राग्रविष्णो-  
न्तभुवनं वपुः [11] [१\*]
- 2 श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसगीच्छाणां समलीकमादृभिः सममादृः
- 3 भिरभिवर्धितानां ।<sup>3</sup> कार्त्तिकीयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्याणपरंपराणां भगवन्मारायण-
- 4 प्रसादसमासादितवराहलाञ्छनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुच्छाणां च-
- 5 लुक्षानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलको महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीविक्रमादि-
- 6 त्यवहृत्प्रस्तत्यादप्रसादीपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषी हरिश्चन्द्रवङ्गस्थालंकारभूतः(त)श्वर-
- 7 दुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलचन्द्रमा इव प्रजानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्री नाम राजा धेने-
- 8 दं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्रसंख्यं सकलमपि पुरीकीङ्गणं भुक्तमासीत् [1\*] तस्य च  
राज्ञः[\*] श्रीस्वा-

<sup>1</sup> We have to thank Prof. V. V. Mirashi of the Nagpur University for suggesting the identification of most of the place names mentioned in the grants and also for making some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

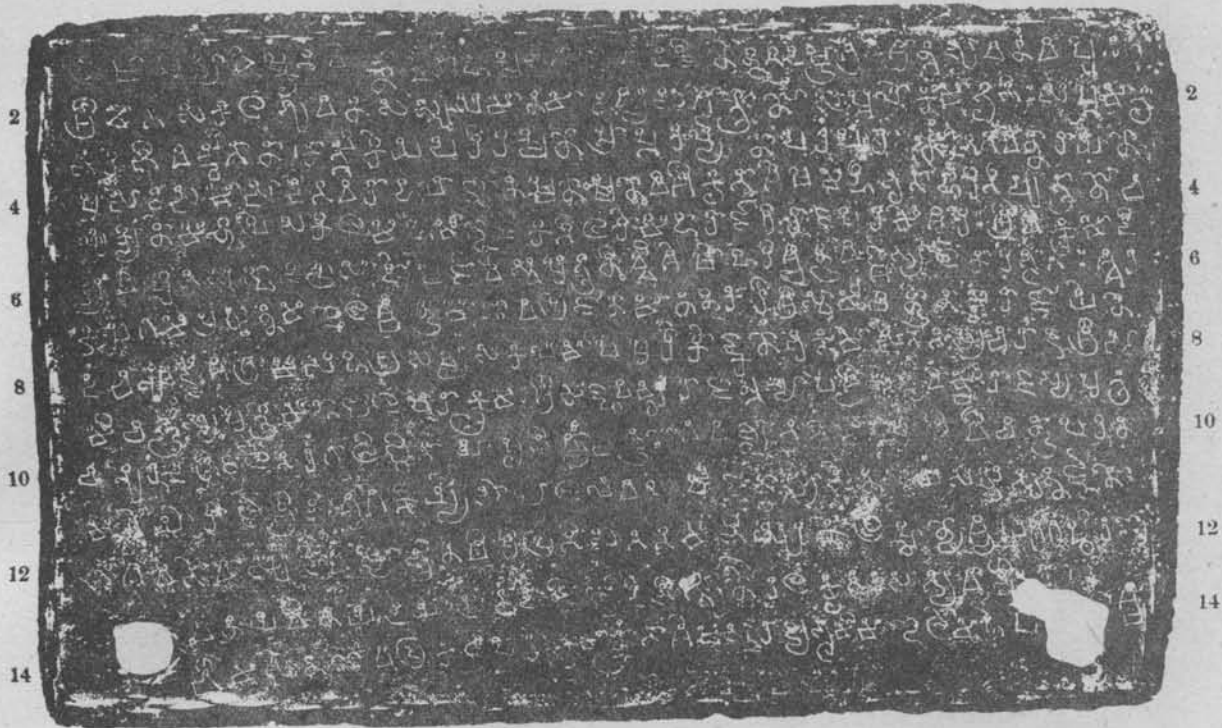
<sup>2</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>3</sup> *Daṅḍa* unnecessary.

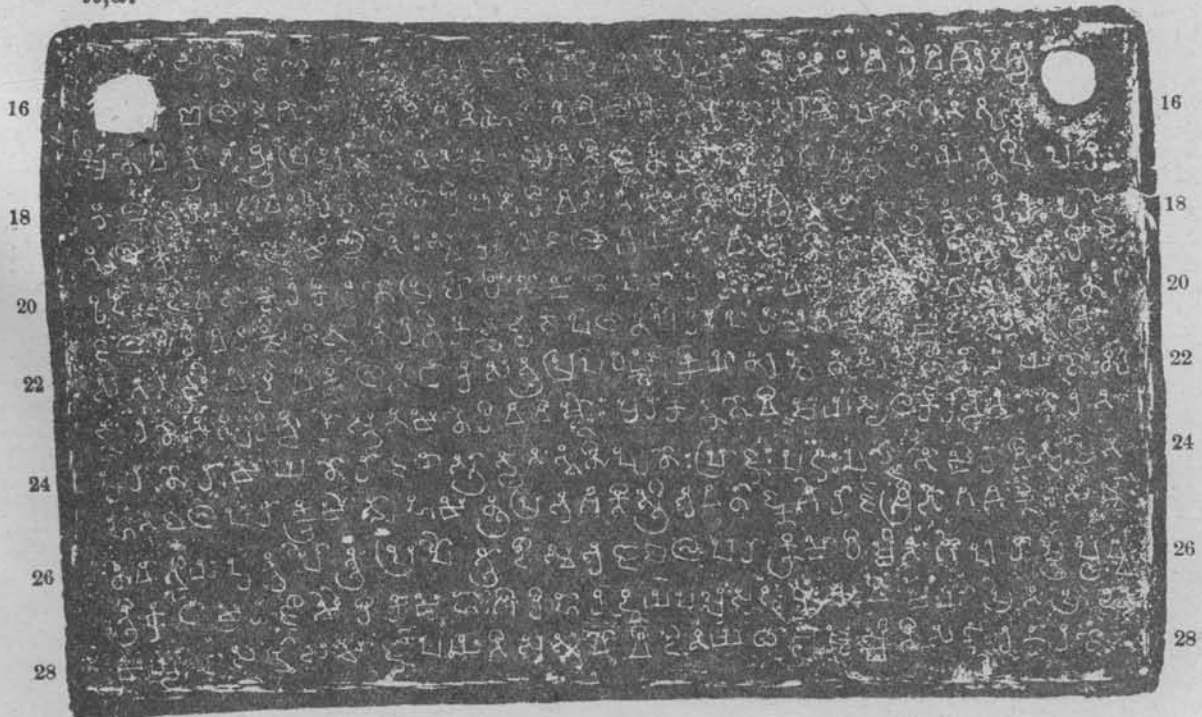
TWO GRANTS OF PRITHIVICHANDRA BHOGASAKTI. (I).

Grant A.

i.



ii.a.



ii, b.

30  
 32  
 34  
 36  
 38  
 40

30  
 32  
 34  
 36  
 38  
 40

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate with two circular holes on the left and right sides. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines.

iii, a.

42  
 44  
 46  
 48  
 50  
 52  
 54

42  
 44  
 46  
 48  
 50  
 52  
 54

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate with two circular holes on the left and right sides. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines.

- 9 मिचन्द्रस्य पुत्रो महाबलपराक्रमः श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्मराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्म-  
राजस्य पुत्रः.]
- 10 चतुर्दधिलतंरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव विख्याततेजाः पृथिवीचन्द्रापरना-  
11 मधेयो राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिर्व्योसौ बाल एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानी  
12 भगवतो वासुदेवस्वार्चनविधिं प्रति सततमभियुक्तो ब्रह्मण्यश्च युधिष्ठिर इ-  
13 व नयविनयदयादानदासिख्यादिभिर्गुणैरलंकृतः सत्यवादी च  
14 भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराक्रमाङ्गांताशेषस्त्रराज्यभूमिमण्डलो महाब[ल]श्च
- Second Plate ; First Side.*
- 15 अर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानोपदेशानुवर्त्ती समरविधिविशारदश्च  
16 बलदेव इव नृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रोडासुहोपभोगतत्परः  
17 क्षणं विक्रान्तश्च प्रद्युम्न इव सकलयुवतिजनमनीहरं वपुर्धारयन्नपि पर-  
18 कलक्षनिस्तृहः वनवारणयूथाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रवृत्तदानार्द्राङ्कितकरः पद्मी-  
19 त्पलकुमुदमण्डमण्डितः स्वाद्दृढको जलाशय इव प्राणिनां दृष्ट्याविच्छेदकारी  
20 उदितदिवसकरकिरणप्रबीधितो महापद्माकर इव त्रिशी निवासभवनं  
21 जलधिरिव रक्षितस्थितिरनेकभूभृत्पालनपरः परमगम्भीरो महासत्व(स्त्व)श्च  
22 सततमेव देवकुलतटाकसन्नप्रपाधर्मद्विगुणानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानु-  
23 स्मरणतत्परश्च ।<sup>1</sup> कौस्तुभमणिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकीङ्कणविषयस्यालंकारभूतः भारत-  
24 पुराणरामायणराजशास्त्रार्थतत्त्वनिपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रति-  
25 हतबलपराक्रमीत्साहसन्त्रप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवनाङ्गुशी राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः सर्वा-  
26 नेवात्मैयपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादी<sup>2</sup> स्वभुजबलपराक्रमाधिष्ठिता<sup>3</sup> गोपराङ्गपूर्व-  
27 ष्टिकूटाम्बराजीमैरिकामहागिरिहारहयपन्नभाटम्बकविषया . . . .<sup>4</sup>  
28 मर्त्यादां(दान्) सर्व्वा(र्व्वान्) समाप्नापयति अस्तु वो विदितं यथा सृष्टिस्वितिसङ्गा-  
(संहा)रकारणं

<sup>1</sup> *Deeds unnecessary.*<sup>2</sup> *Read -prapautir-ādān.*<sup>3</sup> *Read °āśīkṣhitān.*<sup>4</sup> [Reading seems to be *Palluādhambaka-vishayām(yān) Prīśkradā-maryyādām(dān)*. In l. 29 the first name is read as *Pallūdhamba*.—Ed.]

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 29 देवातिदेवं सुरासुरगुरुं भगवंतं वासुदेवं मुक्ता नान्या विधिष्टदेवतास्त्री-  
 30 ति मत्वा जयपुरे भोगेश्वरप्रतिष्ठिताय पुराणपुरुषाय परमात्मने भगव-  
 31 ते नारायणाय गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपसन्धा(श्वा)र्जनीपलेपनक्रियास्यं नृसंगीतवाद्यो-  
 32 पेतसंगीतकार्यं सञ्चार्यं खण्डस्कृतिसंस्कारार्थं च [1] मातापित्रारात्मनश्च पुष्प-  
 33 वृक्ष्ये अष्टौ ग्रामा आदानानि च प्रतिपादानि [1] तेषामानि जयग्रामः  
 अम्बे-  
 34 अक्षयणं [1] पालितपाटकः कोकिलाक्षकं<sup>1</sup> कलहकः अज्ञाहितकः<sup>2</sup> चैम-  
 35 गिरकः आक्षयामश्च [1] आदानानि [1] आपणेषु आवाराः करणे कीर्तिरं [1]  
 सार्थवह्निकेषु  
 36 प्रवेशे निर्गमे च प्रत्येकं रूपकः देवस्य यास्त्रीस्ये दातव्यं [1] गोपराष्ट्राञ्जरीभै-  
 37 रिकाविषयेषु ज्येष्ठिकाग्रामे सुटकः<sup>3</sup> छतसेतिका च अनेनावतारेण इतरे-  
 38 ष्वपि ग्रामेषु [1] पूर्वक्षिण्टविषये कृष्णराजरूपकशतं १०० [1] महागिरिहारे  
 अपरे  
 39 कृष्णराजरूपकशतद्वयं २०० पूर्वं शतं १०० पल्लवविषये कृष्णराजरूपकाः [1]  
 पञ्चाशत् ५०  
 40 ये चाष्टौ ग्रामास्ते सर्व्यादानविधिप्रातिभेदिकापरिहोणाः अचाटभटप्रवेश्याः  
 41 अभ्यंतरसिद्धिकाः आचन्द्रार्ज्यव्यतिस्वितिसमकालीनाः य-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 42 तस्तस्मादक्षयैः प्रबलपवनप्रेरितोदधिजलतरंगचंचलं  
 43 जीवलीकमवलोक्य अयमक्षययोनुभंतव्यः पालयितव्यश्च [1]  
 44 वणिग्भिर्पंचभिर्ह्यभिरपि नगरधर्ममवलंब्य मार्गशीर्षमासस्य पक्षमात्रं  
 45 देवस्य विष्णोर्व्याघ्रोक्तवस्मारयितव्यः [1\*] यो वाज्ञानतिभिराहृतमतिराष्ट्रिभ्यादा-  
 46 ष्टिव्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्माहापातकैश्चयुक्तः [1\*] स्वात् [1\*] यदेतद्दे-

<sup>1</sup> A figure of a boar is engraved here.<sup>2</sup> [Reading seems to be *Mudgā*.—Ed.]<sup>3</sup> [Reading is *mūṣkab*. See below p. 235, n. 3.—Ed.]

- 47 वङ्गलं तद्वणिङ्गराय निरूपितं तैश्च सर्वैर्भगवतो देवस्य शुश्रूषा योगचेम-
- 48 च वीटव्यः [1\*] नगरस्य च स्थितिर्निश्चयते [1] ये स्थानवासिनो याणिककास्त्रोषां  
शुष्कं जेमकी
- 49 वा कदाचिदपि नास्ति । य एतां स्थितिं भिनत्ति स पञ्चभिर्गहापातकैः[\*] संयुक्तः[\*]  
स्यादिति ।
- 50 षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मीदति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ताम्बेव  
नरके वसेत् ॥ [२\*]
- 51 पूर्वदनां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर । महीं मतिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयानुपा-  
लनं(नम्) [1] [३\*]
- 52 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[४\*]
- 53 विंध्याटवीश्वतीयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं  
हरति ये ॥[५\*]
- 54 संवत्सरशतचतुष्टये एकपद्यधिके ४०० ६० १ शासनं लिखितं कश्चिद्वन-
- 55 वास्तव्येन भरतस्वामिना ॥

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

*Inscription of Tejavarman.*

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति श्रीतेजवर्मराज्ञा(राजेन) जयपुरस्य दक्षिणायां(णस्यां)
- 2 दिशि पालित्पाटको गोप्रचारी मुक्तः [1\*] तस्य च प्र-
- 3 माणं चतुर्दिक्षु दुर्गादेवि(वी)सहिता[\*] शैलिमा गावो स्थापिताः[\*] सीम-
- 4 स्त्र<sup>३</sup> तदेव प्रमा<sup>४</sup>णं [1\*] तस्य गोप्रचारस्यार्थं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य भूमिनि-
- 5 ष्कार्यार्थं जयपुरवणिङ्गरस्य रूपकशतं<sup>५</sup> दत्तं तस्य च रूपक-
- 6 शतस्य वृद्धिः गुगुलमूष्यं भोगेश्वरदेवस्य वर्षप्रतिवर्षं
- 7 नगरेण यावदाचन्द्रार्कतारकं दातव्यं यो वास्या-
- 8 म्भया कर्षति<sup>६</sup> स पञ्चभिर्गहापातकैःसंयुक्तो भ-
- 9 विष्यति ॥

<sup>३</sup> *Dhī* which was first omitted is written below the line in smaller character.

<sup>४</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>५</sup> Read *śimāṣ* or *śimāṣṣ*.

<sup>६</sup> *Mā* which was at first omitted, is written below this line.

<sup>७</sup> *Tam* was at first omitted and then written below the line.

<sup>८</sup> Read *karishyati*.

## TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1) Ōm. Victorious is the form of Vishṇu manifesting itself as the boar, which troubled the ocean and which had the earth resting upon the tip of its up-lifted right tusk.

(Ll. 2-6) In the family of the illustrious **Chalukyas** who belong to the *Mānavya gōtra* praised over the whole world; who have been nourished by the seven mothers, the mothers of the seven worlds; who have attained an uninterrupted continuation of prosperity through the protection of (*the god*) **Kārttikēya**; who subjugated all the kings in an instant at (*their having*) a sight of the boar-insignia which was acquired through the favour of the lord **Nārāyaṇa**; and who are the descendants of **Hārītī**—(*was born*) the *Mahārājāhīrāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Vikramāditya Vallabha**, the sole forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the whole earth.

(Ll. 6-28) Living upon the favour of his (**Vikramāditya's**) feet and being unto him like his own son, was the illustrious king named **Svāmichandra**, who was an ornament of the **Hariśchandra** family, who delighted his subjects like the autumnal bright full moon and who enjoyed (*the possession of*) the entire **Purī-kōṅkaṇa** consisting of fourteen thousand villages. The son of this king **Svāmichandra** was the illustrious king **Siṃhavarman**, who was great in strength and prowess. And this illustrious king **Siṃhavarman's** son was the illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** also known as **Ṙṣṥivichandra** whose glory like that of the moon is resplendent on the earth embraced by the waves of the four oceans; who even as a child, was imbued with inborn knowledge acquired by constant application in his previous births; who is ever engaged in the worship of the god **Vāsudēva**, and is well versed in the sacred lore; who like **Yudhisṥṥira** is adorned with the virtues such as justice, modesty, compassion, charity, courtesy, etc., and is also truthful; who like **Bhīmasēna** is a great hero and has filled the circle of his entire kingdom by his manifest prowess; who like **Arjuna** is adept in the art of war and is a follower of the teachings of **Kṛishṇa**; who like **Baladēva** is given to the enjoyment of dance, music, merry-making, flirtation and sports and (*at the same time*) would be heroic in a moment<sup>1</sup>; who, though endowed like **Pradyumna** with a physique which attracted the hearts of all damsels, has no desire for the wives of others; whose (*right*) hand, like the trunk of the leader of wild elephants wet with the incessant flow of ichor, is moistened on account of his being constantly engaged in performing charities; who quenches the thirst of beings like a pond of sweet water adorned by multitudes of lotuses and lilies; who is the abode of splendour like a large tank of lotuses blossomed by the rays of the rising sun; who like the ocean is steadfast, is the protector of numerous kings and is profound and noble as the ocean is used to keep within its boundary, protects numerous mountains (*in its depth*), is profound in depth and contains large (*aquatic*) animals; who is ever eager to perform acts of charity such as (*the construction and endowment of*) temples, tanks, free kitchen and water stalls; who is given to the contemplation of **Nārāyaṇa**; who is the ornament of the **Purī-kōṅkaṇa vishaya** as the **Kaustubha** gem is of **Vishṇu**; who is skilled in (*ascertaining*) the real import of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and in king-craft; who is wise, sagacious, learned and intelligent; who is endowed with irresistible strength, valour and (*the attributes of*) *utsāhaśakti*, *prabhūśakti* and *mantraśakti*; who is the goad of the three worlds (*Tribhuvanāṅkuṣa*)—the same illustrious king **Bhōgaśakti** commands all his sons, grandsons, great-grandsons, etc., placed in charge of the *vishayas* of **Gōparāshṥra**, eastern **Trikūṭa**, **Amrarājī**, **Mairikā**, two **Mahāgiriḥāras** and **Palla Ādhamba-  
[ka]** which have been acquired by the prowess of his arms (and all others)<sup>2</sup>:

<sup>1</sup> If *kṣhanam* is taken in the sense of happiness then this phrase might be translated as "who had conquered (i.e., acquired complete possession of) happiness."

<sup>2</sup> [I would translate ll. 25-28 as follows:—"Bhōgaśakti commands all his sons, etc., and all the districts of Gōparāshṥra, etc., upto the boundary of **Prētsradā**, which were conquered by the prowess of his own arms and courage".—Ed.]

(Ll. 28-49) "Be it known to you that having recognised that no other pre-eninent deity excepting the god Vāsudēva who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction, who is the supreme god, and who is the god of gods and demons, I have made to the god Nārāyaṇa, the Primeval Being and the supreme spirit, installed by Bhṛṅgōśvara in (*the town of*) Jayapura, in order to augment the merits of my parents and myself, an endowment of eight villages together with the taxes thereof so as to provide (*at the temple*) for perfume, flowers, incense, light, ablutions and unguents and also for dance, vocal and instrumental music, free kitchen, repairs and upkeep. The names of these (*villages*) are Jayagrāma, Ambō-Avaṅgaṇa, Pālittapāṭaka, Kōkilākshaka, Kalahaka, Mradgāhitaka, Kshēmagiraka and Annagrāma. As to the taxes, the stall tax is to be levied in the market places, a rupee each is to be paid on the occasion of the god's *yātrā* at the entry and exit of each caravan of merchandise. *Muṭakas*<sup>1</sup> (handfuls) of corn and *Sētikās*<sup>2</sup> of ghee are to be levied from (*every house in*) the principal village of each of the *vishayas* of Gōparāshtra, Āmrarājī and Mairikā, and in like manner from other villages too.<sup>3</sup> (*Taxes to be collected in cash are*) 100 one hundred *Krishnarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of eastern Trikūṭa; 200 two hundred *Krishnarāja* rupees from the western Mahāgiriḥāra and 100 one hundred from the eastern one; and 50 fifty *Krishnarāja* rupees from the *vishaya* of Pallūḍhamba. (*In consideration of the above*) these eight villages have been exempted from all kinds of taxes, forced labour and vexatious interference; they are not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops (*and*) they are to enjoy rights over wealth underground. This grant shall last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth endure. Therefore, viewing the world as unsteady as the waves of the sea ruffled by a strong wind, this grant of ours is to be upheld and maintained by our descendants. The *yātrā* festival of the god Vishṇu should be arranged by (*a committee of*) five or ten merchants for a whole fortnight in the month of *Mārgaśīrṣha* in accordance with the established custom of the town. Whoever, blinded by the darkness of ignorance, shall confiscate or assent to confiscation (*of the grant*) he shall be guilty of the five great sins. Since this temple has been entrusted to (*the care of*) the town merchants, on them shall devolve the proper worship and service of the divine Lord. And the following town convention is laid down. The local merchants shall, for ever, be immune from customs duties and feeding expenses (*of officers on duty*). Whoever shall violate this convention, shall be guilty of the five great sins."

(Ll. 50-53) [Here are four of the usual imprecatory verses.]

This grant was written by Bharatasvāmin, an inhabitant of Kallivana in the year 461 (expressed both in words and in figures).

#### Inscription of Tōjavarman.

(Ll. 1-9) Ōm hail. The king Tōjavarman has given a free grazing ground (*within the limits of the village*) Pālittapāṭaka situated to the south of Jayapura. For the demarcation thereof along with (*the temple of*) the goddess Durgā stone sculptures of cows have been set up on all four sides. That is the measure of its extent. In order to compensate for the land belonging to

<sup>1</sup> This term is still used in Mahārāshtra.

<sup>2</sup> Might be a small measure such as a ladle or a derivative from *suktikā* or mother-of-pearl.

<sup>3</sup> [I would translate the passage as follows:—'One load (of corn) and one *sētikā* of ghee from the principal village of the districts of Gōparāshtra, etc., and in the same proportion from the other villages also.' I would connect *mūṭaka*, which seems to be the reading here, with the word *mūṭa* or *mōṭa* (Hindi *moṭh*) meaning a 'bundle' or 'provision bag'. *Sētikā* is apparently connected with *sētakā* of the *Purāṇas* which is equivalent to 4 *palas* or approximately 14 *talas*. See Edward Thomas—*Ancient Indian Weights*, p. 26. I am, however, unable to suggest any meaning for *kōṭra* in l. 36.—Ed.]



Bhōgēsvaradēva now converted into a pasture, one hundred rupees have been deposited with the merchant guild of Jayapura. And from the interest of this one hundred rupees should be met, year after year, the cost of guggula for the (worship of the) god Bhōgēsvara until the sun, moon and stars endure. Whosoever shall interfere with this shall be possessed with the five great sins.

## Grant B.

## TEXT.

## First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णोर्वीराहं श्रीभिततार्क्षर्व(वम्) [1\*] दक्षिणीभत[दं]द्राम-
- 2 विद्यान्तभुवनं वपुः [11१\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानमान<sup>२</sup>-
- 3 व्यसगोक्षाणां सप्तलीकमाहभिसप्तमाहभिरभिवर्षितानां कार्तिके-
- 4 यपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकक्षाणपरंपराणां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादस-
- 5 मासादितवराहलाकनेक्षणक्षणवशीकृताशेषमहीभृतां हारीतीपुष्पा-
- 6 णां चतुष्कानामन्वये सकलमहीमण्डलैकतिलकी महाराजाधिराजपर-
- 7 नेश्वरश्रीविक्रमादित्त्ववृक्षभस्त्यादप्रसादीपजीवी स्वपुत्रनिर्विशेषी
- 8 हरिचन्द्रवंशस्वात्मकारभूतः शरदुपगमप्रसन्नमण्डलचन्द्रमा इव प्र-
- 9 जानामानन्दकारी श्रीस्वामिचन्द्री नाम राजा धेनेदं चतुर्दशग्रामसहस्र-
- 10 संख्यं सकलमु(म)पि पुरीकीकणं भुक्तमासीत् [1\*] तस्य च राज्ञः श्रीस्वामि-  
चन्द्रस्य
- 11 पुत्री महाबलपराङ्म[1\*] श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्धराजस्तस्यापि श्रीसिङ्घ(सिंह)वर्धराजस्य
- 12 पुत्रश्चतुर्दधिजलतरंगालिङ्गितायां पृथिव्यां चन्द्र इव

## Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 विख्याततेजा[1\*] पृथिवीचन्द्रापरनामधेयी राजा श्रीभोगशक्तिः योसौ बाल
- 14 एव पूर्वजन्माभ्यासेन स्वयं समुत्पन्नज्ञानी भगवती वासुदेवस्वार्चनवि-
- 15 क्षिं प्रति सततमभियुक्ती ब्रह्मस्वयं युधिष्ठिर इव नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
- 16 ष्वादिभिर्[र्गु]षैरलंकारस्वत्ववादी च भीमसेन इव प्रकटपराङ्माङ्गान्ताशेषस्वरा-
- 17 ण्यभूमिमंडली महाबलश्च चर्जुन इव जनार्दनज्ञानीपदेशवर्ती समरविधिविद्या-
- 18 रदश्च बलदेव इव शृत्तगीतहसितविलसितक्रीडासुखीपभोगतत्परः क्षणं वि-
- 19 क्षातश्च प्रधुक् इव सकलभुवतिजनमनीहरं वपुर्धारयन्नपि परकलत्रनि-
- 20 स्सुहः शनवारण्युधाधिपतिरिव सततमभिप्रसन्नदानार्द्राक्षतकरः पद्मी[त्यल]-

1 Expressed by a symbol.

2 One māna is redundant.

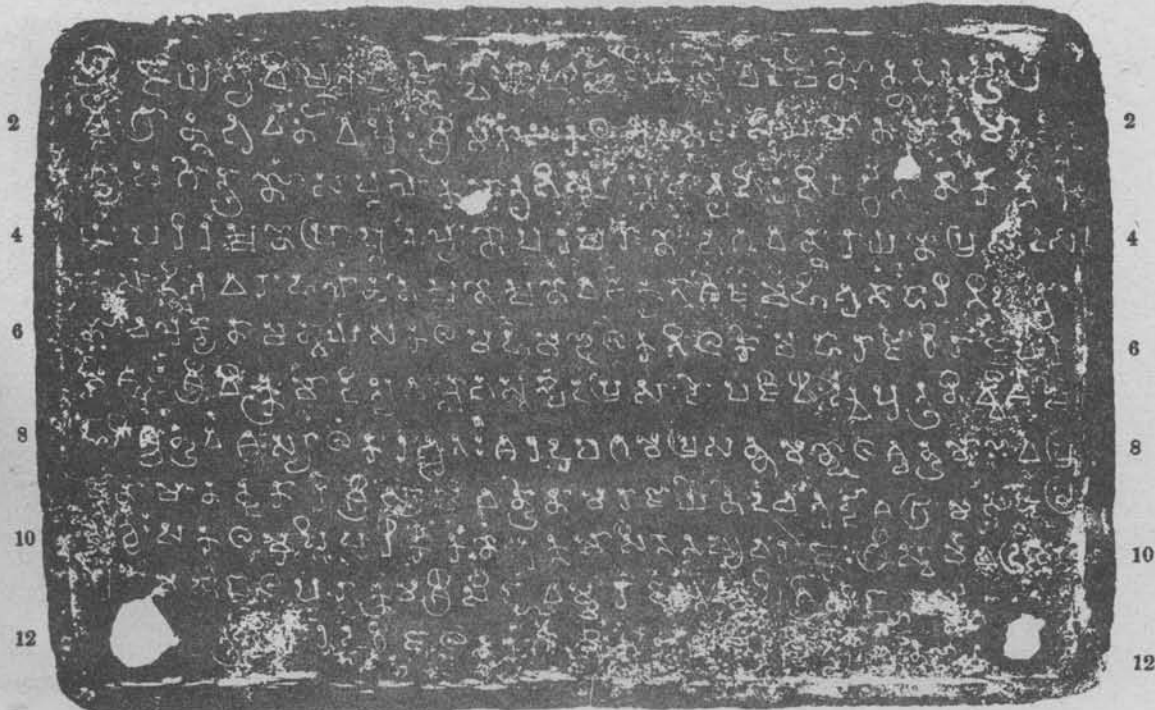
Inscription of Tejavarman.

iii, b.

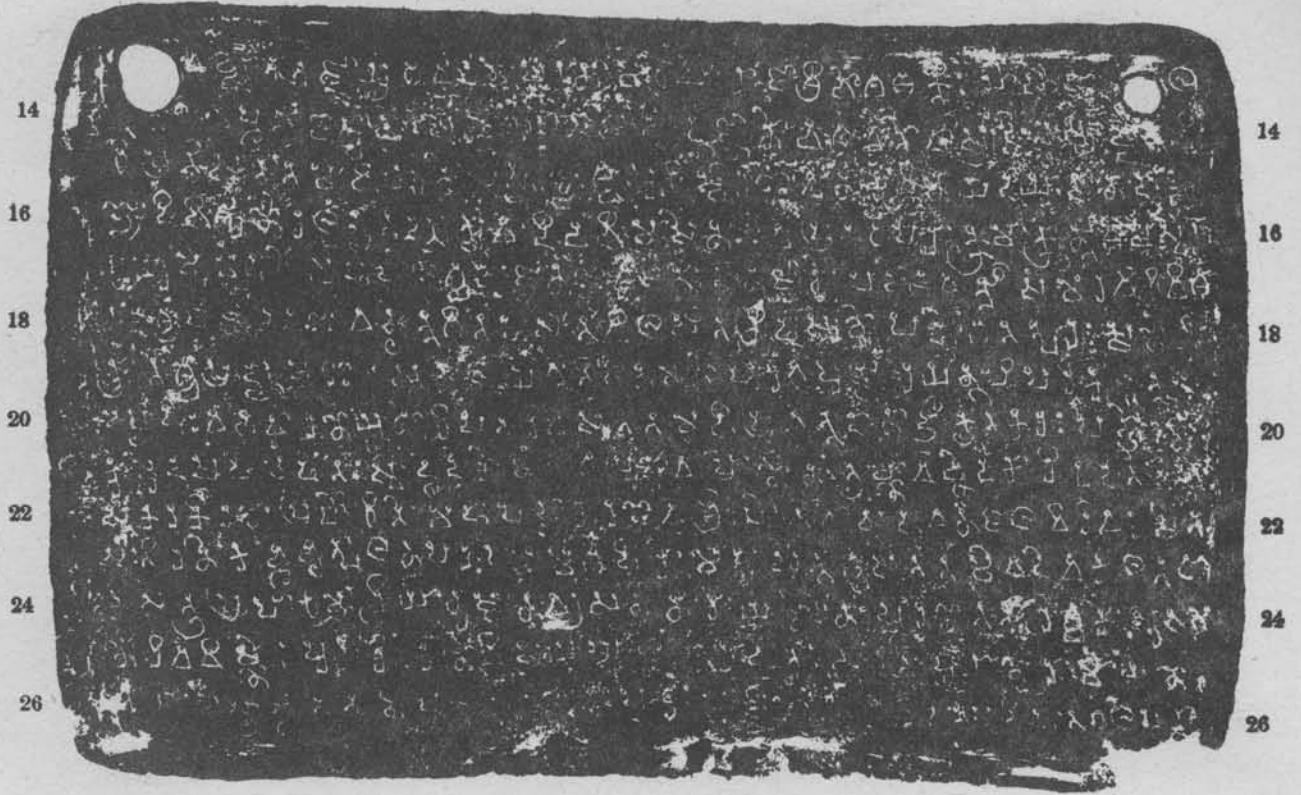


Grant B.

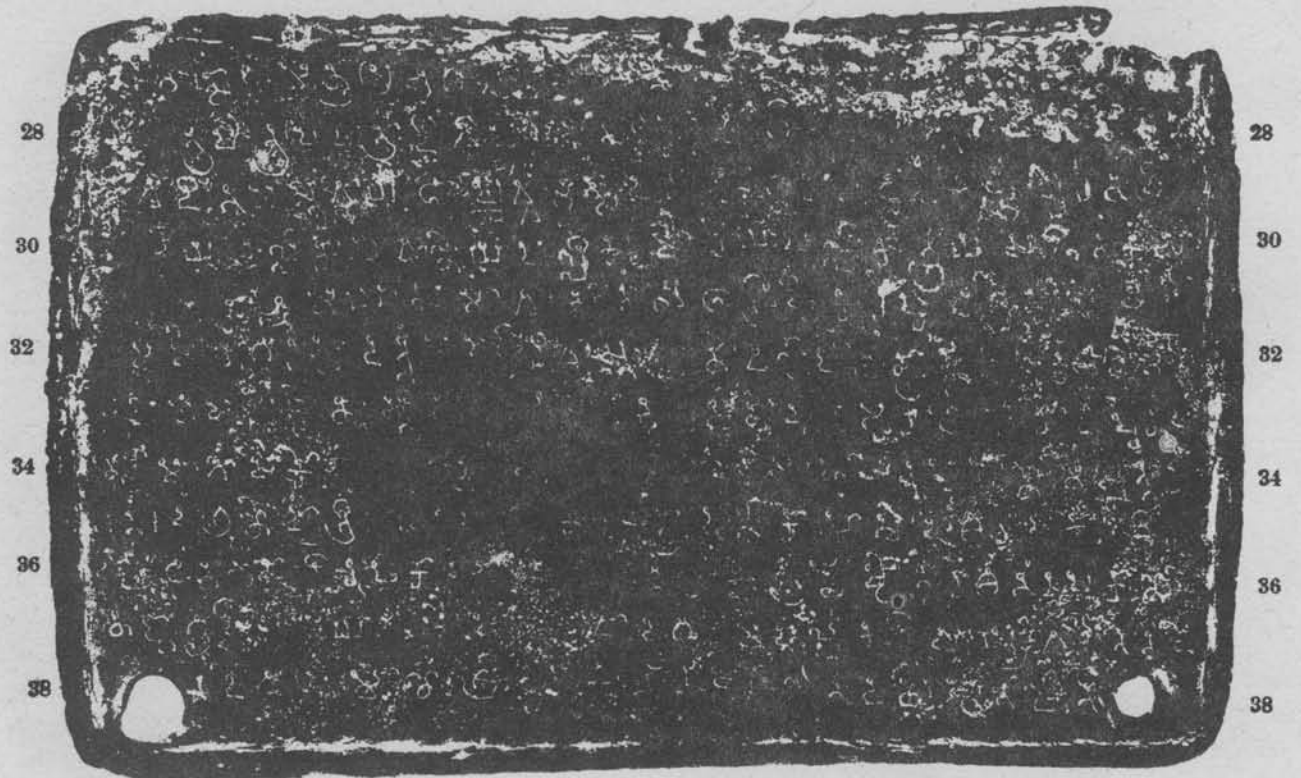
i.



*ii.a.*



*ii.b.*



- 21 [कुं(कु)]मुदबंधमंडितः स्वादूदकी जलाशय इव प्राणिनां तृणाविच्छेदकारी उदितदिव-  
 22 सकरकिरणप्रबोधितो महापद्माकर इव त्रियी निवासभवनं जलवि(धि)रिव रक्षित-  
 23 स्वितरनेकभूभृत्यालनपरः परमगंभीरो महासत्व(स्व)श्च सततमेव देवकुलतटा-  
 24 कसन्नप्रपाधर्मीक्रियानुष्ठानव्यसनी नारायणानुस्मरणतत्परश्च कौस्तुभम-  
 25 णिरिव विष्णोः पुरीकीकणविषयस्वालंकारभूतः भारतपुराणरामायण-  
 26 राजशास्त्रार्थतत्व(स्व)निपुणः प्राज्ञः पटुः पण्डितो मेधावी अप्रतिहतबलपरा-

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 27 [कुमो]त्साहमन्वप्रभुशक्तिस्त्रिभुवन[कुशी] [राजा भोगशक्तिः सर्वनिवाली\*]-<sup>1</sup>  
 28 यपुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रादीं(दीन्) विषयपतिग्रामभोगिकम[ह]त्तरा[दीं(दीन्) समाप्तापय]-<sup>2</sup>  
 29 ति विदितमस्तु वी यथा पूर्वमुत्सादितं [स]मगिरिपट्टनं चन्द्रपुरीसहितं]  
 30 [च\*]म्बय<sup>3</sup>पञ्जिकास[वा]णियपञ्जिकामौरियपञ्जिकात्रयसहितं कंसा-  
 31 रिपञ्जिका च मया समावासितं एलञ्चेष्टिकरपुटञ्चेष्टिप्रमुख-  
 32 समस्तनगरस्य दत्तं समगिरिवास्तव्यानां वणिजां चन्द्रार्ककालिकं शुक्कमादी(दे)-  
 33 यं समस्तराज्ये नास्ति [!]\* अपरं च अपुत्रधनं वा(ना)स्ति उम्बरमेद[:]  
 राजपुरुषा-  
 34 षामावासकी जमकश्च एतन्नास्ति [!]\* कुमारीसाहसे रूपकाणामष्टीत्तर-  
 35 शतं । संग्रह<sup>4</sup>णे द्वात्रिंशतिरूपकाः कर्षचौडणिकायां षोडश रूपकाः शिर-  
 36 स्कीटने चत्वारि रूपकाः भारिकायां वणिकपुत्रस्वाष्टीत्तरशतं रूपकाणां  
 37 नङ्गे गृहीतस्य यद्वाष्टौ षोडश वा नगरमहङ्गका विचार्य वदते तदे<sup>5</sup>  
 38 तदेव प्रमाणं [!]\* त्रीतेजवर्धराजेन एतदनुष्ठितमिति ।

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-28) [Common with Grant A.]

(Ll. 29-38) " Be it known to you that the deserted lands comprised within the township of Samagiri along with Chandrapuri and the three hamlets of *Ambayapallikā*,<sup>4</sup> *Savāpāyapallikā* and *Maurāyapallikā* as well as *Karnāripallikā* have been recolonised by me and vested in the town council headed by the merchants *Ēla* and *Karapuṭa*. The merchants residing in Samagiri (*paṭṭana*) shall, for ever, be exempt from the payment of custom duties throughout the kingdom; their property shall not escheat to the state in the absence of a male heir; nor (*shall they pay registration fee*) owing to partition of joint property<sup>7</sup> and they shall not have to provide

<sup>1</sup> This portion within square brackets is completely effaced and the reading is restored from Grant A.

<sup>2</sup> This portion within square brackets is badly corroded and hardly any letter is visible.

<sup>3</sup> [Reading seems to be [A]mmēya.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *Ha* is written below the line.

<sup>5</sup> *Tade* is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> [See above, n. 3.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit informs me that *umbara* (derived from Skt. *udumbara*) wood is still used for the door sill in Mahārāshtra and that therefore the sense is partition of the joint family property.

accommodation or provisions to the state officials. (*The town council is also empowered to levy the following fines :—*) Rupees one hundred and eight for outraging the modesty of a virgin ; rupees thrity-two for adultery ; rupees sixteen for the mutilation of ear ; rupees four for bruising the head ; rupees one hundred and eight if a merchant's son is found to have illicit connection with a female porter ; and should one be caught in the actual act of adultery whatever eight or sixteen elders of the town council shall determine that shall be final. This has been promulgated by the illustrious king Tōjavarman.

No. 23.—A NOTE ON THE RAGOLU PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN AND THE CHALUKYAN CONQUEST OF KALINGA.

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

The inscription on these plates has been published by Dr. Hultzsch in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pages 1 ff. In the spring of 1922, when I happened to visit Jeypore (Vizagapatam District, Madras Presidency), the owner of the plates, M. R. Ry. G. Ramdas Pantulu, B.A., offered them for sale to the Government. They have been subsequently bought and deposited in the Government Museum, Madras.

One important point to note in connection with this record is that in line 4 Dr. Hultzsch reads *samanvāgatān-tahapatitān*. I may suggest that a more correct reading would be *samanvāgatān-grihapatikān*. This could be read clearly on the original plates and the facsimile plate given also shows the reading. It may be noted that in this inscription the subscript letter *ta* has the shape of an inverted narrow cup with unequal arms and carries with it a small upward stroke in the centre of the top with which it is joined to the main letter. For example, see the letters *sta* in the expression *parihṛitas=ta°* in l. 10, *tta* in *-pravṛittayā* in line 11 and *nta* in the expression *ch=ānumantā* in l. 20. On the other hand, the subscript letter *ga* being of the same shape is broader and has equal arms unlike *ta*. Moreover, *ga* generally bears no stroke on the top though in a few cases when it is attached to the main letter above, such a stroke is formed by the upward extension of the proper left arm ; see *Kalīngādhipati* (l. 1), *Kalīnga-vishayē* (l. 3), and *svarggē* (l. 19). The sign for *ri* of *gri* is partly damaged in the facsimile plate. It is likely that being close to the slightly raised margin, it has not come off clearly enough in the ink impression. But it is not totally invisible on the facsimile plate. The existing traces may be compared with that of *vri* in *vṛiddhayē* in l. 6 and that of *hri* in *parihṛita* in l. 10. As for the letter *ka* of the expression it is quite clear on the facsimile plate as well as on the original. The suggested reading suits the context much better than the existing one with the proposed emendation.

The word *grihapati* or *grihapatika* (' a householder ') occurs in many Prākṛit inscriptions as the attribute of a donor or a relative of a donor under the Prākṛit form *gahapati* or *gahapatika*.<sup>1</sup> In one or two cases *kudubika* (Sanskrit *kuṭumbika*) i.e. householder and *kuṭumbinī* (wife of a householder) are also mentioned.<sup>2</sup> In the Eastern Chālukya copper-plates the royal order of gift is invariably addressed to the *kuṭumbins* of the granted village, to whom the *grihapatikas* of the Rāgōlu plates correspond.

It is interesting to note that the grant was issued by the early king Śaktivarman of the Kalīnga country from Piṣṭapura which was also famous as the capital of king Mahēndra whom Samudragupta conquered with many other kings of the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Barring this, the men-

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (above, Vol. X, Appendix) and above, Vol. XIV, pp. 154 and 155.

<sup>2</sup> Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1121 and 1127.

tion of the place in the Rāgōlu plates would be the earliest and the first in a copper-plate record in point of time which, judging from the characters of the plates, may be said to be about the 4th century A.D. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri was of the opinion that it was even earlier—some time even prior to Samudragupta. The subsequent mention of the place is in the Aihole inscription of the early Chālukya king, Pulikēśin II,<sup>1</sup> which refers to the Chālukya capture of Piṣṭapura, *i.e.*, the Chālukya conquest of the Kalinga country. These events must have happened before Śaka 556 (=A.D. 634-35) which is the date of the last mentioned inscription. It is therefore reasonable to infer that the Chālukya conquest of Kalinga by the capture of Piṣṭapura, must have happened in or before the year A.D. 634. Piṣṭapura subsequently became the provincial or independent seat (*vāsaka*) of Viṣṭuvardhana who, with the title *Mahārāja*, issued the Timmāpuram plates from this city.<sup>2</sup> This record with the Chīpurupalle plates of this same king issued in his 18th regnal year<sup>3</sup> would tend to show that the Kalinga country was under the Eastern Chālukyas from this period.

The discovery of the copper-plate inscriptions of the later kings of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, *viz.*, Kokkilivarma-Mahārāja (A.D. 709) so far north as the village Muñjēru in the Bimlipatam Taluk of the Vizagapatam District, the mention therein of the Madhyama-Kalinga country in which the village granted by the king was situated, together with the mention of Elamañchili (the modern Yellamañchili in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the same District) as the *vāsaka* (residence) of the king<sup>4</sup> show that the Chālukya dominion in the Kalinga country continued to last even up to the beginning of the eighth century A.D. In the same tract of country has been found a copper-plate grant of his son Mañgi II<sup>5</sup>. A grant of the later Chālukya king Bhīma I (A.D. 888-918) also records the gift of a village in the Elamañchili-Kalingadēśa and Dēvarāshṭra<sup>6</sup>. These records go to prove that the Chālukya kingdom in the Kalinga country lasted even down to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The Chālukyan authority here seems to have been opposed for a time after the close of the first quarter of the 10th century A.D., since we are told in an unpublished copper-plate grant of Amma II<sup>7</sup> that after the short reign of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 925-926) who was killed and succeeded by Yuddhamalla II whose reign lasted for seven years (*i.e.*, A.D. 927-934), the feudatory Śabara chiefs, the commanders of the Vallabha (*i.e.* Rāshtrakūṭa) forces and others rebelled and apportioned among themselves the northern Chālukyan territory for seven years. We may here infer that the revolution and usurpation in the Kalinga country occurred in and lasted throughout the seven years' rule of Yuddhamalla II. The recalcitrant feudatories and their allies who had usurped authority were driven away by Chālukya-Bhīma II who recovered the Kalinga country and ruled over the entire Chālukya kingdom for 12 years. The troubles in the Kalinga country did not end here but again recurred in the time of Amma II (the son of Chālukya-Bhīma II), who after reigning for 11 years had to proceed to the Kalinga country in wrath against Kṛishṇa (probably Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III)<sup>8</sup> who was evidently interested in fomenting trouble against the Chālukyas in the Kalinga country. We may conclude that the Chālukya dominion in the Kalinga country practically came to an end or at least grew very weak about or after A.D. 950. Taking A.D. 633 as the probable year of the Chālukya conquest of Kalinga as stated at first we may say that the Chālukyan dominion in the Kalinga country lasted roughly for three centuries.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1909, p. 105.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 117.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 106.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*



## No. 25.—CHARALA PLATES OF VIRARAJENDRADEVA : SAKA 991.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A. AND V. VENKATASUBBA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The present plates<sup>1</sup> are stated to have been discovered in 1935 by one Narasā Redḍi, a resident of Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, while he was removing earth from a manure-pit in his garden. The whereabouts of the plates could not however be immediately traced, but with the assistance of Rao Saheb Totadri Ayyangar, Deputy Superintendent of Police, who was then in charge of the Tirupati Division, they were finally located and secured on loan for examination. They have since been purchased by Government and are now deposited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. We edit the plates from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The set consists of seven oblong copper-plates with raised rims, each measuring 9" by 4", and strung together on a ring 4" in diameter, passing through a ring-hole at the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of a flat circular seal 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter and  $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. The different leaves of the set do not bear serial numbers engraved near the ring-hole. The plates weigh 154 *tolas* and the ring and seal together weigh 57 *tolas*.

The seal bears in relief from left to right the figures of (1) a lamp-stand, (2) a tiger seated on its haunches facing the proper left and with its tail tucked up between its legs and rising in front up to the neck, (3) a pair of fish in the vertical position, and (4) a lamp-stand. Canopying the fish and the tiger is a tasselled parasol, flanked on either side by a *chauri*.<sup>2</sup> Below this group is shown a bow curving upwards and with the bow-string in position. All round the margin of the seal is engraved in raised Grantha characters, which are somewhat obliterated in places, the following Sanskrit verse<sup>3</sup> in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre stating that the charter was issued by king Virarājendra :

*Vīśair viśvambharādhiśair*=[*nnanditair*]=*vandita*[*m=ida*]m [!]\*  
*Śāsanam Virarājendra-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ* [!]\*

All the plates have writing on both their sides except the first one, which bears writing on one side only. Each fully written side has, on an average, about 18 lines in the Sanskrit portion and 15 in the Tamil; and the complete record consists of 211 lines. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The languages used are Sanskrit for the *praśasti* and genealogical preamble of the inscription which is of considerable length running up to 81 numbered verses, and the *rāja-bhāṣā*<sup>4</sup> Tamil for the documentary portion. The alphabets employed are respectively Grantha and Tamil characters attributable to the 11th century A.D. The Grantha letters are well shaped and cleanly cut, but the Tamil letters exhibit a slight carelessness in execution.

The inscription engraved on these plates is dated in Śaka 991, Saumya and the 7th year of the Chōla king Rājakēsarivarman Virarājēndradēva and registers the royal gift of the village Chērām<sup>5</sup> alias Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Pulī-nāḍu made from

<sup>1</sup> Registered as C. P. No. 1 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1937-38.

<sup>2</sup> The *chauri* and umbrella appear to have been intended as honorific emblems. These are also found on the top of an inscription of Parāntaka I at Piḷaipākkam (No. 176 of 1929-30 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) and also on the top of images of gods in niches in early Chōla temples.

<sup>3</sup> This verse is repeated in lines 189-191 of the text.

<sup>4</sup> The Punganur taluk where the plates were discovered was the border between the territories, whose spoken languages were Kannada, Telugu and Tamil, and inscriptions in all these languages are found in this locality. Tamil being the court-language of the Chōla kings, the documentary portion, which was drafted by a Chōla officer, was couched in that language.

<sup>5</sup> The form of the name is somewhat peculiar, without the 'village' suffix, like Buddhām, etc.



Kāñchīpuram, to three Brāhmins named Sō(Śrō)triya-Kramavittaṅ, Mundaya-Kramavittaṅ and Pallaya-Kramavittaṅ of the Ātrēya-gōtra and Bahudhānya (Bōdhāyana)-sūtra and of the lineage of a certain Ṛishikēśava (Hṛishikēśa)-Bhaṭṭa of Chērām, on the occasion of the Uttarāyana-Saṅkrānti. This document is of interest as being the first copper-plate charter of this king.

For a study of Chōḷa seals<sup>1</sup> we have so far five specimens and the one attached to the present plates, therefore, forms a useful addition. Of these, the seals attached to the two sets of Leiden plates, Madras Museum, Anbil and the present Chārāla plates, have the same objects represented on them, while the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates exhibits a few more emblems. In shape, however, the two Leiden seals are slightly more ornate, being lotus-like in shape, while the rest are circular; but this may be due only to a difference in the work of the designer. In the Chārāla seal the Chōḷa emblem, the tiger<sup>2</sup>, is seated in the proper right side and facing towards the left, instead of the right as in the other cases. The animal is delineated with claws drawn out, leaving no room for doubt as to its identity, and the two fish are also clearly portrayed. But in point of finish and neatness of execution, the two Leiden seals are the best. The tiger, the pair of fish and the bow are well-known emblems of the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Chēra dynasties respectively, and the juxta-

<sup>1</sup> The seals of the early copper-plate grants contain only the *birudas* of kings, such as *Tribhuvanānkuśa*, *Viśva-siddhī*, *Prabhakṛu*, etc. The three early copper-plate grants of the Pāṇḍyas have no seals, and we do not know what legend, if any, this dynasty had used. The Pallava seal of Nandivarman III (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 501) has a defaced legend in the *Anuśtubh* metre running round its margin. In the Vijayanagara, Nāyaka and Sētupati copper-plate grants, the respective sign-manuals of the dynasty were engraved at the end of the documents themselves and not on the seals. The Chōḷa seals, however, have one full verse in the *Anuśtubh* metre engraved on them. The formal verses of the four kings Sundara-Chōḷa, Uttama-Chōḷa, Rājendra-Chōḷa and Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I are reproduced below for purposes of easy reference. Of these, the text of the legend on the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa is given here for the first time.

(a) Sundara-Chōḷa—

*Saśrat(d)-viśvambharā-nētram Lakṣmī-jaya-[sa\*]vōruham |*  
*śāsanam śāśvatam śrīmad-Rājakṣarivarmmaṇa[ḥ\*] ||* —(Anbil Plates).

(b) Uttama-Chōḷa—

*Nyāyāndam śāsanam kurvat-śāsanam cakrabhūbhritā |*  
*śāsanam bhūpatē-ētat Parakṣarivarmmaṇaḥ ||* —(Madras Museum Plates).

(c) Rājārāja I—

A stone record of this king opens with the following verse, which is likely to be found engraved on the seals of his copper-plate grants.

*Ētat viśva-nripa-śrēṇi-mauṣi-māl-ōpalāṭitam |*  
*śāsanam Rājārājasya Rājakṣarivarmmaṇaḥ ||* —(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 1).

(d) Rājendra-Chōḷa—

*Rājād-rājanya-makuṣa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam |*  
*ētat-Rājendra-Chōḷasya Parakṣarivarmmaṇaḥ ||* —(Tiruvālaṅgādu Plates).

The seal of the larger Leiden plates has also this verse engraved on it. On the analogy of the form of the legend of the present seal which is also reproduced in ll. 189 to 191 of the text and the fact that legends on circular seals have probably to be read clockwise beginning from the centre of the top, the two lines of the verse given above, Vol. XXII, p. 213, have to be interchanged.

(e) Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa—

*Puṇyam kṣhōṇivara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāya śāsanam |*  
*śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷasya Rājakṣarivarmmaṇaḥ ||* —(Smaller Leiden Plates).

Here also the lines of the verse as read in above, Vol. XXII, p. 267, have been interchanged.

<sup>2</sup> It may be noted that king Virarājendra claims to have set up pillars of victory (*jaya-bhadraṭṭān*) at several places with the emblem of the tiger engraved on them (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67). The Mahēndragiri inscription of Rājendra-Chōḷa I (No. 396 of 1896) has also the figure of a tiger seated in front of two fish carved near it.

position of the latter two to the tiger on Chōla seals is meant to indicate the political supremacy of the Chōla over the Pāṇḍya and Chēra kings. The other objects such as the pair of *chauris*, the two lamps on either side, etc., belong to the group of eight objects called the *ashṭamaṅgalam*,<sup>1</sup> which are associated with auspicious ceremonials. It may be noted that the full set of *ashṭamaṅgalam* objects are represented on the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgādu plates where, in addition to these, a small figure of the Chālukyan crest<sup>2</sup>, the boar, is also introduced, indicative perhaps of the Chōla supremacy over the Chālukya. Though Virarājendra claims to have defeated the Chālukya king several times, it is noticed that the Chālukyan *varāha-lāñchhana* has not been figured on the Chārāla seal.

There are a few orthographical peculiarities noticeable in the record under review. The lengths of medial *i* in Grantha letters are indicated by a pronounced loop (l. 2). The *ra*-sign when it is the second member in conjunct consonants is shaped like the *ri*-symbol in some cases (ll. 2, 47, etc.). *La* and *ḷa* are often interchanged (l. 20) and *śa* is wrongly used for *cha* in some cases (ll. 167, 175). The rules of *sandhi* are almost always observed, correctly in some cases and incorrectly in others. In the latter instances, the first consonant is retained instead of being changed into the third letter of the same *varga*. The use of the *anusvāra* in place of the appropriate nasals and the doubling of consonants after a *vēpha* are frequent. Such features are common to copper-plate inscriptions of this period. The errors have been corrected either in the body of the text or in relevant footnotes. At the ends of some of the verses in the Sanskrit portion, the symbol: followed by three vertical strokes is used as a punctuation mark, and should not be mistaken for the *visarga*, whereas in some other cases it is meant as such. The Tamil text, for the drafting of which the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṅga was responsible, is not free from errors of composition and transcription.

The Sanskrit portion of 81 verses in different metres which comprises nearly three-fourths of the document, is identical, verse for verse, with that in the long stone record of the king dated in the same 7th year, discovered at Kanyākumari in the Travancore State and published in a scholarly manner by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*<sup>3</sup> and by the late T. A. Gopinatha Rao in a previous volume of this *Journal*.<sup>4</sup> As the Kanyākumari record is, however, damaged in several places, the present inscription is of great help in filling up the lacunæ and settling some doubtful readings in the former and in thus arriving at a complete text of this particular version of the Sanskrit *prāśasti* of the Chōla dynasty. In several instances, the readings furnished by this inscription are better than those made out from the Kanyākumari epigraph. These and other minor differences between these two copies have been noticed in footnotes under the text.

The record may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into four sections—the mythological, the historical, the donatory and the signatory.

#### Section I (Lines 1-104).

In this section of 52 Sanskrit verses, the mythological origin of the Chōla dynasty is given in great elaboration from Brahmā through Kāśyapa, Manu and other members of the Solar race. An eponymous Chōla, a Rājākēsari and a Parakēsari are then introduced, and the genealogy is

<sup>1</sup> The *ashṭamaṅgalam* objects are (1) a mirror, (2) a *pūrṇa-kumbha*, (3) a flag, (4) a fly-whisk, (5) an elephant-goat, (6) a drum, (7) a pair of lamps and (8) a pair of fish. There are different lists of these objects, in which a *svastikā* and a *śankha* also occur.

<sup>2</sup> The king claims to have captured the *śūkarakkoḍi* (i.e.) the *varāha*-banner of the Chālukyas, along with other royal paraphernalia. (*S. I. J.*, Vol. III, p. 66).

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, p. 87. This learned scholar has, in many cases, succeeded in arriving at the correct readings, despite the damaged condition of the record in several places.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

further traced, though with no direct sequence, through a few more Purāṇic kings up to a certain Manōratha, after whom the names of a few quasi-historical members, such as, Parunetkili, Karikāla, Valabha, Jagadēkamalla and Vyālabhayaṅkara are mentioned,—the whole *prabasti* being a manifest attempt on the part of the composer to give his patron a pedigree going back to high antiquity. This portion has been discussed with characteristic fullness by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar.<sup>1</sup>

#### Section II (Ll. 104-169).

The really historical portion commences with the name of (Parakēsari) Vijayālaya, and from this king down to Rājēndradēva, the predecessor and elder brother of Virarājēndradēva, this inscription furnishes some useful information about the several members of the Chōja family. These facts have also been dealt with in detail elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

Coming to Virarājēndradēva, the donor of the present grant, his military and other achievements are then described in seven verses (vv. 75-81). It is stated that "when king Rājēndradēva went to heaven, his younger brother Virarājēndra who had deprived his enemies of their splendour, succeeded to the extensive kingdom in accordance with the prescribed laws. Having killed at Kūdal-Saṅgama the kings of the Karnāta-*vaṃśa*,<sup>3</sup> this powerful Chōja ruler increased the army of the partakers of sacrificial offerings by the addition (to its numerical strength) of these kings, who had themselves become celestials. With the help of a single elephant,<sup>4</sup> he destroyed the Kuntaḷa army and created a new river of blood, whereat the ocean-god was delighted.

This king Vallabha-Vallabha conquered back the Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga countries, which had been inherited by his brothers but which had been left uncared for by them and had therefore been captured by his powerful enemies. Having defeated the strong armies of his opponents and having destroyed many of their fortresses, he ruled his kingdom in prosperity.

This Vira-Chōja, called also Karikāla-Chōja, destroyed the strength of the Kali-age and bestowed numerous *dharmasāsanas* (edicts of charitable gifts). Further, he embellished the crown of the Dancer in the Dabhra-sabhā (*i.e.*, god Naṭarāja at Chidambaram) with a ruby called the 'Trailōkyasāra', which looked as if the progenitor of his own race (*i.e.*, the Sun) had himself mounted on the top of the crown, so as to cause annoyance to the moon, the ancestor of the dynasty of his enemy (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya), which is also worn as the crest-jewel by god Śrīkaṅṭha.<sup>5</sup> This king founded several *brahmadēyas* under the name of Virarājēndra in the Chōja, Tuṅḍira, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kulūta<sup>6</sup> countries, and pleased forty-thousand Brāhmins learned in the Vēdas, by munificent gifts of lands."

The regnal year of the king is quoted as the 7th corresponding to Saka 991, Saumya (ll. 159-160). The same regnal and Saka years occur also in a record<sup>7</sup> of his from Yōgi-Mallavaram

<sup>1</sup> T. A. S., Vol. III, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, and *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>3</sup> In this battle several generals lost their lives, but who were 'the kings of the Karnāta-*vaṃśa*' who are also said to have been slain is not clear. In *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136, Āhavamalla is described as an enemy of the Karnāta kings also. Probably this is a loose description of the panegyrist.

<sup>4</sup> This achievement with 'a single elephant' also occurs in the Tamil text in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 66, l. 6.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to this gem, the king presented to the god a pedestal with the name of 'Virarājēndra' engraved on it—(No. 217 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1912).

<sup>6</sup> Kulūta referred to here cannot be the country of the same name in the Punjab, identified with Kulu. A general of the Chōja king Rājēndra-Chōja I is said to have defeated a Kulūta chief named Vimalāditya (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1351), and so this Kulūta must be located near about Vēṅgi and Utkala, and ruled over by an Eastern Chālukyan feudatory.

<sup>7</sup> No. 273 of 1904.

in the Puttur Division of the Chittoor District. The locality where these two inscriptions were discovered, namely the Chittoor District, has perhaps to account for the useful quotation of both the regnal as well as the Śaka years in them, for such double citations are somewhat rare in inscriptions of this period in the southern districts.

Several Sanskrit and Tamil *birudas* of the king are also enumerated in this portion of the record (ll. 155-8), some belonging to him by his own right as a scion of the Chōla family, such as *Ravikulatilaka*, (*hōlakulāśekhara*, etc.), while others were acquired by him as a result of his victory over the Chālukyas, such as *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Āhavamallakulakāla*, etc. The title '*Āhavamallaṅgai-aimmaḍi-veṅ-kaṇḍa*' is of particular interest, as it claims for him victory over Āhavamalla, as many as five times. *Pāṇḍyakulāntaka* refers to his victory over the Pāṇḍyas.

These and other achievements of the king are further elaborated in the short historical introduction commencing with the words '*Vīramēy tuṇaiyāgavum*', etc., which follows thereafter (ll. 160-68). It is herein claimed that Rājakēsarivarman<sup>1</sup> Virarājendra took the head of the Tenṇaṅ (Pāṇḍya), levied tribute from the Chēra king, subdued Siṅgaḷa-dēśam (Ceylon), saw the back of Āhavamalla five times in battle, fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers by recovering Vēṅgai-nāḍu which, however, he gave to king Vijayāditya (Vijayāditya VII) who had submitted to him, gave Kaḍāraṁ back after conquest to the (Kaḍāra ?) king who fell at his feet soliciting his help, drove away Sōmēśvara (Sōmēśvara II) from his Kannaḍa-dēśam, and gave Iraṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakh country to Vikramāditya (VI). Incidentally, Virarājendra is also stated to have defeated the Chālukya king at Muḍakkāru, apparently on an earlier occasion, and to have thus cooled his anger.

From a study of the elaborate details contained in the variant historical introductions prefacing his lithic records, it is seen that the reign of Virarājendra, though it occupied a short span of only seven years, was crowded with campaigns conducted in as many as four war-fronts,—on the *west* against Āhavamalla to whom he had a score to pay in revenge for the death of his elder brothers in battle, on the *east* against Āhavamalla's feudatory, the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya, on the *south* against the Pāṇḍyas, the Chēras and Ceylon, while on the *north* he is said to have invaded Kalingam and carried his raid as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam, in extension of his Vēṅgi campaign.<sup>2</sup> Virarājendra began his military career even as a prince and appears to have taken part in the wars against the Western Chālukyas undertaken by his predecessors Rājādhirāja I, Rājēndradēva and Rājamahēndra, and what they had failed to accomplish themselves, he claims to have brought to a successful finish. Soon after the death of Rājēndradēva, he is said to have returned to Gaṅgāpurī (Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram) direct from the battlefield for his coronation and to have again started out on that very day to prosecute the war against Āhavamalla. In all, he credits himself with having routed Āhavamalla in five pitched battles. These facts have been reviewed in a thorough manner by Dr. Hultzsch,<sup>3</sup> but the sequence of events in this Chōla-Chālukya conflict as worked out by him seems to require slight revision.

Before examining this question, however, a few relevant facts bearing upon this period may be quoted here, for purposes of easy reference.

- (1) Rājēndradēva's rule extended from 28th May 1052 A.D. to A.D. 1063, his highest regnal year so far known being 12.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There is only one instance (No. 230 of 1928-29) in which he is styled a 'Parakēsarivarman'.

<sup>2</sup> Kalingam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam were in close political connection with the Vēṅgi kingdom at this period, and the political changes in Vēṅgi had their repercussions in the other two northern territories.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218 and No. 144 of 1898. His 12th year, if correct, will have commenced in June 1063, and he did not probably live long in that regnal year; but the details given in this record (No. 144 of 1898) work for February, A. D. 1063, which, however, fell in his 11th year.

- (2) A record of Rājamahēndra<sup>1</sup> dated in the 4th year, gives astronomical details which correspond to A.D. 1062, July 22. In a record dated in his 3rd year, this prince claims to have worsted the Chālukyas at Muḍakkāru<sup>2</sup>.
- (3) Rājamahēndra did not rule independently and probably predeceased his father; so Rājēndra may have chosen Virarājēndra as heir-apparent, some time before his own death.
- (4) Virarājēndra's date of accession has been calculated to fall between 11th September 1062 and 10th September 1063 A.D.<sup>3</sup>
- (5) He is said to have defeated Āhavamalla three times by the 4th year,<sup>4</sup> and by the end of the 5th year, he claims to have defeated him in five engagements.<sup>5</sup>
- (6) A record of the 5th year<sup>6</sup> which recounts several of his achievements gives astronomical details agreeing only for A.D. 1067, September 10, Monday, and serves as an important chronological landmark.
- (7) Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) drowned himself in the Tuṅgabhadrā on Sunday, 30th March, A.D. 1068.<sup>7</sup>
- (8) In the disputed succession that followed Āhavamalla's death, Virarājēndra sided Vikramāditya against the latter's elder brother Sōmēśvara.<sup>8</sup>
- (9) The date of Sōmēśvara (II)'s accession was 11th April A.D. 1068.<sup>7</sup>
- (10) The highest regnal year of Virarājēndra found in his own inscriptions is 7, and in two records<sup>9</sup> of his successor Adhirājēndra, his 8th year is also quoted.
- (11) As Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa's accession took place on 9th June, A.D. 1070,<sup>10</sup> Virarājēndra must have passed away early in his 8th year, i.e., towards the beginning of A.D. 1070, and Adhirājēndra, who succeeded the latter, must have had a very short independent reign.

*Virarājēndra's campaigns against Āhavamalla—*

Now as Virarājēndra boasts of the title '*Āhavamallaṅgai-aiṁmāḍi-veṅ-kaṇḍa*' (i.e.) he 'who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times', all the five engagements must have been directed against Āhavamalla-Sōmēśvara I during the latter's life-time, i.e., before 30th March A.D. 1068. As Rājamahēndra and Virarājēndra both claim to have fought the Chālukyas at or on the bank

<sup>1</sup> No. 90 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1935-36.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 743. The name Muḍakkāru means a 'river with a sharp bend', and so it may have been a simple descriptive name of a devious river, which later became its distinctive name. This Muḍakkāru may be different from the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which requires more than one river to justify its name. It has to be noted that the name Muḍakkāru is Tamil in form and if this was its original name in its locality, we may have to look for it in some place where Tamil was current. If, however, a Telugu or Kannaḍa name had been appropriately paraphrased into Muḍakkāru, its identification becomes somewhat difficult. As another instance of such transformation may be mentioned the name Kāndai (or Karandai?) in the vicinity of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which appears to be a Tamilised poetic form of a Telugu or Kannaḍa name. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya suggests that it may perhaps be identified with Kandana (vrōlu) i.e., the modern Kurnool. Similarly Koṇḍai, the scene of another battle, may perhaps be identified with Koṇḍaviḍu or Koṇḍapalli.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 218. This interval can be narrowed down further. Sewell dates it after March 10, A.D. 1063—*The Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 342.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 232, ll. 5-6.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 67, l. 37.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 156.

<sup>8</sup> The *Takkayāgapparāṇi* (v. 774) also confirms the friendship of this Chōḷa king with Vikramāditya VI.

<sup>9</sup> Nos. 15 of 1890 and 418 of 1902 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>10</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, f.n. 5.

of Muḍakkāru, and as there is no great possibility for two separate battles at the same place by two kings within a short interval, it is likely that both Rājamahēndra and Virarājendra took part together in the same battle, and as such, this must have happened in about the beginning of A.D. 1062,<sup>1</sup> when Virarājendra was only a prince.

In the present record Virarājendra states that, on the very day of his coronation, he proceeded against his enemy Āhavamalla and routed him and his sons at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the north.<sup>2</sup> This information is interesting and has not been specified in his other inscriptions. As Virarājendra's coronation could have taken place only after Rājendradēva's demise in A.D. 1063, this first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam by Virarājendra, as king, will have to be dated in about A.D. 1064 only. But on the other hand the Maṇimaṅgalam inscription<sup>3</sup> mentions that after the notable victory at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, the king was pleased to ascend the *virasimhāsana* along with his consort Ulagamuḷududaiyāl and donned (*mēyṇḍu*) the crown (*vijaya-manimakūṭam*). In view of the specific post-dating of the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle to his coronation in the present grant, the description given in the Maṇimaṅgalam record has to be understood in the sense that the king signalled his success by a second elaborate coronation ceremonial after his return from the battle-field.

As Virarājendra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla **three times** by his 4th year, he must have defeated him on two other occasions in addition to the Kūḍal-Saṅgamam battle. These are mentioned in the Tamil preamble beginning with the words *tirivaḷar*, etc., i.e., (1) a campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in which Vikkalan and several *sāmantas* were routed and (2) another, against the Western Chālukya army in occupation in Vēṅgī, when the Chālukya general named Chāmuṇḍarāja was killed. The Muḍakkāru battle may have to be placed in one of the early campaigns.

**Two other expeditions** are also specified in the above *praśasti* to have been undertaken before the end of the 5th year of his reign. One of them was a **battle on the bank of an unspecified river**, when he slew a number of Chālukya and other generals. The other was arranged to be fought at **Kūḍal-Saṅgamam** again, in response to a challenge issued by Āhavamalla fixing a tryst there, but as Āhavamalla did not turn up in person, Virarājendra waited for him at **Kāndai** (or Karandai) in its vicinity for over a month. In the skirmish that, however, ensued between the latter and the Chālukya garrison that was near by, three Chālukya generals were killed. Virarājendra proceeding thence, overran Vēṅgī and gave it back to Vijayāditya, and raided the territory as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam.

Thus the **five** occasions<sup>4</sup> in which Virarājendra 'saw the back of Āhavamalla' were—(1) the campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062, (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1063, (3) the battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064, (4) the battle on the bank of an unnamed river in

<sup>1</sup> Taking the 4th year record of prince Rājamahēndra from Māraṅgiyūr as belonging to the beginning of that regnal year, the Muḍakkāru battle, if it took place at the end of the 3rd year, may be dated in about March A.D. 1062.

<sup>2</sup> This battle is referred to as early as the 2+1st year (No. 452 of 1918) or 2nd year+230th day (No. 113 of 1896) of the king. So Virarājendra's actual coronation must have taken place before this date and the battle may have to be placed in the end of A.D. 1064. There is, however, one record from Tiruvorriyūr (No. 136 of 1912) dated in the 2nd year which commences with '*vīramēy-tuṅai*,' but without mentioning any of his conquests at all. The Sanskrit verses (vv. 75, 76) also state that after he was crowned, he fought at Kūḍal-Saṅgamam. The scene of this battle has been tentatively identified with a place on the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā. This will take us near Nandikōṭkūr in the Kurnool District which would well fit in as a battle-field midway between the Eastern and Western Chālukyan territories. An alternative identification that had been suggested was Kūḍali at the junction of the Tuṅgā and the Bhadrā (*The Cōlas*, pp. 321—22).

<sup>3</sup> S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 30, ll. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> Rājendradēva also claims to have defeated Āhavamalla twice (*irumaḍi-veṅ-kaṇḍa*) (*anti*, Vol. XXI, p. 233, l. 11). He is called *Irumaḍi-veṅ-kaṇḍa Ulaguyyakkōṇḍaruṭiṇa Ayyar* (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1931-32*, p. 52).

A.D. 1066, and (5) the encounter at Kāndai (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam, which was followed up by a second invasion of Vēṅgī towards the middle of A.D. 1067. As already stated, all these military campaigns must have occurred before Āhavamalla's death in March A.D. 1068, and before September 10, A.D. 1067 which is the date of the Maṅgamaṅgalam inscription<sup>1</sup> of his 5th year mentioning them.

*His Vēṅgī campaigns—*

From his records it is learnt that Virarājendra undertook **two expeditions against Vēṅgī** during his reign as against Āhavamalla's power in that region. The Chōla influence which had prevailed in that territory since the time of the Chōla king Rājarāja I (A.D. 1000) suffered an eclipse in the middle of the 11th century A.D. About A.D. 1062, soon after the death of the Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I, his brother Vijayāditya appears to have wrested the power into his hands in preference to Rājarāja's son Rājendra-Chōla,<sup>2</sup> who must have been a very young prince at the time. Taking advantage of the indifference of Rājādhirāja and Rājendradēva in Vēṅgī affairs, referred to in verse 77 of the present record, Āhavamalla found it a good opportunity to invade Vēṅgī about this time or somewhat earlier<sup>3</sup> and made Vijayāditya VII his feudatory. Virarājendra's first campaign was therefore directed against Āhavamalla's army in Vēṅgī, but except for the defeat of the Chālukya general Chāmuṇḍarāja in an engagement, this expedition does not appear to have accomplished much. It is possible that on the receipt of the news of death of his elder brother Rājendradēva, Virarājendra had to rush back to the Chōla capital in the middle of this campaign for his coronation, and as Āhavamalla appears, in the meantime, to have mustered his forces for another fight, the newly anointed Chōla king was obliged to depart from the capital again on the very day of his coronation, posthaste to meet his enemy at **Vaḍa-Kūḍal-Saṅgamam**. In the second invasion undertaken about A.D. 1067, a fierce battle was fought in the vicinity of Vijayavāḍa (**Bezvada**). Āhavamalla's power having been broken, his feudatory Vijayāditya appears to have also submitted and transferred his allegiance, for the time being, to his Chōla conqueror, from whom, it is said, he got back his territory.<sup>4</sup> Virarājendra's raid through Kalingam and as far as Chakkarakkōṭṭam was only in continuation of this Vēṅgī campaign.

There appears to have been a **third** occasion in which **Vēṅgī** was invested by the Chōla army. This campaign which is described only in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription<sup>5</sup> is stated to have occurred after the Ceylon expedition, and so has to be dated in about January or February A.D. 1068 approximately. Though it is not expressly stated as to what had necessitated it so soon after the last campaign a few months earlier, in which Vijayāditya was given back Vēṅgī, a clue seems to be afforded in the statement that the Chālukki (*ach-Chālukki*)<sup>6</sup> came out with an army twice in numerical strength to what he had marshalled on a former occasion. This

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

<sup>2</sup> In *ante*, Vol. XXII, No. 35, Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar states that the succession of Vijayāditya was not disputed. Prince Rājendra was perhaps too young to make a strong protest.

<sup>3</sup> In a record of Sōmēśvara dated in Śaka 975, his son Sōmēśvara (II) has the title 'Vēṅgīpuravarādhiśvara,' thus postulating Vēṅgī connection so early (above, Vol. XVI, p. 53). A record from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 986 in the reign of a Vishṇuvardhana is attributable to this Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya who was then probably a feudatory of the Western Chālukyas (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1013).

<sup>4</sup> This event must have happened before A.D. 1067, September 10, which is the English equivalent for the details furnished in the Maṅgamaṅgalam inscription dated in the 5th year of the king, which refers to this episode (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30, p. 67).

<sup>5</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> The expression '*ach-Chālukki*' used here probably refers only to the Eastern Chālukya Vijayāditya, who has been mentioned just previous to the description of the Ceylon campaign.

inscription dated in the 5th year states that Virarājendra defeated Āhavamalla five times, ending with the battle of Karandai. In later records<sup>1</sup> of the 7th year, the Western Chālukya king continues to be mentioned as having suffered defeat the same number of times. So the enemy encountered by the Chōla at the subsequent battle of Koṇḍai, (probably Koṇḍaviḍu in the Vēngi territory), could not have been Āhavamalla, but was in all probability Vijayāditya. The latter who was a Western Chālukya feudatory in the initial years of his reign, appears to have transferred his nominal allegiance to the Chōla conqueror, and as the price of his submission, got back Vēngi. It is possible that, a short time later, he attempted to throw off the Chōla yoke and mustering a large army opposed the Chōla king at the battle of Koṇḍai. The Chālukyan army was, however, repulsed, and the victorious Virarājendra is then stated to have planted a pillar of victory at Sūttukkal<sup>2</sup> and marched into Kaliṅgam and Chakkarakkōṭṭam, defeating and killing some Chālukya generals.

*Further Chālukya hostilities.*

The Chōla-Chālukya hostilities did not, however, cease with the death of Āhavamalla. In a record dated in the 6th year,<sup>3</sup> Virarājendra claims to have defeated Sōmēśvara before he had had time to take off his necklet (*kaṇṭhikā*), to have burnt the Chālukya capital Kampili and to have set up a pillar of victory at Karadikkal. Another dated in the 7th year,<sup>4</sup> states that Sōmēśvara was driven out of Kannaḍa-dēśam and the Raṭṭapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakhs country in its entirety was given to Vikramāditya (VI) who had submitted to him. The *kaṇṭhikā* or the necklet was the conventional emblem of heir-apparency<sup>5</sup> of the Chālukya dynasty, as differentiated from the *makuta* or crown, the emblem of royalty, and the Sōmēśvara referred to here was evidently the second of that name. The above-noted claim of Virarājendra has therefore to be understood to be but a poetical way of saying that the Chōla king swooped down on the Chālukya capital evidently in aid of his ally Vikramāditya,<sup>6</sup> immediately after the death of Āhavamalla and before the quondam heir-apparent Sōmēśvara II put on the crown of royalty, *i.e.*, in the interval between 30th March, A.D. 1068, the date of death of Āhavamalla, and 11th April A.D. 1068, the actual date of accession of Sōmēśvara II. The result of this campaign has, however, been exaggerated by the Chōla panegyrist, for Sōmēśvara appears to have ceded only a portion of his territory to Vikramāditya, as evidenced by his own records being simultaneously found in other parts of the kingdom, and Vikramāditya, the protégé of Virarājendra, appears to have himself continued in a subordinate capacity, as suggested by his investiture with the *kaṇṭhikā* only. The claim for a Chālukyan victory made in the Shikarpur record,<sup>7</sup> which must have been dated some time later than April, A.D. 1068, may be noted in this connection. It is stated therein that Virarājendra thinking that this was an opportune occasion, invaded the Chālukyan territory with a large army and laid siege to Gutti; but when Sōmēśvara II opposed him with a powerful cavalry force, he was forced to flee. The Chālukya records are silent about the burning of Kampili, while there is no mention of the Chōla reverses at Gutti in the Chōla records. It may be inferred that the Chōla king was successful in the beginning of this campaign, and that later he sustained a defeat at Gutti in about the end of A.D. 1068, which put an end to his military aspirations in the north.

<sup>1</sup> The Kanyākumari inscription and the present copper-plate. Nowhere has Āhavamalla been described as having been defeated six times or more (*arumāḍi-ven-kaṇḍa*, etc.).

<sup>2</sup> The expression Puli-Sūttukkal has been taken to be the name of a village (*ante*, Vol. XXI, p. 226). But it may also be taken to mean a 'stone pillar of victory with the mark of a tiger on it', which was probably set up at Koṇḍai itself.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 203.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 267.

<sup>6</sup> This political pact was also cemented by the marriage of Virarājendra's daughter with Vikramāditya.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.



*His campaign against the Pāṇḍya.*

In regard to Virarājendra's southern campaigns, the one against the Pāṇḍya is in a way confirmed by the existence of his inscriptions<sup>1</sup> at Kanyākumari (Travancore), Āttūr (Tirunelveli District) and Tirupputtūr (Ramnad District). Before the 3rd year of his reign, he had appointed prince Gaṅgaikonda-Chōla as the Chōla-Pāṇḍya viceroy<sup>2</sup> over the Pāṇḍya country in continuation of the previous system of administration, but this Chōla prince was not left undisturbed for long, for according to a record<sup>3</sup> dated in the 3+1st year, Virarājendra marched against a certain Śrīvallabha, apparently a Pāṇḍya, and killed his son Virakēsari. As this campaign has not been referred to in the Tiruveṅkāḍu<sup>4</sup> record dated in the 2nd year+230th day of his reign but is mentioned in the Karuvūr inscription<sup>5</sup> of this king dated in the 3+1st year, it has to be placed towards the end of his 3rd year, i.e., in about A.D. 1065. This victory also appears to have been of a temporary nature, for Virarājendra's successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I had again to go to war against the 'five Pāṇḍyas' a few years later.

*His campaign against Udagai.*

In the course of this southern campaign, the Chēra must have also felt the impact of the Chōla army and consented to pay tribute. The Kēraḷa king and his sons are described to have fled before the mad elephant of Virarājendra in a battle at Udagai<sup>6</sup> and to have hidden themselves in the western ocean. In an inscription<sup>7</sup> copied at Kīlūr in the South Arcot District, dated in the 29th year of Rājarāja I, the king is stated to have burnt the city of Udagai<sup>8</sup> during his Malai-nāḍu campaign. From these references, it is clear that Udagai was a city in the Chēra dominion, and was, in all probability identical with Udaiyampērūr, 'the big city of the Udaiyas (the Chēras)' in the northern portion of the Travancore State, which is only three miles distant from Trichūr and which in the olden days was an important place in the Chēra territory. The Chēra contemporaries of Rājendra-Chōla I were Rājasimha and his son Rājarāja who figure in the Mannārkōyil inscription<sup>9</sup> of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya, but who the contemporary of Virarājendra was, is not clear.

*His conquest of Ceylon.*

The conquest of **Sīmbhaḷam** is only briefly referred to in the present record; but the Tirumukkūdal inscription<sup>10</sup> dated in the 5th year of the king, describes this campaign in some detail and refers to his defeat of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu and the subjugation of the island 'girt round by the waters of the sea'. Though this is perhaps a sweeping claim, it has to be conceded that a portion of the island was under Chōla sway at this period. As the Maṇimaṅgalam record of the 10th September A.D. 1067 does not refer to this expedition, it will have to be placed towards the end of that year, about November or December A.D. 1067.<sup>11</sup> Virarājendra's predecessor Rājendradēva had also invaded Ceylon and an inscription<sup>12</sup> of his is found there. Inscriptions<sup>13</sup> of Adhirājendra, the successor of Virarājendra, are also found at Polonnaruva (Ceylon). The latter

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 400 and 401 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30 and No. 110 of 1938.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976.

<sup>3</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 20. The Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha was the contemporary of Rājendra-Chōla I also.

<sup>4</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 30.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 863.

<sup>6</sup> Udagai has been taken to be a Pāṇḍya city (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 68). <sup>7</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XI, p. 294.

<sup>8</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XXI, No. 38, where this point has been examined by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in detail. The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu (*ante*; Vol. XVIII, No. 38) may be considered to mark the eclipse of Chōla power in Ceylon, for no inscriptions of later Chōla kings are found actually in that island.

<sup>9</sup> If the Ceylon expedition of the 5th year took place about November 1067, and an incident of April A.D. 1068 fell in the 6th year, the date of accession of Virarājendra can be narrowed down between the limits—December 1062 A.D. and March 1063 A.D. A date in his 7th regnal year (Kaṅṅi, ba. 7, Thursday, Mṛgaśīrṣha) was A.D. 1069, September 10, Thursday (No. 160 of 1937-38).

<sup>10</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1408.

<sup>11</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1388 and 1392.

did not perhaps lead an independent expedition against the island during his very short reign and may be presumed to have participated in his father's campaign only. No records attributable to Virarājendra have, however, been found in Ceylon.<sup>1</sup>

*His campaign against Kaḍāram.*

Another overseas victory is claimed for Virarājendra over **Kaḍāram**. In the later historical introduction of the 7th year commencing with '*vīramēy-tuṇaiyāgavum*'<sup>2</sup> this achievement is introduced between the second invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1067 and the last campaign of Virarājendra that we know of, which was directed against Sōmēśvara II (A.D. 1068). As his father Rājendra-Chōla I claims to have invaded Kaḍāram himself by about A.D. 1026,<sup>3</sup> it is possible that Virarājendra, as a young prince, had accompanied the Chōla army in that campaign also. Such a campaign to the distant Kaḍāram towards the close of Virarājendra's reign appears problematical and has to be confirmed only by future researches. The express statement that the Chōla king conquered Kaḍāram and gave it back to the (Kaḍāra) king who had supplicated him, seems to imply that an expedition, at least under an able general though not personally led by the king himself, may have been sent against this far eastern country in aid of his ally. If it was an accomplished fact of his reign, it may have taken place in the beginning of A.D. 1068. The friendly relationship between the Chōla and the Kaḍāram kings seems to have been continued down to the 20th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I (A.D. 1090), when two messengers (*dūtār*) of the Kaḍāram king came to the mainland to obtain from the Chōla monarch some concessions on behalf of the *Bauddha-vihāra* at Negapatam.<sup>4</sup>

Thus Virarājendra's short reign was a period of strenuous military effort to keep up the weakening Chōla power and prestige to some extent. The several campaigns of his reign may thus be briefly reviewed, in their probable chronological sequence :

- (1) the first campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi in A.D. 1062 ;
- (2) the first invasion of Vēṅgi in A.D. 1063 ;
- (3) the first battle of Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in A.D. 1064 ;
- (4) the southern expedition against the Pāṇḍya and Chēra in A.D. 1065 ;
- (5) the battle on the bank of an unspecified river in A.D. 1066 ;
- (6) the clash with the Chālukyan army at Kāṇḍai (or Karandai) near Kūḍal-Saṅgamam in the middle of A.D. 1067 ;
- (7) the second invasion against Vēṅgi, the battle of Vijayavāḍa and the restoration of Vēṅgi to Vijayāditya before September A.D. 1067 ;
- (8) the expedition against Siṃhaḷam in the end of A.D. 1067 ;
- (9) the overseas campaign to Kaḍāram in the beginning of A.D. 1068 ;
- (10) the third expedition against Vēṅgi and the battle of Koṇḍai in about February A.D. 1068 ;
- (11) the campaign against the Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara, the burning of Kampili and the erection of a pillar of victory at Karaḍikkal in April A.D. 1068 ; and the installation of Vikramāditya VI in a portion of the Western Chālukya dominions ; and
- (12) the battle of Gutti<sup>5</sup> in about the end of A.D. 1068, wherein Virarājendra suffered defeat at the hands of Sōmēśvara II.

<sup>1</sup> See also *ante*, Vol. XVIII, p. 332 and f. n. 2. The Archæological Commissioner of Ceylon has kindly informed us that there are no inscriptions of Virarājendra in Ceylon. \* *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 203.

<sup>2</sup> The conquest of Kaḍāram (Keddah in the Śrīvijaya kingdom located in the Malay Peninsula) by Rājendra-Chōla occurred about his 13th year corresponding to A.D. 1026. As Virarājendra lived up to A.D. 1068, he may have been a young prince capable of participating in a military expedition, 43 years earlier.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

Though this warlike king was so much preoccupied in his wars during his short reign, for not a year, except perhaps the last, passed without his army being engaged in some campaign or other, he appears to have found time to attend to the welfare of his subjects. He is said to have presented many *agrahāras* to Brāhmins and several benefactions to temples owed their origin to his munificence.

In this context, it may be remarked that the Chōla version of the Chōla-Chālukya war appears to give a slightly exaggerated account of Virarājēndradēva's victories. The Chālukya records, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the reverses were not always on the Chālukyan side alone.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the two parties appear to have been fairly well-matched, with the result that the hostilities were protracted and the opposing armies met in as many as five different engagements. The Chōla army no doubt took the offensive and carried the war into the enemy's country, as testified to by the scenes of battles which were all located in Chālukyan territory, and except for the Chōla reverses in the death of Rājādhirāja I in the earlier battle of Koppam and later at Gutti, Virarājēndra's independent campaigns appear to have met with a fair measure of success; but the fact that he is described as having restored the conquered dominions—*viz.*, Vēngī to Vijayāditya VII and Raṭṭa-pāḍi to Vikramāditya VI—seems to indicate that his hold on the conquered territories was not of a permanent nature. His Pāṇḍya and Chēra conquests also appear to have shared the same fate. This policy of restoration adopted by Virarājēndra may have been due to considerations of statecraft by which he had tried to placate the kings on his frontiers or to the insufficiency of his own resources which had weakened his hold on his conquests so far away from Chōla headquarters. Whatever the reason, the provenance of his inscriptions with the exception of the Kanyākumari, Āttūr and Tirupputtūr records reveals that his authority extended over a restricted area only, comprising the North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput, Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts of the Madras Presidency with a portion of the adjoining Pudukkōṭṭai State and the Kolar and Bangalore Districts of the Mysore State, added thereto.

The circumstances under which the king died are not known. As a record<sup>2</sup> of his 7th year is dated on September 10, A.D. 1069, and as two records of Adhirājēndra refer to the 8th year of his predecessor, Virarājēndra must have been alive till at least October A.D. 1069, and he may have passed away sometime later in the beginning of A.D. 1070. It is possible that there is some reference to his last days in an undated record from Tiruvorriyūr,<sup>3</sup> in which provision was made for worship in the local temple for the welfare of the king and for the prosperity of the queen's *tirumāigalyam*. Virarājēndra was succeeded by his son Adhirājēndra, a portion of whose short period of rule must have merged into his own reign. The prayer offered for the welfare of Adhirājēndra in a record from Kūhūr<sup>4</sup> in the Tanjore District, dated in his 3rd year, seems to indicate that this king was himself suffering from illness at the time and his records end with the 4th year<sup>5</sup>. As his successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I ascended the throne on 9th June 1070 A.D.,<sup>6</sup> Adhirājēndra could have ruled independently for only a short time in the first half of A.D. 1070.

<sup>1</sup> The Chālukya titles 'the shatterer of the pride of the Chōla monarchs' (*ante*, Vol. XV, p. 91) and the foundation of a temple called Chōla-goṇḍa-Traipurushadēva at Anṅigere (*S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, B.K. No. 103) may be noted. An invasion led by Prince Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya in the reign of Trailōkyamalla, against the Chōla king in A.D. 1064 is referred to in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 127 and 128.

<sup>2</sup> No. 160 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1937-38.

<sup>3</sup> No. 128 of the Mad. Epig. Colln. for 1912.

<sup>4</sup> No. 290 of 1917.

<sup>5</sup> No. 15 of 1890 is dated in the 3rd year+200th day of reign.

<sup>6</sup> *Ante*, Vol. VII, p. 7, f.n. 5.

What became of the several Chōla princes, sons of Rājēndradēva and Virarājēndra<sup>1</sup>, is not apparent. Of those, if any, that may have survived the numerous campaigns of this period, there was perhaps none strong enough to occupy the Chōla throne after Adhirājēndra. So the enterprising Eastern Chālukya prince Rājēndra-Chōla II, son of Chālukya Rājarāja I, grandson of the Chōla king Rājēndra-Chōla I, and son-in-law of Rājēndradēva, who was thus intimately connected with the Chōla royal family, availed himself of this opportunity to quietly succeed to the vacant Chōla throne.<sup>2</sup> This political step not only helped to relieve the tension in his own country where his uncle Vijayāditya was still reigning, but also gave Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I a large tract of new territory to rule over, until such time as, with the demise of his uncle, he could consolidate the Chōla and Chālukya fortunes into one line.

### Section III (ll. 170-191).

This section relates to the object of the grant. At the time of making the gift recorded in the present charter, the king is stated to have been seated in the frontal *tirukkāvāṇam* of the audience-hall (*tiruvōlakka-maṇḍapa*) called 'Rājarāja'<sup>3</sup> in the temple of Tiruvēgambam-Uḍaiyār at Kāñchīpuram, a *nagaram* in Eyir-kōttam, a sub-division of Jayaṅḡḡaśōla-maṇḍalam. The village Chērām *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, which was granted to the three Brāhmins of the Ātrēya-gōtra already referred to above, is said to have been situated in Irattapāḍikonḡaśōla-maṇḍalam, that had been captured by Virarājēndradēva in the campaign, which he had undertaken immediately after his coronation and in which he had defeated Āhavamalla and his sons on the battle-field at the northern Kūḍal-Saṅgamam.

The boundary-line of this gift-village is then described in detail. Starting from Kuppēri in the east, it passed through several landmarks, such as rocks, sluices, etc., and ended at a hillock called Kaḡatti-malai.<sup>4</sup> The land enclosed by this boundary-line belonged to the village Chērām *alias* Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam. In this connection it may be noted that the boundary-line was not marked out, as was usual in such cases and in this period, by the circumambulation of a she-elephant (*piḍi-sūḷḡḡu*) and that though it was drafted by the officer Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraḡaṅ, it is lacking in the sententious clauses and schedules regarding tax-exemptions, irrigation-privileges, etc., similar to those mentioned in the Tiruvāḡḡaḡu plates of Rājēndra-Chōla I. After the description of the boundary-line, the verse which is engraved on the seal of this copper-plate grant is also repeated here, to stress the fact that the foregoing charter was the order of king Virarājēndradēva.

### Section IV (ll. 192-211).

This section constitutes the concluding portion of the record and contains the names of the signatories, imprecatory verses and such other routine matters. The name of the *adhikāri-gaḡ* who drafted this order is given as Guḡanidi-Aruḡmōḡiyār *alias* Miḡavaḡ-Mūvēndavōḡār of Parakēsarinaḡlūr in Tiruḡaḡivūr-nāḡu, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaḡi-vaḡanaḡu, a district of Śōḡa-maṇḡalam. The *tirumandira-ōḡai* officers were Tōḡamayaḡ Pāpanāśaḡ *alias* Virāśrī-vallabha-Brahmādhiraḡaṅ of Kāyākkuḡi, a *brahmadēya* in Kuḡumbūr-nāḡu, a sub-division of

<sup>1</sup> See the table given at page 128 of *Trav. Arch. Seri.*, Vol. III.

<sup>2</sup> The 'adoption' theory has been ably refuted by Mr. K. V. S. Ayyar in *ante*, Vol. XXII, p. 272. Whether Kulōttuṅga's succession was peaceful or was attended with civil war and bloodshed has also been the subject of much speculation.

<sup>3</sup> Virarājēndra was staying in the same place while issuing another record (*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 60). A palace named Sōḡakēraḡaṅ-māḡiḡai and thrones called Rājēndraśōḡa-Māvalivāḡarūḡaṅ and Abhimānarāḡaṅ are also referred to in his inscriptions (Nos. 182 of 1915 and 462 of 1908).

<sup>4</sup> See fn. 1 on page 264.

Jayaṅgaṅḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu and Aruḷmoḷi-Rājēndraśōḷan *alias* Jananātha-Viḷupparaiyaṅ of Śēnda-maṅgalam in Virāśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.

The composer of the Sanskrit *praśasti* was a certain **Chandrabhūshana-Bhaṭṭa** who is referred to later by the paraphrased name of Śāsibhūshana-Paṇḍita. He is evidently identical with Chandrasēkharabhūshana-Bhaṭṭa *alias* Virarājēndra-Brahmādhiraṅ mentioned in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of the king from Gaṅgaikōṅḍaśōḷapuram, where a large number of the king's officers are enumerated, among whom (ṭṭanidhi-Aruḷmoḷi *alias* Miṇavaṅ-Mūvēndavēḷar of the present record also finds mention.<sup>2</sup> A certain Chandrabhūshana-Paṇḍita figures in two records<sup>3</sup> from the Bellary District dated in A. D. 1054 and 1068, and it is possible he was identical with the composer of this copper-plate grant. In collaboration with this panegyrist, the officer named Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṅ is said to have drafted this copper-plate charter finally, and got it engraved by Śaṅkaraṅ-Kāḍāḍi *alias* Karuṅākara-Āchāriyaṅ, a *Tachchāchāriyaṅ* of Kuvalāḷam in Kuvalāḷa-nāḍu.

A few imprecatory verses are then quoted, and along with them there is one more verse in the *Mālinī*-metre added here, as an exhortation made by king 'Rājarāja' whose head is ornamented with the lotus-feet of Hara, enjoining all future kings to protect this charity. As this reminds us of the title 'Śivapādasēkhara' borne by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I, it appears probable that like the supplicatory verse ending with 'yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ' this Chōḷa king also got a similar verse composed for use in Chōḷa documents. Or as an alternative, it may be suggested that the verse refers to Virarājēndra himself, who is given the titles 'Rājādhiraṅ' and 'Rājarājaṅ' in the Tirumukkūḍal inscription,<sup>4</sup> in which case the attribute used in this verse may be understood as indicating simply the king's intense devotion to Hara.<sup>5</sup>

Among the **place-names** mentioned in the record, the village **Chēṇām** in **Pulī-nāḍu** may be identified with Chārāla in the Punganur taluk of the Chittoor District, where the copper-plate set was discovered. **Raṭṭapāḍikōṅḍaśōḷa-maṅḍalam**, which took the new name from the time of Rājēndradēva who conquered Raṭṭapāḍi, is represented by the tract of country round about Punganur in the Chittoor District, and the adjoining Chintamani taluk of the Mysore State. There was also another sub-division known by the name of Raṭṭapāḍikōṅḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu in the Pudukkottai State. The names occurring in the description of boundaries are too vague to be identified now<sup>6</sup>.

#### TEXT.

[For metres of verses 1—81 see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 31.]

#### First Plate.

- 1 Svasti Śrī[h [\*] Yaḥ karttā jagad-ut(d)bhava-sthiti-layāu=ut(d)bhūtayā līlayā yō vāchām-  
adhināyakaś=śrayati yaṁ sa-
- 2 rvañāt=nikāśrayā [\*] yat(d)-bhakti-pravaṇair=apāya-vishamas=tāryyō bhav-āmbhōni-  
dhīr=ddēyād=vas=sa vi-
- 3 bhūtim=indu-śakal-āpīḍō Bhavānīpatiḥ |||-1 |||- Māyām=āyānūnīṁ yō vahati jagad=idam  
rañjayautūḥ=jayantīm jñān-ā-

<sup>1</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529, l. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, l. 29.

<sup>3</sup> *Ande*, Vol. XXI, p. 232, l. 7.

<sup>4</sup> King Parāntaka also describes himself as 'Smarāri-charaṅambuḷa-śēkhara'—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 385).

<sup>5</sup> The Tahsildar of Punganur, who was addressed, has not been able to render much help in this matter.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 113 and 143.

- 4 jñāna-prasūti(tim) sphuṭa-ruchi-vapushā yōgabhāj=āgabhājā [\*] satv-ā-satv-ānukampī sthita<sup>1</sup>-mudita-mahā-tāpa-sū-
- 5 nām=paśūnām Śambhus=śam-bhugna-pāpa-vyatikṛiti bhavatas=sa prapātāt prapātāt |||- 2 |||- Chakrē chakrēṇa
- 6 daitya-prakaram=atibalaṁ yas=samastam samastam pātā pātā|a-mūl-āhita-Bahir=aniśam bhāsurāṇām surāṇām [\*] sa-
- 7 dyas=sa dyatv=agham vō Harir=akhila-jagad-rakshaṇēna kshaṇēna svairam svair=amēa-lēśair=iva dharaṇi-
- 8 gatais=sambhavat(d)bhīr=bhavat(d)bhī[h] |||- 3 |||- Ādau dēvas=sisṛikshām=upanata-samayaḥ pratyavēksh-
- 9 am=adabhrām=bibhrat(d)=viśv-ādhināthas=samuchita-samay-ārambham<sup>2</sup>=ambhas=sasarjja [\*] tasmin=nikshipya bijan=nijam=ajara-<sup>3</sup>ba-
- 10 lam sa trilōki-karaṇḍam=brahmāṇḍan=tēna chakrē vyadhita vidhim=api srasṭum=isṭam vidhēyam |||- 4 |||- Tasmā-
- 11 j=jātas=tadānīm sakalam=api jagat sa-prapañchaṁ Viriñchaṁ(chah) kurvvan<sup>4</sup> durvvāra-vīryān=ajanayad=aparān Brahmaṇa[h]\*] karm-
- 12 ma-nishṭhān[\*] tēshām=ēkas=tv=asēshair=api Vidhi-vibhavair=ggarbhītō nirbhara-śrīr=vvishvag-rōchir-mMarichis=tribhuvana-
- 13 bhavanam sañchakāsāñchakāra |||- 5 |||- Tasmāt(d=) vismēra-patmā(dma)sana-nayana-chaya-spashta-dṛishṭ-ōrjjita-śrīs=śrē-
- 14 yas=sampatti-bhājān=dhuri gaṇita-guṇaḥ Kaśyapa[h] paśyakō=bhūt [\*] anyōny-ōmnarddānēna śriyam=iha dadhatō
- 15 yat-prasūtās=sur-ādyā nirvvyājan-nirjjayanti prachuram=upachitān=amburāsēs=taram-gān |||- 6 |||- Tasmāj=jātas=tadā-
- 16 nīm समयakṛit=a(d=a)samas=svaiḥ prabhāvair=udārair=vvīśva-trāṇa-pravīṇais=satatam=atitarān=nirjjayan svān=Vi-
- 17 vaśvān [\*] nidrā-mudrā-vibhēdam prathamam=anubhavan=yanmayūkh-ābhīmarśād=dhātur=vaktr-āravindais=saha saka-
- 18 |a-gurōs=satma(dma)-patma(dma)ñ=chakāsē |||- 7 |||- Yasy=ōḍasyat(d)bhīr=ārād=avatama-sam=ati<sup>5</sup>-vyātatair=amśu-jālair=bhāsva-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 19 t=kārttasvar-āṇḍam prathamam=ubhiga|at kā|im=ēv=ābabhāsē [\*] yat(d)-bimbaḥ karṇi-kātvan nivaḥati kiraṇaiḥ kō-<sup>6</sup>
- 20 sarair=āhita-śrīr=ut(d)gādhair=ddig-da|aughair=uparachita-ruchō vyōma-paṇkēruhasya |||- 8 |||- Ētasy=ā-
- 21 bhūt=tanūjō Manur=ama|a-tanur=bhūbhujān bijam=ādyaṁ yēn=aikāntōna yōgān=muni-bhīr=abhīhitā māna-
- 22 v=īyam pra|=ēti [\*] lōkānām-ēka-vandyah pravīdhad=atulaṁ śarṇma dharmma-prapañ-chair=bhāsvān bhāsvat=suta-

<sup>1</sup> *TAS* has *hita* instead of *sthita*. [*TA* Syndicates the readings given in the *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. III, No. 34, as made out from the Kanyākumari inscription.]

<sup>2</sup> *TAS* has *jagad-ārambham* instead of *samay-ārambham*.

<sup>3</sup> *TAS* has *ajam=akkilam* instead of *ajara-balam*.

<sup>4</sup> *TAS* has *kṛitā* instead of *kurevan*.

<sup>5</sup> *TAS* has *avatamasa-tati* which is obviously a misreading for *avatamasa-sam-ati*.

<sup>6</sup> Of the syllable *kē* only the *ē* sign appears in this line, while the letter *k* occurs in the next.

- 23 tvāt pitaram=iha<sup>1</sup> sutam yaḥ<sup>2</sup> prakāśchakāra |||-9 |||- Tasy=Ēkshvākura=abhūd=yaśōbhira-  
ama|air=ddikshv=ātatai-
- 24 ś=śōbhitas=sūnus=sānushu bhūbhṛitām sura-gaṇair=yyat-kīrttir=ut(d)giyatō ||\*| yasy=āmitra-  
narādbirāja-virahā-
- 25 j=jaitram=mahas=sarvvatō durvvāra<sup>3</sup>-prasaram vyajēṣṭa balavan=Mitrasya tējaḥ param  
|||-10 |||- Tasy=ābhūt=tana-
- 26 yas=samunnata-nayaḥ prēkshī Vikukshin=nrīpō<sup>4</sup> rakshām=akshata-vikramas=samakarōt  
kshāmāṇḍalasy=āsyā yaḥ ||\*| a-
- 27 nyōnya-pravimarḍdanēna mahatī yā pārtthivair=llabhyatē tām sūtē śrī(śri)yam=āsramam  
kshītibhṛitām yat-pā-
- 28 dayōr=ānatiḥ |||-11 |||- Putras=tasya Purañjayas=samabhavat saṅgrāmam=ājanmu(gmu)-  
shāñ=jētā bhūmibhujāñ=ji-
- 29 gīshur=asurān jajñē<sup>5</sup> [sa] mānyas=tataḥ ||\*| Jambh[ā\*]rīm vṛishabham vidhāya kakudē  
sthūlē-sya yas=samsthita-
- 30 s=tad-dēvair=adhika-pramōda-gaditām prāptaḥ Kakusth-ābhidām |||-12 |||- Pṛithur=  
babhū[v=ā]tra kulē kul-ādrīṇā
- 31 samas=samast-āvanipāla-vandita[h] ||\*| vivēda yasmin=nrīpatau sa-nandadhu(thu)r=nna  
vēpadhu[r]=nn=āpi cha yāchitūñ=jana[h]<sup>6</sup> |||-
- 32 13 |||- Amushmin=varśē=bhūn=mahati Kuvalāśvō narapati[r]=Harēr<sup>7</sup>=vviryair=ddhuryy-  
air=ati-nibhṛitam=ut(d)bhāsita-tanu-
- 33 h ||\*| sa Dhundhun=daityēndram baha|a-sikatā-sindhu-pihitam hitam lōkāy=āsmāi vidad-  
had=avadhīd=u[ddha]-
- 34 ta-balah |||-14 |||- Varśē=sminn=ut(d)babhūv=āt(d)bhuta-ma[hi]ma-bhara-bhrājitasy=  
āmarārēr=amśō viśvambhar-ārtti-prasama-
- 35 nam=anīsam karttum=utsiddha-kīrttiḥ ||\*| Māndhātā nāma rājā jana-nayana-mah-ānanda-  
sandōha-dāyī yasy=ādharṇma-kshayāya
- 36 vyacharad=ati-javāch=chakram=āchakravā|āt |||-15 |||- Tāsmīn=nrīpē parama-tējasi śāsat=  
imānu bhūmīñ=chachāra hariṇā
- 37 Hariṇas=sah=āpi ||\*| sarvō mīthas=sahajam=apy=ajahāt(d)=virōdhan=dharṇmas=tv=adhar-  
mna-virahān=na tathā chakāra |||-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 38 16 |||- Udayam=iha dadhānas=sat(d)-gaṇair=ēdhamānas=satatan=asad-apāyē vṛitdhi(ddhi)-  
maty=ānvavāyē ||\*| udajani Muchukundaḥ
- 39 kundaḥ(kunda)-gaurair=yyaśōbhīḥ pariṇata iva chandras=śōbhamānō mayūkhaiḥ |||-17 |||-  
Sa trātun=tridivan=trivishṭapa-
- 40 sadān=nāthēna yūthanvishām<sup>8</sup> hantum samprayiyāsat=āti-tarasā sañchōditāḥ prāñchitāḥ  
||\*| nirnndras=tad=āharnniśan=da-
- 41 nusutān=nighnann=avighnan=nrīpas=tēshām svarggam=atīva-durggam=akarōd=yuddhē  
hatānām=api |||-18 |||- Asmin=va-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has *ira* which is the correct reading.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has *yam* instead of *yaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> The corresponding reading in TAS is doubtful, though it has been given as *drisht-āti-prasaram*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Vikukshī nrīpō*. TAS has *Vikukshīśravō*.

<sup>5</sup> TAS has the same reading, but it is corrected into *janyē*.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading of the last *pāda* of this verse seems to be : =*nna vēpitun=n=āpi cha yāchitūñ=janaḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> TAS has *harid-viryair=ddhuryair* which appears to be the correct reading.

<sup>8</sup> Read *yūhan=dvishām*.

i.

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Charala plate i containing 18 lines of Tamil script. A circular hole is present on the left side between lines 8 and 10.

ii.a.

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Charala plate ii.a containing 16 lines of Tamil script. A circular hole is present on the left side between lines 28 and 30.

ii.b.

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Charala plate ii.b containing 16 lines of Tamil script. A circular hole is present on the left side between lines 46 and 48.



iii.a.

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Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with a circular hole on the left side for binding. The script is dense and fills most of the leaf's surface.

iii.b.

74  
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Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with a circular hole on the left side for binding. The script is dense and fills most of the leaf's surface.

iv.a.

92  
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104  
106  
108

Handwritten Tamil script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is arranged in horizontal lines, with a circular hole on the left side for binding. The script is dense and fills most of the leaf's surface.

- 42 mśē=bhavad=abhūbhavann=ōjasā rājabṛi(vṛi)ndam labdh-ānandas= samitishu Hariśchandra-  
nāmā narēndrah [i\*] ditsām=ēkām dadhad=a-
- 43 pi nayan Kausikīyān-dhanāyām<sup>1</sup> svam vyakriṇāt=triṇam=iva tathā yas=sa-putram ka|atram  
|||-19 |||- Āsīd=atr=ānva-
- 44 vāyē Sagara iti nripas=tarjjit-āsēsha-bhūpō yēn=ārādhyō=pi<sup>2</sup> kāmam haya-makha-nikarais<sup>3</sup>  
=trāsi-
- 45 tō Dēvarājah [i\*] yat-putrāṇam prabhāvāl=lavaṇa-jalanidhau sāgaratvam prapannē śēsh-  
āṇām vāri-
- 46 dhīnām=api saka|a-gurus=sāgaratvañ=chakāra |||-20 |||- Āsīd=atra Bhagīrathah kshitipatir=  
vvaśē
- 47 sva-vaśōt(d)bhavān=uddharttum Kapila-prakōpa-dahana-jvāl-āvalī-bhasmitān [i\*] avas-  
sindhūm
- 48 vasudhān=nayan-Tripathagān=chakrē sa Bhāgīrathim=ma[r\*]tyān=apy=amṛitān vyadhāt  
surasarid-vāri-pravā-
- 49 ha-sprīśam |||-21 |||- Anvayē=tra sumahaty=avatirṇas=sarvva-bhūpati-guṇaiḥ paripūr-  
ṇah [i\*] sajjana-stuti-virāji-
- 50 ta-varṇṇah kshamām=arakshad=akhilām=Rita(tu)parṇṇah |||-22 |||- Iha samajani bhūpas=  
sarvva-lōk-aika-dīpah kshapi-
- 51 ta-bhuvana-tāpas=śātrit<sup>4</sup>-āri-pratāpah [i\*] ari-yuvati-vilāpas=sphārit-ōddāma-kōpas=  
satata-vijayi-chāpa[h\*]-
- 52 sphīta-kīrttir=Ddīlīpah |||-23 |||- Asminn=amśa-chatuṣṭayēna bhagavān vaśē=janishṭa  
prabhūḥ klišṭām vikshya
- 53 vasundharām=atibalair=brahṭair<sup>5</sup>=mahā-rākshasaiḥ [i\*] Rāmō Lakshmapa-samyutō=tha  
Bharataś=Śa[tru]ghna-
- 54 yukta=tv=iti<sup>6</sup> dvandvaṁ Vishṇubhujā-yuga-dvaya-tulām=ūrjjasvalam yad=yayau |||  
24 |||- Pitari tanaya-vṛitta-

*Third Plate ; First Side.*

- 55 m bhrātrīshu bhrātrī-vṛittam yuvatishu pati-vṛittam śātravē śa[tru]-vṛittam [i\*] munishu  
nripati-vṛittam bāndhavē bandhu-
- 56 vṛittam sakalam<sup>7</sup>=akhila-nāthas=śikshayāmāsa lōkam |||-25 |||- Na krōdhēna jaghāna Rāk-  
shasa-patim kāmē-
- 57 na na prēyasīm sa pratyāhṛitavān=mahīśa-charitam kārtsnyēna chakrē param [i\*] nō chēt  
kin=tapasi sthitam
- 58 sa Malayē sūdrañ=jaghān=āsiuā kim v=ānatyaya-kānti-dhṛity-upachitān=tatyāja Sītām  
punaḥ<sup>8</sup> |||-26 |||- Sētu-
- 59 n=nētum kapi-balam=asau baddhavān<sup>9</sup>=naikam=abdhou chakrē vakrētara-guṇa-nidhir=  
dharṇna-sē[tū]n=asēshā-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has the same reading; but it should be corrected into *Kausikīy-ārthanāyām*, as has been suggested above, Vol. XVIII, p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has *āra|bdhē|=pi*.

<sup>3</sup> TAS has *nikarē*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śārit-āri* as in TAS.

<sup>5</sup> Read *ddhṛishṭair* as in TAS.

<sup>6</sup> TAS has *yukta[s=uta]*.

<sup>7</sup> The syllable *ka* is engraved above the line.

<sup>8</sup> TAS has *[dru]ta[m]* for *punaḥ*.

<sup>9</sup> TAS has *bandhayan* for *baddhavān*.

- 60 n [\*] kētuṃ hētum vibudha-vipadāṃ vyāpadā[n=dā]navināṃ Rāmaṃ kāmaṃ kathayati  
janas=sadguṇānān=nidhā-
- 61 nam |||-27 |||- Aśmin=vamśē=jani vidalayan=ōjasā bhūpa-yūthāñ'=Chōḷō nāma  
kshītipatir=atisphīta-
- 62 rājanya-kālāḥ [\*] yasy=āśēhām=avanim=avatō rājadhānim=iva svān<sup>1</sup> lī-ōdyānais=tulanam  
=adadhus<sup>2</sup>=sarvva-
- 63 taḥ kānanāni :|||-28 |||- Viharaṃ sa Hara-prabhaḥ kadāchin=muni-bṛi(vṛi)nd-ādhyushitēshu  
kānanēshu [\*] anayan<sup>4</sup>
- 64 vinay-āśrayō<sup>5</sup> vihāra-pratīlabdh-āvasarāṇi vāsarāṇi |||-29 |||- Kadāchana mṛiga-vraja-  
prathana-  
65 galbh-ādaraś<sup>6</sup>=chachāra vipin-āntarēshv=anati-bbūri-sainyah kshami [\*] tadā sa mṛiga-  
rūpinā jhaṭīti kēna-
- 66 chid-rakshasā hṛitō haritam=anvagāt prakṛiti-dakṣiṇō dakṣiṇām |||-30 |||- Mṛigan=tam=  
=anugachchatā prajavi-
- 67 nā śanair=vvājīnā pṛithu-druma-samākulaṃ vipinam=anyad=āsāditam tam' [\*] tam=  
anvayur=anārata-pravitata-  
68 yāṇ-ōnmukhā javēna rabhas=ōtpatat-pṛithu-varūthini-nāyakāḥ |||-31 |||- Tam hatvā raja-  
nicharam
- 69 sa tatra bhūpaḥ Kāvērīm=anu vichachāra bhūri-chārah [\*] kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-mathanāt  
surair=avāptam pī-
- 70 yūsham bhūvi salila-chochhalād=vahantīm :|||-32 |||- Tatra stā(śnā)tvā dita(t)sur-artthan-  
dva(dvi)jēbhyō n=āpāśyat=tān=vaśya-
- 71 chittas=tadānim [\*] Āryyāvarttād=vipra-varyyān=udagrān<sup>7</sup>=ānīy-ā[ayā] vāśyāmāsa<sup>8</sup> tīrē  
: |||-33 |||- Vipinam=a-
- 72 khilāñ-chhitvā pūgais=chakāra vanam-mahat-tad-anu vidadhē dhīras=śāraṃ sa-nāgalat-  
ākulam [\*] upavana-chayai-

*Third Plate ; Second Side.*

- 73 r=anyair=ddhanyaiḥ Kavēra-sutā-taṭa-dvaya-vasumatīm=ēka-chchāyām=anēka-phalām  
vyadhāt |||-34 |||- A-
- 74 mara-sariti snānam bhūyas=tapaś-charaṇāñ=jana vidadhāti taṭē tasyāḥ kṛichchhran=tri-  
viṣṭapa-kāmyayā [\*] iha virachitam
- 75 snānam ghōran=tapaś=cha surālayād=api śubhatarē tīrē<sup>9</sup>vāsam sthīrikurutē satām |||-35 |||-  
Anvāsāt=tam=anu Rā-
- 76 jakōsari vāsarādhipa iv=āsama-dyutiḥ [\*] Chō|abhūpa-tanayō nay-ādhiḥ kshōpīm=ā-  
jaladhi bādhit-āhita[ḥ]<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> TAS has *rāja-brindāñ*—

<sup>2</sup> Read *svām* as in TAS.

<sup>3</sup> TAS has *adadhan* which is a wrong form.

<sup>4</sup> Read *anayad*— as in TAS.

<sup>5</sup> TAS has *vibudh-āśrayō* instead of *vinay-āśrayō*.

<sup>6</sup> TAS has *pradhū(pū)ll-ādaraś(ś)*—

<sup>7</sup> This *tan* is superfluous.

<sup>8</sup> TAS has *a[nēkā]n* instead of *udagrān*.

<sup>9</sup> TAS has *ādhyāvāśyāmāsa* for *āśyā vāśyāmāsa*.

<sup>10</sup> TAS has *v[āś]* instead of *tīrē*.

<sup>11</sup> TAS has *lāpīl* instead of *bādhit*—

- 77 |||-36 |||- Tat-sutas=tu Parakēsarī nripō matsari-kshitipe--viryya-sātenah<sup>1</sup> [\*] sat-sakhal  
kshitim=imām=apālayat(d)
- 78 bhartsit-āsura-nikāya<sup>2</sup>-vikramah |||-37 |||- Asmin=vamśē Mṛityujin=nāma rājā mṛityūr-  
jjētā pātī-ārāti-va-
- 79 rggah [\*] jajñē yajñair-ājñayā va(cha) prakāman-dēvān=chhatrūmīs<sup>3</sup>=tōshayan bhṛēsha-  
yamś=cha :|||-38 |||- Asmin=vamśē VI-
- 80 rasēn-ābhidhānō jātō nī-āsēcha-lōk-ābhītāpāh<sup>4</sup> [\*] rōjē rājā tējasā bhānu-tulyah kalyā-  
81 nām=mandiram sundar-āmgah |||-39 |||- Chitrō nāma kshītipatir=abhūt=tatra vamśē-  
dhika-śrīr=vvitrast-ā-
- 82 ri-prakara-vinati-vyakta-vichchhinna-kōpāh [\*] Vṛitrārātīr=jjhatīti samarē nirjjitō<sup>5</sup> yasya  
bāpāir=mmītrī-
- 83 bhūtas=satatam=abhajat(d)-Vyāghrakētu-ddhvajatvam |||-40 |||- Avanim=akhīla-pārā-  
vāra-dhī(ti)r-ābhīrām-ōpa-
- 84 ratim=avirata-śrīs=sāsītum=nāsīt-ārīh [\*] nija-bhuja-bala-līlā-krishṭa-rājanya-lakshmir=iha  
samajani vamśē bhū-
- 85 patīh Pushpakētuḥ |||-41 |||- Asmin=vamśē Kētumāl-ābhidhānō jātō rāj=Ājātasatru-pra-  
86 kāśah<sup>6</sup> [\*] hṛitvā sarvva-kshūmābhītām kētu-mālām yēn=āvāptam Kētumāl-ābhīdhānam.  
|||-42|||- Samudraji-
- 87 n=nāma narādhīrājō babhūva vamśē-tra visāla-viryyah [\*] pūrvv-āpar-āmonōnidhi-  
ni(mi)śraṇēna paṇēna<sup>7</sup> Madrē-
- 88 śa-sutām sa lēbhē :|||-43 |||- Śrīmaty=atra kulē babhūva mahita-ārīh Pañchapa-ākāyō nripō-  
nirvvyāj-āti-
- 89 thi-pūjan-ōrjjīta-manā yakshān sa pañch-ātīthīn [\*] vidhyā(ddhvā) pañcha arīs=sva-  
śōṇitam=asau tair-yāchitas=sa.<sup>8</sup>
- 90 tvara[m] kōshṇa[n=ta]t sakalān=apāyayad=atas=tat-pālanāt Pañchapaḥ |||-44 |||- Abhavat-  
vibhavair=jjayan=digī-

*Fourth Plate ; First Side.*

- 91 śān=iha vamśē nripatis=sitāmśu-kāntah [\*] Dramīdas<sup>9</sup>=sa Mṛīdasya samprasādād-ajayan=  
mṛityum=anatyaya-
- 92 prabhāvah |||-45 |||- Atr=ābhū[d=a\*]mala-guṇah kulē=tula-śrīs=tējasvī samiti Manōrath-  
ābhīdānah [\*] yō hatvā
- 93 jhātīti manōrathān=arīṇām bandhūnām=akuruta sat-phalān balēna : |||-46 |||- Ētasmin  
Parunetkīi-
- 94 prabhṛitayō vamśē dharādhisvarā bhūyāmsas=tulit-Āmarśvara-bala-śrī(ārī)-vikramā-  
jajñirē [\*] yēshām=ā-ja-
- 95 ladhi kshamām samavatām<sup>10</sup> vyāptam yasōbbhīs=śubhair=ā-brahmāṇḍa[m=a]khaṇḍa-dśā-  
samayam visvañ=jagad=rājatē : |||-47 |||-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has matsa[rītam=a]nivāryya-śāsanah.

<sup>2</sup> The corresponding reading in TAS is uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> Here n is superfluous. Read =chhatrūms=

<sup>4</sup> TAS has lōk-āhita[ś=cha].

<sup>5</sup> TAS has tarjjitō.

<sup>6</sup> TAS has jāta-sam[pā-pra]kāśah.

<sup>7</sup> TAS has [paṇyē]na..... śa-sutām [sa]lō[bhah].

<sup>8</sup> TAS has sādaram.

<sup>9</sup> TAS has nrimīdas=.

<sup>10</sup> TAS has sapatana-, which is ill-suited in the present context.

- 96 Asmin kulē kula-dharādharma-sannikāśaḥ kṣā-ōpamāna-vitat-ōru-yaśaḥ-pratānaḥ [\*] āśit  
kshitiśa-tilakaḥ Ka-
- 97 rikāla-nāmā Chōlas=samuddhata<sup>1</sup>-ripu-kshiti-pāla-kālaḥ ||-48 ||- Sa Kāvērīn=dūrikṛita-  
sekala-sasyām vidadhatim
- 98 payaḥ-pūrais=sphārair=avanim=avinī-ōddhati-haraḥ [\*] pratiribhūtābhir=nnarapati-śira-  
[h\*]-śliṣṭa-piṭaka-prakirṇābhir=mmṛit(d)bhir=nyaru-
- 99 [nad=A]ruṇ-āgrēsara-samam(maḥ) : ||-49 ||- Asmin kulē sakala-pārthiva-vandya-pādō jātō-  
bhijāta-guṇa-sam-
- 100 hatī- bṛimhita-śrīḥ [\*] ūrjjaśval-ōt(d)bhata-nij-āpratima-pratāpas=santāpit-āri-śalabhō  
Vajabhō mahīśaḥ ||-
- 101 50 ||- Ih=ānvayē=bhūd=Amarēśa-tulyaḥ parāsta-vidvaj-jana-tāpa-śalyaḥ [\*] samasta-  
rājānaka-bhūri-vallabhaḥ<sup>2</sup>
- 102 kshamādhināthō Jagadēkarmallaḥ ||-51 ||- Vamśē=sminn=ari-rāja-vandita pada-dvandv-  
āravindaḥ kshami rājā Vyājabhayaṇ-
- 103 karaḥ samabhavat sūnōs=samānō ravēḥ [\*] dōr-ddaṇḍ-ānchita-khaḍga-khaṇḍita-ripōr=  
yasy=ōrjita-śrī-jushaḥ
- 104 kōp-āgni[r\*]=dvishad-aṅgan-āeru-salilais=siktaḥ paraṇ śāmyati : ||-52 ||- Anvayē=tra  
Vijayālaya-nāmā sārvaabhūma<sup>3</sup>
- 105 sakala-kshiti-nāthaḥ [\*] yat-pad-āmburuha-yugmam=ajaśaraḥ śekhārikṛitam=āsēśa- mahi-  
śaiḥ ||-53 ||- Nivēśayām[ā]-
- 106 sa sa Chōla-dēśē nivēśit<sup>4</sup>-āsēśa-guṇa-pravṛiddhām [\*] Kañjāsan-ādyair=amaraḥ pragitān=  
Tañchāpurī-nāma pu-
- 107 rīn=narēndraḥ ||-54 ||- Ādityavanmā(rmm=ā)bhavad=asya putraḥ Kōdaṇḍarām-ābhi-  
tāyāḥ<sup>5</sup> prasiddhaḥ [\*] utplutya matta-dvirad-ēndra-
- 108 samsthañ=jaghāna yaḥ Pallavarājam=ājau : ||-55 ||- Aśy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ parākramavatām=  
ēkādhīpaḥ kshamā-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 109 bhujām viraśrī-nīlayaḥ Parāntaka iti khyātāḥ kshamādhiśvaraḥ [\*] vėl-ōdyāna-vihāribhir=  
mmadakaḥair=yyam<sup>6</sup> vā-
- 110 raṇ-ādhiśvarair=vvāsyantē mada-sindhuhīḥ pratidiśam pāthāmsi pāthōnidhēḥ ||-56 ||- Ha-  
111 tv=āśu Pāṇḍyam=akbilēna balēna sākaṁ hṛitvā tādīyam=akhilam vasu vīryasāli [\*]  
bhasmicakāra Ma-
- 112 dhurām yad=adhaḥ-kṛit-ārīr=llēbhē<sup>7</sup> natas=sa Madhurāntaka-nāmadhēyam ||-57 ||- Yaḥ=  
jigāya Vijay-ōpama-
- 113 dyutiḥ Kṛishṇarājam=ajitan=narādhipaiḥ [\*] bhūri-vikrama-vivarddhita-dyutir=Vira-Chōla  
iti tēna kīrttyatē ||-58 ||- Yat=tī-
- 114 rṇṇair=jjalanidhim=uddhatai[r\*]=bal-aughais=samyattān samiti jaghāna Simhājēśān [\*]  
tat=sarvva-kshiti-pa-
- 115 ti-vandyamāna-pādas=sō=nvartthām=abhajata Simhājāntak-ākhyām ||-59 ||- Dṛiṣṭāntaḥ  
kō=sya rājūas=sakala-guṇa-

<sup>1</sup> TAS has samutthita.

<sup>2</sup> TAS has rājāntaka-bhūri-bhallaḥ.

<sup>3</sup> Read sambabhūva as in TAS.

<sup>4</sup> TAS has navnat-āsēśa.

<sup>5</sup> Read=ābhūdhayā.

<sup>6</sup> Read =yyad=vā° as in TAS.

<sup>7</sup> Read natas= as in TAS.

iv, b

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- 116 nidhēs=śaknuyāt kō=sya vaktum bhūya[h\*] ślāghyān guṇ-aughān=upāsamita-ripōr=vvikram-  
aik-āspadasya [i\*]
- 117 yō vit(d)vat(d)-vipra-bhōgyān=anupama-vibhavān=Viranārāyaṇ-ādyān=atyagryān=agra-  
hārān=vyadhita vidhir=iva sva-
- 118 rggam=ast-āri-varggah |||-60 |||- Amushya tanayō=bhēvat(d) vibhur= Arindam-ākhyō  
nrīpaḥ kehapākara-sama-dyuti[h] kshapi-
- 119 ta-vairi-paksh-ōtkarah [i\*] yadiya-bhūja-vikrama-śravaṇa-sambhavat- sādha(sādhva)sair-  
nnrīpair=avanibbrit(d)-guhā-griha-ni-
- 120 vāsibhi[h] sthīyatē |||-61|||- Asakrid=akṛita rājās=svairam=ājñā-vidhēyām=vyadhita  
Vidhi-samānas=sam-
- 121 padam sajjanānām [i\*] atanuta nuta-vīryyō vyāpadam śātravāṇām=atulayad=atula-śrīś-  
chandra-kāntim sva-kāntyā : |||-
- 122 62 |||- Asya sūnur=abhavat Parāntakas=santata-kshapita-vairi-santatiḥ [i\*] chintayan-  
yad=udayaṁ sa-sādhvasah
- 123 Pāṇḍya-ḥhūpatir=alaṅghayat(d) girim |||-63 |||- Chakāra kārāsu ripūn=asēshārās=tatāra  
bhūrin samar-ān-
- 124 burāśin [i\*] jahāra tāpam budha-samhatinān=tatāna santāpam=asajjanānām |||-64 |||-  
Akhila-guṇa-
- 125 nidhānāt(d)=bhūmipālād=amushmād=udajani naranāthō Rājarāj-ābhidhānaḥ [i\*] sa khalu  
ruchira-dēhaḥ kānta-nē-
- 126 tr-āravindō Dhanada iti param yad=Rājarājēna tulyaḥ |||-65 |||- Sañjahāra samarē sa pārt-  
thivān=u-

*Fifth Plate; First Side.*

- 127 jjahāra vipadas=sa bhūta[āt [i\*] ājahāra cha makhān=anēkaśō vyājahāra yad=asūnṛitan-  
na tat |||-66 |||-
- 128 Saty-āśrayē sthīratarē bata Rājarājē Satyāśrayaḥ kila palāyata manda-buddhiḥ [i\*] natyā  
jayanti
- 129 sa-bhayā ripavas=tam=ājau na tyājayaty=ayam=asūn=aribhiś=śriyas=taiḥ |||-67 |||- Tasya  
sū-
- 130 nur=anayasya śāsītā Pākāśāsana iv=āri-śāsanaḥ [i\*] Śambarāri-ruchir-ākṛitir=nnrīpas=  
sambabhū-
- 131 va Madhurāntak-ābhidhaḥ |||-68 |||- Ajayad=ajita-vīryyās=śauryya-saundaryya-śālī Vijaya  
iva sapa-
- 132 nnā(tnā)n Kunda(nta)ānām=adhiśān [i\*] aharata sa kirītam kshatriyānān=nihantu[h]  
prasabham=abhihat-ārir=jJāmada-
- 133 [gnya]sya vīryyāt |||-69 |||- Jahāra hāran=tuhinārāśu-kāntam Satakratōr=vvikrama-nirjji-  
tāriḥ [i\*] vihā-
- 134 ra-bhūmin=nija-sainikānām sa ch=ākarōt samyati Mānyakētam |||-70 |||- Sva-sēnādhiśā-
- 135 n-apratihata-Kulūt-ōtkalapatiḥ Kalimḡan=Varḡgēndrais<sup>1</sup>=saha baha[sa]-vīryyān vidalayan  
[i\*] sa
- 136 Gaṅgām=ut(d)garjjan=nija-kari-gbaṭā-ghātita<sup>2</sup>-tatān(ā)-ghatāir=jahrē bhūbhṛin-makuṭa-  
nihitair=uddhri-
- 137 ta-jalām |||-71 |||- Ullamgbhit-āmbudhibhir=uddhata-bāhu-vīryyair=nnirddhūta-[vai]ri-nara-  
nātha-bala-prapañchaiḥ [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> *TAS* has *Vimś-ēndrais*, which has been rightly guessed to be meant for *Vaṅg-ēndrais*, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 46, n.

<sup>2</sup> *TAS* has *pātita*.



- 138 *sainyair=ddadāha sa Katāham=adaddha(gdha)m=anyai Rajēndra-Chōla-nripatih kim-asāddhyam=asya :||-72 |||- Tasy=ā-*  
 139 *sams=tanayās=trayas=traya iva khyātāḥ kratōr=agnayah's=tēshān=tu prathamah kshitiśa-tilakō Rājādhira-*  
 140 *jō nripah [\*] yah Kalyānapuran=dadāha nripatin=nirjjitya Karnnātakān=ādāy=Āhavamalla-vāraṇa-ghatām Kō-*  
 141 *llāpurañ=ch=ākshinōt ||-73 |||- Tasmin gatē tridivam=uddhṛita-lōka-sōkas=tasy=ānujah kshitim=imām=akhi-*  
 142 *lām=arakshat [\*] Rājēndradēva-nripatis=sa ripūn=asēshān Sēsh-ōpam-ōt(d)bhata-bhujah praḷayam vyanai-*  
 143 *shīt ||-74 |||- Tasmin=yātē tridivam=anujas=tasya niśtējit-āriḥ prājyam rājyam vyadhita vidhivat(d)=Virarā-*

*Fifth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 144 *jēndradēvah [\*] atyut(d)bhūtam samadbika-balō Rājarājēndradēvaś=śatru-vrātām vya-jayata javāt(d)-bāhyam=ā-*  
 145 *bhyantarañ=cha :||-75 |||- Hatvā Kūṭala-saṅgamē kshitibhṛitah Karnnāta<sup>2</sup>-vañś-ōt(d)-bhavān sainyam yajñabhujām prava-*  
 146 *rddhayati yas=tair=ddēvabhūyam gataih [\*] yēn=aikēna gajēna Kuntala-balan=nirhatya ta-ch-chhōṇitaiḥ kṛitv=ānyām sa-*  
 147 *ritam samudra-paritām<sup>3</sup> santōshitō vāridih ||-76 |||- Bhrāṭṛibhyām samupēkshitañ=jana-padam vañśa-kram-ābhyāga-*  
 148 *tañ krāntam vairi-mahīśvarair=atibalair=vVēmgīn(ñ)=Kalī[m]gān=api [\*] jivā śatru-param-parām=atibalām bhivā cha*  
 149 *durgga(rggā)n<sup>4</sup> bahūñ=cha<sup>5</sup> śrīmān-Vallabha-Vallabhaḥ kshitipatih kshēmēna tañ sō=nva-sāt ||-77 |||- Virachōḷa-nripatih Kari-*  
 150 *kālāḥ kālayan kali-balam sakalām saḥ [\*] dharmma-śāsana-samuchchayam=uchcharān vyātānōt(d)-Bharatasāra-samētam ||-*  
 151 *78 |||- Dēvasy-Ādriśutādhīpasya mahatas=Trailōkyasār-ābhidham śrīmad-Dabhrasabhā-naṭasya makutē māṇikka(kya)m=ā-*  
 152 *rōpitam [\*] manvē vairikul-ādīmasya śāsinaś=Śrīkaṇṭha-chūdāmaṇēr=bhaṅg-ārtthan=nija-vañśakṛit sa bha-*  
 153 *gavān bhānus=samārōpitam(tah) ||-79 |||- Chōla-Tuṇḍira-Pāṇḍyēshu Garīgavāti-Kulūta-yōḥ [\*] Vi-*  
 154 *rarājēndra-nāmn=āsau brahmadēyān=akalpayat ||-80 |||- Chatvāriṃśat=sahasrāṇi brāhma-*  
 155 *ṇānān=trayividda(dā)m [\*] atōshayat(d)=bhūmi-dānair=ā(a)sthāpayad-adi(ti)sthiram ||-81 |||- Svasti śrī.[\*] Sakalabhuvanāśra-*  
 156 *ya śrī-mēdinīva[\*]labha Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama<sup>6</sup>paṭṭāraka Ravikula-tilaka Chōlakula-śē-*  
 157 *khara Pāṇḍyakul-āntaka Āhavamalla-kula-kāla Āhavamallaṇai aimmaḍi veṇ-kaṇḍa Rāja-śēkhara Rājāśra-*

<sup>1</sup> Here the *visarga* is redundant. Read *agnayah=*.

<sup>2</sup> *TAS* has *maññāṭa*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *samudra-vañśām* as in *TAS*.

<sup>4</sup> *TAS* has *bhūlān*.

<sup>5</sup> Here *cha* is redundant ; read *bahūn*.

<sup>6</sup> Read<sup>o</sup> *bhāṭṭāraka*.

- 158 ya Rājarājendra Vira-chōla Karikāla-chōla Rājakēsaripanna śrīmat-Vīrarājendradēva  
Rājakēsari  
159 śrī-Vīrarājendradēvaṅṅku yāṅṅdu ējāvadu Śakābdan-toḷāyirattu-ttonpūṅṅonru  
mē-  
160 r=Saumya-sam[va]tsarattu [\*] Viramēy tuṅaiyāgavun=tiyāgamēy=aniyāgavun=cheṅṅōl-  
ōchchi=kkaruṅ-  
161 gali kaṅṅindu Tennanai=ttalai-koṅṅdu Chēraṅai=ttirai-koṅṅdu Śīṅgaladēsam 'vadip-  
162 paḍuttu veṅṅalatt-Āhavamallaṅṅai aimmaḍi veṅṅ-kaṅṅdu Vēṅṅai-nāḍu miṭṭu-

*Sixth Plate ; First Side.*

- 163 kkoṅṅdu taṅṅṅuḍaṅ-piṅṅanda muṅṅavar virada-muḍittu vandu-paṅṅinda Vijayādittarṅṅku<sup>1</sup>  
ma-  
164 ṅḍalam=aruḷi-kkaḷal=adainda maṅṅarṅṅku=k[**Kaḍāra**]m=eṅṅindu kuḍutt-aruḷi Sōmīśvaraṅṅai  
=k-  
165 **Kaṅṅṅaḍadēsāṅ**=kaiyviḍa=tturatti=ttanṅ-adainda Śaḷukku<sup>2</sup>. Vikramādittanai eṅḍisai niga-  
166 ḷa=kkandigai-kaṭṭi **Iraṭṭapāḍi** ēḷarai-ilakkamum=eṅṅindu koḍuttaruḷi vijaya-si-  
167 mhāsanattu **Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāḷoḍum** viṅṅirund=aruḷiṅa 'śakravattigaḷ śrī-Vīrarā-  
168 jendradēvar muṅṅaṭ-Chaḷukkiyai Muḍakkāṅṅil mudugu-kaṅṅdu muṅṅiv=arīya Iraṭṭarāja-ku-  
169 la-kālan igal Vīrarājendraṅṅ puyaṅ-koṅṅdu podu-nikkīy-āḷḷiṅṅa Jayaṅṅoṅ-  
170 ḍasōḷa-maṅḍalattu<sup>3</sup> Eyir-kōṭṭattu nagaram Kāñchipurattu Uḍaiyār Ti-  
171 ruvēgambam=Uḍaiyār kōyilil=ttenpakkattu tiruvōlakka-maṅḍapam Rā-  
172 jarājaṅṅil muṅṅbil tirukkāvaṅṅattu eḷundaruḷi Uttaram-ayana-samkrānti nāṅṅu  
173 dānaṅ=cheydaruḷiṅṅiṅṅu [!]\* muḍi-kavitta muhūrttamē muhūrttam-āgav=eḍuttup-pōy  
vaḍiko-  
174 ḷ-veṅṅpaḍai Vīrarājendraṅṅ vaḍa-**Kūḍal-sarṅgamattu**-ppōr-Āhavamallaṅṅaiyum makkaḷai-  
175 yum puṅṅaṅṅaṅṅu koṅṅḍa **Iraṭṭapāḍi-koṅḍasōḷa-maṅḍalattu-pPuli-nāṭṭu-**  
**chChōṅṅam=ā-**  
176 ṅa śrī-Madurāntaka-śaturvēdimaṅḷalattu<sup>4</sup> Brāhmaṅṅaṅṅ Ātrēya-gōtrattu  
177 Bahudhānya-sūtrattu<sup>5</sup> Rishikēsava<sup>6</sup>-Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayāśi(ji)yār vargattu Sō(Śrō)-

*Sixth Plate ; Second Side.*

- 178 triya-Kramavittaṅṅum **Mundaya-Kramavittaṅṅum** **Pallaya-Kramavittaṅṅum**  
uḷḷiṭṭārkkum  
179 ivargaḷ anvayattārkkum dānamāga-kkuḍuttaruḷiṅṅa **Chōṅṅam=āṅṅa** śrī-Madurāntaka-śa-  
(cha)turvvē-  
180 dimaṅḷalattukku simāntaram [!]- pūrvandikku Kuppēriyum paśchāt Nattuvan-kuṅṅu-

<sup>1</sup> Read *aḍippaḍuttu*.<sup>2</sup> Read *Vijayādittarṅṅku*.<sup>3</sup> Read *Śaḷukki*.<sup>4</sup> Read *chakravartigaḷ*.<sup>5</sup> Jayaṅṅoṅḍasōḷa-maṅḍalam is similarly described in another record of Vīrarājendra dated in the 7th year from Perumbēr (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 203). For a variant see f. n. 3 on same page.<sup>6</sup> Read *chaturvēdi*.<sup>7</sup> Read *Bādhānyas-sūtrattu*.<sup>8</sup> Read *Rishikēsā-Bhaṭṭa*.

- 181 kkaiyum paśchāt=kKoppikkaṇuvāyum Puḷugiyārum Śirukaṇuvāyḱku mēḱku  
 182 Appūndiy-uḷḷē Śeṅguṅḱum paśchāt Āndimudakkil Vauvāl-pārai-  
 183 yum adukku mēḱku Puṅarkuṅuchchiyil Vaḱa-kuṅukkaiyum adukku mēḱ-  
 184 ku Oḷugu-pārai-yum paśchāt Āndiyilūḷḷālai-kKuṅḱarai-pārai-  
 185 yum paśchāt Ūshai-kkuṅukkaiyum adukku vaḱakku mukkal-  
 186 lum adukku vaḱakku Vā[ra]ḱḱaiyum adukku vaḱakku Taniṁuṭṭu-ma-  
 187 [ḱai]yum adukku vaḱakku Mōṭṭāṅ-kuṭṭaiyum adukku-kkiḱakku  
 188 Triḱōṅa-muṭṭu-maḱaiyum Kammāra(ra)-śuṅaiyum paśchāt Perumballam=u-  
 189 ḷḷāga-kkaḱḱatti-malaiyilē<sup>1</sup> kūḱittu [i\*] śimāntaram samāpti || Viśvair-vviśva-  
 190 mbharādhiśair-ṅṅanditair<sup>2</sup>-vvandida(ṭa)m=idam [i\*] śāsanam Virarājēndra-  
 Rāja-kēsariva-  
 191 rmmapaḱ || [82||\*] Virarājēndradēvasya vikramasya prakāśanam [i\*] Chandrabhū-  
 śhaṅa-Bhaṭṭē-

*Seventh Plate; First Side.*

- 192 na rachitaṁ śuddha-buddhinā || [83||\*] Tiruvāymoḷindaruḷa i-śāsanaṅ=cheyvit-  
 193 tār Adikāriḱaḷ tiru mēvumpāḱi-viḷaṅga-ttēr-vēndar=āḱi-vaṅaṅa paḷi-nikki  
 194 ulag=āṅḱa vīran Vi[ra\*]rājēndran aḷiy-ttol-Manu-neṅiyāl vaḷarkkiṅṅa  
 195 Śōja-maṅḱalattu Kshatri[ya\*]śikāmaṅi-vaḷanāṭṭu-tTirunaṅaiyūr-nāṭṭu-pParakēśa-  
 196 rinallūr kiḷavaṅ Guṅṅanidi-Aruḷmoḷiyār=āṅa Mīnavaṅ-Mūvōndavōḷār || Tiru-  
 197 mandira-ōlai Jayaṅḱoṅḱaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu=kKuṅumbūr-nāṭṭu brahṁadēyaṅ=Kā-  
 198 yākkuḱi Gu(Ku)ṅḱina-gōtrattu Āpastambha(ba)-sūtrattu Tōṅamayan Pāpanāśa-  
 199 ṅ=āna Virasrīvallabha-Brahmādhiraḱjan ||- Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu Vīraśōḷa-va-  
 200 ḷanāṭṭu Śēndamaṅḱalam=uḱaiyān Aruḷmoḷi Rājēndraśōḷan=āna Jāna-  
 201 nāda-Viḷupparaiyaṅ ||- Sāmānyō=yam dharmmam=ēṭa[n\*]=nṅipāṅam<sup>3</sup> kāḷē kāḷē  
 202 pāḷiniyō<sup>4</sup> bhavat(d)bhis(bhiḱ) [i\*] tasmād=ētān bhāvinaḱ pārthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō  
 yācha-  
 203 tē Rāmabhadra[h\*] || [84||\*]- Sukṛitam=idam=ajasraṁ rakshyatē dishu diśān sakala-nṅi-  
 [pi]ti-vandyas=śō-  
 204 yam=āḱāmiṅō vaḱ [i\*] Hara-charaṅa-sarōṭṭvaṁśa-chihṁēna mūrddhā-mu[ka]ḷita-kara-panmō  
 205 vandyatē Rājarājaḱ ||<sup>5</sup>-[85||\*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattaṁ<sup>6</sup> rājabhis=Sagarādibhiḱ [i\*]  
 yaśya yaśya yadā  
 206 bhūmis-taśya taśya tadā phalam || [86||\*] Paripatan=adhīśayam Madhurāntaka-Brahmā-  
 dhiraḱjan=a-

*Seventh Plate; Second Side.*

- 207 [tauva] śāsanam=ēva dēśa-madhyē sva-pati-kārya-viniśchyārttham buddhiḱ ḱṛita [Śāśi]-  
 bhūśhaṅa-  
 208 paṅḱitāna sārddham<sup>7</sup> || [87||\*] Tiruvāymoḷind=aruḷa i-śāsana-eḷuttu vetṭi-

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that the expression *Kaḱḱatti malaiyilē*, may be the name of a hill, or it may mean 'having traversed (*kaḱḱandu*), it terminated (*kūḱittu*) at a hill (*malai*), which may have been a landmark in that locality, without however, having a specific name.

<sup>2</sup> Read =*nanditair*.

<sup>3</sup> The correct reading is *dharmma-śtur=nṅipāṅam*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pāḷiniyō*.

<sup>5</sup> The verse is defective; and the following corrections may be suggested: *dikshu-nḱhīśāḱ; nṅipati; sarōḱḱita-ma-chihṁēna mūrddhā; mukulita; padmō; vandatē*. The metre is *Mālinī*. [The intended reading of the first quarter appears to be: *Sukṛitam=idam=ajasram rakshat=ēti kshīśān*.—B.C.C.]

<sup>6</sup> Read *dattā*.

<sup>7</sup> This verse is also corrupt, but no corrections are suggested.



SEAL OF THE CHARALA PLATES.

SEAL OF THE  
 MADRAS MUSEUM PLATES OF UTTAMA-CHOLA.



From photographs (ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE).



- 209 nēn Kuvaḷāla-nāṭṭu-kKuvaḷālatt-irukkun=Tachchāchāriyan Śaṅkaraṇ Kādādi-  
 210 y-āna Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ ||| aṅa-maṅavaṅkka [|\*] [a\*]ṅamalladu tuṅai-  
 211 yillai |||| Prāṇi parihaṅkka |||

## TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-15b) -- Sanskrit verses 1 to 81.

(Ll. 15b-158)---Hail ! Prosperity ! *Sakalabhuvanāśraya*, *Śrīmēdinīvallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, the forehead mark of the solar race (*Ravikula-tilka*), the crest-jewel of the Chōḷa family (*Chōḷakula-sēkhara*), Death to the Pāṇḍya family (*Pāṇḍyakul-āntaka*), Death to the family of Āhavamalla (*Āhavamallakula-kāla*), the foremost of kings, who saw the back of Āhavamalla five times, *Rājāśraya*, *Rājarājendra*, *Vira-Chōḷa*, *Karikāla-Chōḷa*, **Rājakēsari-varman śrī-Virarājēndradēva**—

(Ll. 159-167) In the seventh (regnal) year (corresponding to the) Śaka year nine hundred and ninety-one (expired), and the (cyclic) year **Saunya**, of (this) Chakravarttigaḷ **Rājakēsari śrī-Virarājēndradēva**—who, with heroism as (his) help, with liberality as (his) only ornament, wielded the sceptre, and dispelled the dark Kali (-age), took the head of **Teṅṅavaṅ** (i.e., the Pāṇḍya king), levied tribute from the **Chēra** (king), subdued the **Siṅgaḷa** country, saw the back of **Āhavamalla five times** on the fierce battlefield, recovered **Vēṅgai-nāḍu** and (thus) fulfilled the vow of his elder brothers who were born with him, gave the territory to **Vijayāditya** who came and submitted to him, gave **Kaḍāram** after conquest to the (Kaḍāram) king who had approached his feet (i.e., submitted to him), routed **Sōmēśvara** so as to abandon the **Kannaḍa** country, invested the **Chāḷukya Vikramāditya** with the necklet (*kaṅṅhikaṅ*) so as to shine in the eight directions and bestowed on him the **Iraṭṭapāḍi-Seven-and-a-half-lakh** country, after conquest, and was pleased to be seated on the throne of victory, together with (his) consort **Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyā** :

(Ll. 168-180) while (this) warlike Virarājendra, the god of Death to the family of the Raṭṭa king, whose anger abated only after seeing the back of the obstinate Chāḷukki on (the bank of) the **Muḍakkāru**, was pleased to be seated in the frontal portion of the audience-hall called **Rājarājan** in the southern portion of the temple of god **Tiruvēgambam-Uḍaiyār** at **Kāñchi-puram**, a *naḡaram* in **Eyir-kōṭṭam**, (a sub-division) in **Jayaṅḡaḍaśōḷa-maṅḡalam**, which is ruled over (by the king), having been conquered by the strength of his arm and made his exclusive property, and was pleased to offer gifts on the day of **Uttarāyaṅa-saṅkrānti**,

(he) gave to the Brāhman **Śrōtriya-Kramavittaṅ**, **Mundaya-Kramavittaṅ** and **Pallaya-Kramavittaṅ** and others and their descendants of the *varga* (lineage) of **Ṛishikēsava** (**Hṛishikēsa**)-**Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājijyār** of the **Ātrēya-gōtra** and **Bahudhānya** (**Baudhāyana**)-*sūtra*, a Brāhman (resident) of **Chērām** alias **Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam**,

(the village) **Chērām** alias **śrī-Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** in **Puli-nāḍu**, (a sub-division) of **Raṭṭapāḍikonḡaśōḷa-maṅḡalam**, which was captured after seeing the back of Āhavamalla and his sons in the battle on the bank of the northern **Kuḍal-Saṅgamam**, when (he), **Virarājendra** of the beautiful spear started out on the auspicious moment in which he was (himself) crowned.

<sup>1</sup> These Sanskrit verses have been ably translated by Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar in *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, pp. 150 ff. and by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao in *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 48 ff.

(Ll. 180-189) The boundary (of this village) ran to the east (of) Kuppēri; then Nattuvankurukkai; then Kottikkaṇuvāy,<sup>1</sup> then Puḷugivāru and Śēngunru in Arpundi which is to the west of Śiṅkaṇuvāy; then (the rock called) Vauvālpārai in Āndimudakku; Vaḍakuṟukkai in Puṇarkuṟuchchi to the west of it; (the rock) Oḷugupārai to the west of it; then Kuṇḍarāipārai (rock) in Āndi; then Ūshaikkurukkai; to the north of it Mukkallu; to the north of it Vārappadi; to the north of it Taṇimuttu-maḍai (sluice); to the north of it (the pond called) Mōṭṭāṇ-kuṭṭai; to the east of it Trikoṇamuttu-maḍai (sluice) and Kammāra-śuṇai (spring); and then passing through and inclusive of Perumbaḷlam, it reached the hill. The boundary (line) ends (thus).

(v. 82) This (is the) order of Vīrarājendra-Rājakēsarivarmān, which is honoured by all the happy kings of this earth.

(v. 83) This (panegyric) illuminating the prowess of Vīrarājendradēva, was composed by the pure-minded **Chandrabhūshana-Bhaṭṭa**.

(Ll. 192-196) At the order (of the king), this grant was caused to be issued by the officer (*Adhikāriḡaḷ*) **Guṇanīdi-Aruḷmoliyār** alias **Mīnavāṇ-Mūvēndavōḷār**, the *kīḷavaṇ* of Parakēsarinaḷḷār in Tirunaṇṇaiyūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāḍu, (a district) of Śōḷamaṇḍalam, which was prospering in accordance with the eternal and ancient laws of Manu, under Vīrarājendra, the hero who is resplendent with the goddess of wealth, who is worshipped by the charioted kings and who rules the earth suppressing evil.

(Ll. 197-201) The *Tirumandira-ōlai* (verse) Tōṇamayaṇ-Pāpanāsaṇ alias Viraśrīvallaḅha-Brahmādhiraṇ of the Kuṇḍina-gōtra and the Āpastamba-sūtra of Kāyākkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* in Kuṟumbūr-nāḍu, (a sub-division) of Jayaṅgoṇḍasōḷa-vaḷaṇāḍu, and Aruḷmoli-Rājendraśōḷaṇ alias Jananāda-Viḷupparaiyaṇ of Śēndamaṅgalam in Viraśōḷa-vaḷaṇāḍu, (a sub-division) of Nittavinōda-vaḷaṇāḍu.

(v. 84) Imprecatory.

(v. 85) "Let this charity be protected by the future kings of all the dominions" thus does king Rājarāja, who is worshipped by all the kings and whose lotus-like hands are cooped (in prayer), supplicate with his head marked with the ornament in the shape of the lotus-feet of Hara.

(v. 86) Imprecatory.

(Ll. 206-11) In collaboration with **Śasībhūshana-Paṇḍita**, this excellent charter was completed by **Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhiraṇa**, so that the royal gift may be known in this territory.

I, Śaṅkaraṇ-Kāḍāḍi alias Karuṇākara-Āchāriyaṇ, the Master-carpenter (*Tachchāchāriyaṇ*) and a resident of Kuvallāam in Kuvallāa-nāḍu, cut (engraved) the letters of this royal charter.

Do not forget charity; there is no support other than charity. Let all sentient beings protect (this gift).

## No. 26.—DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF SOUTHERN KOSALA.

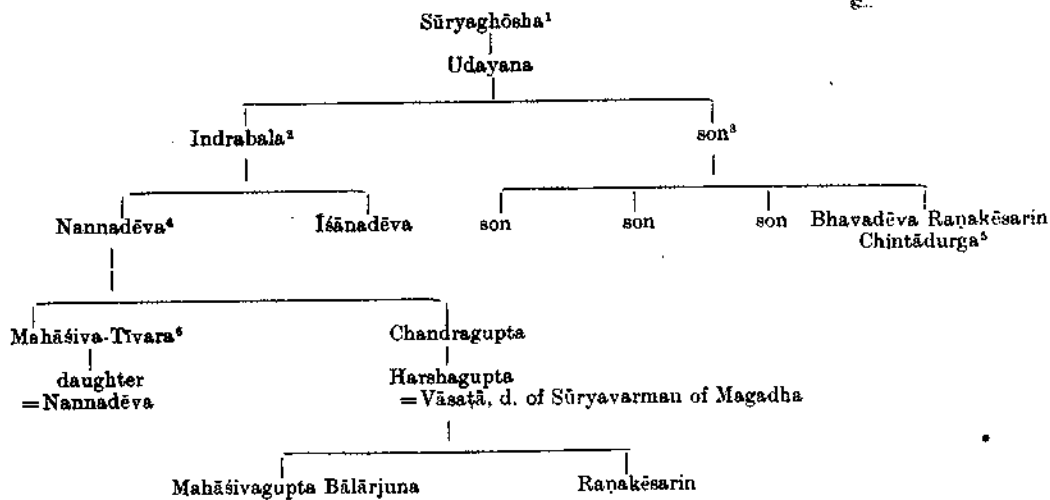
A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The dynasty of the Pāṇḍavas of the Lunar race, ruling in Southern Kōsala for about a century and a half, is known to us from eight inscriptions on stone and copper-plates.<sup>2</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> *Kaṇuvāy* is probably *kaṇarāy*, 'a ravine between two hills.'

<sup>2</sup> To the list given in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 229, add Mallār plates of Mahāśivagupta, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.

perhaps desirable for the purpose of the present note to reproduce here the genealogy derived from these inscriptions :



The date of these kings is anything but certain. Kielhorn tentatively proposed to place them in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. on some *a priori* grounds.<sup>7</sup> This date has been responsible for a theory that has gained some popularity, *viz.*, the Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha<sup>8</sup> as having been defeated by the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (c. A. D. 793-814) is to be identified with the Pāṇḍava king of that name. It is overlooked that the Sanjān plates deal with the conquests of Gōvinda in a strictly chronological and regional order (more certainly than the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta). The mention of Chandragupta along with Nāgabhaṭa and the separate recounting of Kōśala make it definite that it is not the Pāṇḍava king who is intended there.<sup>9</sup>

Of late some scholars have tried to establish that Tivradēva, an important king of the Pāṇḍava line, ruled in the first half of the sixth century A.D.<sup>10</sup> The object of this note is to show that such an early dating is not possible on palaeographical grounds.

A main contention of the latter set of scholars is that Sūryavarman, the Varman king of Magadha whose daughter Vāsatā was married to Harshagupta the nephew of Tivara, was no other than the Maukhari of that name, who, as a prince, rebuilt a temple of Śiva in

<sup>1</sup> It is not definitely known whether he was an ancestor of Udayana.

<sup>2</sup> He is probably referred to under the veil of a metaphor in the Bhāṇḍak inscription, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 631, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> There is nothing to show that he ever became king.

<sup>4</sup> I am inclined to think that Nannādhirāja mentioned in the Bhāṇḍak inscription (*loc. cit.*, p. 624) is no other than this Nannadēva, his mention being necessary owing to the fact that he was ruling when his cousin Bhavadēva repaired the monasteries mentioned in the inscription.

<sup>5</sup> He is referred to as *nripa* in line 10 of the Bhāṇḍak inscription.

<sup>6</sup> He is probably the elder brother of Chandragupta referred to in line 5 of the Sirpur inscription, above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 257.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 21, n. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 113.



A.D. 554.<sup>1</sup> But, as I have said elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> this identification is highly doubtful, for (1) it is by no means certain that the Maukhari Sūryavarman ever came to the throne, as his name is not mentioned in the Aśīrghaḥ and Nālandā seals of the Maukharis, and as no coins belonging to him have as yet been found, and (2) whereas the Sūryavarman of the Sirpur inscription is called king of Magadha, the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman were never a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their headquarters being at Kanauj.

It is now practically certain<sup>3</sup> that the Śarabhapura line, consisting of Prasannamātra, his sons Mahājayarāja and Mānamātra, and Mānamātra's sons Mahāsudēvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, preceded and not followed the Pāṇḍava kings in Southern Kōśala. Professor Mirashi holds that Mahāpravararāja (who issued his Ṭhākuriyā plates from Śrīpura) ruled in the first half of the sixth century and was ousted by Tivara, whom, as has been said above, he proposes to place in A.D. 530. It is, however, not possible to subscribe to this view: the Khārōd inscription of Indrabala and Īśānadēva<sup>4</sup> shows that even before Tivara the Pāṇḍavas were masters of much the same area as had been held by the Śarabhapura kings. The fact that Tivara is the first king of his line who is known to have made Śrīpura his capital does not warrant the belief that the capital of his father and grandfather was situated elsewhere, as no copper-plate (which alone mentions the capital as the place of issue of the charter) belonging to them has as yet been found.

Having seen that there is no sure ground for placing Tivara in the second quarter of the sixth century, we may turn to an examination of the palæographical chart attached hereto.<sup>5</sup> The Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna of unknown lineage are dated in the Gupta year 282=A.D. 601;<sup>6</sup> it is the only dated inscription of the locality and the period with which we are now concerned, and as such affords a convenient standard of comparison. It will be seen that the characters show typical Gupta forms throughout. Comparing this record with the Bhāṇḍak inscription of Nannadēva, which according to Professor Mirashi's chronology must belong to c. A.D. 500, we find that every letter in the latter presents a more developed appearance; in *bh* and *s* there is now a hollow wedge attached to the left corner; looped tripartite *y* has given place to the bipartite form: the right vertical of *ś* projects a bit above the curved top—an important development which led to the ultimate separation of the left and right limbs of the letter, leaving the left limb to develop independently into the Nāgarī and proto-Bengali forms (which tendency of separation is already noticeable in the Sirpur inscription of Mahāśivagupta, where the horizontal cross-bar of the letter has turned into a curved inward prolongation of the left member, the right member being thus a separate entity); in *k* the left limb is no longer a vertical straight line but a curve, and the right downward stroke shows a tendency to hang below the base line. The persistent occurrence of late forms in the Bhāṇḍak inscription marks it out as definitely much later than the Ārang plates: *a fortiori* the possibility of its being placed a century prior to the latter cannot be considered. It is also evident from the chart that the letters of the Kōṇḍēḍḍa plates of the Śailōdbhava Dharmarāja have practically the same forms as those of the Bhāṇḍak inscription.

<sup>1</sup> Hārāhā inscription, above, Vol. XIV, p. 110. This theory was first started by H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th ed., p. 512 n.

<sup>2</sup> "Two Maukhari Seals from Nālandā", above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> The letters in the chart have been traced out of the published impressions of the respective inscriptions. They do not claim the preciseness of mechanical reproductions but may be regarded as accurate for all practical purposes.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 342.

PALEOGRAPHICAL CHART RELATING TO THE DATE OF THE PANDAVA KINGS OF  
SOUTHERN KOSALA.

	HĀRĀHĀ INSCRIPTION OF ĪSĀNAVARMAN A.D. 554.	ĀRANG PLATES OF BHIMASĒNA A.D. 601.	KONĎĒḌĀ PLATES OF DHARMARĀJA	BHĀNDĀK INSCRIPTION OF NANNĀHIRĀJA	SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀSIVAGUPTA
bh	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧
y	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧
ś	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧
ṣ	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧
h	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧	𑀧 𑀧



It will be readily admitted that it is not strictly scientific to compare the Hārāhā inscription with the inscriptions of the Pāṇḍavas owing to the great distance separating them ; but if it were allowed, it could be easily shown that the Hārāhā inscription is distinctly earlier, so that Sūryavarman could not have been a contemporary of Harahagupta.

It is clear, therefore, that the ascription of the Bhāṇḍak inscription to a date earlier than A.D. 650, i.e. at least fifty years after the date of the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna, is a palaeographical impossibility. Tivara, therefore, may be tentatively placed in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D.

We may now proceed to examine some incidental facts and identifications arising out of these tentative dates.

1. Some scholars have found a reference to Tivara in the Pulōmbūru and Ipūr grants of the Vishṇukunḍin Mādhavarman,<sup>1</sup> which refer to an invasion of the city of Trivara by Mādhavarman.<sup>2</sup> But from the wordings in the inscriptions it is not certain that the expression *Trivara-nagara* should be taken to mean 'the city of King Trivara' and not 'the city called Trivara'. King Tivara of the Lunar race, who is proposed for identification with this Trivara, is not known to have founded a city of his own ;<sup>3</sup> on the other hand, the city of Śrīpura was the capital of Southern Kōsala before, during and after the reign of Tivara. It appears to me that there is much probability in the view<sup>4</sup> that Trivara is a place-name, being a partial Prakritization of *Tripurī*, and giving rise in due course to *Tiwar* or *Tewar*, by which name the ancient Tripurī is now known. Even assuming that Trivara in the above inscriptions is the name of some king or prince, there is little likelihood of his being identical with the Pāṇḍava Tivara, in view of the fact that the date of the Pulōmbūru grant is most probably A.D. 594,<sup>5</sup> which is much too early for one who, according to the chronology proposed here, flourished towards the end of the seventh century.

2. The Kōṇḍēḍḍa and Nivinā plates of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja say that Mādhava, the younger brother of the king, became a rebel ; being defeated at Phāsikā he took shelter with another king Trivara,<sup>6</sup> but was again defeated along with Trivara at the foot of the Vindhya. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the editor of the Nivinā plates, proposes to identify this Trivara with Tivara of Southern Kōsala. Dharmarāja, being the grandson of Mādhava-Sainyabhīta II, the author of the Ganjām plates of A.D. 619,<sup>7</sup> must have flourished in the latter

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20 ; above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf.* above, Vol. XXII, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> For this reason the analogy of Pravarapura and Yayātinagara cited by R. S. Panchamukhi (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 90, n. 5.) cannot stand. Nor is it possible to agree with him (*loc. cit.*, p. 91, n. 6) that the superscript *i*-sign in *Trivara* is distinctly long in the Pulōmbūru and Ipūr grants. In the latter, at any rate, it is clearly short.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> R. S. Panchamukhi (*loc. cit.*) tries to prove that the date of the grant is A.D. 621, as 594 is too early to be the forty-eighth year of the king who was defeated in c. 631 by Pulakēśin II or his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. As Pulakēśin's conquest of Kalinga, Kōsala, Pishāpura, Kuṇāla and Kāñchīpura, recorded in vv. 26 and 27 of the Ahoje inscription (above, Vol. VI, p. 6), were effected in one and the same expedition, and as Vishṇuvardhana was the governor of Vēṅḡl from c. 616 to 633 (*cf.* D. C. Ganguly, *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 442), it seems very likely that the Vishṇukunḍins were ousted by the Chālūkyas in c. 615. The fact that the son of the donee of the Pulōmbūru grant of Mādhavarman was the recipient of the same village in the reign of Jayasimha, the son of Vishṇuvardhana, (above, Vol. XIX, p. 254), does not prove that Mādhavarman just preceded Jayasimha in time ; the two kings might well have been separated by two short reigns of a successor of Mādhavarman and of the Chālūkyas Vishṇuvardhana. [But Jayasimha is definitely known to be the successor of Vishṇuvardhana.—N. L. R.]

<sup>6</sup> Or *Trivara*, as the word is spelt in the Nivinā grant.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 143.

half of the seventh century, which, according to our chronology, was also the date of Tivara. The identification proposed by Dr. Chakravarti is, therefore, highly probable.

3. Nannarāja, the son-in-law of Tivara, may perhaps be identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa chief of the same name who is known from the Tiwarkhēḍ and Multāi plates to have lived in the first half of the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> It is to be noted that both of them are said to have acquired the *pañcha-mahāśabda*.

4. Harshagupta, the nephew of Tivara, seems to find mention in the Dhuliā plates of Karkarāja,<sup>2</sup> which says that the Rāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga won victories over [Kirtivarman] the Karnāṭaka (Chālukya) king, who had defeated, among others, a king named Harsha. As Harshagupta flourished in the first half of the eighth century according to our chronology, it is very likely that he was the senior contemporary of Kirtivarman II, who began his reign in c. A.D. 744.

5. Lastly, it must be admitted that we are not aware of the existence of any Sūryavarman in Magadha in the first half of the eighth century, who could have married his daughter to Harshagupta. Not much is known about the history of Magadha in the seventh and eighth centuries; but we do come across references to some chiefs whose names ended in *varman* and who therefore may be regarded as having formed a Varman dynasty. (The Sirpur inscription says that Sūryavarman was born in the Varman family.)<sup>3</sup> The Korean traveller Hwui Lun, for instance, refers to the contemporary Magadhan king as Dēvavarman.<sup>4</sup> Further, Cunningham points out that in A.D. 692 the king of Eastern India was known in Chinese as Mo-lo-pa-mo or Malavarman.<sup>5</sup> For earlier times we may recall the names of Pūrṇavarman, who, according to Hiuen Tsiang, restored the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā,<sup>6</sup> and of the Maukhari *sāmanta-chūḍāmaṇis* Yajñavarman, Śārdūlavarman and Anantavarman, known from the Barābar-Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> We may prolong the list by adding the names of Sundaravarman and Kalyāṇavarman mentioned in the *Kaumudimahōtsava*, a drama which, it has been shown, cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 700.<sup>8</sup> There is thus an almost continuous record of the existence of Varman rulers in Magadha who were probably usually feudatories, assuming independence under favourable circumstances.

No. 27.—NILAGANGAVARAM INSCRIPTION OF AMBADEVA-MAHARAJA : SAKA 1212.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription<sup>9</sup> is engraved on a slab set up in Survey No. 307/3 about two miles to the north-west of **Nila-Gaṅgavaram** in the Vinukonda Taluk of the Guntur District. The

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 279; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234. On the date of the Tiwarkhēḍ plates, see Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1082 n.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 185: *Kāñchīśa-Kērala-nar-ādhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śrī-Harsha[-Vajra]-vibhēda-vidhāna-dakṣhaṇ* [ |\* ] *Karṇāṭakam va(ba)lam-achi[n\*]tyam-ajēyam-anya[r\*]-bhṛityai[ḥ\*] kiyadbhir-āpi yaḥ saha-[ā] jīgāya [ |\* ]* [This verse only refers to the Karnāṭa army, responsible for the defeat of Harsha and others, as being vanquished by Dantidurga. Harsha mentioned here is identified with the Harsha of Kanauj who was defeated by Pulakēśin II. Kirtivarman II is not known to have waged wars against any king of Kōśala or Chōla or Pāṇḍya kings.—N. L. R.]

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XI, p. 191: *jātaḥ kulē Varmanān.*

<sup>4</sup> Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *A.S.R.*, Vol. III, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 118 and 174.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 221 f.

<sup>8</sup> K. Chattopadhyaya, "The Date of the *Kaumudimahōtsava*," *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XIV, p. 582.

<sup>9</sup> No. 229 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; see *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy*, 1936, part ii, pp. 69 f.

slab is broken into two fragments both of which contain writing on the front and back sides. They are mutilated in parts and so a few letters are lost in the invocatory and imprecatory verses. The inscription consists of 66 lines and the writing is fairly well preserved. At the top of the slab are carved a couchant bull, the sun and the *liṅga* with a dagger below them. I edit the inscription below with the kind permission of Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, the Superintendent for Epigraphy.

The alphabet is **Telugu-Kannaḍa** of the period to which the record belongs. The hooked vertical stroke at the bottom of the letter *ḍ* to mark the aspiration, deserves notice, see *prauḍhi* (l. 24), *paribṛiḍha* (l. 25), *jāl-āvaliḍha* (l. 26), etc. **Orthography** does not call for any special comment except that a consonant before a *rēpha* in the body of a word is usually doubled as in *Bhārgava* (l. 18), *bhāmnr-arkka* (l. 31), *sarvṛē* (l. 51) etc., but in *dvādaś-ārdh-ōparāgē* (l. 33), *sarvān* (l. 38), etc., this practice is not observed. Dental *n* is wrongly substituted for lingual *ṇ* in *suvarn-nasya* (l. 44) and palatal *ś* for dental *s* in *śamkhyā* (l. 31). There are a few mistakes of the engraver as in *Sadar-ādībhīḥ* (l. 40) for *Sagar-ādībhīḥ*, *śatruṇāṅpi tṛitō* (l. 42) for *ṇ-āpi kṛitō*. The language is **Sanskrit** (verse) in ll. 1-51 and **Telugu** (prose) in ll. 52-60. Ll. 61-66 also contain a verse in corrupt Sanskrit the sense of which is not quite clear.

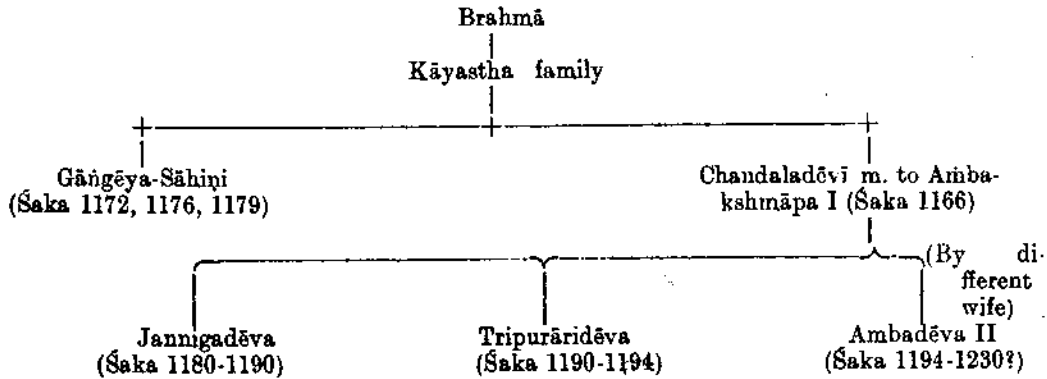
After invocation to the *Varāh-avatāra* of Viṣṇu, the record introduces the *kshatra* clan created by Brahmā and states that there were some heroes in it, who remained undaunted even though the whole *kshatra* race was discouraged by the acts of Bhārgava, *i.e.*, Paraśurāma, and that they were in consequence known as Kāyasthas. In the Tripurāntakam inscription of Ambadeva, the origin of the family-name Kāyastha is explained as born of the body (*kāya*) of Druhiṇa (*i.e.*, Brahmā). In this Kāyastha family was born **Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi**. His sister was **Chandaladēvi** who bore to **Arṇbakshmāpa** two sons *viz.*, **Janārdhana** and **Tripurāridēva**. The latter's younger brother was **Arṇbadēva** who had captured the royal glory (*sāmbṛā(mrā)jya-lakṣmīm*, l. 29) of **Guriṇḍāla-Gaṇādhipa** a meteor to the Mālava king. The inscription further states that king Arṇba granted on the date specified in ll. 31-33, the village **Mollakallūru** *alias* **Śivapura** to the temple of god Mahēśvara (ll. 33-35). Then follow five imprecatory verses (ll. 36-38). The record was composed by **Nammananandana** who was dear to the goddess of speech. The Telugu portion repeats the date and adds the name of the donee as **Mallināthayaṅgāru** of Remḍrēvu residing at Tripurāntaka-kṣhētra. The gift was probably placed in his charge to be managed on behalf of the temple. At the end is added a verse in Sanskrit which seems to refer to the construction of a flight of steps at the eastern gateway of the temple, by **Kumāra-kṣhitibhrīt** (*i.e.*, Kumāra Pratāparudra).

The details of date are given in ll. 31-33 and ll. 52-54 as :—Śaka year (expressed both in chronogram and numerical figures), *bhānu* (12) and *arkka* (12) *i.e.*, 1212, Vikṛita, Bhādrapada, ba. 15, darśa, Tuesday, solar eclipse (*dvādaś-ārdh-ōparāgē*). The eclipse probably covered twelve digits (*ardhha-kalā*) of the Sun. These details regularly correspond to **Tuesday, September 5, A.D. 1290** when the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Phalguni.

The inscription is important as it furnishes a specific **relationship** between Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra **Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi** the Cavalier of Kākatiya Gaṇapati and Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra **Arṇbadēva** which was not known hitherto. As stated above, Gaṅgaya-Sāhiṇi's sister **Chandalāmbā** or **Chandaladēvi** was married to **Arṇba-kshmāpa** who was the father of Arṇbadēva. Since the record states that she bore to Arṇba two sons, *viz.*, Jannigadēva and his younger brother Tripurāridēva it may be surmised that Arṇbadēva was probably born of a different mother. In the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, the pedigree of Arṇbadēva is given as follows : In the Kāyastha family was

born Gāngēya; after him came his sister's son<sup>1</sup> Janārdhana (*udabhavat-tad-anu dvibhujō nripa[ḥ\*] svasur=apatyam-amushya Janārdhanaḥ* II. 8 f.), his younger brother Tripurāridēva and the latter's younger brother Ambadēva 'as Upēndra was of Indra'. The names of the sister of Gāngēya-Sāhīni and her husband are furnished here for the first time. Rangachari<sup>2</sup> and Sewell<sup>3</sup> have misunderstood the relationship between the several chiefs of the Kāyastha family and have thus given a wrong genealogy.

It may be noted that the Tripurāntakam inscription as well as the present record specify without ambiguity the connection between the four members of the family which put together stands as follows :—



The Kāyasthas were a powerful family of feudatory chiefs who played a prominent part in the politics of the mediæval period in the Telugu country. They started their career as cavaliers (*Turaṅga-sādhanikas*) under Kākatiya Gaṇapati and styled themselves as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Maṇḍalika-Brahmarākshasa* and *Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra*. Ambadēva the most powerful chief of the family assumed the epithet Ghaṇḍikōṭa-Manōrathapuravar-ādhiśvara and ruled from his capitals Vallūrupaṭṭana and Ghaṇḍikōṭa the former of which is Vallūru near Cuddapah while the latter is the modern Ghaṇḍikōṭa in the Jammalmaḍugu Taluk of the Cuddapah District. In order to understand the extent of their power and territory, it is necessary to study their records critically, and to facilitate such a study, a classified statement of their principal dated records is given below specifying in each case the name of the overlord under whom the chief ruled :

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1166 <sup>4</sup>	Ambayyadēva	Gaṇapati	Satrasāla (Painad Tk., Guntur Dt.).
Śaka 1172 <sup>5</sup>	Gāngēya-Sāhīni	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.).
Śaka 1176-79 <sup>6</sup>	Do.	Do.	Tripurāntakam hill (Kurnool Dt.). Gaṅgavaram (Cuddapah Dt.).

<sup>1</sup> Though the Tripurāntakam inscription contains the specific relationship namely 'sister's son' (*svasur=apatyam*) between Gāngēya-Sāhīni and Janārdhana it has been missed by all writers on the Kāyasthas who nevertheless proclaim that the inscriptions do not disclose the connection between them. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, Part II, page 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, p. 932, n.

<sup>3</sup> *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 359.

<sup>4</sup> No. 314 of 1930-31 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 283 of 1905 of the same collection.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 231, 176 of 1905 and 233 of 1937-38 of the same collection.

Date.	Chief.	Overlord.	Provenance.
Śaka 1180-82 <sup>1</sup>	Jannigadēva	Gaṇapati	Pondalūr (Pullampet Tk., Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1186 <sup>2</sup>	Jannigadēva ruling the territory extending from Pānungal to Mārajavāḍi or Kaivāra.	No mention of the overlord.	Kārempūḍi (Palnad Tk.), Nandalūr (Cuddapah Dt.).
Śaka 1191 <sup>3</sup>	Do.	Rudramahādēvi	Durgi (Palnad Tk.).
Śaka 1192 <sup>4</sup>	Tripurāntaka	Do.	Poṭṭapāḍu (Darsi, Nellore Dt.).
Śaka 1194 <sup>5</sup>	Tripurāri	No mention of the overlord.	Tripurāntakam hill.
Śaka 1194 to 1224 <sup>6</sup>	Āmbadēva	Do.	Tripurāntākam, Attirāla, Pōli, Cuddapah and Kamalapuram Taluks.

From this tabular statement, it is apparent that a certain Āmbayyadēva was the earliest member of the Kāyastha family who governed a portion of the Guntur District round about Satrasāla where his inscription was secured. Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi appears to have simultaneously held service under Gaṇapati in the Cuddapah District where his records are found. Both of them are given the epithet *Dāmōdara-sainya-diśā-paṭṭa* which is likewise adopted by the two successors, viz., Tripurāridēva and Āmbadēva along with the other epithets which they actually earned by their exploits. Āmbadēva, the younger brother of Tripurāri whose records range in date from Śaka 1194 to 1224, could not have held any administrative authority as early as Śaka 1166 which would otherwise invest him with the governorship of the territory for nearly 60 years which is far from likely. Further, this would lead to the contingency of assigning no period of rule to his elder brothers Janniga and Tripurāri who have, however, issued several records as governors under the Kākatīyas. It is therefore reasonable to think that **Āmbadēva of the Satrasāla inscription is an earlier member and different<sup>7</sup> from the homonymous chief the younger brother of Tripurāridēva.** The earlier Āmbadēva may be identified with Āmbakshmāpa mentioned in the present record as the father of the three brothers. Since the earliest reference to the defeat of Dāmōdara of the west is found in connection with both Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi, it is likely that both these officers had a share in the event.

Whether Āmbakshmāpa's principality was confined to the Palnad Taluk of the Guntur District or extended as far south as the Cuddapah District where his son's inscriptions are discovered, there are no means to decide. But it is quite probable that Āmbadēva I and Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi governed different parts of the Kākatīya kingdom separately and on the death of the latter

<sup>1</sup> V. Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Guntur 502, and Cuddapah 850.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 610 of 1907 and 550 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. See Rangachari, *op. cit.*, Cuddapah 824 and Guntur 520.

<sup>3</sup> V. Rangachari, *op. cit.* Guntur 500 (No. 573 of 1909 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

<sup>4</sup> *Nellore Inscriptions*, Vol. I., Darsi 57, 60. The Śaka year 1151 appears to have been wrongly read for 1192 and the cyclic year Pramādi for Pramōdūta which corresponded to 1192. Śaka 1151 does not combine with Pramādi at all.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Darsi 1.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 168, 173, 174, 242 and 268, of 1905, 406 of 1911, 622 of 1907, 618 of 1907 and 414 of 1911, etc., of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>7</sup> The identification of Āmbakshmāpa with Āmbadēva made in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930-31, Part II, para. 18, is not tenable.



apparently without issue, his territory passed to the nearest relative, viz., his brother-in-law Āmbadēva I or more probably the latter's son Janārddana. This would account for the tracing of Āmbadēva (II)'s genealogy from Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi who had, otherwise, no direct lineal connection with him. Thus from Janārddana's time the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs comprised a large area from Pānuṅgal to Mārajavāḍi or Kaivāra, i.e., from the Nalgonda District (Nizam's Dominions) to the Cuddapah District.<sup>1</sup> From the table given above it is clear that Janniga must have come to power some time after Śaka 1179 as Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi's latest inscription is dated in Śaka 1179 and held the governorship till Śaka 1192 which is the earliest date for Tripurāri. Tripurāri was succeeded by his younger brother Āmbadēva II in Śaka 1194, who continued to rule till at least Śaka 1224 in which year his Lēpāka inscription is dated.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that the Kārempūḍi and Nandaḷūr inscriptions of Jannigadēva bearing the Śaka date 1186 do not refer to the overlord whereas his earlier inscriptions of Śaka 1180-82 introduce him as a feudatory of Gaṇapati. The Durgi and Poḷlapāḍu inscriptions of Śaka 1191 and Śaka 1192 belonging respectively to Janniga and Tripurāri mention Rudramahādēvi as the reigning monarch. But Tripurāri's inscriptions of Śaka 1194 and almost all the records of Āmbadēva II from Śaka 1194 to Śaka 1224 are issued by the chiefs independently without acknowledging the suzerain power. This omission to mention the reigning monarch, if it signifies anything, may be taken to reflect the unsettled political conditions in the country due to weakness at the centre, particularly between Śaka 1182 and 1186 and Śaka 1192 and 1194. This is borne out by a study of the political events that happened at this period in the Telugu country. The most important document that furnishes many political synchronisms for the history of the period is the Tripurāntakam inscription of Āmbadēva-Mahārāja dated in Śaka 1212.<sup>3</sup> It states about Āmbadēva that he (1) acquired the title of *Rāyasahasramalla* after defeating Śrīpati-Gaṇapati; (2) routed Kēsava joined by Sōmidēva and Allugaṅga; (3) vanquished Mallikārjuna who was a hater of Gods and Brāhmins; (4) gave his daughter in marriage to Rājanna son of king [Bō]ḷaya who had celebrated several sacrifices, together with the Nandanapura country (Nandaḷūr) as dowry; (5) reinstated Manmagaṇḍagōpāla at Vikramasīṅhapura (Nellore) in his kingdom which he had lost; (6) captured the treasures of the Pāṇḍya princes; (7) defeated Dāmōdara of the west; (8) took the head of Eruva-Mallidēva; (9) was honoured with rich presents by the king of Dēvagiri who was pleased at his valour; (10) destroyed Kāḍavarāya and (11) was helped by his friend king Parākramapāṇḍya with strong cavalry forces. Most of these exploits are confirmed by the contemporary epigraphical and literary evidences as shown in the sequel.

A record from Tāḷlaproḍuṭūr<sup>4</sup> belonging to Jagatāpi Gaṅgeyadēvachōḷamahārāju, son of Allugaṅga, and bearing Śaka date 1244 describes the chief as *Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra-Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi-sarvasva-bandikāra*, i.e., 'robber of Gāṅgēya-Sāhīṇi's wealth and as 'one who obtained the (regal) fortune by churning the ocean of Sēvūṇa (i.e., Yādava) army, indicating thereby that the Chief had rid himself of the Yādava domination by Śaka 1244. From an inscription<sup>5</sup> at Nīlūru in the Gooty Taluk of the Anantapur District dated in Śaka 1137, it is learnt that Jagatāpi Daṇḍidēvachōḷa-

<sup>1</sup> This area roughly included the modern Cuddapah, Kurmool, Bellary, Anantapur, Nellore and Guntur Districts.

<sup>2</sup> In one of the Lēpāka inscriptions examined and copied by the Telugu Assistant of the Epigraphy Office, Madras, in 1938, Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra Tripurāridēva-Mahārāja is introduced as ruling Mulki-nāṇḍu from Vallūripaṭṭana in Śaka 1226, Kṛdḥin (A. D. 1304) and making a grant of the village Lēbāka as a *sarvamānya-agrahāra* to the temple of Allājanāthadēva. This is a solitary record of Tripurāri belonging to such a late date. If he is identical with the brother of Āmbadēva II, we have to presume that he continued to rule conjointly with Āmbadēva till Śaka 1226.

<sup>3</sup> No. 268 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>4</sup> No. 308 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

<sup>5</sup> No. 345 of 1920.

mahārāya probably an ancestor of the above chief was a subordinate of Yādava Simhaṇa. And Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi is stated in a record<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 1176 belonging to the reign of Kākatīya Gaṇapati, to have defeated a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa who may be the same person as the Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa of the Jōti inscription<sup>2</sup> (Siddhaut Taluk, Cuddapah District) dated in Śaka 1169. The Telugu poem *Nirovachanōttara-Rāmāyaṇamu* records that Gaṅgeya-Sāhiṇi who had been deprived of his kingdom by a certain Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa evidently the above-mentioned chief, took refuge under Manma-Janapāla who restored the lost kingdom to his protégé by vanquishing Rakkasa-Gaṅga. This event must have occurred between Śaka 1169 and Śaka 1176. Allugaṅga who was probably connected with Rakkasa-Gaṅga in some unspecified way, as their names, their territory and the hostilities they both bore against Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi would indicate, must have taken vengeance against his opponent Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi, which was reciprocated by Ambadēva who as stated in his Tripurāntakam inscription, routed Allugaṅga and his allies. Thus for three generations the Kāyasthas ranged themselves against the Jagatāpi-chōladēvamahārājas who appear to have rebelled against their overlords the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. It is likely that Gaṅgēya-Sāhiṇi and his relatives were the friends of the Sēvuṇa kings and that they suppressed the rebellion of the latter's subordinates who, however, ultimately became independent by Śaka 1244 when the Yādava power was on the wane. It must probably be with the help of Ambadēva during the governorship of Janigadēva that Yādava Mahādēva wrested from Kākatīya Gaṇapati the honour of *pañchamahāśabda* as recorded in the introduction to *Vratakhanda* of Hēmādri<sup>3</sup>. We know that this event took place in about Śaka 1183 during the last days of Gaṇapati<sup>4</sup>. On the death of Gaṇapati the whole country was plunged in utmost disaster and chaos and the internal rebellion and the danger from the neighbouring powers were too much for the queen *Paṭṭōddhati* Rudramahādēvi to cope with in the beginning of her reign. Accordingly several Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs such as Eruva-Manumilidēva, Vijayagaṇḍagōpala and Siddayadēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja are found issuing their inscriptions independently without referring to their overlord,<sup>5</sup> in Śaka 1189, 1185 and 1189 respectively, *i.e.*, within a few years after her accession to the throne. Soon, however, the Kākatīya queen appears to have consolidated her power and reduced the refractory chiefs to subjection. She must have first subjugated the Kāyastha chief Jannigadēva by about Śaka 1190; for he expresses his loyalty to the reigning monarch in his inscription of Śaka 1191. Thereafter, with the help of the Kāyastha chiefs of whom Ambadēva appears to have taken a prominent part, the turbulent officers were brought down on their knees since, in the Tripurāntakam inscription mentioned above, Ambadēva boasts of having taken, evidently on behalf of the Kākatīya ruler, the head of a certain Eruva-Manumilidēva who must be identical with the Telugu-Chōḍa chief Eruva-Mallidēva. Simultaneously with or shortly after this achievement, the defeat of Allugaṅga, Sōmidēva, Kēśava, Mallikārjuna, etc., ascribed to the chief in his records appears to have happened. Kādavarāya, *i.e.*, Kōpperuṅgiṅgadēva II (A.D. 1243-1279) who had been reduced to subordination by Kākatīya Gaṇapati as can be surmised from his Drākshārāma inscription in which he calls himself the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-Mahārāja (*Gaṇapati-Mahārājasya-ājñān pravaratayātā*)<sup>6</sup>, must have attempted to throw off his allegiance to the Kākatīya banner on the death of Gaṇapati. In fact he has caused to be engraved a highly pedantic inscription at Tripurāntakam in which he glorifies his past achievements including the numerous rich gifts he had

<sup>1</sup> No. 231 of 1905.

<sup>2</sup> No. 563 of 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 273, v. 52.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 193.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 190, 272 and 175 of 1905.

<sup>6</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342 B.

made to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Drākshārāma, without mentioning the Kākatiya overlord who was reigning at the time.<sup>1</sup> The record is unfortunately not dated. But it must be assigned to a date subsequent to Śaka 1184 in which year Kōpperuñjīngadēva figures apparently as a subordinate of a Kākatiya king.<sup>2</sup> The defeat of Kōpperuñjīnga called here Kāḍavarāya must have been accomplished some time before Śaka 1201 the last year of the chief<sup>3</sup> and after Śaka 1194 when Ambadēva succeeded to the chiefdom. Ambadēva's Tripurāntakam inscription of Śaka 1194 does not refer to any of his exploits mentioned above whereas his epigraphs dated Śaka 1207, 1212, 1213, etc., narrate them in detail. Ambadēva appears to have been puffed up with the signal victory he had gained over his powerful rival Kōpperuñjīngadēva, proclaimed himself as a quasi-independent chief and to have held that position till the very last year of his rule. It is, however, certain that he did not turn a rebel against the Kākatiyas or attempt to subvert their sovereignty. For a record from Malyāla<sup>4</sup> in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District refers itself to the reign of the Kākatiya king Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja in Śaka 1212 and 1213, thus marking the extent of the Kākatiya rule in the territory of the Kāyastha chiefs during the same period. Tripurāntakam (Kurnool District) and Nilagaṅgavaram (Vinukonda Taluk, Guntur District) where Ambadēva's inscriptions are found, were situated within the Kākatiya dominions. It is therefore possible that though Ambadēva maintained a semi-independent status like the great Feudatory families of the Dekkan, i.e., the Western Gaṅgas, Bānas, etc., under the Rāshtrakūṭas, etc., in the mediæval period, the Kākatiya suzerainty was acknowledged in the territory of the Kāyasthas as shown above. In course of time, however, Ambadēva's power suffered heavily in consequence of which he appears to have been deprived of his principality, since an Upparapalle inscription<sup>5</sup> of Rudradēva dated Śaka 1[2\*]36, Pramādi, refers to the reduction of Ghaṇḍikōṭa by a subordinate of the king. Another fragmentary inscription<sup>6</sup> in the same place, without date, states that the king appointed Goṅkaya-Reḍḍi, a servant of Juṭṭaya, to the governorship of Khaṇḍikōṭa and Mulikināṇḍu districts. This shows that Ambadēva had been subdued under the orders of the king and his territory annexed to the Kākatiya dominions some time before Śaka 1236. In one of the inscriptions<sup>7</sup> at Kanāla, Nandyal Taluk of the Kurnool District, a chief (name completely damaged) is stated to be ruling over Mulkināṇḍu, Penampāḍi, Pottapināṇḍu, Peḍakallu and Nāntavāḍi under Pratāparudradēva-Mahārāja in Śaka 1230. We know that these *nāḍus* had been subject to the administration of Ambadēva<sup>8</sup>, but it is not definite whether Ambadēva continued to rule till Śaka 1230 or had been dispossessed of his territory by that year. But it can be affirmed that he had been either killed in the encounter or dislodged from Ghaṇḍikōṭa before Śaka 1236 as stated above.

#### TEXT.<sup>9</sup>

##### *First Fragment ; First Face.*

- 1 Vārāham vapur=avyād=vō mahī-mu . . . . .  
2 harēḥ | yasya daṁśhṭr-āgra-viśrāntā mahī . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> No. 197 of 1905, see *Madras Epigraphical Report* for the year, part ii, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1341.

<sup>3</sup> The chief came to power in A.D. 1243 and ruled for 36 years (*Historical Ins. of Southern India*, pp. 162 and 376)

<sup>4</sup> No. 321 of 1937-38. An indirect mention of Kumāra-Kshitibṛit in the present record points to the overbearing attitude of Ambadēva towards the Kākatiya monarch.

<sup>5</sup> No. 328 of 1905.

<sup>6</sup> No. 329 of 1905.

<sup>7</sup> No. 260 of 1935-36.

<sup>8</sup> No. 408 of 1911.

<sup>9</sup> From ink-impression.

3 . . . . . tējas-samunpishṭa . . . . .  
4 . . . . . [jīyā] . . . . .

*Second Fragment ; First Face.*

5 [ka] tama . . . . .  
6 tāmsur-anārataṁ || . . . . .  
7 yathā-mārgga-pravarttakam Vidhir=vviryayikanilaya[m]  
8 kshātraṁ varṇam=ajījanat<sup>1</sup> || Bhārggavād=bhagna-hrida[yē]  
9 kshatra-lōkē=[py]=avikriyāḥ | śauryya-pāram-gatās=tatra  
10 **Kāyasthāḥ** kati viśrutāḥ<sup>1</sup> || Tat=ānvavāyē sam[jā]-  
11 ta[h\*] śrīmān **Garṅgaya-Sāhiṇiḥ** [i\*] payōdhāv=iva pa-  
12 ryyāpta-tējā amṛita-dīdhitī<sup>1</sup> || Sura-śākhina iva  
13 Surabhīḥ Kamal=ēv=āmṛitakarasya kalyāṇī | sarvva-  
14 janinā sahajā **Chāṁdaladōvi** babhūv=āsyā<sup>2</sup> || **Arṁba-**  
15 **kshṁpād**=asūt=ēyam Chāṁdalāmbā suṭa-dvayam(yam) [i\*]  
16 Vasudēvād=iv=āsāsyaṁ Dēvaki daivatair=api<sup>1</sup> || Pratyarthi-  
17 prithvipati-mauli-ratna-prabhā-pisāṅgikṛita-pāda-piṭha-  
18 h | **Janārddanaḥ** kshṁādhipatir=janānām jā(jyā)yān=abhū-  
19 t ja(j=ja)mṅama-pā<sup>3</sup> pārijātaḥ<sup>4</sup> || Bāh[ā]-bala-kshurṇa(ṇṇa)  
20 vipaksha-lōkas=tasy=ānuja[h\*] śrī-Tripurāridōvaḥ [i]  
21 saundaryya-saṁdarśita-Mānmatha-śrīr=vidyā-  
22 vilās-āspadam=āvirāsīt<sup>5</sup> || Āyushmān=**Arṁbadō-**  
23 **va**-kshītipatir=anujas=tasya prithvīm praśāsti prāchīna-  
24 kshōṇi-pāla-praṇihita-samara-prauḍhi-pāriṇa-bāhuḥ |  
25 prahva-pratyarthi-prithvī-paribṛi(vṛi)ḍha-makuṭa-syūta-mā-  
26 ni[kya\*]-niryya[j\*]-jvālā-jāl-āvaliḍha-spu(sphu)ṭa-pada-kamala-dvaṁdva-  
27 saṁdarśaniyah<sup>6</sup> || Ayam mahā-bāhur=anika-raṁ-  
28 gē mānya-śriyō Mājāva-dhūmakētōḥ[i\*] gurvvi-  
29 m **Gurīṁdāla-Gaṇādhipasya** sāmbrā(mrā)jya-lakshmi[m\*]  
30 sahasā jahāra<sup>7</sup> ||

*First Fragment ; Second Face.*

31 **Sākē bhāṁnv(bhānv)**-arkka-śarṁ(sarṁ)khyā-vilasati Vikṛitē vatsa[rē]  
32 **Bhādra-māsē darśē Bhaumaśya vārē** |<sup>7</sup> sukṛidini (sukṛitini ?)  
33 samayē dvādaś-ārdh-ōparāgē [i\*] prādād=Arṁba-kshī-  
34 tīndrah prati(thi)ṭa-Śivapuram Mollakallūri-nāma-grā[ma]-  
35 m Māhēsvarāya |<sup>7</sup> prakṛita-mā<sup>8</sup> . . . . .

*Second Fragment ; Second Face.*

36 . . . . . yaṁ dharmma-  
37 . . . . . pālanīyyō(nīyō) bha-

<sup>1</sup> Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>2</sup> This syllable is superfluous.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.

<sup>4</sup> *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Āryā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Upajāti*.

<sup>7</sup> Metre : *Sruḅgharā*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre : *Sruḅgharā*.

- 38 . . dbhis=sarvān=ētān bhāviṇaḥ prārtthivēndrā<sup>1</sup> bhūyō  
 39 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ ||<sup>2</sup> Bāhubhi-  
 40 r=vvasudhā dattā rājābhis=Sada(ga)rādibhiḥ | yasya  
 41 yasya yadā bhūmiḥ(mis-)tasya tasya tathā(dā) phala-  
 42 m(lam) ||[\*]<sup>3</sup> Śatruṇāmpi(ṇ-āpi) tritō<sup>4</sup> dharmma[ḥ\*] pālanīyyō(nīyō) praya-  
 43 tnataḥ | śatruṇ-ēva hi śatru[ḥ\*] syād=dharmmaḥ śatru  
 44 r=na kasya-chit ||[\*]<sup>5</sup> Māsham-ēkaṁ suvarṇna(ṇṇa)sya bhūmē-  
 45 r=apy-arddham=amgaḥam(aṅgulam !) haraṇ=narakam=āpnōti yā-  
 46 vad=ābhūta-sarṇplavaṁ(vam) ||[\*]<sup>6</sup> Yathā chaṁdrama-  
 47 sō vṛiddhīr-ahany-ahani jāyatē [\*\*]tathā bhū-  
 48 mi-kṛitaṁ dānaṁ sasyē sasyē vivarddhatē ||[\*]<sup>7</sup> Āyusuma-  
 49 tā Nammananandanēna pratyagravāṇi-ḥṛidaya-  
 50 ṁgamēna | samyak-kṛitaṁ śāsana-varyyam=ē-  
 51 tat=sarvvē=pi śpiṇvaṁtu sah-ādarēṇa ||[\*]<sup>8</sup> Svasti śrī-  
 52 Śaka-varsham̄bulu 1212 agu-nēṇṇi Vikri(kṛi)ti-  
 53 sarivatsara Bhādrapada bahula 15 Maṁga-  
 54 lavārāna sūryya-grahaṇa-kālamuna-  
 55 [m]du svasti śrīmatu Gaṇḍa-peṇḍāra Am̄badē-  
 56 va-Mahārājulu śrī-Tripurāntakaṁ-kshē-  
 57 tra-vāsul-aina Rem̄drēvula Mallināthaya-  
 58 ṁgārīki Mollalakallūru sarvva-bāda(dhā)-pari-  
 59 hāramu ā-chaṁdrārka-stā(sthā)yigān-ichchina Śi-  
 60 vapuramu [i\*] maṁgaḥa mahā-śrī śrī śrī | | |  
 61 [D]ēvi yasya tvakīyāṁ (svakīyāṁ ?) Tripura-vijayin[ē]  
 62 chakshur-at(ut)-pātya pūjā [n\*] śpitvā (kṛitvā) rējē tatō=pi [dda]-  
 63 . . taram=amalaṁ Dōchā(a)y-ākhyāṁ prasiddham [i\*]  
 64 pūrvva-dvārē Kumāra-kshītibhṛid=uparitas=ta[t\*-] Pu-  
 65 rārē[ḥ\*] purastād=ramyāṁ sōpāna-mārgaṁ [vuma?]-  
 66 karam=amalaṁ dyuḥ pratijñāṁ vidhāya ||<sup>6</sup>

No. 28.—BARGAON TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF SABARA.

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

This inscription is incised on a broken stone slab which is still lying amidst the ruins of a temple to the north of Bargaon, a village situated at a distance of twenty-seven miles north by west of Murwārā, the chief town of the Murwārā *taluk* of the Jubbulpore District, in the Central Provinces. The inscription does not seem to have been noticed by General Cunningham who visited Bargaon twice, during 1883-84 and 1884-85, and has given a fairly detailed description of the temples and mentioned three other records found there in his *Archæological Survey of India Reports*, Vol XXI, Part I, p. 101 and Part II, pp. 163-64. The present inscription was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*,<sup>7</sup> but it has not

<sup>1</sup> Read *pārthivēndrān*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre : *Śālini*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre : *Anushubh*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *kṛitō*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre : *Indravajrā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre : *Sragdharā*.

<sup>7</sup> First edition, (1916), pp. 39-40; second edition (1932), p. 43.

been edited so far. It is edited here from good estampages supplied by the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Central Circle, Patna.

The inscription is fragmentary. Nothing has of course been lost at the top, the bottom and the proper right side. But an indefinite number of letters have disappeared on the left side owing to the breaking away of the stone. The extant portion of the record is in a state of good preservation. It consists of five lines, of which the last, which begins at a distance of 2' from the proper right end, contains only three *aksharas*. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. As regards individual letters we may note that *kḥ* consists of two triangles joined by a horizontal line at the top; *th* shows a vertical stroke on the right; *v* exhibits two forms—one with a loop as in *kṛidara*, l. 3 and the other without it in *Śabara*, l. 1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal conjecturally referred the characters of this inscription to the 8th or 9th century A. D., but they appear to be somewhat later and may be of the 10th century A. D.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written in prose throughout. It is written incorrecly and contains some mistakes of *sandhi* (as in *atō arthē* for *atō-rthē* in l. 4) and of gender (as in *śapath-ēdam* for *śapathō-yam* in the same line). The only **orthographical** peculiarity that calls for notice is that *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *Śavara* and *Valādhikṛita*, both in l. 1 and *vrahma-stamra* in l. 2.

The record opens with *Om namaḥ* and refers to a commander of the army (*Balādhikṛita*) of Śabara. His name which is partly mutilated appears to be Śiva. The **object** of the inscription seems to be to record the gift of a cess on the threshing floor together with a granary to some ascetic residing at the temple in the settlement of Brāhmaṇas for the benefit of (the god) Śaṅkara-nārāyaṇa, to whose temple the inscribed stone was apparently affixed. The record ends with the imprecation that whoever would offend against it would incur the sin of the slaughter of a Brāhmaṇa.

The preserved portion of the inscription contains no date, but, as stated above, it can, on palæographic evidence, be referred to the 10th century A.D. The illustrious Śabara mentioned here is perhaps identical with the Śabara, named Śimha, mentioned in a fragmentary stone inscription found at Bhilsā, to which Dr. F. E. Hall has called attention in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. 2. The latter inscription states that Vāchaspati of the Kaundinya *gōtra*, who was a minister of the king Kṛishṇa after defeating the lord of Chēdi and slaying a Śabara named Śimha placed the kings of the Rālā-*maṇḍala* and Rōdapādi on the throne and repaired to the temple of Bhāillasvāmin evidently at Bhilsā where he composed a *stōtra* in praise of the god.<sup>1</sup> From the mention of the lord of Chēdi and the Śabara chief Śimha together in the same line, Dr. Hall conjectured that the latter was the Chedian generalissimo. The Śabara of the present inscription, too, was no doubt subject to the contemporary Chēdi or Kalachuri king, for a much defaced inscription at Bargaon to which General Cunningham has drawn attention<sup>2</sup> refers to a Kalachuri king or kings. But as the present inscription mentions a commander of the forces of this Śabara himself, it seems that he was a feudatory chief and not a mere generalissimo of the Chēdi king. This fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā is also undated, but the date of the king Kṛishṇa, whose minister was Vāchaspati, can be approximately fixed on other evidence. At Maser, a village about twenty-five miles north of Bhilsā, Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archæology,

<sup>1</sup> See 'Chēd-īsam samarē vijitya Śabaram saṁhṛitya Śimh-āhvayam Rālā-*maṇḍala*-Rōdapādy-avanipō(pau) bhūmyām pratishṭhāpya cha Dēvam drashtum=ih=āgatō rachitavām(n) stōtram pavitram param śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-*nṛip-sika-mantri-pada-bhāk* Kaundinya-Vāchaspatih ||' cited by Hall in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 111, n. †.

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 165.

Gwalior State, discovered in 1930 a fragmentary inscription in two pieces.<sup>1</sup> It mentions one Narasiṃha of the Śulki (or Chālukya) family, who at the command of Kṛishṇarāja initiated the wives of Kalachuri kings into widowhood. As Kēsari, the son of Narasiṃha, was, according to the inscription, appointed *Tantrādhipa* (Minister for home affairs) by Vākpati-Muñja (circa A.D. 972 to 995), Kṛishṇarāja can be placed about A. D. 950. This conclusion is corroborated by the date V. 1039 (A. D. 982) of a pilgrim record which Mr. Garde has discovered on a pillar of a dilapidated mediæval temple at Maser. This record states the name of the god installed in the temple as Kṛishṇeśvara.<sup>2</sup> The god was evidently so named after a king named Kṛishṇa who consequently must have flourished before A. D. 982. There is another piece of evidence which corroborates the above-mentioned date for Kṛishṇa. This Kṛishṇa is probably identical with Kṛishṇapa of the Chandēlla family, a son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in four out of six stone inscriptions<sup>3</sup> at Dudahi, in the Lalitpur District, about 75 miles north by east of Bhilsā. According to both General Cunningham and Dr. Kielhorn this Yaśōvarman is the well-known Chandēlla king of that name, the father of Dhaṅga for whom we have dates ranging from A. D. 954 to A. D. 1002. Kṛishṇapa may, therefore, be referred to the period A.D. 960-85. From the Khajurāho inscription of Dhaṅga, dated V. 1011, we learn that the Chandēlla kingdom in the beginning of his reign extended to Bhāsvat or Bhilsā in the south.<sup>4</sup> It seems, therefore, that Dhaṅga placed his brother Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇapa in charge of the south-western portion of the Chandēlla kingdom extending at least from Dudahi in the north to Bhilsā in the south.

If the identification of the illustrious Śabara of the present inscription with the Śabara chief slain by Kṛishṇarāja's minister is accepted, the Śabara chief can be referred to the third quarter of the 10th century A. D. The Kalachuri suzerain to whom he owed allegiance was probably Śaṅkaragaṇa. The name of the god Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa appears somewhat curious.<sup>5</sup> It seems to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Nārāyaṇa installed by Śaṅkara, who is probably identical with the Kalachuri prince of that name mentioned in the Kāritalai stone inscription of Lakshmaṇarāja II.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy in this connection that he is called a *parama-vaishṇava* or devout worshipper of Viṣṇu in that record.

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

- 1 सिद्धिः<sup>8</sup> [१\*] श्री नमः [१\*] श्रीशिव(व)रसत्त्वलाधीकृत<sup>9</sup> [शिव]- . . . . .
- 2 अर्चितसमस्तत्र(त्र) शिव(व)स्वानतपोधनसम . . . . .
- 3 श्रीशंकरनारायणार्थे स्वलभिषा(जा) प्रदत्ता कदरं<sup>10</sup> . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, for 1930-31, p. 10.*

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of Mr. Garde.

<sup>3</sup> These inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, see his *A. S. R.*, Vol. X, pp. 94-5, plate xxxii, and edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 236-37.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. I, p. 129.

<sup>5</sup> [Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa here apparently refers to an image of Harihara.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. This king must now be called Lakshmaṇarāja II in view of an earlier king of the same name; see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 255 ff.

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Balādhikṛita*.

<sup>10</sup> The *anuvāra* on *ra* is very faint. Some word like *cha* may have been lost after *kṛidarām*.

- 4 कं चतो चर्थे<sup>1</sup> यो विभिचरति<sup>2</sup> तस्य अपथेदं<sup>3</sup> व्र(ब्र)ह्महत्व(त्या)पातके<sup>4</sup> . . .  
 . . . . .  
 5 स्य इति<sup>5</sup> [॥\*]

## TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3) Succes ! Om ! Adoration ! [Śiva], the *Balādhikṛita* of the illustrious Śabara . . . has given the cess at the threshing floor<sup>6</sup> and a granary for the holy Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa to . . . , the ascetic residing in the temple (*which is the only one*) in the entire settlement of the Brāhmanas<sup>7</sup> venerated by . . . . .

(Ll. 4-5) Whoever will deviate from this, for him is this (*our*) imprecation that he shall incur the sin of killing a Brāhmana . . . . .

## No. 29.—JIRJINGI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN : THE YEAR 39.

BY R. K. GHOSHAL, M.A., CALOUTTA.

The plates which bear the subjoined inscription were turned up along with pieces of old pottery in course of excavation of an old temple in the village of *Jirjingi* near Tekkali in the Ganjām District of the Madras Presidency. They were secured by Sir A. P. Patro, Kt., who made them over to Mr. R. Subba Rao of the Andhra Historical Research Society of Rajahmundry. Mr. Rao subsequently published them in the Society's *Journal*.<sup>8</sup> In view of the great importance justly attached to this record for the early history of the Gaṅga kings of Orissa, and considering its rather inadequate treatment by Mr. Rao, I re-edit the inscription from excellent ink-impressions kindly supplied by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India.

These are **three plates** of copper, each measuring 8½" by 3". Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole through which passed a **ring**, 3" in diameter, the ends of which, however, remain un-soldered, owing to the fact that the seal which must have been fixed to this ring is missing. The weight of the plates is 56½ *tolas*, and that of the ring 12½ *tolas*, making a total of 69 *tolas*. The edges of the plates are slightly raised into rims so as to protect the inscription. The first and the third plates have writing on their inner faces only, while the

<sup>1</sup> Used in the sense of *asminu=arthē*.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *apathō=yam*.

<sup>4</sup> The original perhaps contained *pātakēna samyuktō bhavishyati*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°ay=ēsi*.

<sup>6</sup> *Khala-bhikshā*, lit. alms at a threshing floor, was probably a tax in kind which was paid to the state when the corn was threshed. The right to receive the contribution seems to have been transferred to the donee. Whether the cess at one or all the threshing floors in the particular locality was conferred on the donee the record does not make clear. The Kāritalāi stone inscription of Lakshmanarāja (II) (above, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff.) refers in line 34 to the donation of four *khala-bhikshās*.

<sup>7</sup> *Brahma-stambha* occurs in verse 14 of the Jabalpur and Khairhā grants of Yaśahkarṇa, (above, Vols. II, p. 4 and XII, p. 212) but there, too, the correct expression evidently is *brahma-stamba* meaning 'a settlement of Brāhmanas.' The same verse occurs in the Kumbhī plates of Vijayasimha. Dr. Hall's transcript of it gives the reading *brahma-stambō*. See *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> *J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 49 ff. Also noticed in the *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1935-36 (C. P. No. 9).



second one is inscribed on both sides. The plates are in a state of perfect preservation and the engraving is clear throughout. The first and third plates, which are inscribed on one side only, have seven lines of writing apiece, while the second one contains six lines on each of its sides,—thus twenty-six lines in all. The height of the letters is about  $\frac{1}{4}$ " on the average.

The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and have resemblance to those used in the Gōdāvarī plates of Pṛithivīmūla,<sup>1</sup> Gōkāk Plates of Dējja-Mahārāja,<sup>2</sup> the Srungavara-pukōṭa<sup>3</sup> and Siripuram<sup>4</sup> plates of Anantavarman, king of Kaliṅga.

The script of the Jirjingi plates has further some obvious resemblance to that employed in some of the early inscriptions from Cambodia.

The inscription under discussion furnishes examples of initial *a* in lines 1, 4, 8, 14 and 22 and of initial *ā* in l. 24 as well as of final *m* (ll. 18 and 21) and *t* (l. 25), which are so indicated by their smaller size. The northern form of *l* is employed in *-sakala-* (l. 1) and *-latā-* (l. 8).

The **numerical symbols** for 1, 9, 20 and 30 are contained in the date in line 25.

The **language** is Sanskrit. With the exception of two of the customary verses at the end, the whole of the record is in prose.

Among **orthographical peculiarities** deserving notice are (1) the use of the *ṣhvāmūṛiya* in l. 21; (2) the use of the guttural nasal in place of *anusvāra* in *-nistriṅsa* (l. 5); (3) the doubling of *dh* and the change of the first *dh* into *d* in *-ānuddhyātas-* (l. 10); (4) the doubling throughout of a consonant after *r*; (5) the occasional doubling of a consonant before *r*, as in *sagōṭṭrāya* (l. 13). In *Taittirīya* (l. 13) the doubling of the first letter is ungrammatical. Both *b* and *v* are indicated by the sign for the latter, exceptions being *saṁ(sa)mbaddha* (l. 11) and *kuṭumbina[s\*=-]* (l. 12). The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in a few cases.

The object of the **inscription** is to record a grant, which is non-sectarian in character, by *Mahārāja* Indravarman, Lord of Trikaṅga, 'a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. The grant is issued from the city of Dantapura and concerns the village of Jijjika situated in the Vōṅkhara-*bhōga*, which is given away as an *agrahāra*, in equal shares, to Agnisvāmin, son of Rudrasvāmin, and the former's (*i.e.*, Agnisvāmin's) son Rudrasvāmin, who belonged to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*.

The **date** is given, in figures only, as in the **Year 39** on the 21st day of the month of Vaiśākha. The year in all probability refers itself to the Gaṅga era. The present record, therefore, may be considered as the **earliest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅga kings** discovered so far.<sup>5</sup>

The charter was written by the king's *Sāndhivigrahika* **Dēvasirṅhadēva**.

There has been lately some discussion over the question of identity and antecedence of Indravarman, Lord of Trikaṅga, of the present record. Mr. R. Subba Rao identifies<sup>6</sup> the donor

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. E. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 289 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The next oldest inscription of the Eastern Gaṅgas yet available is the Narasingapalli plates of Hastivarman of the Year 79 (see Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 62 ff.). There is much uncertainty about the reading of the date in the stray plate from Tirlīngi which has been assumed by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 54 ff.) to belong to the Year 28 of the Gaṅga era. Much of this uncertainty will undoubtedly be removed when the remaining plates of the set come to light and clear impressions of them are made available to scholars. It seems therefore premature, just now, to doubt, as has been done by Mr. G. Ramdas (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 82-3), the genuineness of the Tirlīngi plate on what appears to be very flimsy grounds.

<sup>6</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 72.

of this grant with *Adhirāja* Indra, who, as recorded in the Gōdāvarī plates of Prithivimūla, is said to have overthrown in battle one Indrabhaṭṭāraka<sup>1</sup>. This latter potentate has been equated by Dr. J. F. Fleet<sup>2</sup> with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name who was the younger brother of Jayasinha I and father of Vishṇuvardhana II; while according to Drs. Kielhorn<sup>3</sup> and Jouveau-Dubreuil,<sup>4</sup> Indrabhaṭṭāraka should rather belong to the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty. We along with Mr. Subba Rao<sup>5</sup> are inclined provisionally to subscribe to this latter view.

It seems that the Vishṇukunḍins being hard pressed by the Eastern Chālukya kings pushed further northward from their original home in the Kistnā district<sup>6</sup> of the Madras presidency. Their chief opponents in this direction were the Gaṅga kings of Kalinga who had then only recently eked out an independent principality in and about the Ganjām district. The two contending armies seem to have met each other in the heart of the delta of the Gōdāvarī, possibly somewhere near the modern town of Rajahmundry. As has been claimed in the Gōdāvarī plates, victory rested for the time being with the Kalinga forces. And it is quite probable that Indrarvarman returned in triumph to his capital at Dantapura. The victory over the Vishṇukunḍins further prompted him to assume the (then rather anomalous) title of 'Lord of Trikalīṅga' (*Trikalīṅgādhipati*), seeing that his hold over the three contiguous districts of Gōdāvarī, Vizagapatam and Ganjām<sup>7</sup> now became practically undisputed. To this victory may also be attributed his description in our inscription as 'the thousand-rayed (*sun*) in the firmament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas'. Indeed, the might of Indrarvarman may be said to have dispelled the threatening clouds of a dangerous foreign offensive.

At this point it becomes necessary for us to take into consideration a number of kings whose records should be placed on palæographical grounds in the period A.D. 400-500, roughly indicating the interval between the southern campaign of Samudragupta and the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. These are Anantavarman of the Srungavarapukōṭa<sup>8</sup> and Siripuram<sup>9</sup> plates, Śaktivarman of the Rāgōlu plates,<sup>10</sup> Umavarman of the Bṛihatprōshthā<sup>11</sup>, Dhavalapēṭa<sup>12</sup> and Tekkali<sup>13</sup> plates. Chaṇḍavarman of the Kōmarti<sup>14</sup> and Tirithāna<sup>15</sup> plates, Ananta-Śaktivarman

<sup>1</sup> *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 119. Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, however, assumes on the evidence of the Rāmatīrtham plates that it was the Vishṇukunḍin monarch who emerged triumphant from this struggle (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 91).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 120.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 76 and 91.

<sup>5</sup> In an earlier study (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 159), Mr. Subba Rao held that *Adhirāja* Indra of the Gōdāvarī plates should be identified with Indrarvarman of the Achyutapuram (above, Vol. III, pp. 128 ff.) and Parlā-Kimeḍi (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 131 ff.) plates. Dr. Fleet, on the other hand, was inclined to identify *Adhirāja* Indra with the Indrarvarman of the Chicacole plates of the Years 128 and 146 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 120 ff.).

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 195.

<sup>7</sup> However, no inscriptions of Indrarvarman expressly under his own name have turned up yet from either of the districts of Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam. The Ganjām district on the contrary remained the stronghold of the Eastern Gaṅgas throughout their history, as can be judged from the imposing array of copper-plate inscriptions beginning from the Jirjingi plates onwards.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

<sup>13</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 13.

<sup>14</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

<sup>15</sup> *An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy (1934-35)*, C. P. No. 12.

of the Madras Museum plates, Nanda<sup>1</sup>-Prabhāñjanavarman of the Chicacole plates<sup>2</sup> and Viśākhavarman of the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates.<sup>3</sup>

All of these potentates, with the exception of Viśākhavarman,<sup>4</sup> call themselves 'kings of Kaliṅga' (*Kaliṅgādhipati*). It is probable that these kings rose into prominence in the period following the withdrawal of the arms of Samudragupta from the south.<sup>5</sup> After him the Guptas never actively interested themselves in South Indian politics, thus affording ample opportunity for these chiefs, as they originally were, to raise their heads and assume regal distinctions. Naturally, as some of them were living contemporaneously with others, they fought vehemently among themselves for control of the territory now covered by the districts of Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam. Their objective, at least that of some of them, was perhaps the Orissa littoral, pushing through the districts of Ganjām and Puri right up to the outskirts of Balasore<sup>6</sup> and beyond that the important port of Tāmraliptī on the Bay of Bengal. This was the period which coincided with the gradual rise to power of the Eastern Gaṅgas under the capable leadership of Indravarman. It is not yet possible, in the absence of more substantial details of historical value, to make out the relation, if there were any, in which all these early 'kings' stood to one another. While some of them like Śaktivarman, Umavarman and Viśākhavarman may have flourished<sup>7</sup> before the time of Indravarman, it is probable that others like Anantavarman and Nanda-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff. Here we may in passing be permitted to dwell a little on the significance of the prefix 'Nanda' coming before the name of this king. Dr. D. C. Sircar's suggestion (*Journ. Dept. of Letters, Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVI, p. 66, f. n. 2) that it denotes "Prabhāñjanavarman of the Nanda family" seems to be somewhat speculative as it is without a parallel in the early history of Kaliṅga. A simpler and more reasonable explanation would be that 'Nanda' is here used as an honorific adjective (qualifying Prabhāñjanavarman) in the sense of 'one who pleases everybody'. In fact, another variant of the same word, 'Nandaka', has the significant meaning of 'one who gladdens one's family' (cf. V. S. Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Bombay, 1912, p. 535). The names of some of the early Pallava kings like Śiva-Skandavarman, Vijaya-Skandavarman, etc., could be cited (as suggested by Dr. Sircar in *Successors of the Śālavāhanas in Lower Deccan*, pp. 166-67) as parallel instances of such honorific prefixes being in common use in South India from an early time.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. G. Ramdas, however, advances (above, Vol. XXI, p. 24) two plausible reasons in support of his supposition that Viśākhavarman was a Kaliṅga king. These are (1) Kōrōśodaka-Pañchālī, mentioned in the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates, "formed a part of the Kaliṅga Country", and (2) Śrīpura from which the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates were issued may be identified with Siripuram (Vizagapatam district) which is close to the ancient district of Varāshavartanī of Kaliṅga. Mr. G. V. Srinivasa Rao, on the other hand, suggests (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 49) that Śrīpura of the Kōrōshaṇḍā plates may rather be the Siripuram, a village near Chicacole, the find-spot of the inscription of another 'king of Kaliṅga' (*Kaliṅgādhipati*), viz., Anantavarman.

<sup>5</sup> A most convincing and significant evidence of this having been the actual state of things is afforded by the Brūṅgavarapukōta plates of Anantavarman (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.), 'Lord of Kaliṅga', whose grandfather, Guṇavarman, is called 'Lord of Dēvarāshṭra' (identified with modern Yellamanchili *tāluk* of the Vizagapatam district) and who himself issued his grant from Piṣṭapura (identified generally with modern Pithāpuram in the Gōdāvarī district). Both of these countries constituted two distinct kingdoms in the time of Samudragupta.

<sup>6</sup> About this time the Balasore district seems to have been in the hands of a group of chiefs, of obscure antecedents and relation, who called themselves (with one exception) *maḥārāja*. Four inscribed copper-plates purporting to belong to their rule have recently been published by the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 197 ff.). Incidentally, there is one more (rather imperfectly studied) inscription belonging to one of these chiefs which escaped the notice of Mr. Majumdar. This latter record I hope shortly to deal with in this journal.

<sup>7</sup> This of course is more in the nature of a conjecture as we have no more a basis than that of the indefinite evidence of palaeography of the records concerned. It seems rather distressing that some of these 'kings' did not think it worthwhile to put on record the names of their fathers.

Prabhāñjanavarman lived contemporaneously with Indravarmān. It is even possible that the latter was originally a petty chief of no political position, wielding his influence over a small stretch of territory in the Gōdāvarī valley. In course of time he collected a large following, with whose help he set forth to carve out an independent realm for himself. The Ganjām district conveniently abutting on the Orissan frontier and affording avenues for further northward expansion, satisfactorily answered his expectations. And while yet endeavouring to build up the nucleus of a future empire, disquieting news reached him of clashing of steel at his rear in the Gōdāvarī valley. In all haste, Indravarmān prepared and launched an offensive, and, ultimately, after what must have been quite a number of fierce engagements, succeeded in maintaining his hold over the Gōdāvarī and Vizagapatam districts, while improving and fortifying his base in the Ganjām district.

Unfortunately, the material at our disposal does not permit us yet to develop in fuller details the reconstruction of the history of the rise of the Eastern Gaṅga power. What we have contented ourselves with doing is to suggest the broad outlines of a story which after all may not be quite out of tune with those hectic days in the history of Kalinga. At least, and it appears to lend some force of conviction to our line of argument, it would explain the claim, though somewhat conventionalised in form, of Indravarmān in our present record (ll. 4-7) to have subdued in more than one battle many 'chiefs' by his own prowess. It does not seem to be an empty pandering to the vanities of a disillusioned patron by his scribe. No other epithet could describe the feat of this valiant soldier more aptly.

Of the localities mentioned, Dantapura is referred to for the first time in this record. It occurs next in the Purlē plates<sup>1</sup> of Indravarmān (year 149). The place had a Buddhist association in that the left canine tooth of the lower jaw of the Buddha is said to have been brought over there by one of the Master's disciples and a *stūpa* built over it. Subsequently, it was taken away to Ceylon. A verse preserved in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, and incorrectly reproduced in the *Mahāvastu*, speaks of Dantapura as the capital of the Kalingas.<sup>2</sup> It is also mentioned as such in the *Mahāgovinda-suttanta*.<sup>3</sup> The *Jātaka*s refer several times<sup>4</sup> to this city, which fact doubtlessly establishes its antiquity. Many suggestions have been advanced in regard to the identification of this ancient city. Sir Alexander Cunningham<sup>5</sup> located it at modern Rajahmundry on the Gōdāvarī. Mr. Ramdas<sup>6</sup> places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole. Professor Sylvain Lévi identified this Dantapura with the *Paloura* of Ptolemy<sup>7</sup> and was inclined to seek for it somewhere near modern Chicacole.<sup>8</sup> Mr. N. L. Dey, on the other hand, suggested<sup>9</sup> its identification with modern Dāntan on the river Kāsai in the Midnapur district of Bengal. According to Mr. R. Subba Rao,<sup>10</sup> Dantapura may be looked for in "the ruins of the fort of the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river Varāśadharā, three miles from Chicacole Road Station" of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. According to another view,<sup>11</sup> "the place must be near

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 361-62.

<sup>2</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 172-73.

<sup>3</sup> *Dīgha Nikāya* (P. T. S.), p. 235.

<sup>4</sup> See now, Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, Bombay 1939, p. 401, s. v. *Dantapura*.

<sup>5</sup> *Geography of Ancient India* (ed. by S. N. Majumdar-Sastri), pp. 592-3.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, p. 361.

<sup>7</sup> L. Renou, *La Géographie de Ptolémée, L'Inde* (VII, 16), Paris 1925.

<sup>8</sup> P. C. Bagchi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 163 ff; especially, p. 171.

<sup>9</sup> *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 2nd ed., p. 53.

<sup>10</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

<sup>11</sup> *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 137-38.

the Chilkā Lake and the old route from Malud". Pandit Nilakantha Das, finally, believes that "Dantapur is undoubtedly the present Puri of Jagannath".<sup>1</sup>

A like divergence of opinion prevails over the question of connotation of the geographical expression **Trikaliṅga**. According to Mr. R. D. Banerji<sup>2</sup>, **Trikaliṅga** comprised within it the tracts of country anciently known as Kalinga, Tōsala and Utkala; while Dr. R. G. Basak believes<sup>3</sup> that it included Udra (Orissa proper), Kōṅgōḍa and Kalinga. Mr. G. Ramdas lastly holds that **Trikaliṅga** denoted "the highlands intervening between the coast (*sic*) strip called Kalinga and the Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala or the modern Chatisgarh (*sic*)".<sup>4</sup>

The village of **Jijjika** which was given away, is evidently, as already suggested by Mr. Subba Rao,<sup>5</sup> the same as the modern village of Jirjingi, the find-spot of our record, in the Tekkali Zemindary of the Ganjām district. The **Vōṅkhara-bhōga**, in which the village granted was situated, I am unable to identify.

The **date of the record** is given as the 21st day of Vaiśākha of the year 39 of the prosperous reign [of the Gaṅgas]. The epoch of this era being still unsettled, it is hazardous to attempt at any sure estimation of its correct age. Failing all other help, we are constrained to fall back on the solitary evidence of the palæography of the record under discussion. Taking all things into consideration and leaving a reasonable margin on either side, we would refer this record to the period **475-550 A.D.**

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

##### First Plate.

- 1 Ōm<sup>7</sup> Svasti [||\*] Amara-pura-pratisparddhi-śri(śri)mad-Dantapurād-bhagavatas-sakala<sup>8</sup>-bhu-
- 2 vana-tal-ōtpatti-sthiti-pralaya-hētōḥ Paramēśvarasya satata-praṇā-
- 3 m-āvāptaḥ<sup>9</sup>-punya-sañchaya-prabhāva-nirast-āsēsha-duritō **Gāṅg-āmala-kula-**
- 4 gagana-tala-sahasraraśmiḥ anēka-chāturddanta-samara-vijaya-
- 5 vimala-vikōśa-nistriṅśa<sup>10</sup>-dhārā-samākrānta-sakala-sāmanta-
- 6 nṛpati-maṇḍal-ādhipatiḥ<sup>11</sup>-makuṭa-nihita-ruchira-padmarāga-
- 7 prabhā-prasēka-parishvaṅga-piṅgāṅgikṛita<sup>12</sup>-charaṇa-yugalaḥ

##### Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 atula-va(ba)la-samuday-āvāpta-vipula-vibhāva-sampal-latā-
- 9 maṇḍapa-chchhāyā-viśrānta-suhṛit-sādhu-vā(bā)ndhav-ārthi-janaḥ
- 10 mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātas=**Trikaliṅg**-ādhipati-śri-Mahā-

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. II, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> History of Orissa, Vol. I, map facing p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> History of North-Eastern India, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 16 ff.; esp. p. 23.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. III, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> From ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

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

<sup>8</sup> Note the northern form of *l*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *-āvāpta-*.

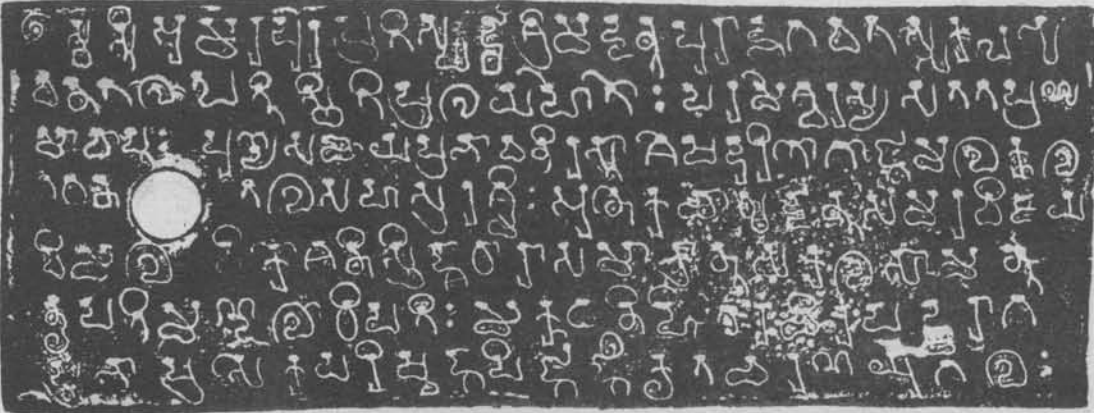
<sup>10</sup> Read *-nistriṅśa-*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *-ādhipati-*.

<sup>12</sup> Better read *-piṅgāṅgikṛita-*.

i.

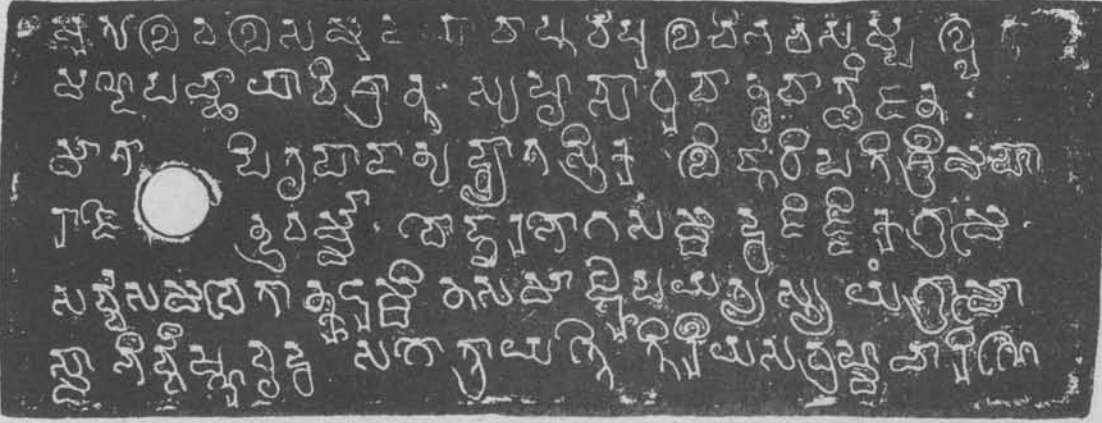
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ii.a.

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8  
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ii.b.

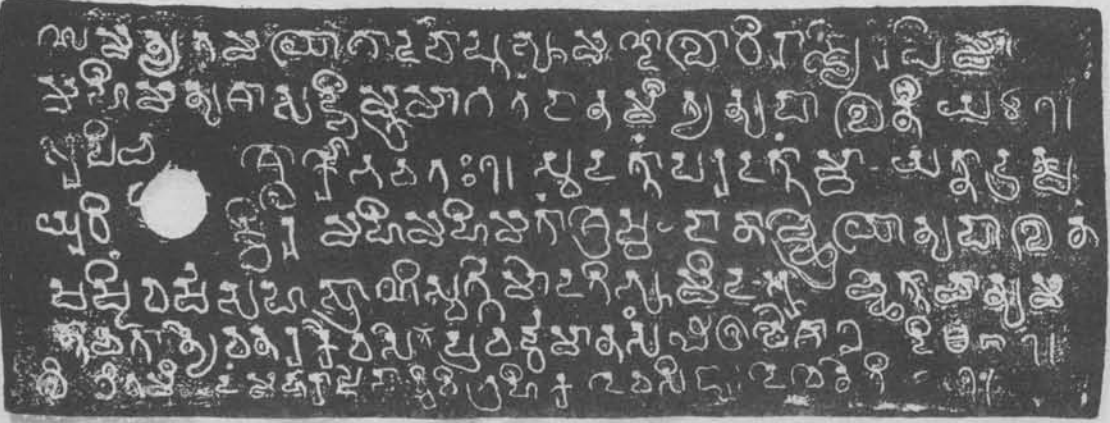
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iii.

20  
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26



- 11 rāj-**Endravarmmā** |<sup>1</sup> **Vōākhara**-bhōga-<sup>2</sup>sambaddha-**Jijjika**-grāmē  
 12 sarvva-samavētān=kuṭumbina[s\*]=samājñāpayaty=asty=ayam grāmō=  
 13 smābhir=Vishnuvṛiddha-sagōttrāya Ttai(Tai)ttiriya-savra(bra)hmachāriṇē

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 14 Rudrasvāmi-sūnavē **Agnisvāminē** tat-tanujāya cha **Rudrasvāminē**  
 15 samvibhajy=ārdhēn=ā-samudr-ādri-śaśi-tārak-ārka-pratishtham=agrahāram kṛitvā  
 16 sva-puṇy-āyū(yu)r-yyaśō-va(ba)la-varddhan-ārttha[m\*] mātā-pittrōś=cha puṇy-āvāpta-  
 17 yē |<sup>1</sup> sarvva-kara-parihārai[h\*] |<sup>1</sup> parihṛitya ch=āyam grāmaḥ  
 18 prattaḥ [|\*] tad=ēvam bhavadbhiḥ pūrvv-ōchita-maryyāday=ōpasthēyam [|\*]  
 19 bhavishyataś=cha rājñō vijñāpayāmi | dharmma-krama-vikramā-

*Third Plate.*

- 20 nām=anyatama-yōgād=avāpta-bhūmaṇḍal-ādhirājyair=apimā(p=imām)  
 21 mahīm=anūsāsadbhik kram-āgataḥ dānamī(m=i)ty=anupālanīyam ||  
 22 api cha ślōkau bhavataḥ || <sup>3</sup>Sva-dattām para-dattām mvā(vā) yatnād=tsksha  
 23 Yuddhiḥhira [|\*] mahī[m\*] mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanām-  
 (nam) [|\*|\*|  
 24 Shashtīr varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida[h\*] | āchchhētā ch=ānuma-  
 25 ntā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [|\*|\*| <sup>2</sup> pravarddhamāna-sam 30 9<sup>4</sup> Vaiśākha-di  
 20 1 ||  
 26 likhitam=idam mahārājñō<sup>5</sup> sāndhivigrahika-**Dēvasiṅgha**(siṁha)dēvōn=ēti ||

## TRANSLATION.

(L. 1) Ōm Hail !

From the beautiful (*city of*) **Dantapura**, which vies with **Amarāvati** (the city of gods), the glorious **Mahārāja Indravarman**, Lord of **Trikaliṅga**—who has had all his sins removed by dint of his accumulation of religious merit obtained through his constantly doing obeisance to **Śiva** who is the cause of creation, preservation and destruction of the entire world ; who is a sun in the firmament of the spotless family of the **Gaṅgas** : who has his pair of feet made tawny-coloured by their contact with the lustre of brilliant rubies infixed to the crowns of all the *sāmanta-nripatis* and *maṇḍalādhipatis*<sup>6</sup> whom he had subdued by his stainless and unsheathed sword while winning many a battle of four-tusked<sup>7</sup> (*elephants*) ; who has his friends, the virtuous, relatives

<sup>1</sup> The stop seems to have been indicated by a single dot. This is however superfluous.

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

<sup>3</sup> Metre *Anuṣṭubh* ; and in the following verse.

<sup>4</sup> Mr. R. Subba Rao first read the date as 309. Subsequently, however, he corrected his mistake in a slip attached opposite the title-page of the same number of the journal in which his article appeared (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, Part I). Cf. also in this connection a note by Dr. D. C. Sircar (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 229 ff.) also *An. Rep. on S. Ind. Epi.* for 1934-35, Part II, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> Read *mahārājasya*.

<sup>6</sup> I have preferred to leave these two titles untranslated accepting the strictures passed by Dr. J. F. Fleet (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 114, n. 2) on the common practice of rendering such technical expressions into (meaningless) English.

<sup>7</sup> *Chaturdantu* signifies, traditionally, the far-famed mount of Indra, viz., **Airāvata**. [See above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]



and supplicants enjoying comfort under the shade of an arbour, as it were, of his enormous wealth obtained by his unequalled might and exertion; who is devoted to the feet of his parents— issues (*the following*) order to all the assembled householders of the village of Jijjika belonging to the **Vōñkhara-bhōga**<sup>1</sup> :—

(L. 12) “ We have granted this village, in two equal shares,—after making it an *agrahāra* which is to last as long as the ocean, the mountain, the moon, the stars and the sun, and freeing it from all impositions, for the increase of Our own religious merit, life, fame and strength as well as for the acquisition of religious merit of Our parents—to **Agnisvāmin**, son of Rudrasvāmin and to his (*Agnisvāmin's*) son **Rudrasvāmin**, who belong to the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gōtra* and are religious students of the Taittirīya *śākhā*.

“ Therefore, you should abide by this (*order*) according to usages obtaining heretofore.

“ I also exhort the future kings :—‘ Even having obtained possession of the entire world by means of right, inheritance, or conquest, while ruling on this earth, they should always preserve this gift.’

“ And there are also two verses :

(Verse 1)—O Yudhisṭhira ! Most excellent among the possessors of land ! diligently preserve (*a gift of*) land given by yourself or given by somebody else. Maintenance (*of a donation*) is more meritorious than donation (*itself*).

(Verse 2)—A donor of land enjoys himself in heaven for sixty thousand years. A confiscator (*thereof*) and one who consents (*to the confiscation*) remain in hell for the same number of years.”

(L. 25) The increasing Year 30 9 ; the day 20 1 of (*the month of*) Vaiśākha.

(L. 26) This has been written by the king's *Sāndhivigrahika*<sup>2</sup> **Dēvasimhadēva**.

<sup>1</sup> For a note on *bhōga*, see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 and 64.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. C. Burnell quotes (*Elements of South Indian Palaeography*, 1st ed., Mangalore, 1874, pp. 64-66) passages from old texts like the *Yājñavalkya Dharmasāstra*, the *Mitāksharā*, the *Smṛticandrikā*, etc., to show that common usage required that the *Sāndhivigrahika*, among other officials of the same rank, should be entrusted with the task of drafting a royal grant (*rājāsāna*).

## No. 30.—POONA PLATES OF CHALUKYA VINAYADITYA ; SAKA 612.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A.

This grant, consisting of **three copper-plates** each measuring  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 4$  in. and held together by a **big ring**, was purchased by me in 1936 at **Poona** as Superintendent of the Western Circle. To the ring, which is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in. in diameter, is affixed a projecting **seal**, somewhat oval ( $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{8}$  in.), of which the countersunk surface is relieved with the figure of the boar (incarnation of Vishnu) as is usually found on grants of the Western Chalukyas of Badāmi. The seal is however without any legend. The weight of the three plates together with the ring and the seal is about 3 lbs. and 14 oz.

The first and the third plates, as is usual with such grants, are inscribed on the inner face only and the second or the middle one on both. The inscription, which I have edited from the original plates, is in an excellent state of preservation and consists of 35 lines of writing, *i.e.*, nine on each face except the last one which has only eight lines. The **orthography** is generally regular, though in a few places the rules of *sandhi* are not observed, *e.g.*, in *Vishṇoḥ Vārāham* (l. 1), °*smābhiḥ dvādaś*° (l. 23). It is wrongly observed in *bāliṇdu* (l. 18). A consonant followed or preceded by *r* is generally doubled as in *kshōbhī-ārṇava* (l. 1), *varṭtamānē* (l. 24), *paurṇamāsyām* (l. 25); etc., and in *sagōtrāṇām* (l. 2), *puttrāṇām* (l. 3), *pavitrīkṛita-gōtrasya* (l. 6), *mātra* (l. 11), etc.

Except the grantee, the property granted and the date, the present record agrees very closely with the published grants of the Chalukya sovereign Vinayāditya.<sup>1</sup> It opens with the stereotyped description of the Chalukya family in which **Pulakēśin I, Kirtivarman, Satyāśraya (Pulakēśin II), Vikramāditya and Vinayāditya Satyāśraya** ruled as direct descendants. When **Vinayāditya** was encamped at the village **Mañchōha**,<sup>2</sup> which is probably no other than Manchhar in the Poona district on the road to Nāsik, he issued the grant at the request of his queen on the **full moon day of Vaiśākha, Śaka year 612 expired**, corresponding to his **10th<sup>3</sup> regnal year** in favour of two Brāhmaṇas named **Durgasārman and Ravisārman** of the **Kāśyapa gōtra**<sup>4</sup>. This date corresponds to Friday, 29th April 690 A.D. The property granted consisted of a field measuring 50 *nivartanas* of land in the village of **Tōravē**, presumably the same as the modern village *Torveh* in the Bijāpur District. The record closes with the name of its writer **Śri-Rāmapuṇyavallabha**, the high minister of peace and war who is mentioned in all other grants of the king.

As several inscriptions of dates earlier and later than that of the present grant have already been found, this record adds very little to our knowledge of the history of the Chalukya family.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Togarchēdu plates of Śaka 611 (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 242-44) and Sorab grant of Śaka 614 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 146-52).

<sup>2</sup> [See p. 291, n. 1 below.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The difficulty of reconciling the dates given in Śaka Samvat with the regnal years of Vinayāditya has already been referred to by J. F. Fleet in editing the Sorab copper-plate grant of this king, *cf. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 148-49.

<sup>4</sup> [The gift was made *kanyā-dharm-ārtham* which I take in the sense of *kanyā-dāna-dharm-ārtham*, *i.e.*, 'for the merit accruing from the gift of a girl (in marriage)'. Apparently the girls were given in marriage to the two Brahmin donees by the queen. The 'gift of a girl' to a learned Brahmin entails great merit and according to Dharmasāstras this should be accompanied by grant of lands among other gifts. See Hēmādri, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, Pt. II (ed. S. A. Deekshita, Benares), pp. 649-50.—Ed.]

## TEXT.

*First plate.*

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥\*] जयत्वाविष्कृतं विष्णीः वाराहं श्रीभित्तार्थवर्ष(वम्) [१\*] दक्षिणीकृतदंष्ट्रा-  
प्रविश्यान्तभु-
- 2 वनं वयुः [॥\*] श्रीमतां सकलभुवनसंस्तूयमानमानव्यसमीक्षाणां हारितीपु-
- 3 क्षाणां समलीकमाहभिक्षसमाहभिरभिवर्धितानां कार्तिकेयपरिरक्षणप्राप्तकल्या-
- 4 शपरम्पराणां भगवन्कारायणप्रसादसमासादितवराहलाब्धनेक्षणव्यथव-
- 5 शौकताशेषमहीभृतां चतुर्वानां कुलमलहरिणीरश्मिभावभूयस्मानप-
- 6 विष्णोक्तगात्रस्य श्रीपुलकेशिवक्षभमहाराजस्य स्रुः पराक्रमाक्रान्त-
- 7 वनवासादिपरमृपतिमण्डलप्रणिवहविशुद्धकीर्तिः कीर्तिवर्धयिषीवक्षभम-
- 8 हाराजस्य स्वात्मजस्य मरसंसक्तसकलीत्तरापथेश्वरश्रीहर्षवर्द्धनप-
- 9 राजयोपलभ्यपरमेश्वरापरनामधेयस्य त्याश्रयश्रीपृथिवीवक्षभम-

*Second Plate ; First Side.*

- 10 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरस्तत्रियसुतस्य विक्रमादित्थपरमेश्वरम-
- 11 हारकस्य मलिसहायसाहसमाप्तसमधिगतनिजवंशसमुचितधि-
- 12 तराण्यविभवस्य विविधरसितसितसमरमुखगतरिपुभरपतिविजयस-
- 13 सुपलभ्यकीर्त्तिपताकावभासितदिगन्तरस्य हिमकरकरविमलकुलप-
- 14 रिभवविलयहेतुपञ्चवपतिपराजयानन्तरपरिगृहीतकाञ्चीपुर-
- 15 स्य प्रभावकुलिशदक्षितश्रीक्याण्डकोरकधरणीधरभयमानमान-
- 16 शृंगस्य धनन्वसम्बन्तकाञ्चीपतिमहिमकुटकुटविकारसन्निता-
- 17 भिविक्तधरणकमलस्य चिसमुद्रमद्यवर्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वरस्य स्र-
- 18 नुः पितुराश्रय्य बालि(से)न्दुशेखरस्यैव सेनानीहैवत्वलमतिसमुद्धतं

i.

2 4 6 8

2 4 6 8

Handwritten text in Chalukya script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. There are two circular holes on the left side of the plate, one at approximately line 5 and another at line 14. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Prakrit or Sanskrit.

ii, a.

10 12 14 16 18

10 12 14 16 18

Handwritten text in Chalukya script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. There are two circular holes on the left side of the plate, one at approximately line 5 and another at line 14. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Prakrit or Sanskrit.

20  
22  
24  
26

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, arranged in four horizontal lines. Each line is numbered on the right side of the page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage.

iii.

28  
30  
32  
34

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, arranged in four horizontal lines. Each line is numbered on the right side of the page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage.

*Second Plate ; Second Side.*

- 19 चैराण्यपल्लवबलमवष्टभ्य समस्तविषयप्रशमनाद्दिहिततस्मिन्नु-  
 20 रक्षन् अत्यन्तवत्सलत्वाद्युधिष्ठिर इव श्रीरामत्वाद्वासुदेव इव नृपांकुश-  
 21 स्वा(त्वा)त्परशुराम इव राजाश्रयत्वाद्भरत इव विनयादित्थसत्त्वाश्रयश्रीपृथि-  
 22 वीवत्सभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरभट्टारकस्रव्णानिवमाज्ञापयति वि-  
 23 दितमस्तु वीक्षाभिः द्वादशीत्तरषट्(दश)तेषु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रव-  
 24 र्त्तमाने विजयराजसंवत्सरे दशमे वर्त्तमाने 'मञ्चोङ्गाममधिवसति विज-  
 25 यस्कन्वावारे वैशाखपौर्णमास्यां महादेवीविज्ञापनया कन्याधर्मायं  
 26 काश्यपसमीक्ष्य(बाभ्यां) दुम्भ(र्न्)शर्षारविशर्षाभ्यां राजमानेन तोरवेग्रामे पञ्चाश-  
 27 त्रिवर्त्तनपरिमाणं पश्चिमदिग्भागे सर्वभोगा(ग)परिहारो दत्त[:\*]

*Third Plate.*

- 28 तदामाभिभिरस्मत्संश्लेषेण राजभिरायुरैश्वर्यादीनां विलसित-  
 29 मचिरांशु[चं]चलमवगच्छन्निराचन्द्रार्कधरार्णवस्थितिसमकालं  
 30 यशस्विचौषुभिः[ः] स्वदत्तिनिर्व्विशेषं परिपालनीयसुक्तं च भगवता वे-  
 31 दव्यासेन व्यासेन [I\*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्त्वा राजभिस्सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य<sup>१</sup> य-  
 32 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(सम्) [II\*] स्वन्दातुं सुमहच्छक्यं दु-  
 33 खमन्यस्य पालनं(नम) [I\*] दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयीनुपालनं(नम) [II\*]  
 स्वदत्तां प-  
 34 रदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां(राम्) [I\*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते  
 क्रिमिः [II\*]  
 35 महासाधिविषहिकश्रीरामपुष्यवत्सभिन लिखितमिदं शासनं [I]

<sup>१</sup>[I read *Mañchu-grāmam* =.—Ed.]\* Read = *Sagar-ādibhiḥ/yasya*.

## No. 31.—ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

BY MADHO SARUP VATS, M.A., AND D. B. DISKALKAR, M.A.

This grant consists of two plates which are held together by two copper-rings, one of which has an oval seal containing the letters *śrī-Jayabhāṭa* embossed below a peculiar symbol resembling a flying *Garuḍa*. They were found with a Marāṭhā family surnamed Shid of Anjaneri village in the Nāsik District along with two copper-plate grants of Pṛithivichandra Bhōgaśakti, dealt with above<sup>1</sup>, and measure 12 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". The first plate contains 18 lines of writing and the second 21.

The characters belong to the southern variety and closely resemble those of the Nausārī<sup>2</sup> and Kāvī<sup>3</sup> plates of Jayabhāṭa III and IV issued in the years 456 and 486 respectively. With the exception of the attestation in the last line, its palaeography is similar to that of the Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa grants of the seventh century A.D. found in Gujārāt. The characters in the attestation are cursive and differ from the rest of the inscription. Often a dot has been used in the record to denote a mark of punctuation.

The record is dated the 11th day of the dark half of Āśvina, Tulā-saṅkrānti, (Kaḷachūri) Samvat 461 corresponding to A.D. 709-10<sup>4</sup> and was issued from Bharukachchha (Broach). The introductory portion, containing the description of the family of Jayabhāṭa, agrees with that given in the two grants mentioned above. The genealogy starts with Dadda (II) who was born in the lineage of Mahārāja Karṇa and who protected the lord of Valabhī who was defeated by Harshadōva (identified with Dharaśēna IV who suffered defeat at the hands of Harshavardhana of Kanauj). His son was Jayabhāṭa (II) and his son Dadda (III)-Bāhusahāya. The latter's son was Jayabhāṭa (III), the donor, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara and had obtained the five great sounds (*samadhiḡata-pañcha-mahāśabda*).

The beneficiary in the present grant was a Brāhmana named Nārāyaṇa son of Vasusvāmin of Dābhilya gōtra and Chhandōga-Kauthuma śākhā and a resident of Brahmapurī.

The property granted consisted of three pieces of land totalling 60 *nivartanas* in and around the village Taurāṇaka<sup>5</sup> situated in the Nāndīpura *Vishaya*: the first measuring 52 *nivartanas*, the second 5 *nivartanas* and the third 3 *nivartanas*.

The importance of this grant lies in the fact that it extends the date of Jayabhāṭa III from the year 456 of the Nausārī plates to the year 461.

The grant mentions certain places situated in the Nāndīpura *vishaya* which has already been identified with Nandod situated on the Karjan river in the Rajapipla State. The places mentioned are the villages of Taurāṇaka, Jayapura, Vidvēraka and Bhūtishohī<sup>6</sup> and the river Karillīnī. Taurāṇaka,<sup>7</sup> in and around which were situated the three plots of land granted, seems to be the modern Toran (also called Toranmal) on the Karjan river which seems to be the river Karillīnī of our grant situated about 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles north of Nandod. It is possible that Jayapura is the same as modern Jitpur, 6 miles east of Nandod and about 8 miles south-east of Toran or Taurāṇaka of the grant. Bhūtishohī<sup>8</sup> and Vidvēraka, however, cannot be identified but should not be far away

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 113 ff. Professor Miraashi has since proved that this grant is referable to Jayabhāṭa IV, cf. above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>4</sup> [The date would correspond to Tuesday, 23rd September A.D. 710, when the sun seems to have entered the Tulā-rāśi.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> [See below p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [This is apparently identical with the modern village of Bhuchhād, about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  miles south-west of Toran the western bank of the Karjan.—Ed.]

from the neighbourhood of Nandod.<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to note that the present topography of the place agrees fairly closely with the description given in the grant.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 ॐ<sup>2</sup> स्वस्ति [॥\*] श्रीभद्रकच्छात् सततलक्ष्मीनिवासभूते दृष्ट्यासन्तापहारिणि दिननाथ-  
विस्तारितानुभावे द्विजकुलीपजीव्यमानविभवशा-
- 2 लिनि महति महाराजकर्षाग्वये कमलाकार इव राजहङ्गुः(हंसः) प्रबलकलिकाल-  
विलसिताकुलितविमलस्वभावो<sup>3</sup> गभीरी-
- 3 दारचरितविस्त्रापितसकललीकपालमानसः परमेस्वरश्रीहर्षदेवाभिभूतवलभीपतिपरिचाणोपजा-  
तभ्रमद-
- 4 दभ्रशुभ्राभ्रविभ्रमयशोवितानः श्रीदहस्तस्य सूनुरशङ्कितागतप्रणयिजनोपभुक्तविभवसंचयीप-  
चीयमानम-
- 5 नोनिर्वृतिरनेककण्टकवह्ण(वंश)संदीहदाहदुर्ललितप्रतापानली निश्चितनिस्त्रिङ्ग(स्त्रिंश)धारादा-  
रितारातिकरिकुभ्रमुक्ताफलच्छ-
- 6 लोक्कसितसितयशोङ्गु(शीश)कावगुण्ठितदिव्धुवदनसरसिजः श्रीजयभट्टस्तस्यात्मजी महामुनिम-  
नुप्रणीतप्रवचनाधिग-
- 7 भविवेकस्वधर्मानुष्ठानप्रवणि(शी) वर्णाश्रमव्यवस्थीभूलितसकलकलिकालावलेपः प्रणयिजनम-  
नोरथविषयव्यतीतविभव-
- 8 संपादनापनीताशेषशेष<sup>4</sup>पार्थिवदानाभिमानी मदविवशांकुशातिवर्तिकुपितकरिनिवारणप्रथित-  
गुरुगजाधिरो-
- 9 हृष्टप्रभावो विपत्रपातपतितनरपतिशशाभ्युद्धरणनिखिललोकविन्दुतपरोपकारकरणव्यसनः प्राच्य-  
प्रतीत्याधि-
- 10 राजविजृम्भितमहासंघामनरपतिसहस्रपरिवारितानेकगजघटाविघटनप्रकटितभुजवीर्यविख्यातबा-  
हुसहाया-

<sup>1</sup> [ There is a Virampura about a mile to the west of Jetpur or Jitpur which may be the Brahmapuri, the place of residence of the donee.—Ed.]

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

<sup>3</sup> Should be -vilasit-ānakulita..

<sup>4</sup> Śēsha has been repeated.



- 11 परनामा ।<sup>1</sup> परममाहेश्वरस्वामिमतपञ्चमहाशब्द-त्रीदहस्यस्य सूरनेकसमरसंचदघनघटित-  
गजघटापाट-
- 12 नपटुरसहिष्णुवमगहनदावानलो दीनानाथातुरसुहृत्त्वजनबन्धुकासुदाकरकौमुदीनिशाकरी भागी-  
रथीप्रवाह इ-
- 13 य विपश्चोभण्यमः शान्तगुरिव समुद्रुतकालकलाराधनहा[वा]हिनीपतिरादिवराह इव  
स्वभुजबलपराक्रमीदृढध-
- 14 राधरः परममाहेश्वरस्वामिगतपञ्चमहाशब्द-त्रीजयभट्ट-कुम्भी ।<sup>1</sup> स्वर्णनिव राजसा-  
मन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराह-
- 15 ग्राम[न\*]हस्तराधिकारिकादीन्समुदर्मयत्नसु वक्षंविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रीरात्मन-  
सैहिकामुभिकपुष्ययथीभि-
- 16 इहये ।<sup>1</sup> ब्रह्मपुरीनिवासितेचातुर्विधसामान्यडाभिस्यसगीचह(चह)दीयकोथुमसन्नञ्चारिवा-  
द्याणवसुस्वामिसुच-
- 17 ब्राह्मण[न]रायणाय ।<sup>1</sup> बलिचक्रवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक(क्रि)थीत्सर्पणार्थं ।<sup>1</sup>  
नान्दीपुरविषयान्तर्गत-
- 18 तीरणकप्रामस्य<sup>2</sup> पूर्वोत्तरदिग्भिर्भागे ।<sup>1</sup> हापञ्चाश्रितिवर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्या-  
घटनानि ।

*Second Plate.*

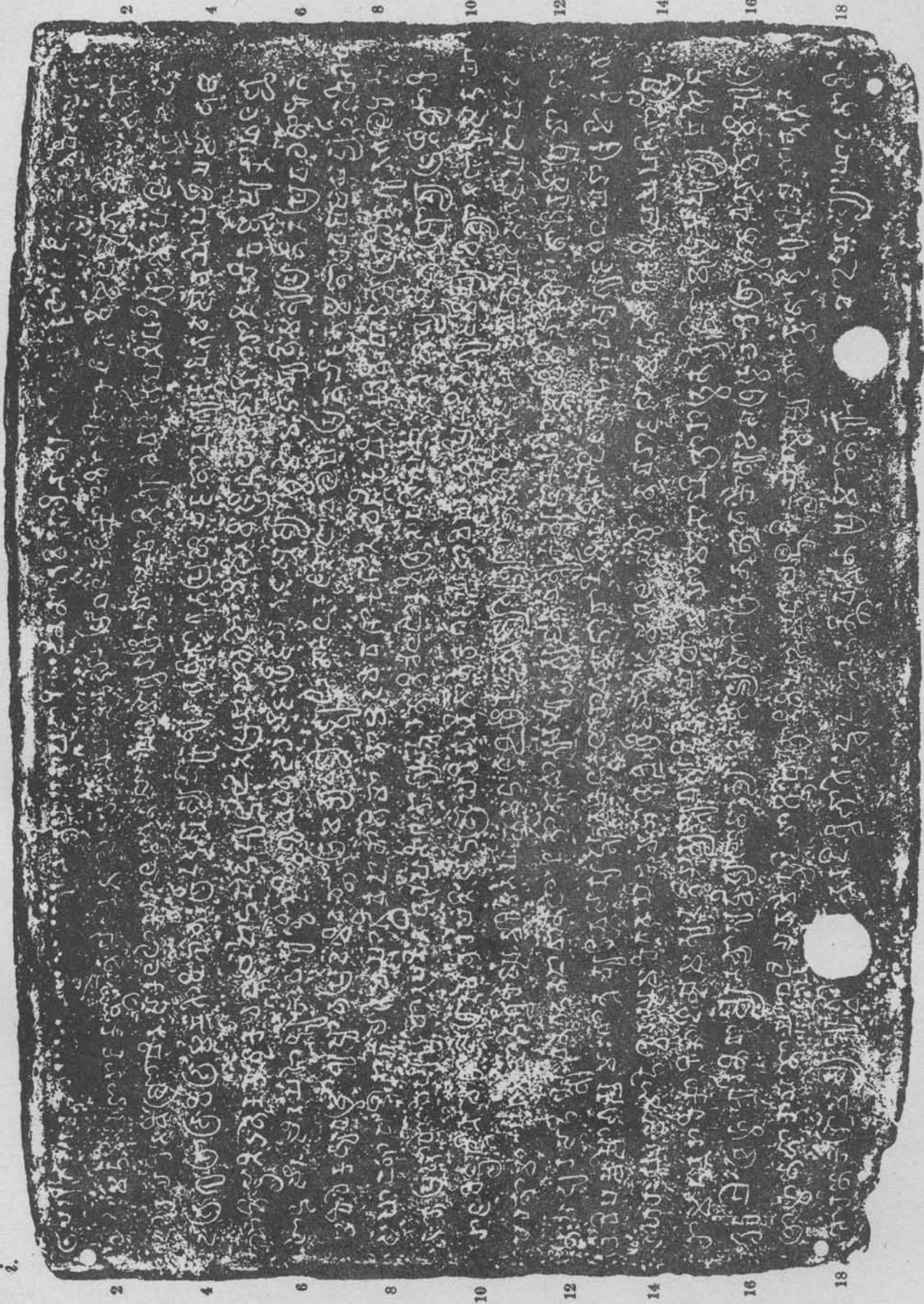
- 19 पूर्वतः जयपुरग्रामयायी पन्था इस्तिनिकागर्त्तसंलग्नः(ग्नं) सरो(रः) [।\*] दक्षिणतः  
[कु(के)]दमीहृषीप्रसन्नितमैरान्तरि-
- 20 तं कुटुम्बिदीपसत्कौटुम्बचेर्भ मैरान्तस्व(स)सुत्थितो दक्षिणाभिसुखी वक्ष्य । तथा  
अपरतः तीरवक्ष्य-<sup>2</sup>
- 21 मात् विहेरकप्रामयायी पन्था तथा चेचमदिशर्त्थिनी अभिधार इहः तथा  
अन्त्यागर्त्तनामो वक्ष्य । उत्तरतः अन्त्यावक्ष्यडा ।
- 22 एवमि[त\*]अतुराघाटनोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं [।\*] तथास्वैव ग्रामस्य दक्षिणदिग्भिर्भागे  
कच्छे पंचवि(नि)वर्तनप्रमाणं भूखण्डं । यस्याघाटनानि । पू-

<sup>1</sup> Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> [The plate reads *Tōrapaka*.—Ed.]

ANJANERI PLATES OF GURJARA JAYABHATA III; K. 461.

i.



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N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.  
Res. No. 1987 E'39-285.

SCALE: TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ii.

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- 23 अंतः वरदकर्म्यादान्तरितकुटुम्बिरेवसत्कौटुम्बचेन । दक्षिणतः करिङ्गिनी नदी ।  
अपरतः सन्नुसूपलक्षितवरदकर्म्या-
- 24 दान्तरितकुटुम्बिवीजधर्मसत्कौटुम्बचेन । उत्तरतः ब्राह्मणदामीद्वरसत्कब्रह्मदेयचेन ।  
राजकीयचरिका च । यदेवं चतुराघाट-
- 25 नोपलक्षितं भूखण्डं । तथास्यैव भूखण्डस्य दक्षिणदिग्दिग्भागे कच्छे । कच्छिका-  
प्रतिबद्धनिवर्त्तनचयप्रमाणं भूखण्डं यस्वाघाटनानि
- 26 पूर्वतः करिङ्गिनी नदी । दक्षिणतोसै(तस्मै)व करिङ्गिनी नदी अपरतः भूतिषीष्टीयाम-  
गामीसीमासन्धिः [1\*] उत्तरतो(तः) कौत्तुम्बीपलक्षित-
- 27 करिङ्गिनीनदीवितटी । एवमेतच्चतुश्चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितभूखण्डत्रयव्यस्थितं षष्टिनिवर्त्तनप्रमाणं  
चेन । सीपरिकरं । सभूत-
- 28 पा(वा)तप्रत्यायं । सधाम्यहिरण्यादेयं । सदृशापराधं सीत्पद्यमानविष्टिकं । सर्वराज-  
कीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं । पूर्वप्रस-
- 29 देवब्रह्मदायरहितं । भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाधन्द्रार्क्षवस्त्रि(क्षि)तिसरित्पर्वतसमकालीनं । पुत्र-  
पीचान्वयक्रमोपभोग्यं । गृहस्थाव-
- 30 रतटाकसहितमद्याश्वयुजवहुले(लै)कादश्यां तुलासंक्रान्ते रवातुद्रकातिसर्गेष प्रतिपा-  
दितं । यतोस्वीचितया ब्रह्मदायस्वित्या भुं-
- 31 जतः क्षपतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्भ्यासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपति-  
भिरस्त्रहंश्रैरन्यैश्चायमस्त्रहायीनुमन्तव्यः
- 32 पालयितव्यश्च । यथाज्ञानतिमिरपटसाहसमतिराच्छिन्त्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमीदेत स  
पञ्चभिर्भ्राजापातकैस्सीप-
- 33 पातकैश्च्युक्ता[1\*] स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवा(वता) वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि  
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [1\*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 34 न्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ विन्ध्याटवीष्वतीयासु शुष्ककीटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णहृदी हि  
जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ बहुभिर्व्यसुधा भुक्ता
- 35 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिःत(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं-  
(लम्) ॥ अम्नेरपत्वं प्रथमं सुवर्षं भूर्वेष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*]

- 36 लोक्क(क)त्रयं तेन भवेत्तु दत्तं ।<sup>1</sup> यः काच(ञ्च)नं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥  
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः दा(द्वैदी)नानि धर्माख्यग्रस्कराणि । नि-
- 37 भुक्तमाख्यप्रतिमानि तानि ।<sup>1</sup> की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [॥\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां  
वा यद्वाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर ।<sup>1</sup> महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 38 च्छ्रेयीनुपालनमिति<sup>2</sup> ॥ लिखितमिति बलाधिकृतदुर्गभटसूनुना बलाधिकृतसहभटेनेति ॥  
बलाधिकृतबावुस-
- 39 दूतकं ॥ सं ४०० ६० १ आश्वयुज व १० १ निवहम् ॥ स्वहस्तो मम  
श्रीजयभटस्य ॥

## TRANSLATION.

(L. 1.) Ōm. Hail! From the illustrious **Bharukachchha** :—

(Ll. 1-15) [Common to Gurjara grants. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 79-80.]

(Ll. 15-30) Today on the 11th day of the dark fortnight of the month of **Āsvayuja** while the sun was in the **Tulā Saṅkrānti**, I have given with libation of water to the Brāhmaṇa **Nārāyaṇa**, son of the Brāhmaṇa **Vasuvāmin**, resident of **Brahmapurī**, of the Chāturvedya community and **Dābhilya gōtra**, a student of **Chhandōga-Kauthuma (śākhā)** for the performance of the five *mahāyajñas*, viz., *bali, charu, vaiśvadeva, agnihōtra* and *atithi*, a piece of land measuring 52 *nivartanas* in the north-east of the village **Taurāṇaka**<sup>3</sup> included in the **Nāndīpura viśhaya**, bounded on the east by the path leading to **Jayapura** village and the pond adjoining the **Hastinikā** streamlet, on the south by the proprietary field belonging to the householder **Dipa**, which is comprised in the marsh indicated by the **Chhēdamī** tree, and also by the streamlet rising from the fringe of the marsh and flowing southwards; in the west by the path leading from the village **Taurāṇaka** to the village **Vidvēraka**, and the **Amiāra** (?) tree as well as the streamlet flowing into the **Dhammāṇa** stream; and in the north by the **Dhammāṇa** stream—this piece of land thus bounded on all the four sides; and a plot of land measuring five *nivartanas* in the marshy tract to the south of the same village (**Taurāṇaka**) bounded on the east by the proprietary field of the householder **Revalla** included within the limits of **Baradaka**; on the south by the **Karillinī** river; on the west by the proprietary field belonging to the householder **Vijadharmā** comprised within the limits of **Baradaka** marked by **Laggustu** (?), and on the north by the donated land belonging to the Brāhmaṇa **Dāmōdara** and by the royal pasture land—the land thus bounded on all four sides; and (lastly) another plot of land measuring 3 *nivartanas* in the marshy area alongside the embankment and situated to the south of this plot of land, bounded on the east and south by the **Karillinī** river; on the west by the boundary line leading to the village **Bhūtishōhī**; and on the north by the *vitāṭī* (?) of the **Karillinī** river marked by the **Kaulla** tree—these plots of land with the boundaries detailed above and measuring in all sixty *nivartanas* together with the *uparikara, bhūta, vāta, pratyāya*, etc.

(Ll. 27-38) [Are common with the published Gurjara grants, especially the **Nausāri** plates. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 80-81.]

(Ll. 38-39) Written by the army chief **Sahabhāṭa** son of the army chief **Durgabhāṭa**. The army chief **Bāvulla** (*acted as*) the **Dūtaka**. Recorded in the year 461, 11th day of the dark fortnight of **Āsvayuja**. This is the sign manual of myself—the illustrious **Jayabhāṭa**.

<sup>1</sup> *Danda* unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'ch=chhrēyō=nupālanam || iti.

<sup>3</sup> [See above, p. 294, n. 2.—Ed.]

From a photograph.





## No. 32—THE PUNJAI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNADEVARAYA.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, MADRAS.

This epigraph (No. 184 of 1925 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection) is a copy of an order issued by king **Kṛishṇadēvarāya** of Vijayanagara while he was camping on the banks of the river **Kṛishṇavēṇī** some time after his conquest of the **Kaliṅga** country. So far copies of this order have been found engraved in twenty different places in the **Chōḷamaṇḍalam** which formed part of the Vijayanagara empire and to which the order relates. These places are : **Śēndamaṅgalam**,<sup>1</sup> **Tirthanagari**,<sup>2</sup> **Elavānāśūr**,<sup>3</sup> **Neyvaṇai**<sup>4</sup> (S. Arcot District), **Tiruvīśālūr**,<sup>5</sup> **Tirukkaṇḍīśvaram**,<sup>6</sup> **Perumuḷai**,<sup>7</sup> **Korukkai**,<sup>8</sup> **Tirunagiri**,<sup>9</sup> **Paraśālūr**,<sup>10</sup> **Puñjai**,<sup>11</sup> **Ākkūr**,<sup>12</sup> **Tillaiyāḍi**,<sup>13</sup> **Tirukkaḍaiyūr**,<sup>14</sup> **Śēndalai**,<sup>15</sup> **Iḷuppappattu**,<sup>16</sup> **Talaiṇāyar**,<sup>17</sup> **Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi**<sup>18</sup> (Tanjore District), **Tiruppaḷātturai**,<sup>19</sup> and **Kaṇṇanūr**<sup>20</sup> (Trichinopoly District). Though they are all copies of the same royal order, certain variations are found in them not only in the details of the order but also in their record of the achievements of the king.

The inscription is edited with the aid of the impressions and transcripts of all its copies kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. C. R. Krishnamachariu, Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. Mr. T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., rendered much invaluable assistance in collating the numerous copies and preparing the text and translation of the record, in the verification of the geographical data, and in many other ways.

The **script** of all the copies is in mixed Grantha and Tamil, and Sanskrit words are often transliterated into Tamil. The **language** is Tamil; there are however two Sanskrit verses, one at the beginning and the other at the end. The engraving of the inscription appears to have been the work of persons of mediocre ability, and hence many mistakes are found in each copy. The defective nature of these inscriptions is, for instance, in striking contrast with the excellence of workmanship found in the **Chōḷa** inscriptions from the same area. Of the twenty copies of the epigraph only four are complete, those found at **Paraśālūr**, **Puñjai**, **Ākkūr** and **Tillaiyāḍi**; and the chief variations among these have been noticed in the footnotes to the text.

The inscription opens with an invocation to **Gaṇapati** and **Śiva**, and records the date and the purpose of the royal order together with the titles of the king; it then gives an account of the conquests of **Kṛishṇadēvarāya** in the eastern country till the date of the record, and states that the king while he was halting on the banks of the **Kṛishṇavēṇī** in Śaka 1439 (A. D. 1517), remitted 10,000 **varāhan** (gold pieces) in favour of the **Śiva** and **Vishṇu** temples in the **Chōḷamaṇḍalam**. The remission comprised the dues called **jōḍi** and **arasupēṇu**; other copies mention in addition, one or more of the following : **sūlavari**, **nilavaḷi** and **marrum pala piṇavarigaḷum**.<sup>21</sup>

There is a like difference among the copies in the number and names of the temples enumerated as the beneficiaries of the remission, only a few (like the one that is being edited) mentioning almost all the places. Generally each of the copies mentions the place where it is found and a few

<sup>1</sup> No. 74 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.<sup>2</sup> No. 125 of 1904.<sup>3</sup> No. 142 of 1906.<sup>4</sup> No. 381 of 1908.<sup>5</sup> No. 353 of 1907.<sup>6</sup> No. 80 of 1911.<sup>7</sup> No. 210 of 1917.<sup>8</sup> No. 235 of 1917.<sup>9</sup> No. 406 of 1918.<sup>10</sup> No. 167 of 1925.<sup>11</sup> No. 184 of 1925.<sup>12</sup> No. 226 of 1925.<sup>13</sup> No. 235 of 1925.<sup>14</sup> No. 251 of 1925.<sup>15</sup> No. 214 of 1926.<sup>16</sup> No. 137 of 1927.<sup>17</sup> No. 157 of 1927.<sup>18</sup> No. 223 of 1927.<sup>19</sup> No. 288 of 1903.<sup>20</sup> No. 511 of 1905.<sup>21</sup> See n. 4, p. 305 below.



others. Hence to draw a list of all the places in favour of which the remission was made, a comparative study of all the copies is essential. Here the four complete copies have been closely compared for being edited while the others have been referred to wherever necessary. The full list obtained is given further down.

The inscription is of more than ordinary interest to the student of Vijayanagara history. Firstly, it gives a detailed list of the conquests of Krishṇadēvarāya in the Telugu country up to the date of the record though it does not state the dates of the different campaigns and conquests. Secondly, on account of the use made of this record by H. Krishna Sastri, it has a bearing on the identification of "Catur" of Nuniz, a difficult problem for which no satisfactory solution has been offered so far. Lastly it gives us some idea of a few of the taxes and the revenue administration in the empire.

The campaigns of Krishṇadēvarāya against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa and his confederates which are briefly mentioned in this record have been dealt with in detail by H. Krishna Sastri<sup>1</sup> in the light of other inscriptions of the reign and the evidence drawn from contemporary literature, and there is no need, therefore, to consider them at any length here. There is, however, one point on which the opinion tentatively expressed by Krishna Sastri seems to be open to further consideration. This relates to the expedition against Catur mentioned by Nuniz and the location of that place. Some inscriptions of Krishṇadēvarāya's reign, like the one now edited, trace the course of the king's northern campaign up to Simhāchalam and Poṭṭunūru, where he planted a pillar of victory. Telugu works of the reign seem to extend the range of the campaign. "From the *Pārijātāpaharanamu* and other Telugu works, however," says Krishna Sastri, "we learn that Krishṇarāya did not stop with the setting up of the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru, but went further north, even into the interior of the Gajapati's dominions, devastated the country of Oḍḍādi and burnt his capital town of Kaṭaka (*i.e.*, Cuttack) thus forcing the Gajapati to make peace by offering the hand of one of his daughters". He then points out that we have no epigraphical evidence enabling us to decide if this raid into Oḍḍādi took place in continuation of the campaign commemorated by the pillar of victory at Poṭṭunūru or occurred later as part of another campaign, and proceeds: "This much, at any rate, becomes certain from the Simhāchalam records, *viz.*, that Krishṇarāya was at Simhādri at the beginning of Śaka 1438, and that in Śaka 1441 he made over to the temple at Simhāchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishṇarāya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present. Nevertheless there appears to be a clue to some historical event—not yet discovered—in the conquest of Catur which is mentioned by Nuniz next, perhaps, in chronological order, after making peace with the king of Orya. The name Catur cannot be traced either in epigraphical records or in Telugu literature. Nor is Nuniz himself very clear in his statements about this place and the expedition against it. He says that Catur is situated on the *Charnādel side* and that it is surrounded by a river which at the time of Krishṇarāya's capture was in flood. Besides, the account does not state against whom the attack was directed; nor does it disclose any proper names that could lead to the identification of Catur. Sewell thinks that there is in this a possible reference to Vellore. But as Telugu literature has so far been found to confirm the facts related in lithic records or registered by Nuniz, it may not be altogether improbable to suppose that the 'Catur' of Nuniz is identical with Kaṭaka (Cuttack) mentioned in Telugu literature, and that Krishṇarāya, according to the latter authority, must have finally compelled

<sup>1</sup> *Annual Report, A. S. I., 1908-9, pp. 176-82.*

the Gajapati king to flee and burnt his capital before accepting from him the terms of peace and the hand of his daughter in marriage. . . . . Very likely Nuniz took 'Catur' to be situated in a country different from that of the Gajapati's and thought that the peace with Gajapati was concluded before Krishnarāya started against Catur".

It is true Nuniz's account of Krishnarāya's expedition against Catur is vague and leaves many things doubtful; but if any one fact emerges clearly from his account, it is that Catur was not in Orissa. For he begins his account of this expedition with the categorical statement: 'After Crisnarao had made peace, and had married the daughter of the king of Orya, and had restored to him his wife and land beyond the river, as has been mentioned above, he made ready a large army and prepared to attack Catur', and he also says: 'after the king returned from Orya he never went again thither'.<sup>1</sup> These statements show clearly that Nuniz was clear that the expedition against Catur had nothing whatever to do with the Orissa campaign. And it is not easy to accept the identity of Catur with Kataka.

Phonetically more plausible is the suggestion of Dr. N. Venkataramanayya that Catur should be sought in Kayattār in the Tinnevely District. The Pāṇḍyan ruler of Kayattār was, he thinks, besieged at Kāyal by Krishṇadēvarāya, and Nuniz's account of the siege of one of the principal cities where the lord of Catur was has reference to this. He points out that Krishnarāya is said to have conquered Ceylon in an inscription at Pirānmalai, and that some time between A.D. 1514 and A.D. 1522 the ruler of Quilon must have lost control of the eastern part of the Tinnevely District including the sea-coast, and Krishnarāya's expedition must have brought this about.<sup>2</sup> But apart from the inconclusive character of the evidence cited which does not seem quite to sustain the conclusion reached, one serious objection to this reconstruction lies in Nuniz's statement that the land of Catur 'is on the Charmāodel side'. The term Coromandel coast is generally applied to the coast between say Point Calimere and the Krishṇā river, and even if it be loosely extended a little more to the south, it is extremely doubtful if it could be made to cover the whole of the Eastern coast down to Cape Comorin, and if, further, a town so far inland as Kayattār which is at least 25 miles from the sea as the crow flies and much more by the road from Kāyal, can be said to be on the Coromandel side by an author who is using the expression from the standpoint of Vijayanagar.

The suggestion made by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar that Catur must be taken to be a variant of Kāḍavar<sup>3</sup> ignores the direct statement of Nuniz that Catur is a geographical name—'Catur, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years'. It is perhaps unnecessary to follow the further stages of the argument built upon such a slender hypothesis.

Now in the contemporary Dutch records of the beginning of the seventeenth century, there is frequent mention of a place called Katoer. This is described as a fortress within a mile of Pulicat. I draw my information not directly from the Dutch records to which I have no access, but from the excellent summaries of them provided by N. McLeod in his *De Oost-Indische Compagnie als Zeemogendheid in Azie* (2 vols., 1927). We first hear of the place in 1610 under the

<sup>1</sup> Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 320, 322.

<sup>2</sup> *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 447-52.

<sup>3</sup> *A yet remembered ruler of a long forgotten empire*, pp. 8-11. Dr. Aiyangar's statement that Nuniz's description of the capture of Catur 'is exactly the description that is given of the siege and capture of Śivanasamudram in the *Krishṇarājaviyayamu*' (p. 9) is not supported either by the text or by the summary of it in *Sources*, pp. 130-31. His other citations from literature, e.g., *Pārijātāpaharanamu* are not more helpful. The *Koṅṅudēśarājākta* contains a good account of the Ummattūr campaign, but it has no resemblance to Nuniz's account under reference.

name Anai-Kāṭṭūr on the river of Pulicat granted to the Dutch for purposes of trade by Obberāja, a captain of the Vellore army, *i.e.*, of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.<sup>1</sup> Again we find Singama-Naik entrenched in the same place at a distance of  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile from Geldria (the Dutch fort at Pulicat) on the 11th August 1625.<sup>2</sup> Passing over unimportant references to the place<sup>3</sup> we may note that in the civil war that was raging in 1632, Śrīraṅga, a nephew of the ruling king Veṅkaṭa II, sent an army of 3,000 men against the fort of Kāṭṭūr (within sight of Geldria) which was then in the hands of Timarāja, the chief of the rebellion.<sup>4</sup> We seem to have then in Kāṭṭūr ('Katoer' of the Dutch records) a fortified place located on a river and 'on the Coromandel side' which by its name, situation and historical associations seems to answer very well to Nuniz's Catur. A reference to the survey map sheet No. 66 C/SW (D-2) (scale 1 inch=2 miles) will show that Kāṭṭūr is situated in the midst of swampy and difficult country and besides the river already mentioned, there is also a tank and other waterways, all likely to be flooded easily in the rainy season.

It may be noted that Nuniz counts Paleacate among the countries paying tribute to Vijayanagara under Dēvarāya II, that is, some time about 1440 A.D., and Sewell, after rightly identifying this place as Pulicat, near Madras, adds a note saying: 'This was an important province of Vijayanagar in later years'.<sup>5</sup> It seems probable that 'the lord who had been in revolt for fifty years' and in whose land Catur lay, was the lord of this province. The words of Nuniz as rendered by Sewell are: Crisnarao "prepared to attack Catur, which is the land of a lord who had been in revolt for fifty years; this land is on the Charmāodel side. And he went against it, and laid siege to one of the principal cities where the lord of the land was; and it is called . . . . . and is surrounded with water".<sup>6</sup> The last sentence and the blank in it do seem to create a difficulty; but the categorical statement at the beginning that the king prepared to attack Catur may well be taken to mean that this was the 'principal city' in his land where the rebel lord was at the time of Kṛishṇarāya's war.

Referring to the grant now being edited, Krishna Sastri has observed: 'The choice of the bank of the river Kṛishṇā for making a grant in favour of the temples of Chōḷa-maṇḍala in the south, cannot be reasonably explained except by supposing that Kṛishṇarāya was about this time, *viz.*, the end of Śaka 1439, again on his march for a second time to the Kāliṅga country against 'Catur', which, as noted above, is very probably Cuttack'.<sup>7</sup> Two considerations may be urged against this view. First, there is the categorical statement of Nuniz cited already, that after Kṛishṇarāya returned from the expedition to Orissa which resulted in his marriage with the Gajapati's daughter, he did not go back to Orissa. Secondly, there is a definite statement in an inscription<sup>8</sup> dated Śaka 1438 that Kṛishṇarāya had already accomplished the conquest of the Kāliṅga country as far north as Kāṭaka, which sufficiently accounts for the literary evidence cited by Krishna Sastri without the necessity for postulating another Orissa campaign in Śaka 1439.

We do not know the particular reason for which Bezwada was chosen as the scene of this comprehensive grant to the numerous temples of the Tamiḷ country. But we know that in the preceding year (Dhātṛi),<sup>9</sup> the monarch had attended the *mahāmakham* festival in Kumbhakōṇam

<sup>1</sup> McLeod, i, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, i, pp. 487 and 492; ii, pp. 171, 179.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, p. 13.

<sup>5</sup> *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 302.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 321.

<sup>7</sup> *Annual Report, A. S. I.*, 1908-9, p. 192.

<sup>8</sup> No. 824 of 1922. See also pp. 177-81 of *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, by Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, who accepts the identity of Catur with Cuttack.

<sup>9</sup> No. 493 of 1907, the Śaka date 1440 must be wrong.

and utilised the occasion for making an extensive tour to the various shrines in the south. The most detailed account of this tour is furnished by the *Rāyavāchakamu*.<sup>1</sup> Evidently, after his return to home country, he wanted to commemorate in some striking manner the pilgrimage he had just concluded. The administrative consultations necessary before the monarch's idea could be implemented must have taken some months as in all probability the local officers in charge of the different parts of the Tamil land had to be consulted. When the final decision had been taken, the monarch must have chosen a suitable place and occasion for making the actual proclamation of his decision. The time chosen was Makara-saṅkrānti of the Śvara year, and the visit to the Kṛṣṇā river and the shrines of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḍavilli and Mallikārjuna of Bezwada on such an occasion is easily understood. The date of the record corresponds to 28th December, A.D. 1517.

It is possible that Kṛṣṇarāya's presence at Bezwada was connected with one of the numerous campaigns of the reign fought against the Sultān of Golconda, Kuli Kutb Shāh. Late in his life the Sultān boasted of having reduced the infidels of Telingana from the borders of Warangal to Masulipatam and Rājahmundry, having taken between sixty and seventy forts by force of arms.\* The anonymous historian who has recorded this fact also mentions a war directed by Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself after the capture of Dēvarakonda by Kuli Kutb Shāh.<sup>3</sup> The date of the particular campaign cannot be determined with precision, and the anonymous historian does not give any date. But once more, it is possible that this campaign is identical with that mentioned by Nuniz as having occurred after Kṛṣṇarāya's capture of Catuir, and having been directed against a Muslim captain most probably of the army of Kuli Kutb Shāh of Golconda.<sup>4</sup> If these suggestions are accepted, the presence of Kṛṣṇarāya at Bezwada receives a simple and natural explanation as being connected with the regular course of the military campaigns of the reign.

The taxes that were remitted in favour of the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of the Chōlamanḍalam were *Jōḍi*, *Sūlavari*, *Nilavali* (*Nilavari*), *Araṣupēru*, and other taxes (*piṇṇavari*).<sup>5</sup> These taxes were due to the king (palace) from the temples themselves (l. 30). All these taxes are not mentioned in all the copies of the inscription. It is difficult to specify the exact nature of all of them, but the following suggestions may be made: *Jōḍi* is explained by Wilson as a favourable quit rent on *inām* lands.<sup>6</sup> It is also the name of a tenure under which a person reclaims a certain portion of waste land, settles on it, and pays half or quarter of the gross value of the produce to the Government.<sup>7</sup> In the Vijayanagar epigraphs it is found used generally in the former sense, and was in many respects similar to the *mānyakāṇike* which the holders of *inām* lands like Brāhmins and Fakirs paid to the State.<sup>8</sup> Thus *Jōḍi* was a small quit rent, paid by the temples, on their *inām* lands. The rate is unknown.

*Sūlavari* is more difficult to explain. One of the meanings given under the word *Sūlam* in the *Tamil Lexicon* is: 'Brand-mark on cattle, usually trident-shaped'. No authority is cited in the *Lexicon*, but the meaning suits the context of our inscription very well and seems to show that

<sup>1</sup> *Sources of Vijayanagar History*. (Madras University Historical Series, I), pp. 125-9.

<sup>2</sup> Briggs: *Frishta* (Cambray & Co., 1910), iii, pp. 352-3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 355-6. I owe this reference to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

<sup>4</sup> *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 322.

<sup>5</sup> No. 288 of 1903.

<sup>6</sup> H. H. Wilson: *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue terms*, p. 214, col. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Narasinga Rao: *A Kisamwār Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 91, cited by Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagar Empire*, ii, p. 440.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, pp. 229-30.

the *Sūlavari* was perhaps a small tax or fee paid on the cattle belonging to the temples, each head of cattle being branded at the time of registration in the nearest public office.

*Nilavali* seems to be only a variant of the usual *Nilavari* land tax, levied on lands which were not *ināms*, but held in ordinary tenure by the temples concerned.

*Araśupēru* is another difficult term. Wilson<sup>1</sup> notes that *Araśu* means 'privileges allowed for watching', and '*Araśukkāran*'—'a person holding certain privileges for performing police duty'. '*Pēru*' is an abstract noun from Tamil *perudal*, 'to get', and means 'receipts'. *Araśupēru* then may be taken to stand for the fee collected by the State for the performance of police duties and the maintenance of security. This was perhaps different from the wages of the village watchmen. It must have been a levy by the central government for our inscription contains the specific statement that all the dues remitted by this grant were due to the palace, i.e. to the king—*araśmanaiḱku iruttuvaruḱiḱa* (l. 30); or *araśmanai kaṅakkil paḱindu varuḱiḱa* (No. 288 of 1903).

The proclamation was not given effect to even so late as in 1521 which is mentioned in an epigraph dated Śaka 1443, Vikrama, Mithuna, ba. Tṛitīyā, Friday, Tiruvōṅam. It states that one Kariya Māṅikya Bhaṭṭar Āpatsahāyar waited on Kṛishṇadēvarāya at Vijayanagara and got ratification of the order of the remission of *Jōḱi* and *Sūlavari* on certain villages which had been remitted already in favour of the temple at Tirukkaḱaiyūr, but was not given effect to till then.<sup>2</sup>

The Śēdamangalam copy of the epigraph describes the boundaries of the Chōḷamaṅḱalam, the Śiva and Viṣṇu temples in which were benefited by the remission.<sup>3</sup> Chōḷamaṅḱalam comprised the region south of the Gaḱilam, west of the sea, north of the Vellāru (south) and east of the wall at Kōṭṭaikkarai.<sup>4</sup> This copy also says that the beneficiaries of the grant were in the heart of the Chōḷa country.

According to the epigraph the region was divided into three districts or *śimais*. They are the Iraṅḱāruppaṅḱu Bhuvanēkavīran(Bhuvanagiri)paṭṭana-chchīrmai, Taṅjāvūrpaṭṭana-chchīrmai and Tiruchchināppaḱi-chīrmai. In the Vijayanagara days a *śimai* was a smaller division than a *rāḱya*, and its exact relation to the more ancient *kōṭṭam* or *nāḱu* is difficult to find, though it seems probable that the *śimai* was a larger division than the *nāḱu* or *kōṭṭam*. The Bhuvanagiri-paṭṭana-chchīrmai covered the northern part of the Chōḷamaṅḱalam, with its headquarters at Bhuvanagiri, a big village on the northern bank of the Vellāru (north) in the Chidambaram taluk. There is to be found at the place even in the present day a fort in a fairly good condition. It appears to derive its name from Bhuvanaikavira, a title borne by two Pāṅḱyan kings, Māṅavarman Kuḱaśēkhara I and Māṅavarman Vikrama Pāṅḱya,<sup>5</sup> who were contemporaries in the latter part of the thirteenth century A.D. The region is called in the epigraph as Iraṅḱāruppaṅḱu Bhuvanaikavīrapaṭṭana, perhaps on account of the fact that it was bounded by two rivers, the Gaḱilam and the Vellāru. Taṅjāvūrpaṭṭana-chchīrmai is probably all the territory covered by the present Tanjore and had its headquarters at Taṅjāvūr. To the west of this was the Tiruchchirāpaḱi-chīrmai with its headquarters at Trichinopoly.

While almost all the copies mention the above three divisions, a few mention some others. They are Rāśāsura-chchīrmai, mentioned before Taṅjāvūr-chīrmai,<sup>6</sup> Vīramaḱakku-chchīrmai

<sup>1</sup> *Glossary*, p. 31, col. 1.

<sup>2</sup> No. 246 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>4</sup> There is a verse in Tamil which gives practically the same traditional boundaries substituting for Gaḱilam the Northern Vellār which enters the sea near Porto Novo. See *The Cōḷas*, i, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> *The Pāṅḱyan Kingdom*, pp. 186, 189-90.

<sup>6</sup> No. 511 of 1905; Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

and Perambūr-chīrmai and Kuḷittaṇḍanai-chīrmai, mentioned after Tiruchchirāpaḷḷi-chīrmai.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify all of them. Perambūr-chīrmai is perhaps the territory covered by parts of the Perambalūr taluk, and the Kuḷittaṇḍanai-chīrmai that covered by the modern Kuḷittalai taluk both of the Trichinopoly District.

We have a list of a large number of places in favour of which the remission was made ; and arranged by taluks they are the following :—

Kāpāttāmpuḷḷūr . . . . .	Chidambaram taluk.	S. Arcot District.
Mannārkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Nāraiyyūr (Tirunāraiyyūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchonnapuram (now Tiruchchinnapuram) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumuṭṭam (now Śrīmushṭam) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Uḍaiyārkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumānikkūḷi . . . . .	Cuddalore taluk.	Ditto.
Tirappādirippuliyūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruttipainagar . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvantirapuram . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tyāgavalli . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śēndavaṇmaṅgalam . . . . .	Tiṇḍivanam taluk.	Ditto.
Iraivānāsūr . . . . .	Tirukkōyilūr taluk.	Ditto.
Tirunāmanallūr (Tirunāvallūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunārūkoṇḍai (now Tirunirākoṇḍai) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tittākuḍi . . . . .	Vriḍdhāchalam taluk.	Ditto.
Pennāgaḍam . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kuruchchi . . . . .	Kumbakonam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Pandaṇanallūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Śirukuḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Sūryadēvanāyaṅkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkōḍikā (now Tirukkōḍikāval) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirundutēvaṅkuḍi (Tiruttēvaṅkuḍi) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumaṅgalakkūḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppanandāḷ . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvelḷiyāṅkuḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruveṅṅagar (now Uppiliyappaṅkōyil) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvialūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vaigal . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Agajaṅṅa . . . . .	Māyavaram taluk.	Ditto.
Ākkūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Ḥaḍḍārakkūḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Ḥuppappattu . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Irāśūrāmapālayam (now Irāśāsūryanpētṭai) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Korukkai . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kurrālam . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Paḷuvūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Pariyalūr (Tiruppariyalūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Perumḷai . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talaichchaṅḍu . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Talaivāya . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyāḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkōḍaiyūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunāpaḷḷi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāḷundūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāḷiputtūr (Tiruvāṅputtūr) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.

Tirukkoṅḍiśvaram . . . . .	Naanilam taluk.	Tanjore District.
Tirumarugaḷ . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumēchchūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppattūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppugaḷūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvāñchiyam (now Śrīvāñchiyam) . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Virkūḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tēvūr . . . . .	Negapatam taluk.	Ditto.
Nallūr . . . . .	Pāpānēṣam taluk.	Ditto.
Āchchāpuram . . . . .	Shiyāli taluk.	Ditto.
Śrāmaviṅṅgar . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tāḍanañkōyil . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkuraiyaḷūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirthanagari . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunagari . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirunāngūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppuṅgūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Chandralekai (Sendalai) . . . . .	Tanjore taluk.	Ditto.
Tañchāvūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirumaḷipāḍi . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruppunturutti . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruvaiyāru . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tirukkāṭṭupalli . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Vallam . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Kaṅṅanūr . . . . .	Musiri taluk.	Trichinopoly District.
Āṇḍārkōyil . . . . .	Trichinopoly taluk.	Ditto.
Tiruppalātturai . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tiruchchirāpalli . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Gaṅgaikoṅḍachōlapuram (Gaṅgaikoṅḍam) . . . . .	Uḍaiyārpālayam taluk.	Ditto.
Peḷuvūr . . . . .	Ditto.	Ditto.
Tillaiyālivittam . . . . .	(not identifiable.)	

## TEXT.

- 1 Śubham=astu<sup>1</sup> | śrī-Gaṅḍāti<sup>2</sup>patayē namaḥ | Namas=tuṅga-[śi]-  
 2 raś-chumpi<sup>3</sup>ta<sup>4</sup>-chantira<sup>5</sup>-chāmara-[chāravē\*] trailōkya-nakar<sup>6</sup>-ā[ra\*]mpa<sup>7</sup>-mula<sup>8</sup>-  
 3 stampāya<sup>9</sup> Śampuvē<sup>10</sup>[|\*] Śubham=astu | Svasti Śrī Vijayāt-  
 4 bhuta<sup>11</sup>-Śāli[vāna\*]na-śa [ka\*]-varusham 1439<sup>12</sup> mēl-chchel-  
 5 lāniḡṅṅa I]śvara samva[tsa\*]rattu Pushya<sup>13</sup> śpaya<sup>14</sup> Paurṅamaināḷ[nāḷ]<sup>15</sup> śrī[ma]-  
 6 n-mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara hariya(ari)rāya-vibhātan<sup>16</sup> bhā-

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 omit this.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Gaṅḍāti*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *-chumbi*.

<sup>4</sup> Here *ta* is superfluous; it is, however, found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 also.

<sup>5</sup> Read *chandra*-. In Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925 it is *chantra*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *-nagar*-.

<sup>7</sup> Read *\*mbha*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *-mūla*-.

<sup>9</sup> Read *stambhāya*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *Śambhavē*. In No. 226 of 1925 it is *\*bhuvē*.

<sup>11</sup> The same reading is found in Nos. 167 and 226 of 1925; in No. 225 of 1925 it is *\*bhutaya*. The usual form is *Vijayābhūdaya*.

<sup>12</sup> Śaka 1409 in No. 235 of 1917, a mistake for Śaka 1439.

<sup>13</sup> No. 74 of 1903 and No. 80 of 1911 give *Māgha*.

<sup>14</sup> Probably stands for *śuddha*; clearly given in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 214 of 1926 the reading is *Pushyamāsattu pūrvapakṣhattu*.

<sup>15</sup> *Paurṅami nāḷ* in No. 226 of 1925, and *nāḷ* in No. 235 of 1925. *Paurṅamiyānmēl* in No. 235 of 1917, and *\*yilē* in No. 214 of 1926.

<sup>16</sup> In No. 167 of 1925 it is *ariyārāya-vibhāḷa*, while in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 it is *vibhātan*.

7 shaikku-ttappuva-rāyar<sup>1</sup>-gaṇḍa<sup>2</sup> Yavaṇarāsa<sup>3</sup>-sthāpanāchāriya<sup>4</sup> Pratā-  
 8 parudra-Geja<sup>5</sup>pati-saptāṅga-haraṇa śrī-Virapradāpa<sup>6</sup> śrī-Vira-Kṛishṇadēvarāya-ma-  
 9 hārāyar Śōlamapḍalattu Viṣṇusthānam<sup>7</sup> Śivasthānam mudalāna  
 10 dēvasthānaṅgaḷukku śōḍi arasūpēru<sup>8</sup> śaravam<sup>9</sup>[ā]nyam-āga viṭṭa taṅ-  
 11 ma<sup>10</sup>-sātana irāyasam śrī(nā)<sup>11</sup>mum Vijayanagara<sup>12</sup>-ppaṭṭanattil<sup>13</sup> irundu pūruva-<sup>14</sup>  
 12 dikku visai[ya\*]-yātrai āga puṛappaṭṭu Udaiyagiri-ttuṅkamum sādichchu<sup>15</sup> Tirumalai  
 13 Irāguttama<sup>16</sup>-rāyanaiyum piḍittu koṇḍu Viṅṅikoṇḍai<sup>17</sup> Nāgār-  
 14 reṇṅikoṇḍai<sup>18</sup> Vellamukoṇḍa<sup>19</sup> Koṇḍaviḍu Koṇḍa\*[ppa]ḷi<sup>20</sup> Irāsa-  
 15 mavēntiṭṭapuram<sup>21</sup> mudalāgiya du[rga]ṅgaḷuṅ-gaṭṭikkoṇḍu<sup>22</sup> Pratāparutti[ra\*] Geśa-  
 pati<sup>23</sup>  
 16 kumāran Virabhadrasēṇaṅ<sup>24</sup> Geśapati<sup>25</sup> Pratānapūpati<sup>26</sup> Prakaḷāṭaṅ<sup>27</sup> Śiraḥchantiṭṭaṅ<sup>28</sup>  
 Malluk-Kān<sup>29</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reading is *tappurāya* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>2</sup> The reading is *rāyaraḡaṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is *rāya* in Nos. 74 of 1903, 125 of 1904 and 80 of 1911.

<sup>4</sup> In a few other copies Kṛishṇarāya takes two more titles. In Nos. 235 of 1917 and 214 of 1926 is found the title *mūvarāyaraḡaṇḍa*; in No. 511 of 1905 are found the titles *mūvarāyaraḡaṇḍa* and *aḡḡadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara*, while in Nos. 74 and 288 of 1903, 89 of 1911, 210 of 1917, 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 are found the titles *aḡḡadikkurāya-manō-bhayaṅkara* and *mūvarāyaraḡaṇḍa*.

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

<sup>6</sup> Same in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925; read *pratāpa*.

<sup>7</sup> Viṣṇu temples alone are mentioned in No. 381 of 1908.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 288 of 1903 the taxes are said to be *jōḡiḡaḡ śūlavari nilavaḡi arasūpēru maḡḡum pala piṛa-varigaḡum*. No. 511 of 1905 reads: *śōḡi śūlavari arasūpēru piṛavari uḡḡāna yellām*. In No. 355 of 1907 only *jōḡi* and *śūlavari* are legible. No. 235 of 1917 mentions *śōḡiyaḡ, nilavaḡi* and *arasūpēru* while No. 214 of 1926 has *śōḡi, śūlavari* and *arasūpēru*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *sarva*.

<sup>10</sup> No. 74 of 1903 reads: *viḡḡupālitta arāḡiṇa dharmma-kāsana rāyasam*; 125 of 1904 *sarvam ānyam-āga-ppā. jitta dharmma*, 511 of 1905 *āga tiru ulamparriṇa tanma*, 80 of 1911 *viḡḡachchittēti pālitta dharmma*. In Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925 we have the word *dharmma-sādhana-rāyasam* in Grantha.

<sup>11</sup> No. 226 of 1925 reads *nāmum*.

<sup>12</sup> The letter *ṅ* is superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> *Ppaṭṭanattilē* in No. 226 of 1925 and *ppaṭṭanatt-irundu* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Read *pūruva*.

<sup>15</sup> The reading is *yātraiyāga śōḡēti Udaiyagiri-durḡgamum sādhitu* in No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>16</sup> No *ma* in 167 of 1925.

<sup>17</sup> The reading is *Vinikoṇḍa* in Nos. 167 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>18</sup> Read *Nāgārjunakoṇḍai*; *koṇḍa* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>19</sup> *Vellamakoṇḍa* in No. 167 of 1925 where *Vella* is repeated but the subsequent words are missing.

<sup>20</sup> *Tondappaḷi* in No. 235 of 1917.

<sup>21</sup> Read: *mahēndrapuram*.

<sup>22</sup> *Sādhitu vāḡgikkoṇḍu* in No. 74 of 1903; *vāḡgikkoṇḍu* in Nos. 511 of 1905 and 80 of 1911 and [*sādhi*] *tu-kkōḡi-koṇḍu* in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Read *Gajapati*.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps stands for *sēṇaiyūm* as in No. 511 of 1905: *joḡaṅ* in No. 226 of 1925 and *joḡaṅa* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Read *Gajapati*.

<sup>26</sup> Read *pradhānabhūpati*.

<sup>27</sup> *Prakaḷāṭan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>28</sup> Read *Śiraśchandraṅ* as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>29</sup> *Kānan* in Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925, while in No. 235 of 1917 it ends with *Kānan*, and in No. 511 of 1905 with *Kāṇu*.



- 17 Uttapaḍakāṇa<sup>1</sup> mudalāna pāttiṛa<sup>2</sup>-śāmantargaḷaiyūm śivikkīṛamamāga<sup>3</sup>=ppidittukkoṅ-  
 18 ḍu Prataḇaparuttira Geśa(Gaja)patiyaiyūm muṛayakkutti<sup>4</sup> Śiṅgāttirikkū<sup>5</sup> eḷundaruḷi  
 Poṭṭaṇūril  
 19 jayastampa(bha)mum niṛi(ru)tti<sup>6</sup> Śōḷamaṇḍalam<sup>7</sup> dēvastānam<sup>8</sup> Tiruchchirāpalli<sup>9</sup>  
 Śantalagai<sup>10</sup> Tirukkā-  
 20 ṭṭuppaḷli Tirunagira<sup>11</sup> Tirunāṅgūr T[ī\*]ruveḷundūr<sup>12</sup> Tēvūr Tiruveṇṇagar<sup>13</sup> Aḷaḷaṅṅaṅ  
 21 Tiruvantirapuram<sup>14</sup> Tirumāṇikuḷi<sup>15</sup> Tirupattūr<sup>16</sup> Vaiygal Tirumuṭṭam Tiruppādiripuli-  
 22 yūr Tiruttiṇṇainagar Iṇṇivānāsūr<sup>17</sup> Śēndavaṇṇamaṅgalam Tirunāvallūr Tiṭṭaikūḍi<sup>18</sup>  
 Tirunā-  
 23 raiyūr<sup>19</sup> Kāṇāṭṭampullūr<sup>20</sup> Tiyaḷavalli<sup>21</sup> Śīrāmaṇṇagar Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi Pan-  
 24 ḍaṇanallūr<sup>22</sup> Talaichohaṅḡaḍu<sup>23</sup> Kuṛuchchi<sup>24</sup> Tiruppuṅgūr Koṛukkai<sup>25</sup> Talaināya[ka]ṇ<sup>26</sup>  
 25 Tirumaṅgalakkūḍi Tiruvisālūr Tirutēvaṅkuḍi<sup>27</sup> Sūriyaḍēvanayaṅārkkōyil<sup>27</sup> Ti-

<sup>1</sup> Read *Uddāṇḍa*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *pātra*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *jivagrāhamāga, jivagrāhamāga* in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> In No. 511 of 1905 it is *muṛiyaveṭṭi*.

<sup>5</sup> i. e. *Siṅgādrikkū* as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is *pōḍuvittu* in Nos. 74 of 1903 and 80 of 1911, and *akāpittu* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>7</sup> *Śōḷamaṇḍala-naḍuvil* in No. 74 of 1903.

<sup>8</sup> In No. 125 of 1904 the word *Tiruttiṇṇainagar* follows the word *dēvastānam*.

<sup>9</sup> No. 511 of 1905 has the following:—*Tiruchchillōḷp[alli]-chchimai vaḍagarai Irṭṭarḍja-vaḷandīṭṭu Maḷandīṭṭu Pāchchikkūṛuttu kī Pālāṛru-kKannanūr nḍyaṅār Pōḷāṭṭivaramuḍaiya-nḍyaṅār kōyil kōḍi tōḷavari piṇṇavari araiṇ-  
 pēru uṇṇaḍavum Tirumaḷapādi Vallam Taṅjāvūr Tiruppuṇḍurutti Tiruvaiyāṛu Tiruvaḷundūr Irṭṭarḍmaḷpōḷayam  
 Tiruvāṅṇiyam Tiruppuḷalūr Paḷuvūr Paḍḍānanallūr Tiruppuṇḍainḍāḷ Tirunagari Tirunāṅgūr Tāḍḍāṅkōyil Śiḷḷāḷi  
 mudalāna Irāḍḍāṅṇarṇu-śīrmai, etc. No. 288 of 1903 has *Tiruchchirāpalli vāḷvādi teṅkarai Irṭṭajagambhira-vaḷa-  
 nāḍu Tirupparāḷḷuṇṇai mudalāḷiya Śōḷamaṇḍalattu irāḍḍu...ppōṛṇu-śīrmai-ōna Kirippōḷṇaḷṇattu śīrmai Rada-  
 vuttu śīrmai Taṅjāvūr śīrmai pattu mudalāna Viṣṇuśīkānam Śivasthānam, etc.**

<sup>10</sup> Read *Chandralakkai*.

<sup>11</sup> No. 167 of 1925 reads *Tirunagari* clearly.

<sup>12</sup> Followed by *Tiruppariyalūr* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>13</sup> No. 355 of 1907 reads *Rāśēntiraviṇṇagar*.

<sup>14</sup> *Tiruvaiyāṇṇapuram* in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 226 of 1925.

<sup>15</sup> *Tirumāṇikuḍi* in Nos. 235 of 1917 and 226 and 235 of 1925. In No. 125 of 1904 this precedes *Tiruvan-  
 tirapuram*.

<sup>16</sup> *Tiruppuḷalūr* in Nos. 210 and 235 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>17</sup> Before this two other places are found in No. 125 of 1904, viz., *Koṛukkai, Tiyaḷavalli*.

<sup>18</sup> Before *Tiṭṭaikūḍi* we have: *Tiruna[ṛu]ṅḡoḍai* and *Tirukkōḍiḷā* in No. 125 of 1904; in No. 226 of 1925  
 it is *Tiṭṭaikūḍi*. After *Tiṭṭaikūḍi* we have *Peṇṇḍaḍam* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>19</sup> *Tirunāyūr* in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>20</sup> *Uḍaiyārkkōyil, Maṇḍārkkōyil* and *Tiruchōṇṇapuram* before *Kāṇḍṭumullūr* in No. 125 of 1904; *Kāṇḍṭam-  
 pullūr* in Nos. 210 of 1907 and 226 of 1925. *Kāṇḍṭupullūr* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>21</sup> Mentioned earlier in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>22</sup> *Kāṇḍṭumullūr* is followed by *Pandānanallūr, Aḷchchāpuram* and *Kuṛuchchi* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>23</sup> Mentioned after *Tiruveḷḷiyaṅguḍi* in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>24</sup> *Kuṛichchi* in Nos. 167 of 1925, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> *Talaināyāṅgam* in No. 125 of 1904, *Talaināyākaṅ* in No. 235 of 1917, *Talaināyar* in No. 226 of 1925 and  
*Talaināyaṅ* in 235 of 1925.

<sup>26</sup> *Tirundudēvaṅkuḍi* in Nos. 355 of 1907, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>27</sup> *Sūriyaḍēvaṅār-kōyil* in No. 355 of 1907; *Sūriyaḍēvaṅāyāṇṇār* in No. 235 of 1917 and *Sūriyaṅāyāṇṇār*  
 in No. 235 of 1925.

- 26 rukkōdikā Kurrālam Śīrukuḍi<sup>1</sup> Tirukkuraiyaḷūr Viṟkuḍi Āchchāpuram<sup>2</sup> Tiruvāḷiput-  
 27 tūr<sup>3</sup> Nallūr Āṇḍārkōyil Geṅgaikoṇḍam<sup>4</sup> Tirumēchchūr<sup>5</sup> Tirunaṇipalḷi<sup>6</sup>  
 28 mudalāgiya Chōḷamaṇḍalattu yiraṇḍārupparṟu Buvanēkaviraṇpaṭṭaṇa-śirmai<sup>7</sup>  
 29 Taṅjāvūrpaṭṭaṇa-chchīṇ(r)mai<sup>8</sup> Tiruchchirāpelli-chīṇ(r)mai- uṭ[pa\*]ṭṭa<sup>9</sup> Śivatānam<sup>10</sup> Viśh-  
 30 ṭṭinatāṇam<sup>11</sup> mudalāgiya dēvattāṇaṅgaḷi<sup>12</sup> pūruva-mudalāgiya<sup>13</sup> varaimaṇai<sup>14</sup> iṟut-  
 31 tu-varugiṟa<sup>15</sup> śōḍi<sup>16</sup> araśupēru<sup>17</sup> patināyira varāṅṅaṇ inḍa varāṅṅaṇ patināyiramum  
 an-  
 32 danda dēvatānamkaḷukkum<sup>18</sup> makara-śaṅkiṟānti puṇṇiya-kālattilē Kiviṭṭiṇavēṇi<sup>19</sup>  
 33 tirattilē Uṇḍavilli<sup>20</sup> Aṇantaśāyi śaṇṇatiyūm<sup>21</sup> Geśavāḍai<sup>22</sup> Mallukāchchinadēvar<sup>23</sup>  
 śaṇ-  
 34 ṇaiyilum<sup>24</sup> āga-ttārāpūruvamāga<sup>25</sup> chcharuvamāṇiyammāga viṭṭu tanma-śādapa  
 yirāyatamum<sup>26</sup>  
 35 pālittōm yinda yirāyida<sup>27</sup> piramāṇattilē ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷi<sup>28</sup>  
 36 śilā-śādanamum<sup>29</sup> paṇṇi ellā-ttēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum<sup>30</sup> pūśai<sup>31</sup> punarākāram<sup>32</sup> aṅga-  
 raṅga.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śīrukuḍi in No. 210 of 1917.

<sup>2</sup> This is followed by another Viṟkuḍi in Nos. 210 of 1917, 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> Tiruvāḷiputtūr in No. 210 of 1917; Tiruvāḷiputtūr in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> Geṅgaikoṇḍaiśōḷapuram in No. 125 of 1904.

<sup>5</sup> Tirumiyāchchūr in No. 125 of 1904. The list stops with this in it and No. 355 of 1907.

<sup>6</sup> This place is not mentioned in the other copies. But No. 210 of 1917 adds Perumūḷai; No. 167 of 1925 Paṇiyāl, No. 226 of 1925 Ākkār; and 235 of 1925 Tillaiyāḷivittam and Iṅgāṟikuḍi. 74. of 1903 has: *chōḷamaṇḍala naduvil maṇḍalam Śēndavanmaṇḍalam uḍaiyār Avattukkāttaruṭṭiyanayīṇār tirunāmattukkāni Kīṇaimāṇār Mēlaimāṇār Naṅ[naṇ]ma-miṭṭuragaṇḍanallār Kamban maṇṇum ulpaṭṭa dēya-śhānaṅgaḷ Iṟavānaraiśūr ulpaṭṭa Śivatānam Viśhvaśhānaṅgaḷilē pūruva mudalāga araimaṇai<sup>14</sup> iṟuttuvarugiṟa jōḍi poṇ padināyiramum.*

<sup>7</sup> *Chōḷamaṇḍala* in No. 226 of 1925; *Pongiripaṭṭanachchīrmai* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>8</sup> *Rā[ra\*]rā[ra\*]rura-śirmai* mentioned before Taṅjāvūr in No. 226 of 1925; *mudalāgiya* after it in Nos. 22 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>9</sup> *Chīrmai utpaḍa* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Read °śhānam.

<sup>11</sup> Read: *Viśhvaśhānam*; *Viśhvaśhānam* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>12</sup> Read: *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷi*.

<sup>13</sup> Read: *pūruva mudalāgiya*. *Pūruva mudalāga* in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Read: *araimaṇai* as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>15</sup> *araimaṇai [kaṇ]kkil padināyiramum* in No. 226 of 1903.

<sup>16</sup> Nos. 167, 226 and 235 of 1925 mention only this tax.

<sup>17</sup> *Paṭṭapuram* is found in No. 355 of 1907.

<sup>18</sup> Read: *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum*; *m* is superfluous; *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷi kaḷittu* in No. 80 of 1911.

<sup>19</sup> Read: *Kriśṇavēṇi*; *Kiṟṭṭavēṇi* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>20</sup> *Uṇḍai* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>21</sup> Should be °ṇiyilum.

<sup>22</sup> *Geśavāḍai* in No. 226 of 1925; *Deśavāḍai* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>23</sup> Read: *Mallikārjunadēvar*; *Mallikārjunadēvar* in No. 226 of 1925, and *Mallukāchchinadēvar* in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>24</sup> Reading is *śannaiyilum* in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>25</sup> Reading is *dhārāpūruvamāga* in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>26</sup> Read: *dharmasādhana rāyasamum* as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>27</sup> Read: *rāyas*.

<sup>28</sup> Read: *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷilum*.

<sup>29</sup> Read: *śādanamum*.

<sup>30</sup> Read: *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷukkum*; *dēvattā* in No. 226 of 1925; *dēvattāṇaṅgaḷilum* in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>31</sup> Read: *pūśai*.

<sup>32</sup> Reading is *punakāraṅgaḷu[m]* in No. 167 of 1925.

<sup>33</sup> This precedes *pūśai* in No. 167 of 1925.

37 vaiy(vai)bōgam tiruppaniḡalum ā-chandirāttiyātāyuvāga<sup>1</sup> śānan[ga]māga<sup>2</sup> naḡattik-  
koṇḡu<sup>3</sup> su-  
38 ga<sup>4</sup>ttilē yirukkavum [||\*] yinta tanmattukku<sup>5</sup> yiyā<sup>6</sup>doruttar ayitam<sup>7</sup> paṇṇimavarga! \*  
taṅga!  
39 taṅga!<sup>9</sup> m[ā\*]tā-pitāvaiyur. kō-pparāmaṇaraiyum<sup>10</sup> Vāruṇāsiyilē<sup>11</sup> koṇṇa pāvattilē<sup>12</sup>  
pō-  
40 ga-kkaḡavargaḡāḡavum 6. Svadattāt(d)=dvigunam punyam paradatt-ānupālanam | para-  
41 datt-āpahāreṇa svadatta[m\*] [ni]shphalam bhavēt<sup>13</sup> ||

## TRANSLATION.

Let there be prosperity. Obeisance to the blessed Gaṇādhīpati. Salutation to Śiva who is beautiful with the moon kissing his lofty head like the *chāmara* and who is the main pillar (the cause) of the creation of the city of the three worlds. Be it well! Hail! Prosperity! This is the royal order issued on the day of the full moon in the bright half of the month of Pushya of the year *Iśvara* which was current after the expiry of the prosperous and victorious year *Śālivāhana-Śaka 1439*, by the glorious *Mahārājādhirāja, Rājaparamēśvara*, the conqueror of hostile kings, the destroyer of those kings who break their word, the establisher of the kingdom of the Yavanas, the confiscator of the kingdom<sup>14</sup> of the Gajapati king Pratāpa-Rudra, the glorious *Vira-Krishṇadēvarāya-Mahārāya*, conveying the charitable edict to remit *jōḡi* and *araśupēru* as *sarvamānya* to the Śiva, Viṣṇu and other temples in the Chōḡa country. We (the king) started from Vijayanagara to the eastern region on a tour of conquest, took the fort of Udayagiri, captured Tirumalai Rāhuttarāya, took Vinikoṇḡai, Nāḡarjunakoṇḡai, Vellamukoṇḡa, Koṇḡaviḡu, Koṇḡapalli, Rājamahēndrapuram, and other forts, captured Virabhadrasēna Gajapati, son of Pratāparudra Gajapati, Pradhānabhūpati, Prahlātaṇ, Śirachchandraṇ, Mallu Khān, Uddaṇḡa Khān, and other feudatories as prisoners, and defeated and killed Pratāpa-Rudra Gajapati. We then went to Simhādri and set up a pillar of victory at Poṭṭanūru. On the auspicious day of the Makara-saṅkrānti on the banks of the river Krishṇavēṇi and in the presence of Anantaśāyin of Uṇḡavilli and Mallikārjunadēvar of Gajavāḡai. We issued with libation of water a royal order evidencing a *sarvamānya* grant to the respective Śiva and Viṣṇu temples of 10,000 *varāhans* being the contributions of *jōḡi* and *śūlavari* payable by them. The temples were those viz., of Tiruchchirāppalli, Śantalagai, Tirukkātṭuppalḡi, Tirunagari, Tirunāṅgūr, Tiruvaḡundūr Tēvūr, Tiruvenṇagar, Aḡaḡaṅgaṇ, Tiruvantiṇapuram, Tirumāṇikuḡi, Tirupattūr, Vaigal, Tirumuttam, Tiruppādiripuliyūr, Tiruttiṇainagar, Iṇṇivānāsūr, Sēndavaṇmaṅgaḡam, Tirunāvallūr, Tittāikuḡi, Tirunāḡaiyūr, Kāṇāṭṭampullūr, Tiyāḡavalli, Śirāmaṇṇagar, Tiruvelliyāṅgudi, Panda-

<sup>1</sup> Read : ā-chandr-ādītya-sthāyuvāga ; in No. 226 of 1925 it is ā-chandr-ārka-sthāyuvāga.

<sup>2</sup> Should be sāṅgamāga as in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>3</sup> The reading is naḡattukkoṇḡu in 235 of 1925.

<sup>4</sup> No. 226 of 1926 has sukhattilē.

<sup>5</sup> The reading is dharmattuku in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>6</sup> The syllable yi is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> Should be aḡitam as in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>8</sup> The reading is paṇṇina pērgaḡ in No. 235 of 1925.

<sup>9</sup> Followed by another taṅgaḡ in Nos. 226 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Read : ḡō-brāhmaṇaraiyum.

<sup>11</sup> Vāraḡavāḡai in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>12</sup> The reading is dōshattilē in No. 226 of 1925.

<sup>13</sup> Followed by the words śubham=astu and śri-Virūpākeḡa in No. 226 of 1925, and śri-Virūpākeḡa only in Nos. 125 of 1904 and 235 of 1925.

<sup>14</sup> Saptāṅgaṇa rājyaṇ-uchyat-—Kāmandaka.

nanallūr, Talaichehaṅgāḍu, Kuṛuchchi, Tiruppuṅgūr, Koṛukkai, Talaināyakan<sup>1</sup>, Tirumaṅgalakkuḍi, Tiruviśalūr, Tirutēvankuḍi, Sūryadēvanāyanārkōyil, Tirukkōḍikā, Kuṅṅālam, Śigukūḍi, Tirukkuraiyalūr, Viṛkuḍi, Āchchāpuram, Tiruvāḷiputtūr, Nallūr, Āṇḍārkōyil, Gaṅgaikoṇḍam, Tirumēchchūr, Tirunaṇipalḷi and other places in the Chōḷamaṇḍala which consisted of the Iraṇḍār-  
rupparṅu Bhuvanaikavīrapaṭṭana-chīrmai, Taṅjāvūrpaṭṭana-chchīrmai and Tiruchchirāppalḷi-  
chīrmai. According to this royal order which is to be engraved in stone in all the temples, the  
worship, festivities, celebrations and repairs shall be executed properly and without shortcom-  
ings in all the temples as long as the sun and moon endure. He who acts against this charity  
shall incur the sin of having killed his mother, father, cows and Brahmins at Vārāṇasī.

The protection of another's gift is twice as meritorious as making one's own. By the robbing  
of another's gift, one's own gift becomes devoid of merit.

No. 33—JUBBULPORE STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIMALASIVA : THE [KALACHURI]  
YEAR 926.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NĀGPUR.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at **Jubbulpore**, the headquarters of a district  
of the same name in the Central Provinces and is now preserved in the Nāgpur Museum. The  
record has been referred to several times, *e.g.*, by Dr. F. E. Hall in the *Journal of the American  
Oriental Society*, Vol. VI, p. 533, by Dr. F. Kielborn in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 210,  
n. 2, and again in this journal Vol. V, Appendix I, p. 60, n. 4, and by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his  
*Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, (second ed.), p. 42, but owing presumably to its  
very bad preservation none has so far attempted a transcript or even an abstract of its contents.\*  
A careful and patient examination of the original has enabled me to prepare the subjoined tran-  
script and while I have not been able to decipher or restore the complete text, I hope I have been  
able to make out almost all that can be deciphered in the present condition of the original.

The writing covers a space 2' 7" broad and 1' 8½" high. The average size of letters is .5". The  
surface of the stone, which was originally made none too smooth, has been further damaged by  
exposure to weather, and several letters in the middle as well as on the right hand side of the first  
fourteen lines and some more in the middle of lines 19-24 have become illegible. The **characters**  
are Nāgarī. The letters were beautifully written and carefully executed. It will suffice to draw  
attention to the proper sign of *b* as an independent letter in *bibhrat*, l. 25 and in its superscript form  
in °*r-bvabhūva*, l. 9, and also to the form of the initial *i* in *iti*, l. 12, of the initial *ṛi* in *ṛichām*, l. 15,  
and of *ś*, the left member of which resembles the English figure 8, as in *Śivāya*, l. 1. The  
**language** is Sanskrit and except for the obeisance to Śiva in the beginning of the first line and  
the date in the last, the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are not numbered, but  
they appear to be fifty in all. The **orthography** does not present anything calling for special  
notice except that *v* and *b* as well as *ś* and *s* are confounded in some places.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the moon-crested  
god (Śiva) by **Vimalasiva**, the religious preceptor of the king **Jayasimha** of the Kalachuri  
dynasty of Tripurī. The god was named **Kirtīśvara** after **Vimalasiva's guru Kirtīśiva**. The

<sup>1</sup> For various forms of this name see n. 25, p. 306 above.

\* Hiralal remarks in his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (Second ed.), p. 42, that 'this is a pretty big record  
but is too much defaced to yield any useful information.'

inscription also records that the king Jayasimha endowed the temple with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. It is dated in words as well as in numerical figures in the year 926, without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day. This date must, of course, be referred to the Kalachuri era. It corresponds, for the expired Kalachuri year 926, to A.D. 1174-75. In this year there was only one solar eclipse,<sup>1</sup> viz., that which occurred on the *amāvāsya* of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa, on Tuesday, the 26th November A.D. 1174. This is, therefore, probably the date of Jayasimha's grant if it was made in the same Kalachuri year in which the record was put up. It does not admit of verification, but it falls in the reign of Jayasimha, who, we know, was ruling at least from K. 918<sup>2</sup> to K. 928<sup>3</sup>.

After three *maṅgala-śloka*s in praise of Śiva, we are told that the god revealed the Śaiva doctrine for the realization of the self by the worlds. Some Śaiva teachers were named in lines 4-7, but the names of Vimalaśiva<sup>4</sup> and Vāstuśiva<sup>5</sup> only are now completely legible. In line 8 we read the name of Puruṣaśiva who is described as the cause of Yaśaḥkarṇa's prosperity. Next is mentioned Śaktiśiva in connection with Gayakarṇa. His disciple was Kirtiśiva<sup>6</sup> who is said to have contributed to the prosperity of the king Narasiṃha. Five verses (22-26) are devoted to his glorification. The next eighteen verses refer to Vimalaśiva. He belonged to the *gōtra* of Viśvāmītra and was the son of Madhusūdana and Umā. Having paid off his debt to gods and others by performing religious rites at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā, and other *tīrthas*, he was initiated in the Śaiva doctrine by Kirtiśiva. He was very handsome, learned and liberal and exercised great vigilance in looking after all affairs of the king. The earth, being adorned with gardens, tanks, charitable houses, temples and dwellings for Brāhmanas constructed by him, is said to have vied with heaven in splendour. The king Jayasimha devoutly bowed to him. We are next told that Vimalaśiva built a temple of Śiva under the name Kirtiśvara for the glory and religious merit of his spiritual preceptor Kirtiśiva. The king Jayasimha endowed it with three villages on the occasion of a solar eclipse. One of these villages which was named *Ṭṛkabhara*, was situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Navapattalā and the other two named *Kaṇḍaravāḍa* and *Vaḍōha* in Samudrapāṭa which was apparently another district.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the information it furnishes about the spiritual preceptors of the Kalachuri kings of Tripurī from Yaśaḥkarṇa downwards. It may, how-

<sup>1</sup> I take *raṅgēṣ parvaṇi* in line 26 to mean 'on the occasion of a solar eclipse'. *Parvaṇ* also means a *satkrānti*, but in that case the particular *satkrānti* would have been specified.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> This Vimalaśiva is probably different from the Śaiva ascetic who put up the present inscription.

<sup>5</sup> I examined the name of this ascetic carefully to see if he could be identified with Vāmaśambhu mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 147 ff) in view of the suggestion recently made that the latter was the spiritual teacher of Karṇa and represents Vāmadēva on whose feet several Kalachurikings from Karṇa downwards are described as meditating. (See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 96 ff.). A Śaiva Āchārya named Vāmarāśi is also mentioned as living in Benares in the Sārṇāth inscription of Mahāpāla, dated V. 1093. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 140. The Śaiva ascetic mentioned in the beginning of line 6 in the present record may have been a contemporary of Karṇa; for the next legible name is that of Puruṣaśiva who was the *guru* of Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa. But the second *akṣara* of the aforementioned name does not at all appear like *ma*. Besides the *guru* of this Śaiva pontiff was apparently Vimalaśiva, mentioned in verse 8, while the *guru* and the *paramaguru* of Vāmaśambhu were Sōmaśambhu and Sadbhāvaśambhu respectively. I have shown elsewhere that Vāmadēva was a Kalachuri king and not a Śaiva ascetic. See *A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Śaktiśiva and Kirtiśiva may be identical with Śaktiśambhu and his disciple Kirtiśambhu respectively mentioned in the Malkāpuram inscription.

ever, be noted in this connection that the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of Gōvinda-chandra<sup>1</sup> mention the Śaiva Āchārya Rudraśiva, not Puruṣaśiva, as the *Rājaguru* of Yaśaḥ-karṇa. Perhaps Yaśaḥkarṇa had two *Rājagurus* in succession. The name of Vimalaśiva, the *guru* of Jayasīṃha, occurs in his Jubbulpore Kōtwāli plates also.\*

The present *prāśasti* was composed by the poet Śāsīdhara, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Maunya<sup>2</sup> *gōtra*. He composed also the Bhērā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, while his elder brother Pṛithvīdhara was the author of the Tēwar inscription of Gayakarṇa. The present record was incised on the stone by Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara. His father was the engraver of the aforementioned stone inscriptions of Gayakarṇa and Alhaṇadēvi.

As for the localities mentioned in the present record, Tēkabhara may be identical with Tikhārī, 5 miles south by west of Jubbulpore. The *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā<sup>3</sup> in which it was situated may have comprised the territory round the modern Nayākhērā which lies about 8 miles west of Tikhārī. Samudrapāṭa is probably Samand Pipāriā, 4 miles south of Jubbulpore. There are several villages named Kunda or Kundan near Jubbulpore, one of which may represent the ancient Kaṇḍaravāḍa. No place exactly corresponding to Vaḍḍha can, however, be traced in the Jubbulpore District.

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

[Metres : Vv. 1, 18, 28, 35, 36, 38, 41, and 44 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2 (?) and 6 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 3, 4, 7, 9, 11-15, 20-22, 24, 27, 29-32, 37, 42, 43, 45, 48, and 49 *Amuṣṭubh* ; v. 5 *Vamśastha* ; vv. 8, and 47 *Upagūti* ; vv. 10 and 46 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 16 and 26 *Aupachchhandasikā* ; vv. 17, 25 and 33 *Upajūti* ; v. 19 *Viyoginī* ; v. 23 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 34 *Praharshinī* ; v. 39 *Mālinī* ; v. 40 *Sragdharā* ; v. 50 *Āryā*.]

1 सिद्धिः<sup>6</sup> [1\*] श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ उन्मीलत्कमलावलम्बि(म्बि)तरतिर्वन्द्यद्विजेन्द्रस्थितिर्निर्मा—  
दोषा [म]हितप्रकाशवसतिः [कारणपूर्णोद्भूतिः] । सम्यग्वर्जित[सञ्चिता]हित-  
कृतिः [श्रीशर्व्व ?]देहोद्भूतिर्भूत्वा पुण्यकृदात्मजः

2 शुभकृतिर्विभ्रस्तदेत्योद्भूतिः ॥[१॥\*] हृषप्रतिष्ठः श्रितवारिजश्री ◡ — ◡ — — ◡  
◡ — ◡ — — । ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — — ◡ — ◡ — —  
◡ — ◡ — — ॥[२॥\*] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡  
◡ — ◡ ◡ । ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — —

3 व्यं पश्यति तं तुमः ॥[३॥\*] जगतामात्मसंज्ञिः शिवः शैवमकल्पयत् । ◡  
◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡ ॥[४॥\*] ◡ — ◡ —  
— ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — । ◡  
— ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — —

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXI, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 95. Vimalaśiva is also mentioned in the recently discovered Rewah plates of K. 963, above, Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This is also the spelling of the name in the Bhērā-Ghāt stone inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, but the *Gōtra-pravarānibandhakadamba* spells it as *Mauna*.

<sup>4</sup> There is a larger village named Nayāgaon in the former Narsinghpur (now Hoshangābād) District, but it is too far from Jubbulpore, being situated about 45 miles south by west of it. Besides, no places corresponding to Tēkabhara, Samudrapāṭaka, etc., can be traced in the vicinity of it.

<sup>5</sup> From the original stone and inked estampages.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol. This word is clearly written in the beginning of the unpublished British Museum plate of Karṇa.

- 4 चक्रलितानुभूतयः ॥[५॥\*] तदन्वये शिष्यपरम्परायाः क्रमाच्च वंशः] — — — — —  
 — — — — — ॥[६॥\*] — — — — — दिशा चक्र — — — — —  
 — — — — —
- 5 शः ॥[७॥\*] शिष्यं विमलशिवाभिधमाधायामौ पदे स्वीये । . . . . .  
 . . . . . ॥[८॥\*] — — — — —  
 — — — — — । यत्कीर्त्तिर्वंशभा ?] — — — — — ॥[९॥\*]  
 — — — — —
- 6 वास्तुशिवाभिधानः श्रेयःप्रकर्षम्परमाद्धानः । यच्चदिपानां विषये] — — — — —  
 — — — — — ॥[१०॥\*] — — — — —  
 — — — — — । — — — — —  
 — — — — — ॥[११॥\*] — — — — — शिवः शिष्यः [पुरुषार्थाय] सम्प-
- 7 दम् । गुणानां च धनानां च परोपकृतये पर(रा)म् ॥[१२॥\*] शासनं — — — — —  
 — — — — — । — — — — —  
 — — — — — ॥[१३॥\*] — — — — —  
 — — — — — । — — — — —
- 8 गुणगणानिव ॥[१४॥] प्रीतिः पात्रे रतिस्तीर्थे स्थितिः पथि भते सताम् । भक्ति-  
 र्भविभवत्तस्य समस्य — — — — — ॥[१५॥\*] . . . . .  
 . . . . . ॥[१६॥\*] पुरुषशिवः पुरुषोत्त-
- 9 मोस्य शिष्यः ॥[१६॥\*] यस्माद्यशःकर्णनराधिपस्य प्रादुर्ब्व(ब्)भूवाभ्युदयप्रगल्भा ।  
 धर्मार्थकामेषु तथा सृष्टिर्यथा गिरां पत्युरमर्त्यभर्तुः ॥[१७॥\*] [शक्ती] श्री-  
 गयकर्णदेवनृपतेः — — — — —  
 — — — — — शन्विताः ।
- 10 शिष्यः शक्तिशिवोस्य कीर्त्तिपटलैः प्रश्नाप्रकर्षैरिवाक्काशींद्ग्वलयं तथातिविशदं विद्या-  
 समुद्रे यथा ॥[१८॥\*] गयकर्णनृपप्रताप — — — — — हरिनराधिपे व(व)लात् ।  
 — — — — —  
 — ॥[१९॥\*] सुमनोगण[नै]क-

<sup>1</sup> About 18 aksharas are gone here.

<sup>2</sup> About 30 aksharas are lost here.

- 11 स्व सुमनोभूषणश्रियः । गीयते चरितं यस्य सद्भिः कल्पतरोरिव ॥[२०॥\*]  
 सत्कीर्तिकल्पलतिकावष्टंभाद्भुतभूरुहः । तस्य कीर्त्तिशिवः शिष्य[स्तिथ १] ॐ  
 ॐ [बभूव सः] ॥[२१॥\*] [यिन देव १] ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —  
 ॐ ॐ । नरसिंहनरेन्द्रस्य बभूवा-
- 12 भ्युदयाय सः ॥[२२\*॥] न स्यंदनं वसुमती न च चंद्रसूर्यौ चक्रे न सारथिर-  
 भूत्स च विश्वयोनिः । नेषुर्हरिः परपुराणि तथापि भस्म चक्रे यतः स  
 इति कीर्त्तिशिवः स्फुटं सः\* ॥[२३॥\*] यशोभिरिन्दुविश्वदैस्तथैवारिविकर्षितैः ।  
 अपूपुरत्स सर्वाशा विवे-
- 13 ककुसुमैरिव ॥[२४॥\*] दृष्टौ च विपुष्टमनोभवोपि प्रसन्नचंद्रप्रतिमाननोपि । तृष-  
 प्रतिष्ठोपि शिवावसक्तोप्यभूत्स नोयो न च सहजिह्वः ॥[२५॥\*] कलचुरिकुल-  
 . . . . . यन्ति प्रदीपाः . . . . .<sup>२</sup> । स यथैव तथेन्द्रियाणि  
 सर्वा-
- 14 एषपि विश्वामसुरद्वरिंदिरायाः ॥[२६॥\*] विश्वामिषजगन्मिषगोत्रे मैत्र्याद्यलंकृताः ।  
 प्रापुर्विप्राः कियंतो न प्रतिष्ठां परमेष्ठिनः ॥[२७॥\*] येषां सम्यगधीतवेद-  
 विषयज्ञानार्थमत्यादरात्\* [येषां] — ॐ ॐ — [रदायनमभू] — — ॐ  
 — — ॐ — । येषां [चा]र्थसमृद्धिभिः समभव-
- 15 च्छिष्टानि पूर्त्तानि च प्राशस्येन महीभृतामिव सदा यायावराणामपि ॥[२८॥\*]  
 क्रमात्तत्राभवद्गोत्रे मैत्रीं सचे(र्वै)षु संदधत् । ऋचां पदक्रमाधीतो वो(वो)द्वा  
 च मधुसूदनः ॥[२९॥\*] दक्षिणाशावतंसस्य कुंभयोनेरिवाधिकम् । व(व)भूव  
 यस्य विवु(वु)धीदो(दो)धाये म-
- 16 हिमोदयः ॥[३०॥\*] द्विजेन्द्रभूषणात्तस्मादुमेवोमाभिधा वधूः । अलंचक्रे तनूजेन  
 स्कन्देनेव जगन्नयम् ॥[३१॥\*] सीधीत्य वेदान्वेदार्थानधिगम्य व्रतं वष्टन् ।  
 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ नभस्वानिव दक्षिणः ॥[३२॥\*] प्रभासगोकर्ण[ग]-  
 यादितोर्थेष्वा-
- 17 नृस्यमापद्य सुरादिवर्ये । शैवं व्रतं कीर्त्तिशिवाद्भार समग्रमुयादुपमन्युवद्यः  
 ॥[३३॥\*] कल्पायुर्विभक्तशिवः स एष [तस्मा]द्वि(द्वि)भाणः कलियुगकल्पपाद-  
 पत्वम् । [यच्छा]यां विवु(वु)धगणोधिगम्य धत्ते वैधुर्यं न खलु [महीत्स]वोदयिषु  
 ॥[३४॥\*] जा-

\* About 5 aksharas are missing here.

\* About 7 aksharas are gone here.



- 18 तिः सञ्जनपूजिता रतिपतीर्व्यावसंनायाङ्गतिर्व्यङ्किः कातिसुहृदप्रशातिसुतपा<sup>1</sup> स्त्रीतिर्गुणानां  
गुणः । सौमिः [प्रौति]करो सतामसितरां नीतिः सदा तद्विष्टं [मीनं मङ्गल]-  
सुद्यमैकसरणेरस्यैव संदृश्यते ॥[३५५\*] वाणी सङ्गुणैपुणप्रण-
- 19 यिनो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मास्यपद्माश्रया श्रीः श्रीवत्सविभूषवत्<sup>2</sup>वसतिप्रेमेति [लो]कोक्तयः ।  
एतच्छिन्पुनरद्भुतं इयमिदं सानन्द[सुखो(खो)तते<sup>3</sup> तादृग्यादृगजीजन[कु]मनसां चेत-  
सु — — — ॥[३५६\*] विश्वासमुद्रचंद्रस्य तपःश्रीसरसीरुहः । सत्यो-  
त्सवादेः स-
- 20 इत्तमित्रस्यास्याङ्गतं न किम् ॥[३७॥\*] यस्वार्थिद्विजराजदर्शनवशाङ्गानाम्बु(म्बु)-  
[भिर्वर्द्धने] अद्वा [रात्रिदिवं] धरेण विधिना धर्मस्य तन्वीरिव<sup>4</sup> । यो दर्श-  
न्वपि सादरो द्विजपतीनक्षीणशोभाभरान्दधो योजयते सुवर्णविक्रयक<sup>5</sup>द्रोहिणीनां  
स(श)तेः ॥[३८॥\*]
- 21 सकलनृपतिकृत्यप्रत्यवेचासु दास्यं समधिकमधि — — — — जयधुर्यः ।  
द्विजपतिरपि पूर्वः कोमलाभिः कलाभिः कलयति व(ब)ललीलां योरि —  
— — — ॥[३९॥\*] लक्ष्मीलीलाकटाक्षैरतिक्रुतुकतया संततं लक्ष्यमाणो-
- 22 प्यक्षाणां न क्षमी यः कचिदपि सृष्टे स(श)क्तिसुक्तेचयिणीम् । पृ[थ्वीपा]लेन  
नित्यं [व(ब)हुल]समुचिते कार्यजाते नियुक्तोप्यादत्ते नैव जादां [कहन<sup>6</sup>]पि  
विधिवन्निर्णयमिति[केषु] ॥[४०॥\*] [नित्यं] [वासनया] — — — —  
— — — — संजने न विचा-
- 23 रपूर्वकविधि[ईतं] न यन्नास्ति तत् । पात्रं तत्र यदर्चितं न व(ब)हुशस्तीर्थं  
न तद्भूतले दानदानतपोभिरद्भुततमैर्यन्नामुना संस्कृतम् ॥[४१॥\*] साधीयांसि  
महीयांसि स्थेयांसि स्थाणुदपिणः । श्रेयांसि यस्व वर्द्धते महासीव यथा-
- 24 सि च ॥[४२॥\*] उद्यानसरसी[सन्न]पासादद्विजवेश्मभिः । भूमिः परिभवत्यस्य न  
कैर्भूषाभरैर्दिवम् ॥[४३॥\*] यो मर्चैः करवर्तिनः समकरोल्लोकान् परिभ्यः परान्  
— — — — र्जयसिंहदेवतृपतिर्भक्त्यातिनस्वीपि सन् । स श्रीमान्विमलेश्वरः  
कलिमलम-

<sup>1</sup> The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

<sup>2</sup> The second *vases* here means 'the breast'.

<sup>3</sup> [The form *udyōtai* can also be correct. In that case the root is *yut* and not *dyut*.—B. C. C.]

<sup>4</sup> *Tantrī* seems to be used here in the sense of 'a sinew'.

<sup>5</sup> *Vikāśa(sa)*, (blooming) seems to be used here in the sense of *vīśat* (shining).

<sup>6</sup> Read *kvachid=api*.

- 25 आसनैकशमां कीर्तिं देव[नदीमिव] विभुषणे विस्तार[यिन्नदनीम्] ॥४४॥\* [अ]-  
चीकरञ्चंद्रमौलीर्षीदि'रमादरात् । गुरोः कीर्तिशिवस्यैतत्कीर्तये सुकृताय च ॥४५॥\*  
देवाय कीर्तीश्वरसंज्ञिताय प्रादादमुधै जयसिंहदेवः । विभ्रङ्गवे भक्तिभरं  
गुरौ
- 26 च शामात्रवेः पर्वणि न[व्य ?]दायान् ॥४६॥\* टेकभराख्यस्तेषामिको नवपत्त-  
लाविषये । चन्दौ समुद्रपाटे कंडरवाडी षडीहृत्च(ष) ॥४७॥\* मीन्यान्वय-  
द्विजेंद्रश्रीधरणीधरनंदनः । प्रशस्तिमफरोदेताम्नीत्या शसि(शि)धरः कविः ॥४८॥\*  
सूचधारशि-
- 27 [रोरञ्ज]महीधरतनूजवः । शिशामसंकरोदेता<sup>१</sup> नामदेवोऽक्षरैर्ष्वरैः ॥४९॥\* सन्व-<sup>३</sup>  
रषड्विंशत्युत्तरनवशताङ्केपि ८२६ ॥ यावत्सूर्याचंद्रौ यातायातं नभस्तले तपतः ।  
तावत्कीर्तनमेतत्कीर्तये कर्तुः स्थिरं भूयात् ॥५०॥\*<sup>४</sup> ॥

TRANSLATION.

Success ! Om ! Obeisance to Śiva !

(Verse 1.) Having become a meritorious person's son of righteous deeds, (Śiva) who takes delight in blooming lotuses, who abides in venerable Brāhmaṇas, who dwells blamelessly in honour-  
od lustre, rises from the Kāraṇḍavati river<sup>१</sup> (?), and completely destroys the (evil) actions of the  
enemies of those who take refuge with him, annihilates the arrogance of demons.

(V. 2.) Śiva, who is mounted on the bull, who has the beauty of lotuses.....

(V. 3.) We praise [Śiva], whom they see.....

(V. 4.) For the realization of their self by the worlds, Śiva revealed his doctrine.....

(V. 5.) Those whose direct knowledge failed.....

(V. 6.) In his lineage in the succession of disciples in course of time, the family.....

(V. 7.) .....

(V. 8.) Having installed his disciple, Vimalasiva, in his own place, he.....

(V. 9.) Whose dear fame.....

(V. 10.) (He) who was named Vastusiva, who caused great bliss, who.....in the  
country of the lords of Chēdi....

(V. 11.) .....

(V. 12.) His disciple named....siva, who acquired a great excellence of merits and wealth  
in order to oblige others (and) to attain the aims of human life.....

(V. 13.) .....

(V. 14.) .....like multitudes of merits.....

<sup>१</sup> Two aksharas are inadvertently omitted here. Read --*maulē-ranyam-mandiram*.

<sup>२</sup> *Alakārōt* is grammatically incorrect. Read --*alañchakār-aitām*.

<sup>३</sup> Read *Sahvat-shadvinśaty-uttara-nava-śatē-ākē=pi*.

<sup>४</sup> There is an ornamental figure here.

<sup>५</sup> There is some allusion here, which is not clear to me. Monier-Williams gives *Kāraṇḍavati* (which is perhaps intended here by *kāraṇḍa-pārvā*) as the name of a river.

(V. 15.) He, (*though*) possessed of equanimity, bore love towards worthy persons, was attached to holy places, followed the path approved by good people (*and*) was devoted to Śiva.....

(V. 16.) **Purushaśiva**, the best of men, who was conversant with.....was his disciple .....

(V. 17.) On account of whom there arose as much abundance—great with prosperity—in religious merit, wealth and enjoyment of **Yaśahkarna** as that of (*Indra*), the lord of immortals, through Brihaspati.

(V. 18.) His disciple, **Śaktiśiva**,.....(*who augmented*) the (*two*) royal powers of the illustrious king **Gayakarna**, made the circle of regions very bright with the mass of his fame as he did the ocean of learning with the excellence of his intellect.

(V. 19.) .....the prowess of the king **Gayakarna** ..... the hostile king forcibly.....

(V. 20.) The deeds of him, who is pre-eminently counted among good people and whose wealth is an ornament of his good heart, are sung by wise men like those of the celestial wish-fulfilling tree.

(V. 21.) The disciple of him—a marvellous tree entwined by the creeping plant of noble fame —(*was*) **Kirtiśiva**.....

(V. 22.) He caused the prosperity of the king **Narasimha**....

(V. 23) (*Unlike Śiva*) he had not the earth for his chariot, nor the sun and the moon for its wheels, nor Brahmā for his charioteer, nor Viṣṇu for his arrow.<sup>1</sup> Still he reduced to ashes the cities of the enemies (*as Śiva did those of the demons*). Hence he (*was*) clearly Kirtiśiva (*Śiva in glory*).

(V. 24.) He filled all regions with his glory which he wrested from the enemy and which was as bright as the moon, as with the flowers of discrimination.

(V. 25.) Though he had burned the feeling of love in his glances, though his face resembled the bright moon, though he was firmly attached to religion<sup>2</sup> and was devoted to Śiva<sup>3</sup> (*even as Śiva burned the god of love by his glance, has a bright disc of the moon on his forehead, is mounted on the bull and is attached to Pārvatī*), he was (*unlike Śiva who is called Ugra<sup>4</sup> and wears serpents*) neither dreadful in appearance nor attended by backbiters.<sup>5</sup>

(V. 26.) The great lights.....the Kalachuri family. ....As he, so all his sense-organs were the celestial tree of rest to the goddess of fortune.

(V. 27.) In the *gōtra* of Viśvāmitra which is the friend of the world, how many Brāhmaṇas, adorned with benevolence<sup>6</sup> and other (*virtues*), have not attained the pre-eminence of Paramēshthin (God)?

(V. 28.) Their.....with great regard for the understanding of the contents of the Vēdas which they had studied in the right manner.....Though they were vagrant mendicants, their sacrificial rites and charitable works were performed with abundance of wealth and in a praiseworthy manner like those of kings.

<sup>1</sup> For the equipment of Śiva in his fight with the demons of the three cities, see *Mahābhārata*, *Drōṇaparvan*, *adhyāya* 202, vv. 71-78 (Chitraśālā Press ed.).

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the word *ṛiṣha* meaning (1) religion and (2) the bull Nandi.

<sup>3</sup> *Śivāvasakta* is to be interpreted in two ways; (i) *Śiva-avasakta* meaning 'devoted to Śiva', and (ii) *Śivā-avasakta* meaning 'attached to Pārvatī'.

<sup>4</sup> *Ugra* is a name of Śiva.

<sup>5</sup> *Dvijīva* (two-tongued) means (i) a serpent, and (ii) a backbiter.

<sup>6</sup> *Mairī* is one of the four *bhāvanās* which Yōgins cultivate.

(V. 29) In course of time there was born in that *gōtra* **Madhusūdana** who bore benevolence towards all, had studied the *pada* and *krama* texts of the Ṛiks and understood their meaning.

(V. 30.) The rising greatness of him, who was an ornament of the southern regions, led greatly to the awakening of learned men, even as the rise of the star Agastya,<sup>1</sup> the ornament of the southern direction causes the awakening of the gods (*from slumber*).

(V. 31.) Through him who was an ornament of the foremost among Brāhmanas, (*his*) wife named Umā, who resembled Pārvatī, was adorned by a son even as the three worlds were by Skanda.

(V. 32.) Having studied the Vēdas and understood their contents, he, observing vows, [pleased all people] like the southern breeze.

(V. 33.) Having paid off his debt to the best of gods and others at Prabhāsa, Gōkarṇa, Gayā and other holy places, he received (*initiation in*) the Śaiva vow from Kirtisiva even as Upamanyu did from Ugra (*i.e.*, Śiva).

(V. 34.) (*May*) this **Vimalasiva**, who has consequently become the wish-fulfilling tree of the Kali age, live to the end of the world!—(*the tree*), having come under the shade of which a multitude of Brāhmanas does not indeed feel distressed on the approach of great festivities!

(V. 35.) In the case of only this (*Vimalasiva*) who is solely devoted to exertion are seen (*the following*), *viz.*, birth in a caste (*viz.*, *Brāhmana*) which is honoured by good people, a (*handsome*) form which can turn back the god of love (*in discomfiture*), a personality attended by lustre, a large increase of merits accompanied by great tranquillity and excellent austerity, a mode of behaviour which is exceedingly pleasing to good people, political wisdom which is always pleasing to the politicians (*and*) blessed silence.

(V. 36.) (*The goddess of*) speech who is fond of proficiency in merits dwells in the lotus which is Brahmā's face, and the goddess of fortune loves to live on the breast of (*Vishṇu*) who is adorned with Śrivatsa.<sup>2</sup>—This is what people say. But, what a wonder! this pair shines forth so joyfully in him that it has caused.....in the minds of magnanimous people!

(V. 37.) What thing concerning him is not marvellous?—(*him*) who is the moon to the ocean of learning, a lotus to the goddess of austerities, a pleasure-mountain to the truth and a friend of virtuous conduct?

(V. 38.) At the sight of the best of Brāhmanas (*who approach him*) as supplicants, his piety increases in an excellent manner, day and night with the libations of water (*poured at the time*) of making gifts like a sinew of religion. Vigilant<sup>2</sup> as he is, he confers respectfully on the best of Brāhmanas, whose splendour has not decreased, hundreds of red cows shining with gold even on new-moon days.

(V. 39.) Showing great vigilance in looking after all royal affairs, the indefatigable leader .....The foremost among Brāhmanas (*viz.*, *Vimalasiva*), though proficient in fine arts, shows the play of his power against the enemies.....<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The star Canopus which appears on the horizon just before the commencement of *Śarad* or autumn. [There is also a veiled reference to the sage Agastya who is associated with the propagation of Aryan culture in the south.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> There is a play on the words *dakṣha*, *dvija-pati* and *rōhiṇī*. Dakṣha gave only one Rōhiṇī (*i.e.*, the star Aldebaran) to the moon and that too on the full-moon day, while Vimalasiva gives hundreds of *rōhiṇīs* (red cows) to Brāhmanas even on the new-moon day. The star Rōhiṇī is personified as the daughter of Dakṣha and the favourite wife of the moon.

<sup>3</sup> In this verse also there is a pun on words like *dvija-pati*, *kalā*, etc.

(V. 40.) Though he is ever looked at with great eagerness by the goddess of fortune with sportful glances, he nowhere suffers the sense-organs to have the power of making him vain. Though he is always employed by the king in many worthy affairs, he nowhere shows slackness in (the performance of) obligatory and occasional religious rites.

(V. 41.) .....(There was) no discriminating action which he did not perform ; (there was) no gift which he did not confer ; (there was) no deserving person whom he did not honour many times (and there was) no holy place on the earth which he did not sanctify with marvellous gifts, bathing and austerities.

(V. 42.) Of him who is like Śiva, the exceedingly good, great and lasting blessings and glory increase like his lustre.

(V. 43.) With what ornaments (supplied by him) does not the earth surpass heaven ?—(the earth, which has) gardens, tanks, charitable feeding houses, temples and houses of Brāhmaṇas ?

(V. 44.) 'May that illustrious Vimalaśiva—who by his counsels has made (even) the most distant people pay taxes,<sup>1</sup> (to whom) the king Jayasimha [bows] becoming very humble through devotion spread in the three worlds his delightful fame which, like the celestial river, is capable of washing away the taint of the Kali age !

(V. 45.) He caused a temple of the moon-crested (Śiva) to be constructed for the fame and religious merit of his teacher Kīrtiśiva out of reverence for him.

(V. 46.) To this god named Kīrtiśvara, Jayasimhadēva, through devotion to Śiva and his teacher, has made new grants of villages on (the occasion of) the sun's eclipse.

(V. 47.) Of these, the village called Tōkabhara is situated in the *vishaya* (district) of Navapattalā and two others (viz.) Kaṇḍaravāḍa and Vaḍōha in (the district of) Samudrapāṭa.

(V. 48.) The poet Śaśidhara, the son of the illustrious Dharaṇīdhara who is the foremost among Brāhmaṇas, born in the family of Maunya, has composed this *praśasti* with pleasure.

(V. 49.) Nāmadēva, the son of Mahīdhara, the crest-jewel of artisans, has adorned this slab with excellent letters.

(In) the year nine hundred increased by twenty-six, in figures, 926.

(V. 50.) May this temple endure firmly for the fame of the builder as long as the sun and the moon, going and coming, shine in the firmament !

No. 34.—CONJEEVERAM INSCRIPTION OF BRAHMA-TANTRA-SVATANTRA-JIYAR :  
SAKA 1282.

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

Kāñchīpuram in the Chingleput District was an important place of pilgrimage from very early times. Portions of this town and its environs were in the olden days known according to their religious associations, as the Buddha-Kāñchī, Jina-Kāñchī, Śiva-Kāñchī and Viṣṇu-Kāñchī.<sup>2</sup> The inscription<sup>3</sup> published below is engraved on the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Varadarāja temple at Little Conjeeveram, otherwise called Viṣṇu-Kāñchī, which is very sacred to the Vaishnavas of the south.

<sup>1</sup> *Kara-varṭin* means also 'one who is near at hand.' The statement 'Vimalaśiva makes most distant people near' involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the intended sense being as given above. The figure is *Vīrābhadrā*.

<sup>2</sup> Buddha-Kāñchī is referred to in No. 25 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1934-35 (*Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, para. 56). Jina-Kāñchī is represented by Tirupparuttikkunḍu near Conjeeveram; Śiva-Kāñchī and Viṣṇu-Kāñchī are respectively the modern Big and Little Conjeeveram.

<sup>3</sup> No. 574 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1919.

The characters in which the record is engraved are **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha**, the latter being employed for the Sanskrit words. The language is **Tamiḷ** with an admixture of Sanskrit words, and is somewhat illustrative of the type of **Vaiṣṇava** composition prevalent in this period and locality. The record is very well preserved, and its orthography does not call for any comment.

The record does not quote any king's name but is simply dated in **Śaka 1282** and contains the astronomical details—**Vikārin**, **Mēṣa**, śu. 1, Friday and **Aśvati**—which yield the equivalent **A.D. 1359, March 29**. It states that a certain **Vaiṣṇavadāsa** who had been given the title of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** by the god (**Hastigiriśa**), was put in charge of a **maṭha** evidently at **Kāñchīpuram** in **Śaka 1282**. This information is of interest for **Vaiṣṇava religious history**, as it enables us to identify this first pontiff of the **maṭha** with the **direct disciple of the great Vēdānta-Dēśika**, the erudite scholar, keen controversialist and deeply venerated **Vaiṣṇava āchārya**,<sup>1</sup> whose literary and religious activities are said to have extended over a major portion of the 14th century A.D.

As mentioned above, the inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any king, but it is somewhat peculiarly worded, in that it purports to have been issued by the deity himself. In the **Tamiḷ** records of this temple, the god is called **Arulāpperumāl** or **Tiruvattiyūr-niṅṅaruḷiya-Paramasvāmin**, or 'the great Lord who was pleased to stand at **Tiruvattiyūr**'. The village-name **Tiruvattiyūr** having been Sanskritised into **Hastigiri**,<sup>2</sup> the god came to be known to Sanskrit authors as **Hastigiriśa**, by which name he is referred to in the opening verse of this epigraph. It is stated that on the representation made by the agent **Perumāḷtāṅ** and other **Bhaktas**, the god, while seated in regal pomp with his consorts in the **abhishēka-maṇḍapa** of the temple on the throne named **Viravallāṅ** under the canopy called the **Āriyeṅavallāṅ-pandal** listening to the chanting of the songs of **Śāthakōpa**, was pleased to confer the title of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** on a certain **Vaiṣṇavadāsa** and to put him in charge of a **maṭha** and its properties, so that he may propagate the tenets of the **Rāmānuja-darśanam**<sup>3</sup> to the **Vaiṣṇava** laity, and maintain the **library** which he had collected, probably in the **maṭha** premises. A sentence at the end adds that this divine order (**tirumuḡam**) was engraved on stone by the temple-accountant.

In regard to the particular style of wording in this inscription, couched as if the orders had emanated directly from the deity himself, it may be mentioned that this convention was adopted by some of the **Vaiṣṇava** temples in the **Tirunelvēli District** in the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., and in some instances in the **South Arcot and Chingleput Districts** also. Some **Śaiva** temples also appear to have sparingly copied this procedure in drafting their documents at this period. In such cases, the occasion when and the place wherefrom the orders<sup>4</sup> were issued are given at some length. Some instances may be quoted.

1. Śakābdam 1463 nāḷ . . . Muḷḷināṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Śēraṅga-mahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu vaḍapāl śrīmad-Dvārakānāthaṅ arulāl Āyirattenmaṅ-pandaṅ-kiḷ Virakēraṅ-piṭhattu nāmum nam peṇḍugaḷoḍuṅ kūḍi-irundu, etc.—(Shermādēvi, No. 186 of 1895 of the Madras Epigraphical collection—*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 750).

<sup>1</sup> Dēśika is believed to have been born in A.D. 1269, Śukla, and to have died in A.D. 1370, Saumya. The present record is of help in confirming the period of his literary activity as the second half of the 14th century A.D.

<sup>2</sup> The artificial ramp formed by an enclosed **maṇḍapa** is called the '**Tirumalais**' or '**girl**', on top of which the shrine of **Varadarāja** is located.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the verse composed in praise of this **Jiyar** :

इत्तीमं लीकविष्णुतं कौण्डिन्यं विदुषां वरम् ।

रामानुजायसिद्धान्तस्थापनाचार्यमाश्रये ॥

<sup>4</sup> This is analogous to the instances in which kings are described as having been seated in particular halls of their palaces and on particular seats, while issuing the orders contained in the respective epigraphs.

2. Nāyaṅār Tiruviḍaikaḷi-Nāyaṅār Ādi-ayaṅa-ttiru-mañjaṅam śeydaruḷi Irāmānujaṅ-tirumaṅḍapattu Nālukavipperumāl-Virasimhāsaṅattu śrī-Śaṭhakōpaṅ tirumuttiṅ-pandal-kkiḷ Nāchchimāruḍaṅ chēndaruḷi-irundu eṅḷai aruḷappāḍittaruḷi nammudāiya aḍiyāril . . . nammudāiya kumāraṅ Hariyaṅaṅ kumāraṅ Hariyaṅaṅ, etc.—(Tirukkōyilūr, No. 356 of 1929 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).
3. Nam bhaktar Malai-maṅḍalattu Tāḷaikkūḍi Śēndapiraṅ-Periyāṅāna Yādavarāyaṅukku nam-aḍukkalaippuram . . . . . śelvadāga nam magāṅār Virapāṅdyadēvarkku eṭṭāvadu, etc.—(Tirunelvēli, No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection—S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 416).

The reigning king of the time is referred to in these records as *nam piḷḷai* or *nam kumāraṅ* 'the god's son or favourite', and in response to his formal petition that a particular transaction may be made, the god is described as sanctioning it and issuing a ratificatory order to that effect to the officials concerned. This convention does not, however, appear to have been in vogue for a long time. Ādi-Chaṅḍēsvara, one of the sixty-three Nāyaṅmārs, is considered to be the steward-in-chief (*mūla-bhṛitya*) of Śaiva temples, and the documents relating to them are drafted in his name. Similarly also Viśhvaksēna or Śēṅai-mudaliyār is looked upon as the Manager of Vaiṣṇava temples. It is one step further to assume that the orders were issued directly by the god himself.<sup>1</sup> Such divine mandates are called *aruḷappāḍu*; and in the Śrīraṅgam temple, god Raṅgarāja is even now conventionally considered to look after the affairs of his temple himself and issue the necessary orders through the mouth of his temple-officials.

Before proceeding to examine the contents of this record, a few expressions occurring in it may be explained.

(L. 2). *Viravallāṅ śimhāsaṅam* and *Ariyaṅavallāṅ-pandal* are the names respectively of a throne and a canopy. The first was probably presented to the temple by the Hoysala king Viraballāja III<sup>2</sup>, while the second may have been named after some one having the title 'he who is as powerful as a lion,'<sup>3</sup> but whose title it was is not known.

*Nam penḍuḷaḷ*—viz., Viṣṇu's two consorts, Śrī and Bhūmī.

*Śaṭhakōpaṅ-pāṅṅu kēḷāṅiṅka*—Śaṭhakōpa is the name of the Vaiṣṇava saint Nammālvār, whose *Tiruvāymoli* is considered equal to the Vēdas in sanctity and is chanted in the presence of the deity on particular occasions. Endowments made for this service in Viṣṇu temples are often mentioned in inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

(L. 3). *Perumālṭāṅ*—Perumālṭāṅ or Perumāḷḍāsaṅ would ordinarily mean 'a devotee of Perumāl (Viṣṇu)'; but in this context it appears to have been the name of the agent, super-

<sup>1</sup> In these instances, the records commence with a Sanskrit verse specifying that the orders emanate from the god himself—

(a) सर्वलोकसमुत्पत्तिस्थितिसंस्कारकारणम् ।

शासनं शास्त्रं शंभोः श्रीश्रीहृदित्तिवासिनः ॥ —No. 127 of 1894 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

(b) एतन् वैलीक्यनिर्माणदाणसंस्कारकारणम् ।

श्रीमत्श्रीरङ्गनाथस्य शासनं शास्त्रं परम् ॥ —No. 51 of 1938-39 of the same collection.

<sup>2</sup> Ballāja III was camping at Kāñchipuram in Bhāvaka (Śaka 1256)—No. 401 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection. In two other records from the same temple, one of which is dated in Śaka 1283, in the regime of Śāluva Maṅgu, the god is described as seated in a similar manner while issuing the orders.

<sup>3</sup> A liquid measure called 'Ariyaṅavallāṅ-nāḷi' was current in this temple at this period—(No. 343 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

<sup>4</sup> Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908, part II, para. 35.

vising the sacred business of the temple (*nam vittu karumam kēlkum*), in whose presence and that of the *Bhāṭṭas* of the temple, the order is stated to have been promulgated. The name 'Vaishṇava-dāsa' occurring in the same line has to be considered as meaning 'the servant-devotee of Vaishṇavas' rather than as the personal name of the donee in the record; for according to the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, the original name of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was Pēraruḷā-laiyaṅ of Viravalli<sup>1</sup> and his *dāsyānāma* on becoming a *saṁnyāsin* was Pēraruḷāla-Jiyaṅ.

(L. 4). *Samārāḍhanamum adukku vēṇḍum muṭṭukkalum*—seems to refer to the worship to be conducted to the deities kept in the *maṭha* itself and the requirements therefor. It is usual for every *maṭha* to have images of some deities for worship. In this connection, it may be noted that on the eve of the demise of Vēdānta-Dēśika, some images are said to have been bequeathed to his disciple Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.<sup>2</sup>

*Postakaṅgalum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇaṅgalum*—By *postakaṅgaḷ* (*pustaka*), manuscript bundles are apparently meant. The *upakaraṇas* are the accessories and paraphernalia required for running a library—such as probably racks for the accommodation of the manuscript bundles, spare sets of *caḍḍan* leaves for copying work, and stylus and other scribal apparatus.

*Rāmānuja-darśanam*—is the Viśiṣṭādvaita-siddhānta as codified and expounded in his *Śrī-bhāṣhya* by the great Vaishṇava apostle Rāmānuja (A.D. 1017-1137). It was he who had raised this system to an unassailable eminence and had arranged for its propagation in true missionary style, by the training of a number of able exponents and *siṁhāsanādhīpatīs*<sup>3</sup> from among his numerous disciples.

(L. 5) *Nam Rāmānujam-uḍaiyārūm nam samayattil uḷḷārūm*—Rāmānujam-uḍaiyār appears to mean the 'followers of Rāmānuja.'<sup>4</sup> The idea seems to be that the selection of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar as the pontiff was to receive the acceptance of Rāmānuja's followers and the Vaishṇava laity (*samayattil-uḷḷār*).

(L. 6) *Ivaṅḱukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣiṅḱapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm*—means that the flowers worn by the god, the clothes used by him and the sandal-paste and unguents utilised for his worship were presented to the Jiyar as a mark indicative of the god's love to the recipient. This expression is found used in some inscriptions<sup>5</sup> and in Vaishṇava literature.

As regards Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the donee of the record, some information is available from Vaishṇava literature. Among the South Indian religions, it was Vaishṇavism alone that had developed the 'historical sense' to an appreciable extent, and there are therefore several biographies of the Vaishṇava *āchāryas* available, collated under the names of *Vaiḍhavas* and *Guruparamparās* of varying volume.<sup>6</sup> One such work dealing with the life of the great Vaishṇava reformer Vēdānta-Dēśika is the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*<sup>7</sup> in Tamil prose by Tṛiṭiya-

<sup>1</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* (Tamil, Madras.), p. 114; see also f. n. 3 on p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

<sup>3</sup> There were 74 *siṁhāsanādhīpatīs* who were selected. Their names are given in the reply to question No. 24 of the *Trinśatpraśnōttaram, Paḷanaḍaiṅiṭṭakkam*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> The following expression from No. 51 of 1938-39 from Śrīraṅgam may be compared—*Koḍavar kōvaṅavar nam bhāṭṭakal . . . nam Rāmānujaṅai-uḍaiyār nam pāḍuvār, etc.*

<sup>5</sup> Compare No. 567 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

<sup>6</sup> There are many biographies of Dēśika available. The *Vēdānta-Dēśika-vaiḍhava-prakāśikā* by Doḍḍay-āchārya is in Sanskrit.

<sup>7</sup> Published in Madras in several editions. Dvitiya-Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the *āchārya* of the author of this work is said to have written the *Pappātrāyirappaḍi-Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, which is not extant.



Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar. Shorn of the few miraculous elements that are inevitable in an orthodox hagiography, this work compiled by an author who lived only a few generations later than Dēśika, may be considered as fairly reliable. From it we gather the following details about Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar, the first of that name, who was a disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika :

**Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar** belonged to the Kaunḍinya-gōtra and was originally called Viravalli Pērarulāyayan. Well-versed in all the *sāstras*, he became an ardent disciple of Dēśika and assumed the *saṁnyāsa* garb under the name of **Pērarulāḷa-Jiyar**. When the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam was looted by the Muhammadans in the first quarter of the 14th century, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar fled along with his *ūchārya* to Satyamaṅgalam (in the Coimbatore District) and returned to Śrīraṅgam only after some years. He was taught the *Bhagavad-vishayam* (*Arāyirappāḍi*) by Varadāchārya *alias* Nayinārāchārya, the son and disciple of Vēdānta-Dēśika, in **Kali 4440, Bahudhānya, Āvaṇi, śu. 2, Hasta** (=A.D. 1338, August 18). On one occasion, he vanquished a pandit of North India in a polemical contest at Śrīraṅgam and was honoured by Dēśika with the title of '**Brahma-tantra-svatantra**'<sup>1</sup> 'he who is a master in Brahma-tantra'. That accounts for the origin of the name by which he was popularly known. On another occasion during the régime of Tirumalai-Śrīnivāsāchārya<sup>2</sup> who had been installed by Dēśika as the *Śrīkārya-dhurandhara* of the Kāñchīpuram temple, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar overcame a Kashmirian pandit in a philosophical discussion and earned the title of '**Paryāya-Bhāshyakāra**'<sup>3</sup>. Some time later under the direction of god Venkateśa in a dream, he accepted the **Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple**, and during his tenure of office there, he installed an image of Vēdānta-Dēśika in a *maṭha* built by him at Tirumala, as well as in a *maṅḍapa* in the Gōvindarāja temple at Lower Tirupati. He stayed at Tirupati for a long time expounding the Vaishṇava philosophy to his disciples Ghaṭikāśatakam-Ammāḷ, Kiḍāmbi-Nayinār, Kōmāṅḍūr-Āchchāṇ, Piḷḷaiy-Appai, Pērarulāyayan-Appai, Kandāḍai-Āṅḍāṇ, Viravalli-Piḷḷai and others. After his demise he was succeeded by Pērarulāyayan-Appai. Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar was the author of two small works—the *Divyasūri-stuti*<sup>4</sup> and the *Āchāryāvātāra-ghaṭṭārtha*.<sup>5</sup>

Though these biographical details may, in the main, be accepted, a few omissions may be noticed. The *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* does not contain a reference to the founding of a *maṭha* at Kāñchīpuram and to the installation of Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in it as its first pontiff for the propagation of the Rāmānuja-*darśanam*, as stated in the present record, nor do the Tirupati inscriptions corroborate his Trusteeship of the Tirupati temple. But these points notwithstanding, Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar of the record under review may be identified with the disciple of

<sup>1</sup> The present record conventionally states that god himself gave the title.

<sup>2</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, p. 138. He was the author of a religious work called the *Prabandha-nirvāṇam*.

<sup>3</sup> A verse composed by Ghaṭikāśatakam-Ammāḷ in praise of this Jiyar reads—

पर्यायभाष्यकाराय प्रणतार्तिं विभून्वते ।

ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्राय द्वितीयब्रह्मणे नमः ॥

<sup>4</sup> The colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रोक्तो दिव्यसूक्तिः ।

<sup>5</sup> Its colophon reads—ब्रह्मतन्त्रस्वतन्त्रेण परकालयतीन्दुना ।

आचार्यावतारवृष्टये संयोजनं प्रकाशयते ॥

Vēdānta-Dēśika, because of the fact that the investiture of this unique title of ' Brahma-tantra-svatantra', herein attributed to the god himself, had been made more than a decade prior to the demise of Dēśika and that this *āchārya's* name figures in three important ' pontifical lists'.<sup>1</sup>

The *maṭha* which was thus started at Kāñchīpuram under the pontificate of this Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar in A.D. 1360 grew in importance and appears to have latterly removed its headquarters to Mēlkōṭe in the Mysore State, where it became popular under the name of the Parakāla-maṭha<sup>2</sup>. There were several scholars among the subsequent heads of this *maṭha*, and a short sketch of its history has been given in the *granth-ōpasamhāra* of the *Alaṅkāra-maṅgihāra*,<sup>3</sup> a work on rhetoric composed recently by one of its pontiffs also called Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyar.

At about this time in Śaka 1300 there was in the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram, a minor *maṭha* called the Vēda-maṭha, which was presided over by a certain Vēdēndrasāgara-śrīpāda and which probably specialised in the teaching of the Vēdas.<sup>4</sup> Another important Vaiṣṇava *maṭha* which came into existence in this period was the Ahōbala-maṭha,<sup>5</sup> whose founder Śrīnivāsa, son of Kiḍāmbi Kēśavāchārya of Tirunārāyanapuram, is, according to orthodox tradition, believed to have assumed the *Samnyāsāśrama* in Śaka 1320 (A.D. 1398) under the name of Ādivaṅ Śaṭhakōpa-Jiyar and to have been its first pontiff for a period of sixty years till A.D. 1458.

Vēdānta-Dēśika is stated in the *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam* to have been the contemporary of a certain Telugu chief named Sarvajña-Śīngabhūpāla and to have composed the *Subhāshita-nīvi* for his delectation.<sup>6</sup> The same chief is said to have honoured Nayaṅārāchārya, the son and disciple of Dēśika, with the gift of a palanquin and other paraphernalia, when this *āchārya* went to the northern parts in his religious tours. It follows therefore that Brahma-tantra-svatantra was also a contemporary of this Śīnga. According to the *Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvalī*<sup>7</sup> dealing with the history of the Rēcherla chiefs, there were three chiefs of the name of Śīnga. Of these, Śīnga III who came to power in A.D. 1425 had the title of Sarvajña.<sup>8</sup> The author of the work on rhetoric called the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*<sup>9</sup> was a Śīnga, son of an Annavōta; and he has been identified with Śīnga II and has been assigned to about A.D. 1380.<sup>10</sup> There was another earlier Śīnga I who flourished about this time and was killed by a certain Tammaḷa-Bommayya in A.D. 1360. It is no

<sup>1</sup> In this connection the following orthodox three-fold ' lists ' may be noted :

(a) *Mantrārtha-guruparamparā*—Emberumāṅār, Kiḍāmbi-Āchchāṅ, Kiḍāmbi Rāmānuja Appuḷḷāṅ, Śrī-raṅgarājār, Appuḷḷār, Dēśikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantra.

(b) *Śrībhāshya-guruparamparā*—Emberumāṅār, Tirakkurugaippirāṅ-Piḷḷāṅ, Eṅgaḷāḷvāṅ, Nāḍādūr-Ammā, Appuḷḷār, Dēśikar and Brahma-tantra-svatantra.

(c) *Bhagavad-vishaya-guruparamparā*—Same as in (b), Dēśikar, Nayaṅārāchāryar and Brahma-tantra-svatantra.

<sup>2</sup> See *Paḷanaḍaivijakam*, Part II, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Published in the *Mysore Sanskrit Series*.

<sup>4</sup> No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1890—*S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 355.

<sup>5</sup> Vide *Tirupati Dēvasthānam Report* (1930), p. 214, where these traditional dates are questioned and are post-dated by a cycle of sixty years.

<sup>6</sup> *Guruparamparā-prabhāvam*, pp. 120 and 139. Two other works named the *Tatvasandēśa* and the *Rahasya-sandēśa* are also stated to have been composed for the same purpose.

<sup>7</sup> Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, *Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvalī*, Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Vasantarāja, brother of the latter Śīnga III, made a gift of four *dvārapālaka* images to the Varadarāja temple at Kāñchīpuram (No. 683 of 1919) in Śaka 1359.

<sup>9</sup> श्रीमदसुब्रह्मललाषीश्वर-प्रतिगच्छभैरव-श्रीयन्नवेतनरेन्दनन्दन-भुवनेश्वरभौम-श्रीशिवभूषण-विरचितं रत्नाशंखसुधाकरं—

<sup>10</sup> His date has been discussed in *Śringāra-Śrīnāthamu* (Telugu) by Prabhākara Śāstrī, p. 179, etc

doubt tempting to identify the author of the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara*, with the chief who honoured the two *āchāryas*.<sup>1</sup> As Vēdānta-Dēśika is believed to have passed away in A.D. 1370,<sup>2</sup> and as Nayiṅārāchārya had also attained to literary fame before A.D. 1360, their contemporary has been considered to have been Śiṅga I of A.D. 1360, who lived within the life-time of Dēśika but who is not known to have had the title of Sarvajña or more appropriately, Śiṅga II who actually began to rule later, but who may have been a young chieftain at the time of Nayiṅārāchārya's visit administering a portion of the territory in conjunction with his father Anavōta, for whom, however, records up to Śaka 1307 are found.

The existence of one other Śiṅga at this period may also be noted. In the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi-Nāyaka<sup>3</sup> dated in Śaka 1280, only two years earlier than the date of the present record, it is stated that a village which had been granted by one of the chiefs of Kōrukoṇḍa to a Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa, the seventh of that name, was transferred to the temple of god Raṅganātha by his mother, on the death of the latter without issue. This grant indicates that the Kōrukoṇḍa chiefs were devout Vaishṇavas and that a descendant of the famous Bhaṭṭar family of Śrīraṅgam was honoured by one of them. This Mummaḍi-Nāyaka is stated to have had two younger brothers, one of whom was a Śiṅga who was ruling over a portion of his brother's territory with headquarters at Kōtipura in the Godavari District. His father was a Kūna. But the chief, to whom Dēśika<sup>4</sup> had dedicated the three works referred to above, is said to have been the son of a Mādhaba-Nāyaka. If this is so, he cannot be identified either with the Rēcherla Śiṅga, son of Anavōta, or the Kōrukoṇḍa Śiṅga, son of Kūna. His identity must therefore remain undetermined for the present.

Another point of interest in this epigraph is the reference to a **collection of manuscripts** (or a library) which was kept in the *maṭha* and a stipulation made for its proper upkeep, as envisaged in the expression ' *iva tēdina postakaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṅgaḷum*'. It is well-known that in the medieval centuries, religious institutions of all denominations, Śaiva, Vaishṇava and Jaina, flourished in South India, either as a result of royal patronage or supported by private benefactions. They appear to have been primarily intended as seminaries for the imparting of religious education and incidentally for the dissemination of secular knowledge as well. The extensive properties granted from time to time to temples and to such religious establishments were left in charge of the heads of these *maṭhas* called *Maṭhādhipatis*, *Mudaliyārs* or *Jiyars*, on whom devolved the duty of supervising the proper conduct of the services for which the endowments had been intended, and who, in turn, enjoyed some privileges as remuneration for their services. Then there were also the *Ghaṭikāsthānas* (i.e.) 'establishments for holy and learned men', and smaller educational institutions of which there were many in the land, which were responsible for the intellectual well-being of the community. The munificent donations made for the

<sup>1</sup> Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has kindly brought to my notice a reference from Mr. M. Doraswamayya's article in the *Tirumalai Śrī-Venkateśvara*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 51 ff., wherein Śiṅgabhūpāla, the author, has been assigned to a period before A. D. 1370, on the strength of the fact that the *Rasārṇava-sudhākara* has been quoted from by the *Chamatkara-chandrikā* of Viśvēśvara, which latter is referred to in the *Aṅkārasudhanāli* of Bhōganātha of about. A.D. 1370.

<sup>2</sup> The Sanskrit verses engraved in the Śrīraṅgam temple eulogising the restoration of the Raṅganātha image by Gōpaṅārya, are stated in the *Guruparamparā* to have been composed by Dēśika himself. If so he must have passed away soon after this incident.

<sup>3</sup> *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 84 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1913, pp. 129-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Life and Literary Writings of Dēśika*, by M. K. Tātāchārya, where the following is quoted—

इदमित्ति निगमान्तदीक्षितेन प्रसिद्धमदिच्छत माधवात्मजस्य ।

maintenance of these institutions are recorded in several inscriptions;<sup>1</sup> but though no specific references to libraries as such, are found in them, it is, however, reasonable to infer that when these *mathas*, *ghaṭikās* and *pāthasālās* were functioning properly, they must have been maintaining well-stocked libraries, for the use of the teachers as well as the taught.

The numerous collections of manuscripts which have been found in *mathas* and other places in South India, bear ample testimony to the fact that the library was a fairly well-recognised institution of medieval religious and student life. But specific references to libraries as such are, as stated already, rather rare in inscriptions. A record of the Western Chālukya king Trailōkyamalla-Āhavamalla dated in Śaka 980 (=A.D. 1058) from Nāgai<sup>2</sup> in the Hyderabad State mentions that *Danḍanātha-Triṇētra* Madhusūdana, a general of the king, received from his master among many other endowments, a gift of land for the maintenance of six Curators called *Sarasvatī-Bhaṇḍārigas* who were placed in charge of the library attached to the college (*Ghaṭikāsālā*) at Nāgavāvi-agrahāra, which had several hundred students on its rolls. Another interesting reference to a **Sarasvatī-bhaṇḍāra** or library is found in a fragmentary epigraph<sup>3</sup> engraved on the east wall of the third *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam in the Trichinopoly District. It is but natural to expect that this temple which is classified as belonging to the *uttamōttama* type, should have been provided with a library as well.<sup>4</sup> The record states that in an auxiliary *maṇḍapa* which accommodated this library, provision was appropriately made for the installation and worship of the images of the three presiding deities of learning—*viz.*, Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī and Vyāsa-Bhagavān, by Pālappalli Nilakaṇṭha-Nāyaka. As this person was a contemporary of Hoysala Vira-Rāmanātha, in whose 14th year inscription<sup>5</sup> (A.D. 1269) he is mentioned, the library of the Śrīraṅgam temple was in existence from the middle of the 13th century A.D. A **pustaka-bhāṇḍāra** as an adjunct to the Advaitic Śaṅkara-*matha* at Śrīngēri in the Mysore State is mentioned in two epigraphs<sup>6</sup> from Vaṅṅyāla near Perdūru in the South Kanara District, which belong to the early Vijayanagara period. One of them is dated in Śaka 1328 in the reign of king Bukka II and registers a gift of land for the maintenance of a certain Purāṇika Kavi-Kṛṣṇa-Bhaṭṭa, who was the Curator in charge of this library, while the other dated a few years later in Śaka 1354 in the reign of king Dēvarāya II, relates to another gift of land made to the Curator's son Kavi-Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa, who evidently succeeded his father in his office.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Tirumugappadi<sup>7</sup> [\*] Svasti śrī[\*]{} Ētat=sur-āsura-ādhiśa-mauli-ratna-prabh-ārunam [\*]  
Śrīmat-Hastigiriśasya dēvadēvasya śāsanam ॐ[\*]{} Vikāri-samvatsarattu  
Mēsha-nāyaṅṅu pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Velli-kkilamaiyum
- 2 perra Aśvati-nā| abhishēka-maṇḍapattu Vira-Vallāṅṅ-simhāsanattu Ariyeṅavallāṅṅ-panda-  
ki| nāmum nam peṅḍugaṅḍaṅ Śatakōpaṅṅ-pāṭṭu-kkēṅāniṅka nam viḍu<sup>8</sup> karumam  
kēṅkum

<sup>1</sup> Several inscriptions relate to the provision made for the maintenance of such educational institutions, notable among them being those copied from Enṅāyiram in the South Arcot District (No. 333 of 1917 of the Madras Epigraphical collection), Kāvaṅṅūr (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1933, Part II, para. 35), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The Inscriptions of Nāgai (*Hyderabad Archl. Series*, No. 8), p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> No. 139 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

<sup>4</sup> In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Paushkara-Samhitā* (published at Mēlkōte, Mysore, 1934), one of the three authoritative works of the Pāṅcharātra school, has a chapter entitled '*Jāna-pratishṭhānam*', giving rules for the formation of a library in a temple. This reference was brought to my notice by Mr. S. Parthasarathi Ayyangar of the Dēvasthānam Library at Śrīraṅgam.

<sup>5</sup> No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 283 and 284 of the same collection for 1936-37.

<sup>7</sup> This word is written below 'Svasti śrī' in slightly smaller characters.

<sup>8</sup> *Svasti Śrī* and several other Sanskrit words are engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>9</sup> May also be corrected into *nam viṅṅu karumam*.

- 3 Perumāḷtāṇam nam bhātṭa[r\*]kaḷum ṣolla-kkēṭṭu **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-**  
 jīyaṇ<sup>1</sup> eṇru nām pēr-kuḍutta Vaiṣṇavadāsaṇukku nām kuḍuttapaḍi [I\*] Ivaṇukku  
 upḍāna maṭhamum maṭhattai nōkki
- 4 varum kshētramum samārāḍhanamum adukku vēṇḍum muttukkaḷum ivaṇ tēḍina posta-  
 kaṅgaḷum idukku vēṇḍum upakaraṇgaḷum nam Rāmānujan-darśanam naḍak-  
 kaikkāga ivaṇukku
- 5 piṇbum ivaṇ niyamitta ivaṇuḍaiya śiṣhyarḷaḷ paramparaiy-āga ivaiyirai-kkaikkonḍu  
 naḍatti-ppōdakkāḍavargaḷ-āgavum [I\*] Ivaṇai nam Rāmānujam-uḍaiyārum nam  
 samayattil uḷḷārum<sup>2</sup> kai-
- 6 kkonḍu naḍatti-ppōda-cheṇṇōm [I\*] I-cheṇḍiyai-kkallilum śembilum vēṭṭikkollumbaḍi  
 ivaṇukku nām muḍittapaḍiyum uḍuttapaḍiyum pūṣiṇapaḍiyum kuḍuttōm ௨  
 Ippaḍikku-
- 7 ttiruvāy-malarud=aruḷiṇapaḍikku kōyil-kkaṇakku Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ eḷuttu ௨ I-ttirumugam  
 eḷudina Śakābdam āyirattu iru-nūṟṟu eṇbattu-iraṇḍ-āvadu ௨

#### TRANSLATION.

This is according to the sacred order.

Hail! Prosperity!

This is the order of the glorious Lord of Hastigiri, the god of gods, which is red with the brilliance of the gems in the diadems of the (*supplicating*) lords of the celestials and of the *Asuras*:

"In the month of Mēsha of the (*cyclic*) year **Vikārin**, on a Friday with prathamā-tithi of the first fortnight and Aśvati-nakshatra, while We, in company with Our consorts, were listening to the songs of Śaṭhakōpa, seated on the throne (*named*) Viravallāṇ under the canopy (*called*) Ariyeṇavallāṇ in the *abhiśhēka-maṇḍapa* (*of the temple*)—

on the representation (*made*) by Perumāḷtāṇ, who supervises the (*sacred*) business of Our temple (*nam viḍu*), and by Our *Bhātṭas*, We were pleased to assign to a *Vaiṣṇavadāsa* on whom we had bestowed the name of **Brahma-tantra-svatantra-Jiyaṇ**, the *maṭha* which had been set apart for him, the lands belonging thereto, the worship to be conducted therein and the expenses therefor, the books which he had accumulated and the accessories required for them (*i.e.*, their maintenance), so that he may propagate Our Rāmānuja-*darśanam*, and after him, the disciples selected by him may, in succession, take possession of these and continue (*the work*).

We directed that the followers of Rāmānuja (Rāmānujam-uḍaiyār) and those of our *Vaiṣṇava samayam* shall accept him (*i.e.*, his pontificate) and carry on (*the work*).

We also ordered that this information be engraved on stone and copper, and We presented him (*in token of Our regard*) what had been used (*as garlands*), what had been worn (*as clothes*), and what had been anointed (*as unguents*) by Us."

As thus graciously commanded (*by the god*), this is the writing (*or signature*) of the temple-accountant Pēraruḷālapriyaṇ.

The Śaka year in which this sacred order was written (engraved) is One thousand two hundred and eighty-two.

<sup>1</sup> Read *-svatantra-Jiyaṇ*.

<sup>2</sup> Engraved below the line.

## No. 35.—KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

It was early in the year 1935 that the late Babu Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta, a well-known Jain antiquarian, kindly placed at my disposal a couple of inked estampages of the subjoined inscription for decipherment and publication. He informed me that the inscription appears on a stone pedestal which is in the possession of Babu Bhagwan Das of Silao<sup>1</sup> in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District. This gentleman, I understand, owns a collection of antiquities. He could not tell the exact provenance of the present piece, as the collection had existed in the family from before his time and is apparently not properly enlisted. Considering, however, that Silao is situated between the famous archaeological sites of Nālandā and Rājagṛīha, it is probable that the find hailed from one of these two places. But, as will be shown below,<sup>2</sup> it is more likely that the piece belonged to Silao itself.

From the estampages supplied by Babu Puran Chand, I could read a considerable part of the epigraph. For its complete decipherment, however, an examination of the original or, at least, a set of better impressions was essential. During the summer of that very year, I had occasion to visit Silao, but unfortunately I then missed Babu Bhagwan Das there. Consequently I had to go disappointed without seeing either his collection or the inscribed pedestal in question.

About two years later, Mr. J. K. Roy, the then Custodian of Nalanda Museum and Monuments, at my request, got a fresh set of impressions prepared, which he kindly sent to me along with his description of the sculptured piece. In December 1939, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Patna, further obliged me by furnishing me with two photographs of the damaged sculpture and three impressions, on thin paper, of its inscription. The new material enabled me to read the inscription almost entirely.

As may be seen from the accompanying photographic reproduction, the pedestal is elliptical in shape and has, in its centre, a remnant of the kneeling statue, carved in the round, which once surmounted it. The pedestal stands 9" high, and measures 20" at its longest and 14½" at its broadest. The extant portion of the figure shows that it represented a person seated in the attitude that is technically called *ālīḡhāsana*. The symmetrical lines seen on its right leg suggest folds of the *dhōḡ* or the lower garment. Further, the pedestal has, at its bottom, a tenon, about 6" long and 4" wide, which shows that the present sculpture was placed on a larger pedestal by the side of some other statue or statues. This is borne out also by the posture of the present image, as judged from its surviving portion. The posture recalls to one's mind certain representations of Garuḡa, Vishṇu's *vāhana*, depicted as offering worship with folded hands or waiting on his master. In the present instance, however, the figure represented, as is disclosed by the inscription, not Garuḡa but *Kāśyapa* who, as will presently be shown, was a famous disciple of the Buddha. We may thus conclude that the present image, representing Kāśyapa in worshipful attitude, was originally installed next to the statue of his teacher, Gautama Buddha, in a shrine or a sanctuary somewhere near the modern village of Silao.

The pedestal is partitioned into two by an inward curve. The inscription runs along the upper band and consists of three lines, each measuring about 21" in length. It is

<sup>1</sup> Silao is a railway station on the Bukhtiarpur-Bihar Light Railway section of East Indian Railway.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 331.

slightly weather-worn, especially on the right-hand extremity where a few letters in the first line I have not been able to make out. Again, due to erosion, parts of letters and signs of superscript *rēpha* have, at certain places, been rendered obscure. In most cases, however, they can be made out from the moulds on the back of an estampage. The average size of the letters is  $\frac{3}{8}$ ".

The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Kielhorn described this type as "the Magadha variety of the Nāgarī alphabet"<sup>1</sup>, while some other scholars more appropriately call it "the Eastern variety of Nāgarī"<sup>2</sup>. The script of the present record bears a close resemblance to that used in the Ghōsrāwā inscription<sup>3</sup> of the time of the Pāla king Dēvapāladēva who reigned from c. A.D. 801 to c. A.D. 840<sup>4</sup>. In view of this consideration, the present inscription, which neither bears a date nor mentions any ruler's name, may be placed in the first half of the ninth century A.D.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and its composition is entirely in verse, all the three stanzas forming but one sentence. The following points are worthy of note in respect of orthography, a consonant followed by a *r* is very often reduplicated, *s* is used for *ś* in *yas=cha*, l. 2 and *gītas=cha*, l. 3, and *v* is used for *b* in *Vauddha*, l. 3. The sign of *avagraha* appears twice. Grammatically, the form *amit-ardhau*, l. 1, is wrong. As an adjective of *kulē*, it ought to be *amit-ardhin*. Similarly the use of the feminine gender in the word *ādī* in *svīya-samhātik-ādīr*, l. 3, is incorrect. In a compound like the present one, it should ordinarily be treated in the neuter gender. The exact sense of the expression *yānti dvaidham*, l. 2, in the given context is not clear to me, though I have rendered it as 'vie with one another'<sup>5</sup>. Of lexicographical interest are the terms *purasa*, l. 2, and *samhātikā*, l. 3. The former in all probability is meant to be an equivalent of *purata* which is equally of rare occurrence and means 'gold'. The latter appears here as a synonym of *samghāṭī* or *samghātikā* which is peculiar to Buddhist terminology and denotes 'one of the three robes of a monk' (*tri-chīvara*)<sup>6</sup>.

As regards contents, the inscription is virtually a label to the image which once surmounted the pedestal, giving in a compendious form a laudatory account of the deity represented. The deity or the deified personage, as is disclosed by the inscription, was Kāśyapa.

This Kāśyapa is no other than the Buddha's favourite disciple Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa who is reputed to have convened the First Buddhist Council<sup>7</sup> at Rājagṛha three months after the *parinirvāṇa* of the Master. Even during the Buddha's lifetime Kāśyapa had become a foremost Arhat. It is perhaps on account of his playing such a prominent part in preserving and expounding the Lord's teachings that he has been accorded such an exalted rank as to be deified. In the Mahāyāna Buddhist iconography he has been confused with a previous Buddha, called Kāśyapa. There he figures as the sixth Mānushi-Buddha of the group of seven.<sup>8</sup> There is hardly any Buddhist treatise wherein some

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> Compare, for instance, the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar's remarks in *Monographs of the Varendra Research Society* No. 1 (Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāladēva), p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff. and plate.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 379.

<sup>5</sup> See below p. 334, n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Childers, *Dictionary of the Pālī Language*, under the word *samghāṭī*.

<sup>7</sup> Jean Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 8, 30, etc.; R. C. Majumdar *Buddhist Councils in Buddhistic Studies* edited by B. C. Law, pp. 26 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism* p. 15; Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

account of Kāśyapa may not be met with. We have, however, certain references in literature, which are of great value to us inasmuch as they not only bear out the information imparted by our inscription but also supplement it. It will, therefore, be interesting to cite them here.

The events narrated in the inscription evidently follow the order of their sequence. It may further be observed that each of the nine attributive clauses refers to one distinct happening connected with Kāśyapa's life. To sum up the whole, Kāśyapa (1) occupied the position of Surapati for seven times successively in some of his former births, (2) was born on this earth in a wealthy family, (3)<sup>1</sup>, (4) renounced the world, forsaking his wife Kāpileyā, (5) showed sympathy with the wretched, so much so that it excited the admiration of the gods, (6) worshipped the Lord with intense piety, (7) received the Lord's robe at the time of the latter's *nirvāṇa*, (8) expounded the Law<sup>2</sup> and finally (9) attained *nirvāṇa* on the mount Gurupāda.

In literature, it is the later Pāli works like various *Aṭṭhakathās* that furnish us with a somewhat detailed narrative of Kāśyapa's<sup>3</sup> early life, which may be summarised as follows: "His boyhood's name was Pippali Mānavaka". He was born to a wealthy Brāhmaṇa of the Kapila *gōtra* at the village of Mahātittha (Mahātīrtha) in Magadha. From the very beginning he was averse to worldly life. He would look after his parents so long as they lived and afterwards turn a monk. But when he came of age, his parents exhorted him to marry. He refused to do so. However, when his mother persistently remonstrated with him on this point, he devised means by which, he thought, he would have his way and, at the same time, would not incur his mother's displeasure. He got an image of a young lady of supernatural beauty fashioned of pure gold, bedecked with glittering jewels and daintily clad in red. He presented the image to his mother, declaring that if he were to have a bride of that form, he would fain go in for wedlock. He had fancied that neither would such a paragon of beauty be forthcoming, nor would he marry. This, however, did not dishearten his mother. She rather imagined that her son was very fortunate and that he must have done meritorious deeds in his former births, not alone but in company with a lady of golden hue (*suvarṇa-varṇā*). She, therefore, at once called in a council of eight Brāhmaṇas, handed over the gold idol to them and charged them with the duty of finding out a damsel of the requisite beauty to be the bride of her son. The Brāhmaṇas mounted the idol on a chariot and set out on their mission. They travelled far and wide until at last they reached the city of Sāgala<sup>4</sup> in the Madra *dēśa*, where they found a girl who in grace and charm far excelled the gold image, not to speak of resembling

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the portion left unread here, it is not clear what event was described in this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> This obviously adverts to the occasion of the First Buddhist Council which was held at Rājagriha, convened and presided over by Kāśyapa.

<sup>3</sup> It will be clear from Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* that the Buddhist literature knows of numerous personages bearing the name Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa. A fairly exhaustive description of the Kāśyapa of our record is given in that work under *Mahā Kassapa Thera* (Vol. II, pp. 476-483), which winds up with the remark that "Mahā Kassapa was so called to distinguish him from other Kassapas, and also because he was possessed of great virtues".

<sup>4</sup> Sāgala or Sākala has been identified with Sialkot in the Punjab. See Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 686 f.; N. L. Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, pp. 173 f.; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, pp. 53 f. The country of the Madras lay between the Ravi and the Chinab; see N. L. Dey, *op. cit.* p. 116.



it. She was Bhadrā Kāpilāyani,<sup>1</sup> daughter of an equally well-to-do Brāhmaṇa of the Kausika *gōtra*. She shared the propensities of Pippalī Mānavaka, like him not caring for connubial felicity. Finally, however, their marriage was settled in spite of them. They married, but did not lead a married life. An opportunity offered itself and they forsook each other, renounced all and turned ascetics.

“Pippalī Mānavaka, with a single robe on and a bowl in hand, left home in quest of the Buddha. He saw the Lord seated under a *bōdhi* tree called Bahuputraka somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā. It was there that he received his ordination (*upasampadā*) from the Lord. Later on Pippalī Mānavaka, now Kāśyapa, presented his silken *saṃghātī* to the Master and accepted with alacrity from the latter his coarse and threadbare robe in exchange. So ardent was Kāśyapa's faith that he attained the position of an Arhat only a week after his ordination.”<sup>2</sup>

Aśvaghōsha has also left us a brief sketch of Kāśyapa.<sup>3</sup> Therein Kāśyapa is said to be *Rāj-ādi-gēh-ākhya-dēsi* which compound Cowell translates as ‘an inhabitant of Rājagēha’.<sup>4</sup> We have just learnt from the *Aṭṭhakathās* that Kāśyapa hailed from a village called Mahātitttha in Magadha. In the light of this information we may explain the above expression more precisely as ‘an inhabitant of the country named Rājagēha’. We know that Rājagriha was then the capital of Magadha: And in the present instance the country is denoted simply by the name of its capital, which practice has not been uncommon.<sup>5</sup> In this way Aśvaghōsha's statement on the point of Kāśyapa's native land is not at variance with the information contained in the *Aṭṭhakathās*. Again, according to Aśvaghōsha's description, Kāśyapa had performed six years' hard penance before he met the Master.

Aśvaghōsha does not allude to Kāśyapa's marriage with Bhadrā Kāpilāyani, which event is, however, confirmed by references in certain stories of the Buddha's former births. Thus in the *Asātamanta Jātaka*,<sup>6</sup> the Lord identifies the characters of that story in the following manner: “Kāpilāni was the mother of those days, Māhā-Kassapa was the father, Ānanda the pupil, and I myself the teacher”.<sup>7</sup> Similarly in the *Hatthipāla Jātaka*, the chaplain was Kassapa and his wife was Bhaddakāpilāni.<sup>8</sup> Again, in the *Sāma Jātaka*, the father was Kassapa and the mother Bhaddakāpilāni.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The name *Kāpilāyani* (or *Kāpilāni* or *Kāpilāyā* as we shall have it later) is apparently derived from *Kapila*, which, as we know from the *Apadāna* (P. T. S. edition, p. 583, *verse 57*), was Bhadrā's father's name. The same source gives her mother's name as *Suchimatī*. A detailed account of her also is found in Dr. G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* under *Bhaddā Kāpilāni Therī* (Vol. II, pp. 354-55).

<sup>2</sup> This summary is extracted from an account of *Kāśyapa-saṃnyāsa*, which is given by Mahāpaṇḍita Tripiṭakācārya Rāhula Sāṃkrityāyana in his *Buddhācharya* (Hindi), pp. 41 ff., and which in its turn is based upon the following works: *Theragāthā Aṭṭhakathā* 30; *Saṃyutta-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, 15, 1, 11; *Anguttara-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā* 1. 1. 4.

<sup>3</sup> E. B. Cowell's edition of Aśvaghōsha's *Buddhācharita*, XVII, 12:

द्विजः काश्यपाख्यी धने यत्नरात्रौ गुरुर्वेदविद्यासु राजादिनेहास्यदेशी  
सुचिन्तः (सुचिन्तः ?) पटं चैकवाच्यं समाधाय सर्वान् विद्यायागमचापसी(०सं ?) बोधिमौसुः ।  
यदा बोधिरन्वतितीक्ष्णो कुमारसपः प्राचरहुत्करं तत् पडम् नडात्मा  
ततोऽवाह बोधिं मुनीन्द्रं समर्थ्या(समर्थ्या)भवत्काश्यपीक्षी यतीशोऽर्चितामयगणः ॥

<sup>4</sup> *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX, part i, p. 193 f.

<sup>5</sup> Compare such cases as *Avantī* and *Kāñchī*.

<sup>6</sup> V. Fausboll's edition of *The Jātaka*, No. 61.

<sup>7</sup> Translation of *The Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> *The Jātaka*, No. 509. Translation, Vol. IV, p. 304.

<sup>9</sup> *The Jātaka*, No. 540. Translation, Vol. VI, p. 52.

It may at once be recognised that *Kāpilāni* and *Bhaddakāpilāni* of the *Jātakas* and the *Aṭṭhakathās*, and *Kāpilēyā* of the present inscription are but variants of one and the same name and refer likewise to one and the same person, namely Kāśyapa's wife.

It may parenthetically be pointed out that according to the *Aṭṭhakathās* it was, as noted above, somewhere between Rājagriha and Nālandā that Kāśyapa's first meeting with the Lord took place. That position almost corresponds to the modern village of Silao. May we then suppose that the statue of Kāśyapa was set up there in order to sanctify the spot and thereby to commemorate the first meeting? In that case, the find-spot of the inscribed pedestal under discussion, as has already been hinted, must be Silao.

Now if we compare the above descriptions with the account given in our inscription, we shall find that most of the details do agree. There are, however, certain points which it has not been possible for me to corroborate by literary references. In the first place, Kāśyapa is stated to have acted as Indra for seven terms on end. He must have attained such a distinction as a reward for highly meritorious deeds on his part; but I have not been able to find any mention of this fact in literature. We are told that Gautama Buddha himself was Śakra in twenty of his antecedent births, that there is a Śakra in every *chakravāla* and that the office of Śakra, which is in fact the sovereignty of the *Tāvātimsa* angels, is held only for a limited period by the same individual.<sup>1</sup> It is said of Kāśyapa that 'he bestowed his favours only on the poor',<sup>2</sup> which sentiment is echoed in *din-ānāh-ānugata-manasaḥ* of our inscription, l. 2.

We further learn from the inscription that the Buddha, while entering *nirvāṇa*, gave away his *saṃghāṭi* and other things to Kāśyapa. I could not find this event related in any of the Buddhist canonical works. All that we know in this connection is this, as we have noticed above, that the Lord and Kāśyapa exchanged their *saṃghāṭis* shortly after their first meeting. However, the information from the Chinese sources in this regard is in perfect agreement with the account of our inscription. According to that, Tahtāgata, on the point of attaining *nirvāṇa*, addressed Kāśyapa and said *inter alia*: "The golden-tissued *Kashāya* robe given me by my foster-mother I bid you keep and deliver to Maitrēya when he has completed the condition of Buddha."<sup>3</sup>

Finally we come to the *nirvāṇa* of Kāśyapa himself, which is stated to have taken place on the mount Gurupāda. Here, too, the Chinese record is in full concord.<sup>4</sup> In the *Divyāvadānamālā*,<sup>5</sup> the name of the mountain is given as Gurupādaka, while elsewhere it is also called Kukkuṭapāda.<sup>6</sup> The identification of this hill had long been a subject of keen controversy among such eminent scholars as Cunningham, Beal and Stein until at last the late Mr. R. D. Banerji brought the issue to a successful close by offering a thoroughly satisfactory solution. Cunningham contended that three bare and rugged hills in the vicinity of Kurkihār, 16 miles to the east of Gayā, represent the Kukkuṭapādagiri, taking the name *Kurkihār* to be a contraction of *Kukkuṭa-vihāra* or *Kukkuṭapāda-vihāra* and, at the same time, presuming a connection between this last and the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.<sup>7</sup> Beal had his objections to this identification, for, to him

<sup>1</sup> See R. C. Childers' *Dictionary of the Pali Language* under the word *SAKKO* (Śakra), p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 481.

<sup>3</sup> S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, 143. The Tibetan version records that Mahākāśyapa 'changed the garments which enshrouded the Blessed one for others from his store'. W. W. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 242.

<sup>5</sup> Cowell's edition, p. 61; and Rājendralāla Mitra, *The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, p. 308.

<sup>6</sup> Beal, *op. cit.* p. 142; Beal, *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*, p. 132; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 89; Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 161.

<sup>7</sup> *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 14-16, Vol. XV, pp. 4-6.

the location did not agree with the accounts of the Chinese travellers. Moreover, he has emphatically pointed out that the Kukkuṭārāma or Kukkuṭa-vihāra must not be confounded with the Kukkuṭapāda-giri.<sup>1</sup> Stein had occasion to visit this part of the country in the winter of 1899, and, with a view to arriving at a definite opinion regarding the identification, he made a thorough survey. After a close examination he came to the conclusion that the Kukkuṭapāda-giri or Gurupāda-giri is represented by the Sōbhnāth hill, a part of the Maher hill, in the district of Gayā.<sup>2</sup> Stein's identification met Beal's objections to some extent, but was not totally convincing. Finally Banerji investigated the matter further, and conclusively proved that the modern representative of the Gurupāda-giri is to be found in the Gulpā hill in the district of Gayā.<sup>3</sup> This identification is warranted not only by the name *Gulpā* being phonetically a corrupt form of the *Gurupāda* itself, but also because it satisfies all other considerations, as detailed by the author.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, some scholars even now, knowingly or unknowingly, adhere to Cunningham's discarded identification of the Kukkuṭapāda mountain with Kurkihar.<sup>5</sup>

Judging from the description of the pedestal as well as from the nature of the inscription on it, the statue of Kāśyapa in question must have been one of considerable artistic merit, typifying the art of the Pāla period. It is greatly to be regretted that the major portion of the statue itself is not forthcoming. It would have been a unique specimen inasmuch as the known sculptural representations of Kāśyapa are few. In fact, so far as I know, we do not have a single entire piece of this kind. At Bishanpur in the Gayā district, Beglar noticed one image of Kāśyapa. "On a small bas-relief", so runs his description, "representing a figure seated cross-legged in Buddha fashion is inscribed *Ye Dharmma Rāsi Māha Kasyapa (sic.)*; this statue is clearly therefore one, of the venerable president of the first synod, and is the only one I have seen or heard of, of one of Buddha's disciples." The present whereabouts of this statue are not known. Even in 1899, when Stein visited Bishanpur, he found it missing, for he writes: "I was, however, unable to trace the small bas-relief, which is mentioned by Mr. Beglar as bearing a short inscription with the name of Mahākāśyapa."<sup>7</sup> It may in passing be pointed out that plastic representations even of the Kāśyapa Buddha, who, as has been shown above, is sometimes mixed up with the Mahā-Kāśyapa, are equally rare. The Curzon Museum of Archaeology at Muttra has recently acquired an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha, carved in the round, standing on an inscribed pedestal; but the upper half of it is missing. It belongs to the Kuṣhāṇa period. The preserved part, from the girdle downwards, shows it wearing a *dhōṭī*, a *mēḷhalā* and a scarf.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See his *Travels of Fah-Hian and Sung-Yun*, p. 132 n.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 327 f., and his *Si-Yu-Ki* (Buddhist Records of the Western World), Vol. II, p. 96 and n. 32, p. 142 and n. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. II (1902), pp. 77-83.

<sup>4</sup> With regard to the identification of the Gurupāda-giri, the reader is also referred to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. Majumdar Sastri (1924), pp. 526 ff. and pp. 720 f.; and to N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, under Gurupāda-giri, Kukkuṭapāda-giri, Gulpā-Hill, Kurkihar and Sobhnāth Hill.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance B. C. Law's *Rājagṛiha in Ancient Literature* (Memoirs of the A. S. I., No. 58), p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Cunningham's *Reports A. S. I.*, Vol. VII, p. 105.

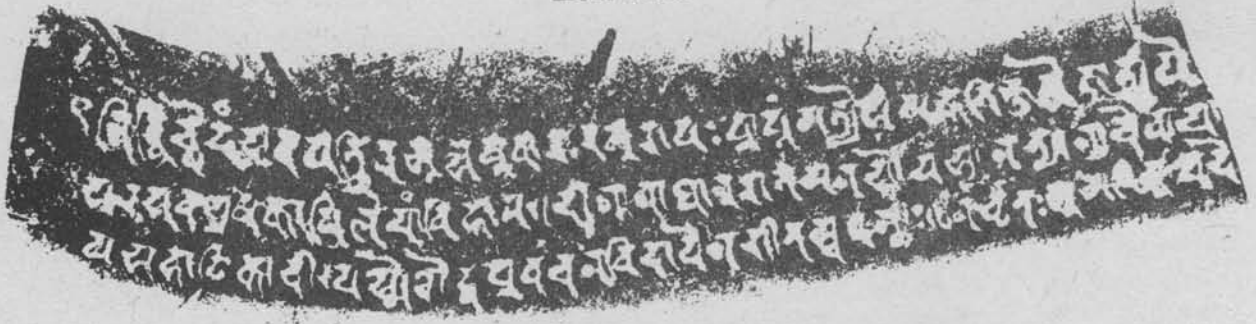
<sup>7</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 90.

<sup>8</sup> The image is fully described and the inscription is edited by Mr. V. S. Agrawala in the *Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, December 1937, pp. 35-38 with Plates; and in the *Annual Report on the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, for the year ending 31st March 1938, pp. 2, 6, 9, with Plate.



KASYAPA IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM SILAO.

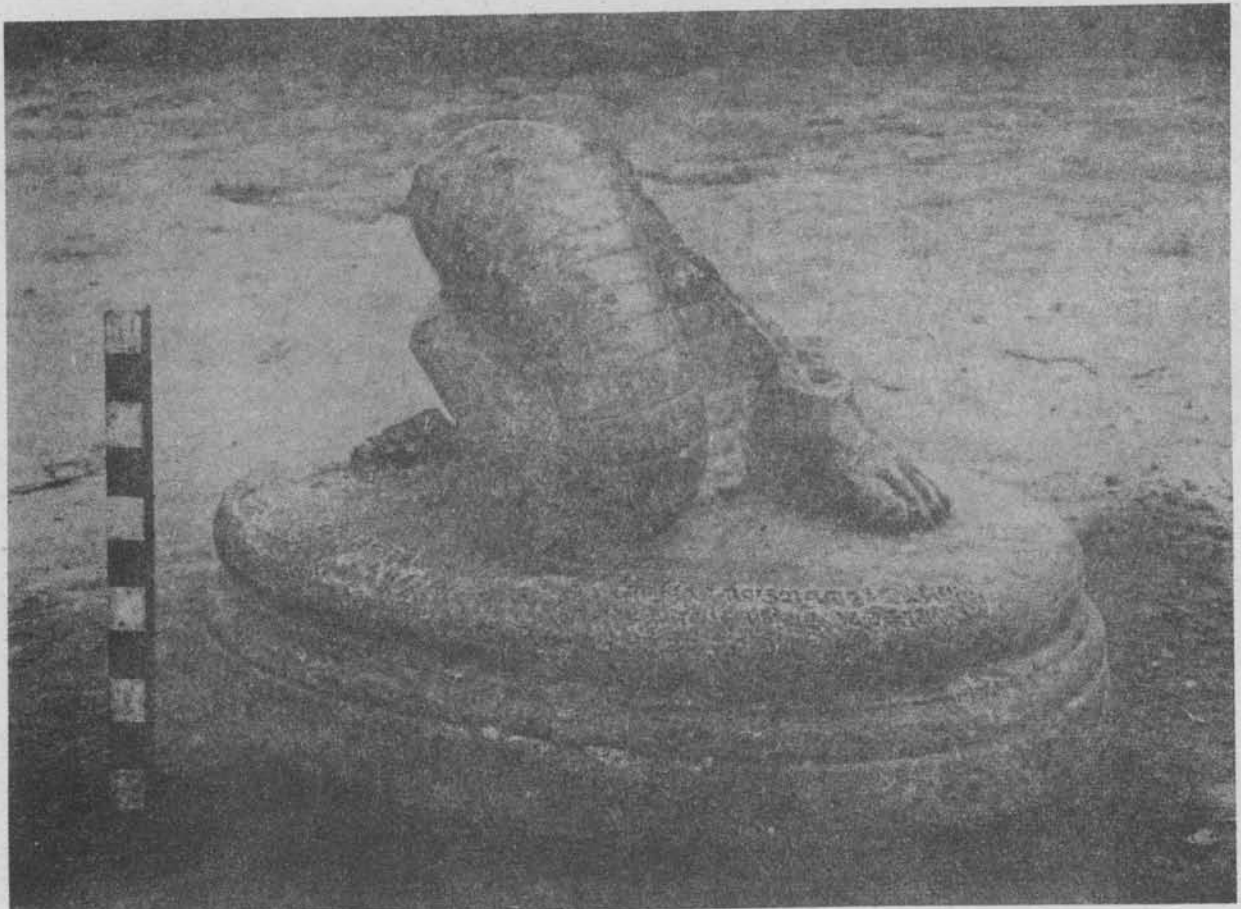
Left side.



Right side.



SCALE : ABOUT ONE-HALF.



Hiuen Tsiang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, informs us of the existence of an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha enshrined in a *vihāra* to the north-west of the Bōdhi tree at Bōdh-Gayā. "It is noted for its miraculous and sacred qualities. From time to time it emits a glorious light."<sup>1</sup> There is presumably a reference to this representation of Kāśyapa in the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman, wherein homage is paid, in the beginning<sup>2</sup>, first to Śākyaikabandhu (*i.e.* Gautama Buddha) and then to Mahā-Kāśyapa, assuming that Hiuen Tsiang, too, meant 'an image of Mahā-Kāśyapa' when he said 'an image of the Kāśyapa Buddha'. Among the ruins at Bōdh-Gayā, Cunningham has identified the remains of the aforesaid *vihāra*<sup>3</sup>, while the image is not to be found at all.

There are, however, a good few sculptures which represent the group of seven or eight<sup>4</sup> Mortal Buddhas, wherein the Kāśyapa Buddha figures as the sixth<sup>5</sup>. In the Indian Museum at Calcutta we have a stone pillar from Bharaut, depicting his distinguishing *bōdhi* tree<sup>6</sup>, which is *nyagrōdha* (*Ficus Indica*).

Here I may gratefully record that to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti I owe some useful references and suggestions, especially with regard to the identity of Kāśyapa.

#### TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1,2 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 3 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>8</sup> [1\*] निर्व्विच्छेदं सुरपतिरभूत्सप्त वारान्<sup>9</sup> पुरा यः प्राप्तं मर्त्ये<sup>10</sup> सुमहति  
कुले जन्म येनामितर्ही<sup>11</sup> । हेमाभिध्याममितजवनो — — — — —  
प्राजाजीव्यः
- 2 पुरसवपुषं कापिलीयां त्रिजाय ॥[१॥\*] दीनानाथानुगतमनसो यस्य नत्यान्यदेवा  
यान्ति ह्येधं भगवति जिने यश्च(श्च) भक्त्या नतोऽभूत् । निर्व्वान्प्रादादपि च  
सुगतः स्त्री-
- 3 यसंश्चाटिकादीर यस्मै त्री(त्री)द्वप्रवचनविदा येन गीतस्च(श्च) धर्मः ॥[२॥\*] निर्व्वतः  
स्वमधिष्ठाय देहं सत्वा(त्त्वा)र्थमेव यः । गुरुपादे गिरौ रम्ये<sup>12</sup> सोऽयमाभाति  
काश्यपः ॥[३॥\*]

<sup>1</sup> Beal's *Si-Yu-Ki*, Vol. II, p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (C. I. I., Vol. III), pp. 278 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 36.

<sup>4</sup> These are: Vipasyin, Sikhi, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa, Śākyasimha and Maitrēya. The last one does not usually appear in this group. B. Bhattacharyya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* and J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, I, 7 and I. 37, and pp. 135 and 139

<sup>6</sup> Lüders, *List of Brahmī Inscriptions*, No. 760.

<sup>7</sup> From inked estampages.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol. This may also indicate *siddhir-astu*. The same symbol is explained to represent *om* which would be less appropriate in a Buddhist record like the present one. The various interpretation of this sign is discussed above, Vol. XVII, p. 352.

<sup>9</sup> This sign cannot but be a mute n, though it looks more like a final r as found in *-ādīr* in l. 3 below.

<sup>10</sup> The superscript r here is not well marked.

<sup>11</sup> The grammatically correct form should be *amī-arddhīni*, unless the word *kula*, which it qualifies, be taken here to be in the masculine gender.

<sup>12</sup> This adverbial clause *Gurupādē girau ranyē* apparently goes with the following words *sā'yam-ābhāti Kāśyapā*, but in reality it is connected with the preceding portion *nirvvaṣṭā*, etc.

## TRANSLATION.

Success !

(V.1) **Who** had formerly remained the Lord of Gods for seven terms without intermission; **who** attained birth in a highly noble and immensely prosperous family of mortals; **who**, being possessed of unbounded speed, ..... the brilliancy of gold; **who** turned a recluse, forsaking (*his wife*) Kāpilēyā of golden form;

(V.2) Other deities in paying reverence to **whom**—**his** heart going out to the distressed and the desolate—vie with one another<sup>1</sup>; and **who** revered Lord Jina (the Buddha) with devotion; and further, on **whom** Sugata (the Buddha), while entering *nirvāṇa*, bestowed his *sambhāṣikā* and the rest; and **who**, being an exponent of the Buddhist doctrines, expounded the Law;

(V.3) **Who**, after having assumed his (*human*) form solely for the sake of (*delivering the mortal*) beings, entered *nirvāṇa* on the charming hill of Gurupāda; the **very same** Kāśyapa shines forth here.

## No. 36.—A BRONZE IMAGE INSCRIPTION FROM NALANDA.

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

The following inscription is engraved on the back of a bronze image of Balarāma, excavated in 1917-18 out of the northern verandah of Monastery Site No. 1 at Nālandā. The image is now in the Archæological Museum at Nālandā and bears the register number S. 1-442.

The characters of the inscription belong to the eastern variety and may be ascribed to the ninth century A.D.; they have much similarity with those of the Nālandā copper-plate of Dēvapāla.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the inscription may well belong to the reign of the Pāla king Dēvapāla (c. A.D. 815-854), who is mentioned in the text of the inscription. As is common in the inscriptions of this age, the medial *ē* is written both as a superscript oblique line and as a short stroke attached to the left limb of the respective letter. The medial *ō* is denoted by a combination of both these signs. There are some obvious grammatical and orthographical mistakes in the inscription.

The inscription records the dedication of the image at Nālandā in the Dēvapāladēva-*haṭṭa*, or 'the mart of Dēvapāladēva', by Nisīṅgha(?)kā, the wife (?) of Śōujjēka. There is epigraphic evidence of the existence of other *haṭṭas* at Nālandā; for example, the inscription on a stone image of Avalōkitēśvara, now housed in the modern Sūrya temple at Bargāon near the excavated site of Nālandā, contains a reference to a *tala-haṭṭa*, the meaning of which is not clear.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This rendering may now be accepted as exact. After I had prepared this essay, I chanced to read a passage, in a similar context, in Mahā Kassapa's account given by Dr. G. P. Malalasekera in his *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names* (Vol. II, p. 481), which has confirmed the above explanation. The passage in question reads: 'Owing to his great saintliness, even the gods vied with each other to give alms to Kassapa.'

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 310.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription, which is still unpublished, seems to read as follows:—*siddham* (expressed by a symbol) *śrī-Nālandā-talahaṭṭakē dē[ya\*]dharmō=yam Śaudāmūkē śrī(?)-Va-putrēṇaḥ ||*

The inscription shows that a *haṭṭa* was founded at Nālandā by Dēvapāla, or, at any rate, was named after him. The connexions of Dēvapāla with Nālandā are attested to by other inscriptions as well. Thus, the Nālandā copper-plate referred to above records the munificence of that king in favour of Nālandā at the request of the *mahārāja* Bālaputrādēva of Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra). Further, the Ghesrāwān<sup>1</sup> inscription acquaints us with the fact that Dēvapāla appointed a monk named Viradēva to look after Nālandā.

Another word in the inscription worthy of notice is *Malapōrasya*, occurring at the beginning of the second line; neither its meaning nor its proper position in the syntax is clear. It is interesting to note, however, that a similar word *Mallapōrasya* occurs in a dedicatory inscription on a bronze image found at Kurkihār (District Gayā), also belonging to the reign of Dēvapāla.<sup>2</sup> It is tempting no doubt to regard the word as an incorrect derivative of *Mallapura*, and to take it to mean 'a resident of Mallapura'.<sup>3</sup> But this meaning is hardly possible in the Kurkihār inscription, though it may suit the present record.

#### TEXT.

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> śri-Nālandāya śri-Dēvapāladēva-haṭṭē
- 2 Malapōrasya Śoujjēkasya<sup>5</sup> vadū(dhū?)-Nisīṅgha(?)-
- 3 kāya dēva-dharmmaya pratipāditaḥ<sup>6</sup> ||

#### No. 37.—A NOTE ON THE PANCHADHARALA PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KING VISVESVARA.

BY M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA, WALTER

In *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIX, pp. 164 ff., the Dharmalingēśvara temple inscription at Pañchadhārāla was ably edited by Dr. J. Nobel of the Berlin University. This inscription belongs to the Eastern Chālukya king Viśvēśvara, who ruled the territory around Pañchadhārāla in the Yellamanchili taluk of the Vizagapatam District. Vinnakōṭa Peddāna was his court-poet. He dedicated his *Kāvyañlāṅkāra-chūdāmaṇi*, a poetical work on rhetoric in Telugu, to his patron. Both the date of king Viśvēśvara and the date of composition of the *Kāvyañlāṅkāra-chūdāmaṇi* had not been known definitely, so far. The inscription under discussion settles these dates satisfactorily.

The inscription records the construction of a *maṇḍapa* in the Dharmalingēśvara temple at Pañchadhārāpuri in Śaka 1329 (*Śakābdē Nava-Bhānu-Rāma-Śari-saṅkhyātē*) or A. D. 1407,

<sup>1</sup> Maitra, *Gaudalēkhamāla*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> This image, along with the other antiquities found at Kurkihār, is now in the Patna Museum. The full meaning of the inscription is not clear, but the relevant portion may be quoted here:—*śri-Dēvapāladēva-rājyē samvat 19 . . . . . malla-chchhandakam Mallapōrasya pratipāditaḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Mallapura* or *Mallāpura* is given in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary*, Vol. V, pp. 602-3, as a place-name. Cf. *Malla*, the name of a well-known tribe.

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

<sup>5</sup> Is the word to be corrected to *Sauryyakasya*? [The reading seems to be *Śohajjīkasya*.—B. C. C.]

<sup>6</sup> Read *Nisīṅgha(?)kāya dēva-dharmmō-yam pratipāditaḥ*.



by king Viśvēśvara. As has been pointed out by the editor, there is a covert allusion to the date of a battle fought by Viśvēśvara in the text of the inscription, in the verse quoted below :

Gati-bāhu-śakti-bhū-mitim=api gaṇayat-Sarvasiddhi(ddhi)-patha-bhagnaṃ |  
sati Chitrabhānu-sākshiṇi Dharaṇivarāhād=adā(dhā)vad=Am̐dra(dhra)-balam ||

Dr. Nobel discloses the pun contained in the verse and brings to light the historical fact, namely, that king Viśvēśvara defeated the Andhra army, near Sarvasiddhi, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, represented by the Śaka year *gati* (5), *bāhu* (2), *śakti* (3), and *bhū* (1), i.e., 1325.

An exact Telugu rendering of the above verse is found in canto vii of the Telugu work *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, without, in any way, spoiling the *ślōsha*. It is as follows :

Chatur-upāya-bāhu-śakti-kshamā-āvali bāraṇiḍiḥi Chitrabhānu sākshi  
bāre Sarvasiddhi-padam-ēḍi Dharaṇivarāhamunakun-ōḍi Rācha-kadupu ||

For the expressions *gati* and *bhū* in the Sanskrit verse the words *chatur-upāya* and *kshamā* were used respectively in Telugu. These are the only differences that could be found between the Sanskrit verse and the corresponding Telugu verse. The occurrence in *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi*, of a faithful rendering of the verse occurring in the inscription, leads us to surmise that the composer of the Pañchadhārāla inscription might be Vinnakōṭa Peddana. He would not have incorporated in his work the exact Telugu version of the Sanskrit verse, if he were not the composer of the inscription as well. Hence, it may be concluded that the author of the Pañchadhārāla inscription could be no other than Peddana, the court-poet of king Viśvēśvara.

The editor of the inscription deserves great praise for discovering the real import of the verse when many Telugu pandits and Sanskrit scholars who printed and edited the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* were not able to disclose this fact, just because their outlook was more literary than historical. When, however, the verse in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* and the corresponding verse of the Pañchadhārāla inscription are closely examined, we find that there is a small discrepancy in the date of the battle, arrived at by the editor of the inscription. He has taken *gati* to represent the numeral 'five'. But, that its value is 'four', is now ascertained by the Telugu verse, wherein the term *chatur-upāya* denoting the number 'four' was expressly used in the place of *gati* of the Sanskrit verse. Hence, the date given by Dr. Nobel should be corrected to Śaka 1324.

*Saṅkhyārthanāmaprakāśikā* written by the erudite scholar, Kanuparti Venkatarāma Śrī-Vidyānandanātha, assigns the value 'four' to the term *gati* and enumerates four *gatis*, namely *Dēva-gati*, *Manushya-gati*, *Jantu-gati* and *Naraka-gati*.

The value given to *gati* even in epigraphical literature is four as is evidenced by an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Simhachalam, Vizagapatam District. The date of this inscription is given in the Telugu portion as Śaka-varshambulu 1294 and in the Sanskrit portion as 'Śākābdē gati-randhra-Bhānuganitē' etc. Another inscription<sup>2</sup> in Telugu from Yenamadala (Guntur District) which gives the date in chronogram 'gaṇa-bāṇa-gati-chandra' in verse and in figures in prose, equates *gati* with four. Thus, we find that *gati* represents four.

The existence in the *Kāvya-lāṅkāra-chūḍāmaṇi* of the Telugu version of the verse mentioned above proves, beyond doubt, that this work had been composed after Śaka 1324, the date of the battle referred to therein.

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 743.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 930.

# INDEX

By

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, B.Sc.

[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes; and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used:—*ca.* = capital; *ch.* = chief; *Chron.* = Chronicle; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *com.* = composer; *dt.* = district; *dn.* = division; *do.* = ditto; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *engr.* = engraver; *ep.* = epithet; *f.* = female; *feud.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *hist.* = historical; *k.* = king; *l.* = locality; *lm.* = linear measure or land measure; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern; *off.* = office or officer; *pr.* = prince; *q.* = queen; *rel.* = religious; *ri.* = river; *S.* = Southern; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *t. d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tn.* = town; *tj.* = taluq; *vi.* = village; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work.]

	PAGE	PAGE
<b>A</b>		
<i>a</i> , initial . . . . .	282	
Abdur Razak, <i>Persian envoy</i> , . . . . .	189, 190	
<i>Abhidhānaratnamālā, wk.</i> , . . . . .	174, 184	
Abhimānaramaṇ, <i>name of a throne</i> , . . . . .	253 <i>n.</i>	
Ābhira or Ahira, <i>tribe</i> , . . . . .	203	
Ābhira, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	203	
Ābhōna plates of Śaakaragaṇa, . . . . .	228 <i>a.</i>	
<i>abhyantara-siddhi</i> , . . . . .	30	
Āchālā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	51 <i>f.</i>	
<i>Āchārcho'īya s.a. āchārya</i> , . . . . .	35	
<i>āchariyā, teacher</i> , . . . . .	32	
<i>āchārya, off.</i> , . . . . .	40	
<i>Āchāryavātarā-ghaṭṭārtha, Vaiṣṇavite wk.</i> , . . . . .	322	
	and <i>n.</i>	
Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71, 118, 129, 131	
Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai Tirumāliruṅjōlai Mālā- guḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	102	
Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Miḷaganūr <i>alias</i> Rājendra- śiṅganallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110, 113, 123, 124	
Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Kuvalaivēli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	112, 124	
Achohaṅkāṭṭirukkai-Tirumāliruṅjōlai-nallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	113, 124	
Āchhāpuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304, 307, 309	
Achhutavayal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136	
Achyutāpuram plates of Indravarman (year 87), . . . . .	194, 195, 196, 283 <i>n.</i>	
Aḍagau, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 208, 211, 215, 232, 234	
Adaḷaiyūr-nāḍu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	86, 98	
Aḍaṅgāri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94	
Aḍaṅgarimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94	
Ādanūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	
Adhirājendra, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	75, 246, 251, 252, 253	
<i>adhikāriṅgaḷ, off.</i> , . . . . .	253, 264, 265	
Ādi-Chaṇḍēsvara, <i>Saiva devotee</i> , . . . . .	320	
<i>adigāram, off.</i> , . . . . .	66, 69, 83, 99, 106, 111, 124	
<i>Āditya, sun</i> , . . . . .	176	
Āditya I, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	90, 95 <i>a.</i>	
Āditya-Bhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	30	
Ādityabhāṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216	
Āditya II, Karikāla, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	35, 36 and <i>n.</i> , 37, 38	
Ādityamūrti, <i>god, s.a. Śiva</i> , . . . . .	179	
Ādityaṇ Śōṇḍapirāṇ-Bhaṭṭaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100	
Ādityaṇ Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124	
Ādityavarman, <i>Sinḍa ch.</i> , . . . . .	165, 166, 167, 169	
Ādityavarman, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	260	
Āḍikavā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89, 104, 103, 120, 122, 130	
<i>Āḍikavā-rachana, wk.</i> , by Tatakara Gupta . . . . .	34 <i>a.</i>	
Āḍi-Perrāṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 125	
Āḍipur, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 158, 172	
Āḍipur copper-plate of Narēndrabhaṅja- dēva, . . . . .	147, 148	
Āḍipur copper-plate of Durjayabhaṅja- dēva, . . . . .	148, 172	
Āḍipur Pargaṇā, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	168	
Āḍi-Varāha, <i>god, the boar-incarnation of</i> Viṣṇu, . . . . .	209, 294	
Āḍivaṇ-Saṭhakōpa-Hyaṇ, <i>Vaiṣṇava pontiff,</i> <i>s.a. Śrinivāsa</i> , . . . . .	323	
Adrisutādhīpa, <i>god, s.a. Śiva</i> , . . . . .	232	
<i>adukkūḷippuram, gift for offerings</i> , . . . . .	134	
Aḍumbār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 <i>a.</i>	
Āḍuṇi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 <i>a.</i>	
Aḷaḷaṅgaṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 306, 308	
Āgastya, <i>star</i> , . . . . .	11, 317 <i>a.</i>	
Āgastya, <i>star, s.a. the Canopus</i> , . . . . .	317 and <i>n.</i>	
<i>agara</i> , . . . . .	74	
<i>agnishikā, rite</i> , . . . . .	203 and <i>n.</i> , 215	
Agnivāmin, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	232, 267	
Agni-tirtha, <i>tirtha</i> , . . . . .	13	
Agranya Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna, <i>school of</i> <i>Buddhism</i> , . . . . .	34	
<i>agrahāra</i> , . . . . .	77, 200	
Ahaṅkāra, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	184 <i>a.</i>	
Āhavamalla, <i>W. Chōlukya k.</i> , . . . . .	244 <i>a.</i> , 245	
Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I), <i>W. Chōlukya k.</i> , 210, 245		
Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara II), <i>W. Chōlukya k.</i> , . . . . .	245	

	PAGE
<i>Ahavamallaikulakāla, Chōla lit.,</i> . . . . .	245, 262, 265
<i>Ahavamallaṅgai-aiṁmaḍi-veṅkaṇḍa, lit.,</i> . . . . .	245, 246, 262, 263, 265
Ahihoḥa atra, vi., . . . . .	166
<i>ahimāṁsi, sun.,</i> . . . . .	139a.
Āhitāgu, Śrīraṅganātha-Bhaṭṭa-Sōma-Kāthaka- yājñiyār, m., . . . . .	100, 112, 124
Āhōbala-maṭha, rel. institution, . . . . .	323
<i>Āhōbala-māhātmyamu, s. a. Nṛsiṁhapurānamu,</i> <i>Telugu wk.,</i> . . . . .	138
Aihoḥe inscription, . . . . .	269a.
<i>Ain-i-Akbari, Hist. Chron.,</i> . . . . .	203a.
Āirāvata, elephant, <i>Ināṛ's mount,</i> . . . . .	287a.
Aiyapadēva, k., . . . . .	54, 57
Ajāśāstru, epic hero, . . . . .	259
Ajayasimha, Mahākumāra—, <i>Kalachuri</i> <i>pr.,</i> . . . . .	206
<i>ājīapti, off.,</i> . . . . .	44
<i>akkaṅ, elder sister,</i> . . . . .	84
Akkūr, vi., . . . . .	297, 303
<i>akṣapaṭalādhikṛita, off.,</i> . . . . .	50, 53
Akvāmbikā, f., . . . . .	208, 213, 223
Aḷagaimānagar, vi., . . . . .	93
Aḷagapperumā, ch., . . . . .	88 and n., 131, 132, 134, 136
Aḷagapperumā, <i>machchunāṅṛ, ch.,</i> . . . . .	66, 67
Aḷagapperumā, <i>Piḷḷaiyār, ch.,</i> . . . . .	66, 67, 87
Aḷagāpuri, vi., . . . . .	96
Aḷagiyadēva-Bhaṭṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Pālarāvāyaṅ, m., . . . . .	135, 136
Aḷagiyānāyaka Bhaṭṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Pālarāvāyaṅ Ammaidēvaṅ, m., . . . . .	135, 136
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Brahmādhirājaṅ, ch., <i>s. a.</i>	72
Śrī-Rāmaṅ Aḷgaṅ . . . . .	72
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakulakkil, t. d., . . . . .	99, 102, 103, 111, 113, 119, 121, 123, 124, 125, 129, 130
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyakūḷam, t. d., . . . . .	89
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyaṅ, off., . . . . .	112, 124
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyānallūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Āykkuḍi . . . . .	93, 99, 111, 124
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyānallūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Vēḷūr, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiyānār, off., . . . . .	69, 99
Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, m., <i>s. a.</i> Udayaṅ Varaguṇadēvaṅ, . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Ālaṅguḍi, vi., . . . . .	96
<i>Alaṅkāra-manihāra, Rhetorical wk.,</i> . . . . .	323
<i>Alaṅkārasudhānidhi, wk.,</i> . . . . .	324a.
Ālappirāṇḍāṅ-Būmiyūr, vi., . . . . .	92
Ālattūr, m., . . . . .	95
'Ala-ud-din, <i>Sultan of Delhi,</i> . . . . .	207, 208
Alhadēva, m., . . . . .	208, 212, 223
Alirā, vi., . . . . .	3, 5, 6
Al-Idrisi, author . . . . .	29
<i>Alidhānamu, postu s.,</i> . . . . .	327

	PAGE
Allāda-Bhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Allājanātha, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Allahibād pillar inscription of Samudra- gupta, . . . . .	41, 50 n., 267
Allājanāthadēva, god, . . . . .	274a.
Allāśakti, <i>Sēndraka ch.,</i> . . . . .	167 and n.
Āllavadrāha, vi., . . . . .	158 n., 160, n.
Alliṅgaṅṭa, pond, . . . . .	140
Alluṅgaṅga, ch., . . . . .	274, 275
Alphabets—	
Grantha, . . . . .	35, 66, 241, 319
Grantha and Tamil mixed, . . . . .	297
Kanarase and Telugu, archaic . . . . .	43
Nāgarī, . . . . .	1, 8, 165, 183, 193, 279, 309
Nandināgarī, . . . . .	187
Northern class, . . . . .	25, 147, 161, 327
Southern class, . . . . .	194, 226, 282
Tamil, . . . . .	241, 319
Telugu, . . . . .	137
Telugu, ancient, . . . . .	187
Telugu-Kannaḍa, . . . . .	188, 271
Vaṭṭeḷuttu, . . . . .	35
Aloka-pannāsa, a field . . . . .	140, 145
Ālvāṅ Upāthyāyar, m., . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Ālvār Śrīvallaḅha, m., . . . . .	83
<i>āmlakī, Emlic Myrobalan, tree,</i> . . . . .	197a.
Āmaṅa or Āmapadēva, <i>Yādava k.,</i> . . . . .	10, 205 and n., 221 n.
Āmanallūr, vi, <i>s. a.</i> Āṅkuḍi, . . . . .	95
Amarabhujāṅga, <i>Pāṇḍya k.,</i> . . . . .	37
Amarāḍi (or <i>ḍakki</i> )maṅgalaṅ, vi., . . . . .	93
Āmara, <i>śāstra,</i> . . . . .	183, 185
<i>Amarakōṣa, Sanskrit lexicon,</i> . . . . .	74a.
Amarapura, <i>s. a.</i> Amarāvati, (the city of god), . . . . .	286, 287
Amarāvati, ci., . . . . .	33
Amarāvati Buddhist Sculpture inscription, . . . . .	46
Amarasvara, god, . . . . .	139, 140, 174, 183, 185
<i>amānta,</i> . . . . .	139a.
<i>amātya, off.,</i> . . . . .	59
Ambadēva, <i>Kāyaṭha ch.,</i> . . . . .	271, 272, 273, 275, 276 and n., 277, 278
Ambadēva I, ( <i>s. a.</i> Ambakamāpa), <i>Kāyaṭha</i> <i>ch.,</i> . . . . .	271, 272, 273, 274, 277
Ambadēva (II), <i>Kāyaṭha ch.,</i> . . . . .	274
Ambaḍiya, off., . . . . .	73, 77
Ambalakkūṭṭaṅ-ōmbal, i., . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Ambalattāḍi-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṅ, vi., . . . . .	27
Ambar-Nātha, god, . . . . .	53
Ambar-Nātha temple inscription, . . . . .	51a.
Ambāsamudraṅ, vi., . . . . .	40
Amba-tirtha, <i>tirtha,</i> . . . . .	15
Ambayapallikā, vi., . . . . .	227, 230, 237
Ambayyadēva, <i>Kāyaṭha ch.,</i> . . . . .	272

	PAGE
Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, vi., . . . . .	226, 229, 230, 232, 235
Ambegaon, vi., s. a. Ambē-Avaṅgaṇa, . . . . .	230
Āmbē inscription, . . . . .	203 and n., 204, 205 n.
Amiāra, tree(?) . . . . .	294, 296
Amma, k., . . . . .	54, 57
Amma (I), E. Chālukya k., . . . . .	191
Amma II, E. Chālukya k., . . . . .	239
ammāṅ, uncle, . . . . .	84
Ammaṇa, Yādava k., . . . . .	210, 221
Amṁyapallikā, vi., . . . . .	237 n.
Amōghavarsha, Rāsh(rakūṣa) k., . . . . .	54 n., 229
Amraṅṅi, dn., . . . . .	226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 234
Anai-Kāṭṭūr, vi., . . . . .	300
Āṇikuḍi, vi., . . . . .	98
Āṇaitṭuṇam, ff., . . . . .	103, 106, 113, 125
Anakadhēvi (Anakadhēvi), Bhaṅṅa q., . . . . .	162, 163
Ānamandai, vi., . . . . .	96
Ānanda, (the Buddha) . . . . .	33
Ānanda, Buddhist pupil, . . . . .	330
Ānandapura, vi., . . . . .	50, 52
Anantabhāṭṭa, m., . . . . .	217
Anantapur, tn., . . . . .	101
Ananta-Śaktivarman, E. Ganga k., . . . . .	283
Anantaśāyin, god, . . . . .	301, 307, 308
Anantavarman, Maukhari feud. ch., . . . . .	270
Anantavarman, Kalinga k., . . . . .	282, 283, 284 and n.
Ana-Vēma, Redḍi k., . . . . .	137, 138, 139, 140, 143, 146
Ana-Vōta, Redḍi k., . . . . .	137, 138 and n., 139, 140, 143, 145, 146
Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḷa, . . . . .	242 and n.
Ānda-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	39, 40, 41, 136
Āṇḍārkōyil, vi., . . . . .	304, 307, 309
Āṇḍāūr, vi., . . . . .	95
Āṇḍāūr-Sirukambūr, vi., . . . . .	94
Āṇḍhra, co., . . . . .	10
Āṇḍhra, co., lord of—, . . . . .	220
Āṇḍhra-Mahābhāratamu, Telugu wk., . . . . .	138
Āṇḍhra-maṇḍal-ādhiśvara, tāt., . . . . .	323 n.
Āṇḍhrā-patha, co., . . . . .	45, 48
Āṇḍi, t., . . . . .	264, 266
Āṇḍimudakkū, l., . . . . .	264, 266
Āṇḍka-chaturddanta-gaṅṅhat-āṅṅpa-samara-samghaṭṭa-labḍha-vijayaḥ, ep., . . . . .	30 and n.
Āṅṅarakamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	132, 135, 136
Āṅṅuḍi, vi., . . . . .	96
Āṅṅuṭṭara-Nikāya Aṅṅhakathā, Buddhist wk., . . . . .	330
āṅṅyukta, off., . . . . .	169
Āṅṅanēri, vi., . . . . .	225, 230, 292
Āṅṅanēya, god, . . . . .	8, 15

	PAGE
Āṅṅukōṭṭai, vi., . . . . .	84 and n.
Āṅṅuḍi alias Āṅṅanallūr, vi., . . . . .	96
āṅṅuśa, emblem on seal, . . . . .	43
Anna, Redḍi k., . . . . .	140
anna-bali, rite, . . . . .	39, 41
Āṅṅagrāma, vi., . . . . .	227, 230, 232, 235
annāṅvi or annar, elder brother, . . . . .	84
Annalvāy, vi., . . . . .	89, 106, 110, 123
Annalvāyil-kōrṅam, dn., . . . . .	95
Annama Redḍi, Redḍi pr., s. a. Anna, . . . . .	139
Annamāmbā, Redḍi q., . . . . .	140
Annamārya, m., . . . . .	142, 144
Annavāsal, vi., . . . . .	106
Anna-Vēmapuram, vi., s. a. Drujjavaram, . . . . .	140
Annavōta, Rōcherla ch., . . . . .	323 and n.
Annavōtapuram, vi., s. a. Kōḍūru, . . . . .	137, 143, 146
Annayārya, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Anṅigere, vi., . . . . .	252
Anṅiyūr, vi., . . . . .	96
Āṅṅarāla-pattalā, t. d., . . . . .	5
antēvāsini, a Buddhist female pupil, . . . . .	32 n, 33
Āṅṅrōli-Chhārōli plates of Karka II, . . . . .	25
Anukkar, . . . . .	69, 99, 112, 124
Apukkaṅ Ariyāṅ, m., . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Anulā, princess, . . . . .	32
Anurādhapura, ci., . . . . .	32
anuvāra, represented ornamentally, . . . . .	1
Do. used in place of the nasal, . . . . .	2
Do. used for the class nasal, . . . . .	137
Do. substituted by the class nasal, . . . . .	195
Do. used in place of nasal, . . . . .	243
Do. represented by the guttural n., . . . . .	147
Do. use of guttural nasal in place of—, . . . . .	283
Do. used in place of final m., . . . . .	195
Do. added before final n., . . . . .	200
Do. ñ used for—, . . . . .	226
Āpadāna, wk., . . . . .	330 n.
Āpadēvabhāṭṭa, donee, . . . . .	215, 217
Āparāditya, k., . . . . .	54 n.
Āparājita, Śilāhāra, k., . . . . .	54 and n., 57
Āparājita-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	74, 75
aparapuksha, dark-fortnight, . . . . .	114
Āppale-bhāṭṭa, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Āppaṅ Arumolidēvaṅ, m., s. a. Śembiyaṅ-Vijap-paraiyaṅ, . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Āppaṅ Sūriyadēvaṅ, m., . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Āppar, Śaiva saint, . . . . .	64 and n.
appāṅṅār, great-grand-father, . . . . .	84
Appayārya, m., . . . . .	141, 142, 144
Appuṅṅār, Vaiśṅṅava pontiff, . . . . .	323 n.
apradhāna, off., . . . . .	109
aputradhāna, . . . . .	227
Arabs (Tājikas), . . . . .	21
Āraikkujam, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 110*
Āraiyakujam, Āraiyarkujam, vi., . . . . .	71 12, 124

	PAGE
Araiyāṅ Ādichhadēvaṅ <i>alias</i> Yādavarāyan, m., . . . . .	136
Araiyāṅēri, l., . . . . .	110, 123
Araiyāṅ Kariyamāl <i>alias</i> Adigaimān, ch., . . . . .	136
Araiyāṅ Mānābharaṅṅ, m., . . . . .	39, 41
Araiyāṅ Nārāyaṅṅ, m., . . . . .	99, 111, 121, 123, 130
Araiyāṅ Pullāni, m., . . . . .	102, 113, 124
Araiyāṅ Tirumalai-udaiyāṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	111, 124
Araiyāṅ-punalum, Tamil verses commencing with —, . . . . .	64 n.
Araiyattūr, vi., . . . . .	94
Ārāiyāyūr, vi., . . . . .	98
Araṅg plates of Bhīmasēna, . . . . .	268, 269
Araśariyāṅ, m., . . . . .	101, 113, 124
Araśippaṅṅ, vi., . . . . .	114, 125
Araśukkaraṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	302
araśupēru, tax, . . . . .	297, 301, 302, 307, 308
Araṅvankudi, vi., . . . . .	70, 105, 110, 116, 123, 126
aravōlai, deed, . . . . .	66
Arayaṅ Karumāṅikkam, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	93, 111, 124
Arayaṅ Uyyanirāduvāṅ <i>alias</i> Sembiyadarai- yaṅ Kēśavaṅ Nārāyaṅṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124
Ārāyirappadi, Vaishṇava hymns, . . . . .	322
Ardhanārīśvara, god, s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	175
Arhadāsi (Arhaddāsi), <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Arhadinā (Arhaddattā), <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Arhat, <i>Buddhist term</i> , . . . . .	328
Arhata Ayira Budharakhita, monk, <i>arhatship</i> , . . . . .	33
Arikōsarin, Śīlāhāra k., . . . . .	54 and n., 57
Arindama, Chōḷa k., . . . . .	261
Ariṅjaya, Chōḷa k., . . . . .	38
Ariṅjagai-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	75
Ārikuḍi, vi., . . . . .	106, 111, 123
Ariyāṅkuṅcuchi, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Ariyēnavallāṅ-pandal, name of a canopy, . . . . .	219, 320, 325
Ariyēnavallāṅ-nāḷi, liquid measure, . . . . .	320 n.
Arjuna, myth hero, 54, 57, 143, 146, 231, 234, 236 Arjuna, <i>Terminalia Arjuna</i> , tree, . . . . .	197, 198
Arjuna, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	220
Arjuna or Arjunavarmadēva, Vāghēla k. of Aphīlōḍḍ, . . . . .	202, 209
Arjunavarmadēva, <i>Paramāra k. of Mālvā</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Arjun Giri, l., . . . . .	161
Ārpundi, vi. (f) . . . . .	264, 266
Ārrur, vi., . . . . .	38
Ārūr-tuṅjina-dēva, s. a. Ariṅjaya, <i>arthalēkhin</i> , (writer of deeds), <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	2, 6
Arthasāstra, wk., . . . . .	11 n.
Arugaśādi, l., . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Arundavaṅ-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, m., s. a. Dayānti Ariyāṅ, . . . . .	116, 127
Arundhatti, wife of <i>Vasiṣṭha</i> , . . . . .	212, 223
Arūḅgulum, vi., . . . . .	89

	PAGE
Aruṅkoḷam, vi., . . . . .	99, 111, 124
Aruḷāpperumāḷ, god, . . . . .	319
Aruḷmōli-Rājēndrasōḷaṅ <i>alias</i> Jananātha- Viḷupparaiyaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	254, 264, 266
aruḷappāḷu, a divine mandate, . . . . .	320
Aruravai-Pudukkoḷam, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Āryyāvartta, co., . . . . .	258
Asabhā (Rishabhā), name, . . . . .	32 n.
Asātamanta Jātaka, Buddha's birth story, . . . . .	330
A. S. B. plate of Vināyakapāla, . . . . .	52 f.
ashṭhamāṅgalam objects, . . . . .	243 and n.
Āsṛgaḅ seals of the Maṅkharis, . . . . .	268
āsrana, order of life, . . . . .	208
Āsvaghōsha, author, . . . . .	330 and n.
āsvamēdha, horse sacrifice, . . . . .	22, 52
āsvapati, tit., . . . . .	5
āsvapati-gajapati-narapati rājatrayādhipati, tit. of Kalachuri Trailōkyamalla, . . . . .	5
Āsvatavattūr, vi., . . . . .	92
Āśvinādi year, . . . . .	9
Ātahi, min., . . . . .	173
atāti, rite, . . . . .	294
Atri, myth. ancestor of the Pāṅḍyas, . . . . .	66
Atri, size, . . . . .	107, 121
Āṭṭhakathā, Pāli wk., . . . . .	329, 330
Attirāla, vi., . . . . .	273
Āttūr, vi., . . . . .	250
aupayikī, adopted son, . . . . .	150
avabhīṭha-snāna, . . . . .	22
avagraha, denoted by a sign, . . . . .	8, 328
Avalōkitā, f. character in <i>Mālatimādhava</i> . . . . .	34
Avalōkitēśvara, a form of Buddha, . . . . .	334
Avanijānāśraya, tit. of Pulakēśin, . . . . .	26
Avāṅimulū luḍṭiyāḷi, Pāṅḍya q., . . . . .	108, 122
Avāṅinārāyaṅa-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	75
Avāṅipaśēkharamāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	76
Avimukta, kshētra, s. a., Benares . . . . .	183, 185
Āvuḍaiyārkōyil, vi., s. a. Tirupperundarai or Pavitrāmāṅkika-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, . . . . .	92, 93
aya (ārya), ep. of a buddhist monk, . . . . .	32
Ayā, Ayya, Ayira (Āryā), <i>Buddhist ep.</i> , . . . . .	33
Āykuḍi <i>alias</i> Aḷḷgiyapāṅḍiyanallūr, vi., . . . . .	89, 98, 99, 111, 124
Āyupālā, f. <i>Buddhist teacher</i> , . . . . .	32
Ayyalu-bhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Ayyaṅ Maḷavarāyar, ch., . . . . .	72
ayyar, father, . . . . .	84

## B

b, not distinguished from v, . . . . .	147, 309
b and v, indicated by separate signs, . . . . .	195
b, denoted by the sign for v, . . . . .	279, 282
b, sign of—, as an independent letter, . . . . .	309
Bābhū'gāon, vi., . . . . .	205 n.
Badakhimedi Copper-plates of Indravarman, . . . . .	240
Badarikā-vāsaka, l., . . . . .	26, 29

	PAGE		PAGE
Bāgadage, vi., . . . . .	166	<i>bhadanta</i> or <i>bhadamta</i> , ep. of a	
Bāgalkōt, vi., . . . . .	166	<i>Buddhist monk</i> , . . . . .	32
Bāgumrā, vi., . . . . .	167 n.	Bhādāna grant of Aparājita, . . . . .	54 n., 165 n., 169 n.
Bāgumrā grant of Nikumbhallaśakti Sēn-		Bhaddakāpilāni, f., s. a. Bhadrā Kāpilāyani, . . . . .	330
draka, . . . . .	30 n.	Bhadrā, vi., . . . . .	247
Bāhūr plates, . . . . .	78 n.	Bhadrā Kāpilāyani, f., <i>Buddhist ascetic</i> , . . . . .	330
Bāhusahāya, ep., . . . . .	293	Bhadrapushkaraka, vi., . . . . .	50, 52
Bahupatraka, <i>bodhi tree under which the Bud-</i>		Bhagiratha, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	257
<i>dha was seated</i> , . . . . .	330	Bhāgirathi, vi., . . . . .	257, 294
Bala, Bikṣu—, <i>Buddhist monk</i> , . . . . .	33	<i>Bhagavadvishayam (Āṅgīrappadi)</i> , <i>Vaiṣṇava</i>	
Balagāmvē inscription of the time of Vinayā-		<i>hymns</i> . . . . .	322
ditya, . . . . .	167 n.	<i>Bhagavad-vishaya-guruparamparā</i> , <i>Vaiṣṇava</i>	
Baladēva, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	231, 234, 236	<i>pontifical list</i> , . . . . .	323 n.
Balādhikrīta, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	279, 281, 296	Bhāillasvāmin, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	279
Balarāma, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	334	Bhairanmaṭṭi, vi., . . . . .	166
Bālaputradēva, <i>k. of Suvarṇadvīpa</i> , . . . . .	335	Bhambhāgiri, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	202, 203 and n., 209, 220
Bālasarsvati, <i>court poet and composer</i> , . . . . .	138 and n., 145	Bhāmbhōri, vi., identified with Bhambhā-	
Balban, <i>Sultan of Delhi</i> , . . . . .	207	<i>giri</i> , . . . . .	203 and n.
Balēgrāma, vi., s. a. Belgaum-Taraha, . . . . .	228, 230	Bhāmēr, vi., . . . . .	203
bali, <i>rite</i> , . . . . .	197, 198, 294	Bhāndak, vi., . . . . .	203
<i>bali-charu-vaiśvadev-āgnihōtra</i> , <i>religious</i>		Bhāndak plates of Kṛishṇarāja, . . . . .	25, 26
<i>ceremonies</i> , . . . . .	30	Bhandak inscription of Nannadēva, . . . . .	267 n., 268
Ballara, <i>king of kings</i> , . . . . .	29	Bhaṅḍārā, vi., . . . . .	206
Ballāla or Virā-Ballāla II, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	202, 209, 220	Bhāṅḍūp plates, . . . . .	54 n.
Balsar, vi., . . . . .	229	Bhāṅja, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	148
Bāmanghāṭi plate of Ranabhaūja, . . . . .	148, 153 n.	Bhānuchandra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	195, 196, 198
Bāṇa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	34	Bhānugupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	51 f.
Banavāsi, <i>kingdom</i> , . . . . .	167	Bhānuśakti, <i>Sēndraka ch.</i> , . . . . .	167 and n.
Banavāsi-twelve-thousand, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	167	Bhānusūri, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 212, 223
bandārapottagam, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41	Bharata, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	257, 291
Bāpadēvabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216	<i>Bhārata</i> , <i>epic</i> , . . . . .	231, 234, 237
Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka, . . . . .	44, 46, 47	Bharatasvāmin, <i>scribe</i> , . . . . .	227, 233, 235
Barābar-Nāgārjuni cave inscriptions, . . . . .	270	Bhārati, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	175
Baradaka, vi., . . . . .	295	Bhārgava, s. a. Parāśutāma, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	271, 277
Barenī, <i>Muhammadan historian</i> , . . . . .	207, 208 n.	Bharukachchha (Broach), <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	292
Bargaon, vi., . . . . .	278, 334	Bhāskara, <i>sun god</i> , . . . . .	61
Bāripadā, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	147, 153, 158	Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	200
Barōda plates of Suvarṇavaraha, . . . . .	25	Bhāskarabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216, 217
Basavapurāṇa, <i>Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	174, 184 and n.	Bhāskarāhārya, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	221 n.
Basarh seal, . . . . .	198 n.	Bhāskarakshētra, l., s. a. Hampi, . . . . .	189, 190, 193
Bastar, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	166	Bhāskarārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144
Baṭṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Purapparaīnādūkilavaṅ,		Bhaṭṭa, . . . . .	76
<i>off.</i> , . . . . .	112, 124	bhaṭṭa-grāma, . . . . .	158 n., 160
Baudha-vihāra, . . . . .	251	Bhaṭṭāraka, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24, 183, 185, 290
Bāvulla, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	296	bhaṭṭa-vrīṭti, . . . . .	78
Bēhaṭṭi plates, . . . . .	204	Bhava, <i>god</i> , s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	159, 162
Bellary, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	166	Bhavabhūti, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	34
Benares, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	310 n.	Bhavadēva, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267 and n.
Bengal Asiatic Society Plates of Gōvinda		Bhavaganā, <i>Chālukya princess</i> , (mother of	
Chandra, . . . . .	5	Dantidurga), . . . . .	26, 27
Bonnūr grant, . . . . .	167	Bhavanīśa, <i>god</i> , s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	159, 162
Bezwaḍa, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	300, 301	Bhāvānīpati, <i>god</i> , s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	254
bh, identical with ā, . . . . .	165	Bhāvānamudra, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	83, 186
bha, . . . . .	137	Bhavasvāmi Bhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	21 and n., 24
Bhābrā Pillar Edict of Aśōka, . . . . .	31 and n.	Bhāvavālmika, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	183, 184, 185

	PAGE
Bhāvavirimohī, teacher, . . . . .	183, 185
Bhayanāda, ep. of a Buddhist monk . . . . .	32
Bhērā Ghāt stone inscription of Vijayasimha, . . . . .	206
Bhērā Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi, . . . . .	311 and n.
Bhīkṣuṇī, (Bhīkṣuṇī or Bhīkṣuṇī), Buddhist nun, . . . . .	31, 32, 33, 34
Bhīkṣuṇī order, . . . . .	32
bhīkṣuṇī-upasāya, nunnery, . . . . .	32, 33, 34 n.
bhīkṣukī, nun, . . . . .	34
Bhīllama II, Yādava k., . . . . .	54 and n., 202
Bhilsā, vi., . . . . .	279
Bhīma, m., . . . . .	163
Bhīma, Sīnda ch., . . . . .	165, 168
Bhīma I, E. Chālukya k., . . . . .	239
Bhīma Rāja, k. of Dēvagiri, . . . . .	207
Bhīmasēna, myth. hero, . . . . .	231, 234, 236
Bhīmēśvara, te., . . . . .	276
Bbīr, dt., . . . . .	199
Bhīshma, teacher, . . . . .	54, 57
bhōga, t. d., . . . . .	30
Bhōganārāyana, l., . . . . .	205 n.
Bhōganātha, author, . . . . .	324 n.
Bhōga-nripati, off., . . . . .	30
Bhōgapati, off., . . . . .	30
Bhōgāsakti, Pṛithvī Chandra—, Harīś-chandra k., . . . . .	225, 226, 228, 229, 231, 234, 236, 237
Bhōgavatī, tn., . . . . .	166
Bhōgavatī-pura-varādhīśvara, Sīnda ep., . . . . .	166
Bhōgēśvara, s. a. Bhōgāsakti, k. of the family of Harīśchandra . . . . .	226
Bhōgika, off., . . . . .	30, 198 and n., 294
Bhōja, myth. k., s. r. of Daṇḍa, . . . . .	11
Bhōja, ci., . . . . .	183
Bhōja (II), Śīlāhāra k., . . . . .	202, 203, 209, 220
Bhōja, Paramāra k., . . . . .	203
Bhōjakata, l., . . . . .	33
Bhōjanagara, tn., . . . . .	184, 185
Bhrigukachcha, co., . . . . .	55
bhā, . . . . .	226
Bhujabalabhīma, tit., . . . . .	323 n.
Bhujagēndr-ānvaya, 'lineage of the king of serpent', . . . . .	167
Bhūmi, goddess, consort of Vishnu, . . . . .	320
Bhūmichanda, Ceylonese k., . . . . .	34 n.
Bhūtirēśthī or Bhūtirēśthika, s. a. Bhurhut, dt., . . . . .	184 n.
Bhūtiśohī, vi., s. a. Buchhad, . . . . .	292 and n., 293 n., 295
Bhūti-Vikramakēśarin, Chola feud., . . . . .	36
Bhuvanagiri, vi., . . . . .	302
Bhuvanagripattana-chōlīmai, dt., s. a. Bhuvanēkaviranpattana-chōlīmai, . . . . .	302
Bhuvanēkavira, tit., . . . . .	54 n., 302
Bhuvanēkavira (Bhuvanagiri)pattana-chōlīmai, Irappāṭṭupattu—, dt., . . . . .	302, 309

	PAGE
Bijāpur, dt., . . . . .	166
Bimbisāra, Maurya k., . . . . .	151
boar, Chālukyan crest, . . . . .	227, 243 and n.
Boar emblem, banner with—, . . . . .	21
boar, emblem on seal, . . . . .	239
Bōdh-Gayā, l., . . . . .	270
Bōdhana, Bhūṭa—, m., . . . . .	240
Bōdhisattva, . . . . .	33
Bōlaya, k., . . . . .	274
Bomnehālu, vi., . . . . .	183, 199, 190, 193
Bomneparti, vi., s. a. Bomnehālu, . . . . .	190
bow, emblem on seal, . . . . .	241, 242
Brahma, god, . . . . .	175, 243
brahmadāya, . . . . .	62, 170
Brahmadēva, m., . . . . .	141, 144
Brahmadēvabhāta, donee, . . . . .	216, 217
brahmadēya, 40, 67, 70, 71, 72, 77, 78, 83, 88, 104, 109, 123, 134, 244 . . . . .	
Brahmagrāma, vi., . . . . .	170
Brāhmanasārvasva, wk., . . . . .	174
Brahmapurāna, wk., . . . . .	29 n.
brahmapurī, . . . . .	61
Brahmapurī, vi., . . . . .	294
Brahmatantra-svatanttra-Jiyar, tit., of Viravallī Pērarūlāyapa, . . . . .	319, 321, 322, 323 and n., 326
Brahmatantra-svatanttra-Jiyar, Dvitiya—, Vaishnava Achārya, . . . . .	321 n.
Brahma-tantra-svatanttra-Jiyar, Tritiya—, Vaishnava Achārya, . . . . .	322
Bṛihatprōsthā grant of Umavarmān, . . . . .	196
Bṛihatprōsthā plates, . . . . .	283
Bṛihat-Sārāi, vi., . . . . .	147, 154, 156, 157
British Museum plates of Chārudēvi, . . . . .	44 n., 45 n.
British Museum plate of Karpa, . . . . .	311 n.
Buchhad, vi., . . . . .	292 n.
Buddha, the—, . . . . .	285, 328
Buddha, Gautama—, . . . . .	327
Buddhacharyyā, Hindi wk., . . . . .	330 n.
Buddha-Kāñchi, l., . . . . .	318 and n.
Buddhām, vi., . . . . .	241 n.
Buddhamitrā, f., . . . . .	33
Budha, myth. ancestor of the Pāndyas, . . . . .	66, 107, 121
Budhā, f., . . . . .	33
Budhagupta, Gupta k., . . . . .	51 f.
Budharakhitā, Buddhist name, . . . . .	32 n.
Budharakhitā, f., Buddhist nun, . . . . .	33
Budharaksnitā, f. character in Malatī-mādhava, . . . . .	34
Buddhavarman, Yuva-Mshārāja, Pallava k., 45 and n. . . . .	
Bukka I or Bukkarāya, Vijayanagara k., 188, 192, 301 . . . . .	
Bukkarāyasamudram, tank, . . . . .	191
bull emblem on seal, . . . . .	42, 43
bull figure on coin, . . . . .	220

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Burhān-i-Ma'asir, Hist. chron.</i> , . . . . .	208 n.	Chandrapuri, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Chandrachi Met,	227, 230, 237
<i>Burshut-pargasā, dn.</i> , . . . . .	184	Chandrasēkharabhūshana Bhaṭṭa <i>alias</i> Virarājendra-Brahmādhirājan, <i>s. a.</i> Chandrabhūshana-Bhaṭṭa, . . . . .	254
<b>C</b>			
Cape Comorin, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	299	Chanja inscription of Sōmēśvaradēva, . . . . .	200 n.
Catuir, <i>l.</i> mentioned by Nuniz, 298, 299 and n., 300 and n., 301	300	Chāpa or Dhanus, <i>lagna</i> , . . . . .	107, 114, 121
Ceylon, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	84	Chārāla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241, 254
Chāhanda, <i>tn.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Chāndā, . . . . .	203	<i>Charanas</i> :—	
Chakkarakkōṭṭam, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	245 and n., 247, 248, 249	<i>Bahuricha</i> , . . . . .	148, 156 and n., 160 and n., 215
Chakradhara, <i>religious leader</i> , 8, 200 n., 205 and n.	205	<i>Chāindōga</i> . . . . .	240
Chakrakōṭya, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166	Charmādel, <i>l.</i> mentioned by Nuniz, . . . . .	289, 299, 300
Chakrapāṇi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	163	<i>charu, rite</i> , . . . . .	197, 198, 294
Chakrapāṇibhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216	Chārudēvi, <i>Pallava q.</i> , . . . . .	44 n., 45 n.
Chakratīrtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	16	Chatisgarh, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	286
<i>chakravāla</i> , . . . . .	331	<i>chaṭṭa, student</i> , . . . . .	135, 139
<i>Chakravartī, tit.</i> , . . . . .	153	<i>Chaturvargachintāmaṇi, wk.</i> , . . . . .	200 n., 289 n.
Chalikya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	21, 22	<i>chaturvēdin</i> , . . . . .	75
Chāḷukki, <i>s. a.</i> Chāḷukya, . . . . .	248	<i>chaturvēdi-bhaṭṭa</i> , . . . . .	72
Chāḷukya, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	26, 167, 234	Chaturvēdimāṅgaḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	66
Chāḷukya-Bhīma, <i>E. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	<i>chauri, emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	241 and n.
Chāḷukya-Bhīma II, <i>E. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	239	Chēdiyarāyaṇ, <i>m. s. a.</i> Dayānilai Uyyavan-dāp, . . . . .	112, 124
Chāḷukya-Chōja, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	75	Chendalur plates of Kumāravishṅu, . . . . .	45
<i>Chāḷukyakulālakāra, tit.</i> , . . . . .	26	Chēra, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	64
<i>Chamatkārachandrikā, wk.</i> , . . . . .	324 n.	Chēṣm, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241, 242, 253, 254, 263, 265
Chānchayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Chērāntaka-Brahmārāyar, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	39
Chāṇḍikābhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216	Chēvūra, <i>vi. s. a.</i> Śevvūr, . . . . .	36
Chāṅgadēva, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216, 217	<i>Chhandahsūtra, Vēdic wk.</i> , . . . . .	184
<i>Chāmpā-shashthi</i> , . . . . .	229	Chhattisgarh, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	9
Chāmuḍayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Chhēdami, <i>tree</i> , . . . . .	294, 296
Chāmuṅḍarāja, <i>Chāḷukya gen.</i> , . . . . .	247, 248	Chhinda or Chhindaka, <i>dy.</i> , <i>see</i> Sinda, . . . . .	166
Chāṇḍā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Chhittarāja, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	54 and n., 58
Chāṇḍā, <i>tn.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Chāhanda, . . . . .	203	Chicoole plates of Dēvēndravarmān (yr. 183), 196 n.	196 n.
Chāṇḍaladēvi or Chāṇḍalāmbā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	271, 272, 277	Chicoole plates of Nanda-Prabhāṅjanavarman, . . . . .	284
<i>Chāṇḍāmku, sun</i> , . . . . .	67, 107, 121	Chidambaram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	38, 73
Chāṇḍanapuri, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	29	Chitohpa, <i>Bhājā q.</i> , . . . . .	173
Chāṇḍanapuri-eighty-four, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	25, 30	Chikka-Bāgiwāḍi plates of the time of Krishna (Yādava), . . . . .	201
Chāṇḍavarman, Mahārāja—, <i>Śālanakāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	44	Chikkodēya, <i>Vijayanagara pr.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Triyam-baka, . . . . .	188, 190, 193
Chāṇḍavarman, <i>E. Gāṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	283	Chilkā lake, . . . . .	286
Chāṇḍrabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	185, 170	Chimchavall, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 218, 224
Chāṇḍrabhūshana-Bhaṭṭa, <i>s. a.</i> Śasibkrūshana-Paṇḍita, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	254, 264, 266	Chinab, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329 n.
Chāṇḍradēva, <i>feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	204 n., 205, 207 n.	Chinnāpuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46
Chāṇḍrāditya, <i>W. Chāḷukya pr.</i> , . . . . .	26	Chintādurga, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	267
Chāṇḍragupta, <i>Gupta pr.</i> , . . . . .	50, 53	Chintāmaṇi, <i>tg.</i> , . . . . .	254
Chāṇḍragupta I, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	52	Chintapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	44, 46, 47
Chāṇḍragupta II, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	52	Chipurupalle plates of Vishṅuvardhana, . . . . .	239
Chāṇḍragupta, <i>Māurya k.</i> , . . . . .	154	Chirāti (Kīrāti), <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Chāṇḍragupta, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267 and n.	Chitra, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	259
<i>Chāṇḍrāḍa, name of Rāma's sword</i> , . . . . .	11, 17	Chitrakaptha, <i>horse of Vikramāditya I.</i> , . . . . .	22, 23
Chāṇḍralēkai (Sendalai), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304	Chitrerathasvāmin, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	44, 46, 47
Chāṇḍramauli, <i>god. s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	177	Chōḍa or Chōja, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	8, 9
Chāṇḍranallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	114, 125	Chōja, <i>dy.</i> , 22, 23, 64, 75, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89 and n., . . . . .	243



	PAGE		PAGE
Chōja, co., . . . . .	204, 262	Dakshina-kōsala, co., . . . . .	286
Chōja, co., k. of —, . . . . .	210, 221, 280	Dakshināpatha, co., . . . . .	27, 238
Chōja, eponymous k., . . . . .	243, 258	Dakshināpathasādharma, tit., of Pulakēsin, . . . . .	26
Chōja seals, . . . . .	242, 244	Dakshina-Rādha, co., . . . . .	174, 182, 184 and n.
Chōja-gonḍa-Traipurushadēva, god, te. of —, 252 n.		Dāmaramaḍugu, vi., s. a. Tambrāpaethāna, . . . . .	49
Chōjakulaśekhara, ep., . . . . .	245	Dāmayaṇ Mādhaṇ, donor, . . . . .	78
Chōjamaṇḍala, co., . . . . .	309	Dāmidigau, vi., . . . . .	218, 224
Chōjamaṇḍalam, t. d., . . . . .	297, 300, 301, 302	Dārikēru, stream, . . . . .	140, 144
Chōlāntaka, ep. of Paṇḍya k., . . . . .	38, 39	Dāmōdara, donee, . . . . .	55, 61
Chōlāntaka-Brahmamārāya, off., . . . . .	35, 38, 39	Dāmōdara, ch., . . . . .	274
Chōlāntakadēvar, ch., . . . . .	40, 42	Dāmōdara, m., . . . . .	295
Chōlāntaka-nāli, liquid measure . . . . .	39	Dāmōdarabhaṭṭa, donee, . . . . .	215, 216, 217
Chōlāntaka-Pallavaraiyaṇ, m., . . . . .	39 n.	Dāmōdara-sainya-diśa-paṭṭa, Kāyastha ep., . . . . .	273
Chronogram :—		Dāmōdarapur plates of Kumāragupta I, . . . . .	51 n.
<i>adri</i> (7), . . . . .	188, 193	Dāmōdarapur plates of Budhagupta, . . . . .	51 n.
<i>arka</i> (12), . . . . .	271, 277	Dāmōdara Upādhyāya, m., . . . . .	55, 61
<i>bāhu</i> (2), . . . . .	336	Dānakhaṇḍa, wk., . . . . .	200 n., 289 n.
<i>bāna</i> (5), . . . . .	336	Dānārṇava, E. Ganga k., . . . . .	240 and n.
<i>bhānu</i> (12), . . . . .	271, 277, 336	Dāpaviṇōḍa-Mūvēndavēlāṇ, m., . . . . .	135, 136
<i>bhā</i> (1), . . . . .	188, 193, 336	Dāpaviṇōḍanallūr, vi., sur. of Kīt-Pāssalai, . . . . .	89, 100, 111, 112, 114, 115, 124, 125, 126
<i>chandra</i> (1), . . . . .	336	<i>daṇḍa</i> or <i>daṇḍabala</i> , . . . . .	28
<i>chatur-upāya</i> (4), . . . . .	336	<i>Daṇḍa</i> or <i>Dāṇḍakya</i> , myth. k., . . . . .	11
<i>dhātu</i> (7), . . . . .	188, 193	<i>daṇḍa</i> , fine, . . . . .	212, 222
<i>gati</i> (4), . . . . .	336	<i>Daṇḍaka</i> , forest, . . . . .	11
<i>guṇa</i> (3), . . . . .	188, 193, 336	<i>Daṇḍaka</i> , l., . . . . .	29 n.
<i>kshma</i> (1), . . . . .	336	<i>Daṇḍapāpi</i> , donee, . . . . .	163
<i>rāma</i> (3), . . . . .	335	Dāṇḍigau, vi., . . . . .	200
<i>randhra</i> (9), . . . . .	336	Dantan, vi., . . . . .	235
<i>śakti</i> (3), . . . . .	336	Dantapura, ci., . . . . .	282, 283, 285, 286
<i>śakti</i> (1), . . . . .	335	Dantayavāgū, vi., . . . . .	195, 197, 198
Chudaṭhāla, l., . . . . .	33	Dantayavāgū (vāgū), dt., . . . . .	196
Chūlāmaṇi-Kilavan, m., . . . . .	39, 41	Dantidurga, Rāshtrakūṭa k., 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 270 . . . . .	and n.
Chūlavamsa, wk., . . . . .	34 n.	Dantivarman, Rāshtrakūṭa k., . . . . .	27
Conjeeveram, vi., . . . . .	73	<i>Darśa</i> , . . . . .	137, 143, 146
Conjeeveram, Big —, l., . . . . .	318 n.	<i>Darśana</i> , . . . . .	78
Conjeeveram, Little —, l., . . . . .	318 n.	Dāśarathī, myth. k., of the Ikshvāku race, . . . . .	143, 146
Coromandel coast, . . . . .	299	Dāśavatāra cave inscription, . . . . .	28
Crisnarao, Vijayanagara k., s. a. Krishna- dēvarāya, . . . . .	299, 300	Dāśavatāra cave temple, . . . . .	29
Cuttaek, co., . . . . .	300 n.	<i>Datta</i> or <i>Dattātrēya</i> , Upanishad, . . . . .	49 and n.
		<i>Dattakasūtras</i> , . . . . .	49
		<i>Dattānuyōga</i> , . . . . .	49
		Daulatabad plates, . . . . .	27
		Days of unspecified era :—	
		30th, . . . . .	185, 198
		Days, lunar :—	
		1st, . . . . .	167
		Days of the month (unspecified) :—	
		21st, . . . . .	287
		Days of the month :—	
		13th of Ramzan, . . . . .	208
		Days of the fortnight (unspecified) :—	
		<i>doitīya</i> , 2, . . . . .	81
		<i>captaṁi</i> , 7, . . . . .	81

## D

Dabhra-sabhā, i.e. the hall at Chidambaram, . . . . .	244
Dābhra-sabhānata, s. a. god Natarāja of Dabh- rasabhā, . . . . .	262
Dadambhaṭṭa, donee, . . . . .	216, 217
Dadda II-Prasāntarāga, Gārjara k., . . . . .	25
Dadda (II), Gārjara k., . . . . .	292
Dadda III-Bāhusāhāya, Gārjara k., . . . . .	292
Daddāpaya, off., . . . . .	54, 59, 61
Dadhichi, myth. hero, . . . . .	209, 220
Dādhā, co., . . . . .	206, 211, 222
Dāṇḍipadāsa, co., . . . . .	182 n.

	PAGE		PAGE
Days, lunar :—		<i>dēvadānam</i> , 70, 71, 72, 89 n., 104, 105, 106, 108, 122,	
bright fortnight :—		131, 132, 134, 136, 160 n.	
1st, . . . . .	319, 325	<i>dēvadāya</i> , . . . . .	62, 170
2nd, . . . . .	322	Dēvadēvadāma, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	158, 160
3rd, . . . . .	302	Dēvadēvēśa, <i>god</i> , s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	185
7th, . . . . .	250 n.	<i>dēvadāna-panīśey-virutti-paṅgu</i> , . . . . .	76
10th, <i>dasami</i> , . . . . .	81	Dēvadhara Dīkṣhita, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
11th, . . . . .	125, 201, 222	Dēvagiri, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	200 n., 205, 210, 221, 274
12th, . . . . .	7, 81	<i>dēvāgrahāra</i> , . . . . .	195, 197, 198
13th, <i>trayōdaśī</i> , . . . . .	26, 30, 31, 81	<i>dēvakaṅmi</i> or <i>dēvarkaṅmi</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132, 135, 136
14th, <i>chaturdaśī</i> , . . . . .	81	Dēvalanā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229
15th, (fullmoon), 44, 46, 47, 54, 60, 188, 193, 289,	291, 304	Dēvanabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215
dark fortnight :—		Dēvanāmpīya Tissa, <i>k. of Ceylon</i> , . . . . .	32, 34 n.
6th, . . . . .	81, 82	Dēvaṅ-Kiriṅaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41
10th, . . . . .	82	Dēvaṅ Nambi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125
11th, <i>kanakaṅpati-tīthi</i> , . . . . .	66, 107, 121, 296	Dēvaṅ Śivallavaṅ Araṭṭamikkidāsaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124
13th, . . . . .	174, 184, 185	Dēvaṅ Tillai, <i>m.</i> , s. a. Madurōdaya Pallava-	
<i>amāvasyā</i> (new moon), 138, 143, 146, 165, 170,	271, 277	<i>raiyāṅ</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Days of the week :—		Dēvapāla, <i>Pāla k.</i> , . . . . .	50, 153, 324, 335
Sunday, . . . . .	36 n., 66, 81	Dēvarakoṅḍa, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	301
Monday, . . . . .	81, 165, 188, 189, 193	Dēvarāśhtra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	239, 284 n.
Tuesday, . . . . .	54 and n., 60 and n., 82, 137, 138,	Dēvarāya I, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 192
143, 146, 271, 277, 278, 310		Dēvarāya II, <i>Fraudha-Pratāpa</i> —, <i>Vijayana-</i>	
Wednesday, . . . . .	81, 138	<i>gara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189, 190, 193, 300, 325
Thursday, . . . . .	81, 250 n.	Dēvasimbādēva, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	282, 287
Friday, . . . . .	54, 81, 302, 319, 325	Dēvavarman, <i>k. of Magadha</i> , . . . . .	270
Saturday, 81, 82, 126, 188, 189, 201, 211, 222		Dēvayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 141, 144
Ārkivāra, . . . . .	67, 107, 121	Dēvillakagrāma, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	170
Ravivāra, . . . . .	3 n.	<i>dēviyār</i> , 'queen', . . . . .	84
Śaivāra, . . . . .	114	Deyvachchilainallūr, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Paṅṅaṅkuḷam, . . . . .	98
Sura-guru-divasa, . . . . .	139 n.	<i>dh.</i> , . . . . .	165
Saumyavāra, . . . . .	2	<i>dh.</i> , doubling of —, in conjunction with a follow-	
Sōmavāra, . . . . .	2, 26, 31	<i>ing y</i> , . . . . .	195
Dayāmkha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	75	<i>dhakkā</i> , drum . . . . .	22, 23
Dayāmkhamāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75, 76, 77	Dhamadēvā, <i>f. Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Dayānilai Uyyavandāṅ, <i>m.</i> , s. a. Chēdiyarāyaṅ, . . . . .	101, 112, 124	Dhamarekhitā, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Dayānti Ariyāṅ <i>alias</i> Arundavaṅ Viḷupparai-		Dhammāna, <i>stream</i> , . . . . .	294, 296
<i>yaṅ m.</i> , . . . . .	116, 127	Dhanaida plate of Kumāragupta I, . . . . .	51
Dayānti Mānaviraṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	116, 127	Dhanapāla, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	166 n.
Ddhuvaha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	173	Dhanavāhi-pattalā, <i>dī.</i> , . . . . .	3, 5, 6
Dēchaya, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	184	Dhanavati, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	33
Dēḍa(va)kōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70	Dhanēśvarabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216, 217
Dēkambhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216	Dhaṅga, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> , . . . . .	280
Delang, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Ollāṅga, . . . . .	173	Dhaññakeḍa, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	45
Dēmāmbikā, <i>Vijayanagara g.</i> , . . . . .	188, 193	<i>Dhanush rāśi</i> , . . . . .	66, 67, 121
Dēśaṅḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	196	Dhanus-tīrtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	16
Dēśastha, <i>sect</i> , . . . . .	229	Dhār or Dhārā, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	184
Dēśipattāṅam <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōḷapuram (Vikra-		Dharakēśa, <i>Rāpaka</i> —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	6
<i>māṅgalam</i> ), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97	Dharēka, <i>Rāpaka</i> —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3
Dēśiyagandapaṭṭipam (Sundaram), <i>vi.</i> , s. a.		<i>dharmādīkaraṅa</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	2, 6
Sundaraśōḷapuram, . . . . .	95	Dharmāditya, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	51
Dīvabhāgā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Dharmalingēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	335
		Dharmapālā, <i>Buddhist nun and preceptress</i> , . . . . .	32
		Dharmarājādēva, <i>Śailādēhava k.</i> , . . . . .	47, 268

	PAGE		PAGE
Dharmātmaja, <i>myth. t.</i> , . . . . .	143, 146	Durgalégāhvāṇa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200
Dharmōśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	17	Durgāśarman, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	289, 291
Dharmōttariya, <i>Buddhist sect</i> , . . . . .	33	Durgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
Dharaṇendra, <i>serpent k.</i> , . . . . .	166	Durjayabhañjadēva, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	148, 149, 151, 152, 161, 163, 172 and n., 173
Dharaṇidhara, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	315, 318	Durvāsas, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	5, 6
Dharaṇikōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	139	<i>dātaka, off.</i> , . . . . .	60, 206
Dharaśeṇa IV, <i>k. of Valabhi</i> , . . . . .	292	<i>dvāpara (yuga)</i> , . . . . .	60
Dharmasiri, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Dvārakā, <i>kshētra</i> , . . . . .	17, 214, 224
Dhāravāghaurē, <i>hamlet</i> , 200, 212, 215, 222, 224		Dvārakānātha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	319
Dhārwār, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	166	Dvārasamudra, <i>Hoysala ca.</i> , . . . . .	207
Dhavalapēṭa plates, . . . . .	283	Dviravadana, <i>god, s.a. Gaṇēśa</i> , . . . . .	175
Dhōṇḍaka grant of the Chālukya Jayasimha- varman, . . . . .	228		
Dhoravaṭṭe, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	6	<b>E</b>	
Dhōvahaṭṭa, <i>ci., s. a., modern Dhurēti</i> , . . . . .	5	ē, . . . . .	25
Dhōvaṭṭa, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	3	ē, medial, . . . . .	334
Dhruva, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	28	Eastern Ganga, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	240
Dhūlia, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	164	Eolipses :—	
Dhulia plates of Karkarāja, . . . . .	270	lunar, . . . . .	54, 60
Dhūmrāksha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	17	solar . . . . .	35, 37, 137, 138, 143, 146, 165, 170, 271, 278, 310
Dhūmrēśvara or Dhūmrāksha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	11	Ediriliśōlappērayaṇ-ōmbal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Dhureti, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	1	Ekadanta, <i>god., s. a. Gaṇēśa</i> , . . . . .	192
Dhvā (?)midēvabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215	Ekadhira-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Diganāgā (Dinnāgā), <i>Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Elamañchili (Yellamañchili), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	239
Digbhañja, <i>Bhañja k.</i> , . . . . .	149, 150, 151, 152	Elamanchili-Kalingadēśa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	239
Digbhaiyā, <i>Agnihōtri, m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61	Ēlāpura, <i>ci., s. a. modern Ellōra</i> , 25, 26, 29 and n., 30	
Digba Nikāya, <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	285 and n.	Ela-śrēshṭhin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	237
Dillpa, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	257	Elavanāśūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297
Dighwa-Dubauli plate of Mahēndrapāla, . . . . .	52	elephant-goad, <i>auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 n.
Dipavamsā, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	31, 32	Elhadēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	212, 223
Divyāvādānamālā, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	331	Elhaṇḍūbe, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Divyasūri-stūti, <i>Vaiṣṇava hymns</i> , . . . . .	322 and n.	Elliot Collection of Telugu Inscriptions, <i>ms. wk.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139 n.
Dōchaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	278	Ellōra, <i>ci., s. a. ancient Ēlāpura</i> , . . . . .	25, 29
Doḍḍa, <i>Reddī k.</i> , . . . . .	140	Ellōra plates of Dantidurga, . . . . .	25
Doḍḍayachārya, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	321 n.	Ellore Prakrit Plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman, 42, 43, 44 and n.	
Dohad stone inscription of Mahāmuda (Begarha), . . . . .	207 n.	ēṭu-kaḍal, <i>i.e., The seven oceans</i> , . . . . .	107, 122
dog, <i>vāhana</i> of god Khaṇḍōba, . . . . .	229	ēṭu-pōṭil, <i>i.e., The seven gardens</i> , . . . . .	107, 122
Drākshārāma, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	248 n.	Ēmbal <i>alias</i> Kaliyugarāmanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
dramma, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	3 n., 62	Emberumānār, <i>Vaiṣṇava pontiff</i> , . . . . .	323 n.
Drishtivisha, <i>myth. k. of the Nāgas</i> , . . . . .	165, 169	Ēṅaḷālvān, <i>Vaiṣṇava pontiff</i> , . . . . .	323 n.
Drōṇa, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	54, 67	Ēṅāṅaḷūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92, 93
drum, <i>auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 n.	Enara, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	55, 62 and n.
Drujjavaram grant of Ana-Vēma, . . . . .	140	Ēpāttūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Drujjavaram <i>alias</i> Anna-Vēmapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	140	Ēnāṭṭu-Vellāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89 and n.
Drugalégāhvāṇa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	218, 225	ēṅ-giri, <i>i.e., The eight mountains</i> , . . . . .	107, 122
Druhīṇa, <i>s. a. Brahmā</i> , . . . . .	271	Ēppāyiram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	325 n.
Dubē, <i>family name</i> , . . . . .	201	Eras :—	
Dugaiya-upāsani, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55	Chēdi, . . . . .	4
Durgā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	235	Gāṅga, . . . . .	163, 195, 196, 282
Durga or Durgasimha, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	211, 222 and n.	Gupta, . . . . .	50, 52
Durgabhāṭa, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	296	Harsha, . . . . .	153
Durgakhaṇḍin or Durgakhaṇḍika, <i>Bhaṭṭapu- tra --, donee</i> , . . . . .	240	Hijri, . . . . .	207, 208

	PAGE		PAGE
Kalachuri . . . . .	2, 9, 228, 229, 310	Ganadaṇḍa, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	148, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 162
Kali, . . . . .	322	<i>Ganadaṇḍanāyaka</i> or <i>Ganadaṇḍapāla</i> , . . . . .	154
Kollam, . . . . .	84, 336	Ganapati, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , . . . . .	202 and n., 271, 272, 273, 274
Saka, . . . . .	24, 26, 52, 54 n., 60, 137, 143, 146, 165 and n., 167, 170, 188, 193, 201, 211, 228, 229, 241, 263, 265, 289, 291, 304, 326	Ganapati, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	2, 40, 41, 297
Eranbarage (Yelburga), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166	Ganapatibhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216, 217
Ḙṛaṇ Periyāṇ, <i>m., s. a. Pāṇḍiyaṇ Pallavaraiyaṇ</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Gaṇḍarāditya, <i>Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	38
Ḙṛṛaya-pregaḍa, <i>poet, s. a. Ḙṛṛā-pregaḍa</i> , . . . . .	138, 140	Gaṇḍarāditya-ohaturvédimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Ḙṛṛayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	191
Ḙṛapōta-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Gaṇḍapeṇḍāra, <i>Kāyastha ep.</i> , . . . . .	271, 272
Ḙṛichohāvudaiyār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	35, 40	Gāndhadhvaja, <i>rel. teacher</i> , . . . . .	183, 185
Ḙṛuva-Mallidēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	274	Gaṇḍēruvāṭi, <i>dt., s. a. Kandēruvāḍi</i> , . . . . .	187
Ḙṛuva-Manumliḍēva, <i>Teluga-Chōḍa ch.</i> , . . . . .	275	Gaṇḍēsa, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	53, 55, 188
<i>Ḙvi-mudal, off.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41	Gaṅgā, emblem of — . . . . .	22, 23
Ḙvvi or Vēl-Ḙvvi, <i>Vēl ch.</i> , . . . . .	93	Gāṅgā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	200, 218, 225
Ḙyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 109, 123	Gāṅgā, <i>ri.</i> , identical with Gōḍavari, . . . . .	208 and n.
Ḙyir-kōṭṭam, <i>t.d.</i> , . . . . .	253, 263, 265	Gāṅga, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	195, 286, 287
		Gāṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōja, <i>Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	250
<b>F</b>		Gāṅgaikoṇḍam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	307, 309
Fa-Hien, <i>Chinese traveller</i> , . . . . .	33	Gāṅgaikoṇḍaśōlapuram, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	254, 304
Faridpur plates of Dharmāditya, . . . . .	51 n.	Gāṅgādharamiśra, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215
Faridpur plates of Gopachandra, . . . . .	51 n.	<i>Gāṅg-āmala-kula-pratishṭhah, E. Gāṅga ep.</i> , . . . . .	197
Firishṭa, <i>Muhammadan historian</i> , . . . . .	207, 208 n.	Gāṅga-maṇḍalam-āpa Nigariliśōja-maṇḍalam, <i>t.d.</i> , . . . . .	90
fish, pair of —, <i>Pāṇḍya emblem</i> , . . . . .	122, 242	Gāṅgapāḍi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	247, 251
fish, pair of —, <i>auspicious symbol</i> , . . . . .	243 n.	Gāṅgāpuri (Gāṅgaikoṇḍa-śōlapuram), <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	245
fish, emblem on seal, . . . . .	241	Gāṅgavaram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	272
fly-whisk ( <i>chāmara</i> ), emblem on seal, . . . . .	43	Gāṅgavāṭi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	244
fly-whisk, <i>auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 n.	Gāṅgaya-Sāhipi, <i>Kāyastha ch.</i> , . . . . .	271, 272 and n., 277
flag, <i>auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 n.	Gāṅgēya Sāhipi, <i>s. a. Gāṅgaya Sāhipi, Kāyastha ch.</i> , . . . . .	271
		Gāṅjām plates of Dharmarāja, . . . . .	269
<b>G</b>		Gāṅjām plates of Prithivīvarman, . . . . .	240
g, with and without loop, . . . . .	165	Gaṅṭapara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48
Gaḍā, <i>f. Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Gaṅṭapāṭi-maṇḍala, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	48
Gaḍā (Gaṇḍā), name, . . . . .	32 n.	Geṇṭapāṭa-maṇḍala, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	47, 48
Gaḍādhara, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	184 n.	Geldria, <i>Dutch fort</i> , . . . . .	300
Gaḍilam, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	302 and n.	Gēyavinōḍa-vaḷanāḍu, <i>t. d., s. a. Miḷḷalai-kūṅgam</i> , . . . . .	92 n.
Gaḍōbhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215	Garrāh plates, . . . . .	3
gahapati or gahapatika, a householder, . . . . .	238	Garuḍa, emblem on seal, . . . . .	25, 53, 199 n., 292
Gaja-Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	1	Garuḍa, <i>vāhana of Vishnu</i> , . . . . .	327
Gajapati, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	5	gau, <i>gavā, s. a. grāma</i> , . . . . .	208 n.
Gajavāḍai ( <i>s. a. Bezwada</i> ), <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	307, 308	Gauḍa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Gāṁḍlvin, <i>ep. of Arjuna</i> , . . . . .	143	Gauḍalēkhamālā, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	335 n.
Gaṁgāḍēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Gauri, <i>Vijayanagarā q.</i> , . . . . .	188, 192
Gaṁgādhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3	Gautama Buddha, . . . . .	327
Gaṁgādhara, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	6	Gautamī (Gōḍavari), <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	29 n.
Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217	Gautamī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	140
Gaṁgādharaṛya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Gautamī-māhātmya, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	29 n.
Gaṁgavāṭi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	262	Gayā, <i>tirtha</i> , . . . . .	310, 313, 317
Gāṁgō, Ṭhākur —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Gayā plate of Samudragupta, . . . . .	50, 51 and n., 52
Gaṁggayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144		
gaya, republic, . . . . .	154		

	PAGE		PAGE
Gayakarna, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	310, 312, 316	Kāva, . . . . .	142, 144
Gāyatribhāṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217	Kapi, . . . . .	201, 217
Ghanādri, <i>s. a.</i> Penugonda, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	188, 190, 193	Kapila, . . . . .	329
Ghaṇḍikōṭa, <i>ca.</i> and <i>hill-fort</i> , . . . . .	272, 276	Kāśyapa, . . . . .	135, 136, 141, 142, 144, 200, 215, 217, 289, 291
Ghaṇṭésvara, <i>god, te. of</i> —, . . . . .	8, 15	Kāśyapa-kāva, . . . . .	217
Ghaṇṭikāśālā or Ghaṇṭikāśāhāra, . . . . .	324, 325	Kāśyapa-Mādhyaṇḍina, . . . . .	217
Ghaṇṭikāśatakam-Ammā, <i>Vaiṣṇava disciple</i> , . . . . .	322	Kauṇḍinya, . . . . .	141, 144, 165, 170, 201, 217, 279 and <i>n.</i>
Ghaṭōtkacha, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	52	Kauśika, . . . . .	5, 61, 142, 144, 163, 200, 216, 230
Ghāyuvanta, <i>s. a.</i> Vappuvanna, . . . . .	54 <i>n.</i>	Lōkāksha, . . . . .	55, 61
Ghōsrāwā inscription of the time of Dēva- pāladēva, . . . . .	328	Lōhita, . . . . .	201, 217
Ghriṣhṇésvara, <i>god, s. a.</i> Guhésvara, . . . . .	29 and <i>n.</i>	Maitrēya, . . . . .	142, 144
ghrita-sāikā, <i>a measure</i> , . . . . .	226	Mānavya, . . . . .	21, 22, 230, 234, 236, 290
Girigutā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 <i>n.</i>	Maudgalya, . . . . .	44, 46, 47
Girnā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	29	Maunya or Mauna, . . . . .	311 and <i>n.</i> , 315, 316
Goa grant of Satyāsraya Dhruvarāja, . . . . .	207	Naidhruva, . . . . .	201, 217
Gōdayari plates of Prithivimūla, . . . . .	196, <i>n.</i> , 282, 283	Pūtimāsha, . . . . .	201, 217
Gōdāvari, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	11, 199, 208, 285	Rathītara, . . . . .	142, 144
Goggirāja, <i>Silāhara k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 57	Śāṇḍilya, . . . . .	55, 61, 142, 144
Gōhan Thaqi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	209	Śrīvata, . . . . .	188, 141, 144, 201, 217
Gōkak plates of Dōjja-Mahārāja, . . . . .	282	Upamanyu, . . . . .	55, 61
Gōkarṇasvāmi, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	197	Vādhyasva, . . . . .	201, 216
Gōkarṇa, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	310, 313, 317	Vaśishṭha, . . . . .	142, 144, 163, 200, 212, 216, 217, 223
Gōlēghavāna, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 209, 212, 215, 222, 224	Vata, . . . . .	3, 6, 55, 61, 148, 156 and <i>n.</i> , 201, 217, 240
Gōllana, Thākura —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Vishṇuvardhana, . . . . .	142, 144
Gōmata, Thākura Sri, <i>dōnee</i> , . . . . .	173	Vishṇuvriddha, . . . . .	200, 216, 282, 287
Gōmma, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 57	Vishṇuvriddha-Āngirasa, . . . . .	201, 216
Gōnkaya-Reḍḍi, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	276	Viśvāmitra, . . . . .	21, 25, 201, 216, 310, 313, 316
Gōpachandra, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	51 <i>n.</i>	Gōtravarānibandhakadamba, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	311 <i>n.</i>
Gōpāla-bhāṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144, 217	Gōvinda III, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	54, <i>n.</i> , 167, 267
Gōpanripati, <i>k. of cowherds</i> , . . . . .	211, 222	Gōvinda-bhāṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215, 216
Gōparāshtra, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 228, 229, 231, 232, 234	Gōviṇḍachandra, <i>Gahādvala k.</i> , . . . . .	5
Gōpasvāmin, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	50	Gōvinda-nāyaka, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216
Goshdapir, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	158	Gōvindaṇ Tirunlakaṇṭha-Bhāṭṭan, <i>m.</i> , 100, 112, 124	102, 113, 124
Gotami, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 <i>n.</i>	Gōvindaṇ Mānēndukaiyyaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	27, 28
Gōtras :—		Gōvindarāja or Gōvinda, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	322
Agastya, . . . . .	201, 216	Gōvindarāja, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	30
Āśvya, . . . . .	55, 61, 201, 217, 242, 253, 263, 265	Gōvisara, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	169
Āśvya, <i>First</i> —, . . . . .	201 and <i>n.</i> , 216, 217	Grāmakūṭa, . . . . .	204
Bhāradvāja, . . . . .	30, 55, 61, 135, 136, 141, 144, 200, 215, 217, 218	grāmamaḥattarādhipāri, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	59 and <i>n.</i>
Bhārgava, . . . . .	55, 61, 142, 144	grāhapati or grāhapatika, <i>a householder</i> , . . . . .	137
Chapala, . . . . .	184, 185	Guḍḍavallēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	26, 29, 36
Dābbilya, . . . . .	292	Guhésvara-tīrtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	253, 254, 254, 266
Dēvarāṭa, . . . . .	210, 217	Gūpanidi-Arūlmoliyār <i>alias</i> Mūpavaṇ-Mūvānda- vājār, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	284 <i>n.</i>
Gārgya, . . . . .	142, 144, 201, 217	Gūnavarman, <i>Kalīnga k.</i> , . . . . .	146
Gautama, . . . . .	142, 144, 201, 217	Guṇṭa-Kōḍūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48
Harta, . . . . .	140, 141, 142, 144, 201, 216, 217, 218	Gunthacōḍa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	167
Jamaḍagū, . . . . .	55, 61	Guṇarāt, <i>Southern</i> —, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	
Jamaḍagaya-Vata, . . . . .	200, 208, 216, 217		

	PAGE
Gupta, k. . . . .	52
Guriçāla-Gurādhipa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	271, 277
Gūjāra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	203, 204
Qūjāra, <i>co.</i> , k. of —, . . . . .	210, 221
Gurumjakōdu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	140, 145
Gurupāda or Gurupādaka or Gurupāda- giri, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	329, 332, 334
Guruparamparā-prabhāvam, <i>Vaiṣṇava</i> <i>biographical wk.</i> , . . . . .	321 and n., 322 and n., 323 and n.
Gutti, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Gooty, . . . . .	190, 249
Guttā, l. (battlefield), . . . . .	251, 252
Guttirājya, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	189, 139

H

Haihayas or Kalachuris of Raipur, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	9
<i>kala</i> , l. m., . . . . .	195, 197, 198
Haihyndha, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	173, 174, 182 and n., 184 and n.
<i>Haldyudha-sūtra</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	174, 183
<i>Haldyudha-sūtri</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	185
Hāli grant of Harivarman, . . . . .	167 n.
<i>hamjamana</i> , . . . . .	59
Hansa-ūrtha, <i>Śrīha</i> , . . . . .	16
Hara, <i>god</i> , s. a. Śiva, . . . . .	175, 254
Hārāhā inscription, . . . . .	268 n., 269
Hari (Viṣṇu), <i>god</i> , . . . . .	66, 107, 121, 225
Haribhāṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	195, 196, 197, 198
Harihara I, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	191
Harihara II, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 192
Haribara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	280 n.
Harikinibagau, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Harki Nimgaon, . . . . .	200, 208, 218, 224
Haripāla, Ṭhakkura —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	5
Hariśchandra, <i>family of kings</i> 226, 229, 230, 234, 236	
Hariśchandra, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	237
Hārītī, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	21, 230, 234, 236, 290
<i>Harivamśa</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	9
<i>Harivamśamu</i> , <i>Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	138, 139 and n.
Harivarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	268
Hariyānan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	320
Harki Nimgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	208
<i>Harshacharita</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	34 and n.
Harsha or Harshadēva or Harshavardhana, <i>k. of Kanauj</i> , . . . . .	22, 34, 270, 290, 292
Harshagupta, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267, 269, 270
Hastigiri, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Tiruvattiyūr, . . . . .	319
Hastigiriśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	319, 325
Hastinikā, <i>stream</i> , . . . . .	294, 296
Hastīśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	319 n.
Hastivarman Mahārāja, <i>Sālanāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45 n.
Hastivarman, <i>Vaiṅgēyaka</i> , <i>Sālanāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45
Hastivarman, <i>E. Ganga k.</i> , . . . . .	196
Hāthgumpāśa inscription of Khāravala, . . . . .	206 n.

	PAGE
<i>haṭṭa</i> , <i>mart</i> , . . . . .	334, 335
Hatthāhaka-vihāra, . . . . .	32
Hattipāla Jātaka, <i>Buddhist birth story</i> , . . . . .	330
Hayagrīva, <i>god of learning</i> , . . . . .	325
Hēmādri, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	10, 137, 143, 147, 200 n., 202 and n., 203 n., 204, 275, 289 n.
Hēramba or Hēramba, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	172, 173
Hēramba, <i>Rājakula</i> —, <i>engraver</i> , . . . . .	156, 157
Hieun Tsang, <i>Chinese traveller</i> , . . . . .	34, 270, 333
Hirahadagalli Plates, . . . . .	43
Hiranyakaśipu, <i>myth. demon k.</i> , . . . . .	11
Himālaya, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	29 n.
Hisham, <i>Caliph</i> , . . . . .	27
Hivarē, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 208, 218, 224
Hoysala, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	89 n.
Huvishka, <i>Kuṣhāna k.</i> , . . . . .	33
Hwui Lun, <i>Korean traveller</i> , . . . . .	270

I

ī, initial —, . . . . .	309
ī, used for ē, . . . . .	147
ī, medial long, . . . . .	66
ī, medial, in Grantha, . . . . .	243
Ibn Khurdabā, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	29
Iḍiyāgrūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Iḍaikkāṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 120, 130
Iḍaikkūḍi-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	97
Iḍāṅgaḷi-Nāyaṅār, <i>Śaiva devotee</i> , . . . . .	95 n.
<i>Iḍāṅgaḷi-Nāyaṅār Purāṇam</i> , <i>Tamil wk.</i> , . . . . .	95 n.
Iḍukkāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	115, 126
Iḱhvāku, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Iḱhvāku, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	256
īa, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	9 n.
īai-Kaḍambaṅgalaṃ (Śaṅṅavaram), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
īaiyāttakuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
īam, <i>co.</i> , s. a. Ceylon, . . . . .	85
īaṅgārakkūḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303
īaṅgōykkūḍi, <i>vi.</i> , ancient name of Ambā- samudram, . . . . .	40
īaṅjāvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
īlāḱ plates of Daḍḍa II-Prasāntarāga, . . . . .	25
īlapura, l., . . . . .	29 n.
īavimaṅgalaṃ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124
īluppappattū, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297, 303
īammaḍi-Prasāda-Dēvendra (Mallikārjuna), <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 189, 190, 193
īndrasamāṅṅanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Iruñchirai, . . . . .	101, 112, 124
īndor-khera copper plate of the time of Skandagupta, . . . . .	51
īndra, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	331
īndra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	165, 166, 170
īndra I or Indrarāja, <i>Bāḱavabūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	26, 26, 27, 29

	PAGE
Indrabala, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Indrabhatta, <i>m.</i> , follower of the Mahānu- bhava cult, . . . . .	208
Indrabhattāraka, <i>Vishnukunḍin k.</i> , . . . . .	283
Indrabhattāraka, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	283
Indrādhira, <i>E. Gāṅga k.</i> , . . . . . 196 n.,	283
Indrāgnimitra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	33
Indra-Prihohakarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	27
Indrarāja, <i>E. Chālukya pr.</i> , . . . . .	191
Indrasthāna, <i>holy place</i> , . . . . .	207
Indravarman, <i>E. Gāṅga k.</i> , 195, 196, 197, 198, 240 n. and 282, 284, 287	
Īpūr grant of Mādhavavarman, . . . . .	269 and n.
Īraivānāsūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 306, 308
īraṅgollī or frāṅkollī, <i>washerman</i> , 40 and n., 42, 73, 77	
Irāpiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
Irāśiṅganallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97
Irāśiṅgaṅkulakkī, <i>dn.</i> , 99, 103, 112, 113, 124, 125	
Irāśiṅga-kōṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	118, 128
Irāsūrāmapālayam (Irāsūryanpētṭai), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303
Irattapāḍi-seven-and-a-half-lakh, <i>co.</i> , 245, 263, 265	
Irattapāḍikonḍasōlamāṅḍalam, <i>t.d.</i> , 253, 263, 265	
Irattā āja-kula-kālan, <i>ep.</i> , . . . . .	263
Irumaḍi-veṅkaṅḍa Ulaguyyakkōṅḍaruḷiṅa Ayyar, <i>ep.</i> , of Chōla Rājendradēva, . . . . .	247 n.
Irumbānāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Parintakanallūr, . . . . .	93
Irumbāli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 n., 95
Iruñchirai alias Indirasamāṅḍanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , 70 and n., 89, 97, 101, 112, 124	
Iruñchirai-vaḷanāḍu, <i>t.d.</i> , . . . . .	101 and n.
Iruṅḍovē, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	94, 95
Īśānadēva, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Īsidāsi, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Īsidatā (Rishidattā), <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Īsidinā, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Īśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	185
Īśvar-ōpāḍhyāya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
I-tsing, <i>Chinese traveller</i> , . . . . .	34
Iyamanīśvaram (Emanīśvaram), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98

## J

Jabalpūr grant of Yaśahkarna, . . . . .	281 n.
Jagadēkamalla, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	244, 260
Jagatāpi-Daṅḍidēvachōlamahārāja, <i>Telugu- Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	274
Jagatāpi Gaṅḡeyadēva Chōlamahārāja, <i>Telugu-Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	274
Jaikheda, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Jayagrāma, . . . . .	230
Jaitrapāla, <i>Yādava k.</i> , 8, 9, 10, 204, 209, 220	
Jaitugi, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	202 and n.
Jaitugidēva, <i>k. of Māhwa</i> , . . . . .	204
Jājāladēva, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	204
Jakkana, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	138 n.

	PAGE
Jalāl-ud-dīn, <i>Sultan of Delhi</i> , . . . . .	207
Jamdapīr plate of Rājabhāṅja, <i>s. a.</i> Bāmanghāṭi plate, . . . . .	149 n.
Jāmadagiya-Vatsa, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	213, 223
Jananātha-ohaturvēdimāṅḍalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Jananātha-Viḷupparaiyaṅ, <i>off.</i> , <i>sur.</i> of Aruḷ- moḷi-Rājendrasōḷaṅ, . . . . .	254, 264, 266
Janārddana ( <i>s. a. Jannigadēva</i> ), <i>Kāyastha ch.</i> , 271, 272 and n., 274, 277	
Janāśraya, <i>tit.</i> of W. Chālukya Maṅḡalarāja, 27	
Jannigadēva, <i>Kāyastha ch. (s. a. Janār- ddana)</i> , . . . . .	271, 273, 274, 275
Jānubhāṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216
Jarvad Budrukha, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Jayapura, . . . . .	230
Jaṭādhara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	132, 133, 135, 136
Jātakas, . . . . .	285
Jātavēḍaṅ Subrahmaṅya-Bhāṭṭan, <i>m.</i> , 100, 112, 124	
Jaṭavarman, <i>Pāṇḍya tit.</i> , . . . . .	84, 250
Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara of A. D. 1162 and <i>Pūtalamāḍandai introduction, Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 83, 84, 86, 87	
Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara of <i>Pūtalaḡaṅṭai</i> <i>introduction, Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	82
Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I of acc. A. D. 1190 and <i>Pāḡiṅkiḷattī introduction, Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 66, 67, 72, 77, 78, 79, 81, 82, 86, 87, 88, 89, 132, 133	
Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara II of A. D. 1237, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	81, 82
Jaṭavarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (1251-1271), <i>entitled Ellāntalaiyāṅa Perumā, Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	73, 77
Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	85, 86, 87
Jāvali plates of Śrīpuruṣa, . . . . .	166
Jayabhāta, <i>Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	25
Jayabhāta II, <i>Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	292
Jayabhāta III, <i>Gūrjara k.</i> , . . . . .	225, 292
Jayabhāṭṭā, <i>f. Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	34
Jayabhāṭṭi, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	50, 53
Jayadhara-Pallavaraiyaṅ, <i>m.</i> , s. a. Poṅṅaṅ Sūriyadēvan, . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 121, 123, 130
Jayagrāma, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	226, 229, 230, 232, 235
Jayanta, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	57
Jayaṅḡoṅḍasōlamāṅḍalam, <i>co.</i> , s. a. Toṅḍaimāṅḍalam, 90, 253, 263 and n., 265	
Jayaṅḡoṅḍasōlanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Viḷattūr, . . . . .	92
Jayaṅḡoṅḍasōḷavaḷanāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	254, 264, 266
Jayapura, <i>tn.</i> , s. a. Jitpur . . . . .	226, 228, 229, 230, 232, 235
Jayaśakti, <i>Sēndraka ch.</i> , . . . . .	167, 168
Jayasimha or Jayasimhadēva, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , 4, 309, 311, 315, 318	
Jayasimha-Vallabha or Jayasimha-Vallabha (Jayasimha I), <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , 49, 187, 191 and n., 269 n., 283	

	PAGE		PAGE
Jayasimha (II), <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	Kaṅgū, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	74
Jayasimhavarman, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	228, 229	Kaṅgūmāngalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	76
Jayavarman, <i>Bṛīhatphāḷiyana k.</i> , . . . . .	46	Kāḍuṅṅetti, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 105, 108, 109, 122, 123
Jejūri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	229	Kai-lavanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kaḷari, . . . . .	98
jh, rare form of—, . . . . .	199	Kailāsa, <i>tc.</i> , at Ellōra, . . . . .	29
Jhañjha, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 56	Kailāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	207, 211
jihvāmūḷiya, . . . . .	282	Kaivāra or Mārajavāḷi, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	271, 274
Jijjika, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	282, 283, 287	Kājalakōvi, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 211, 216, 232, 234
Jimūtakētu, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	53, 56	Kākala (Kakkalla), <i>k. of Varāṅga</i> , . . . . .	202 and n.
Jimūtavāhana, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	53, 59, 209, 220	Kākambhatta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217, 218
Jina, <i>s. a.</i> the Buddha, . . . . .	334	Kākandi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	32
Jina-Kāñchi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	318 and n.	Kakarēḍi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	3
Jinēndramāngalam, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kuruvīḍimidi, . . . . .	94	Kakreri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	3
Jirjīngi plates of the Gāṅga year 39, . . . . .	196n.	Kakuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105
Jirjīngi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	281, 286	Kakustha, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	256
Jirṇanagara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	168n.	Kaḷabhras, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	22, 23
Jitamitā (Jitamitrā), <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32n.	Kalachuris or Haihayas of Raipur, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	9, 187
Jitpūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	292	Kalahaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	226, 229, 233, 232, 235
Jiyar, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	324	Kalasiyaḡeri, <i>vi.</i> , probably <i>s. a.</i> Kaliyaṅ- ēndal, . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Jiyyanārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144	kalam, <i>measure of capacity</i> , . . . . .	40, 41, 73
jū, . . . . .	199	Kaḷanivāsāl, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Jūnasambandha, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	93, 94n.	Kāḷaṅjarādhipati, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	3
jōḷi, <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	297, 301, 307, 308	Kaḷari, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kai-lavanallūr, . . . . .	98
Jōgadēvabhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215, 216	Kaḷavaḷināḍaṅ-āru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71, 120, 130
Jōḡēvarī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	205n.	Kaḷavāḷi-nāḷu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	81, 98
Joshipur Fargaṅā, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	158	Kali, <i>age or era</i> , . . . . .	108, 122
Jōṣi (Joṣi), <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	200	Kāḷitācābhatta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215
Jubbulpore Kotwali plates of Jayasimha- dēva, . . . . .	4, 311	Kāḷiṅgarāyar, <i>off.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Sivallavaṅ manavāḷaṅ, . . . . .	Alaḡiya- 69, 72, 86, 99, 111, 124
Jujhavaram, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Drujjavaram, . . . . .	140	Kaliṅga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	239, 244, 245 and n., 248, 249, 281, 282, 289 n., 286, 297, 300
Junnār, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Junninagara, 164n. 165, 168 and n., 169	n., 169	Kaliṅg-ādhirājya, <i>kingdom</i> , . . . . .	197
Junayd, <i>gen.</i> , . . . . .	27	Kaliṅganagara, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	196, 197, 198
Juṭṭaya, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	276	Kaliṅgapatam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	196
Jyōtirlinga, . . . . .	29, 179, 183	Kalipā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	17

## K

Kāchāla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	51
Kāchupatha (Kāñchupatha, Kāñchipatha ?), <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	32
kaḍamai, <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	132, 133, 134, 135, 136
Kadamba, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	166
Kaḍambamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71, 112, 124
Kaḍambanguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Malayarāyāṅkōṭṭai, 69, 98, 114, 117, 125, 128	2
Kādambarī, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41
Kāḍandai, <i>community (?)</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Kāḍan-Ēṭṭiku-uchchi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	245, 251 and n., 263, 265
Kaḍattimalai, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	253
Kāḍavar, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	299
Kāḍavarārya, <i>ch.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kōpperuṅṅudēva II, . . . . .	274
Kaḍi, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	12 m.
Kaḍṅkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65, 105, 110, 123



	PAGE		PAGE
Kalyānapura, <i>Chālukya ca.</i> , . . . . .	226	Kannapur, <i>vi., sur. Manābharaṅgapatī.</i> , . . . . .	72
Kalyāṅavarman, <i>Maukhari ch.</i> , . . . . .	270	Kāppanūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 87, 88, 96, 106, 110, 117; 123, 127, 297, 304
Kāma, <i>god of love.</i> , . . . . .	210, 221 n.	Kannikudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	110, 123
Kāmadhēnu, <i>celestial cow.</i> , . . . . .	212, 223	Kantēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	187
Kamaladēvabhāta, <i>donee.</i> , . . . . .	215, 216, 217	Kantēru Platee of Śīlāṅkyaṇa Vijaya-Skanda- varman, . . . . .	42, 45 n.
Kāmandaka, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	308 n.	Kantēru platee of Nandivarman, . . . . .	43
Kāmandakī, <i>f. character in Mālatīmādhava.</i> , . . . . .	34	<i>kaṭhikā, necklet, emblem of heir-apparency,</i> . . . . .	249
Kāmāṅganāsana, <i>god, s. a. Śiva.</i> , . . . . .	185	Kaṭhikā-Bēta, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	187
Kāmapāla, <i>Abhira k.</i> , . . . . .	204, 206, 210, 221	Kanumallapūṁḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	145
Kammarāshtra, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	45	Kanumerla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	140
Kāmmāre-śūṅai ( <i>spring</i> ), . . . . .	264, 266	<i>kanyādharma or kanyādāmadharma, gift of a girl.</i> 289 n.	
Kampili, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	249, 251	Kanyākubja, <i>co., s. a., Kanauj.</i> , . . . . .	2, 207, 211, 222
Kamsārapallikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	227, 230, 237	<i>Kanyākubjādhipati, tit., of Gahaḍavāla rulers,</i> . . . . .	3
kamsāra-kulaputraka, . . . . .	240	<i>Kanyākubjādhipati, tit., assumed by Chandēlla</i> <i>Trailōkyamalla,</i> . . . . .	3
Kāñāli-Irukkaī, <i>t. d., 70 and n., 71, 89, 97, 101, 112,</i> 117, 124, 127		Kanyākumari, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	36, 243
Kanakāchala, <i>myth. golden mo.,</i> . . . . .	107, 122	Kapardin, I, <i>Śīlāhara ch.</i> , . . . . .	54, 56, 229
Kanākamuni, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha,</i> . . . . .	333 n.	Kapardin (II), <i>Śīlāhara ch.</i> , . . . . .	54 n.
Kanakasabhā, <i>the golden palace at Chidam-</i> <i>baram,</i> . . . . .	38	Kāpāsīgēma, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kanakēśvara, <i>donee,</i> . . . . .	55, 61	Kapila, <i>sage,</i> . . . . .	257
<i>kaṇakkabaṅḍāram, off.,</i> . . . . .	40, 41	Kapila, <i>m.,</i> . . . . .	330 n.
<i>kaṇakku or karaṇakku, off.,</i> . . . . .	132	Kāpīlānt, Kāpīlāyani or Kāpīlēyā, <i>f.,</i> . . . . .	329, 330 and n.
<i>kaṇakku-mudal or mudal-kaṇakku, off.,</i> . . . . .	132	<i>kapilashashthi,</i> . . . . .	201, 214
Kānāla, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	276	Kappalūr, <i>vi., s. a. Ulagaḷandaśoṅanallūr,</i> . . . . .	89, 94 and n., 99, 111, 123
Kāṇa-nāḍu, <i>co.,</i> . . . . .	88, 89, n., 95 and n.	Kappalūruḍaiyaṅ Śētrāmaṅ Tiruvuḍaiyaṅ <i>alias</i> <i>Pottappichchōlar, off.,</i> . . . . .	111, 123
Kāpātāṅṅampullūr, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	303, 306, 308	Kappalūruḍaiyaṅ Uyyavandāṅ Poṅṅṅ <i>alias</i> Mānā- bharaṇa Mūvēndavēḷār, <i>off.,</i> . . . . .	111, 124
Kanauj, <i>ca.,</i> . . . . .	268, 270 n.	Kara, <i>dy.,</i> . . . . .	147
Kanavadi Śrāmaṅ, <i>m., s. a. Sundarapāṅḍiya-Pallava-</i> <i>raiyāṅ,</i> . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Karaḍikkal, <i>l.,</i> . . . . .	249, 251
Kāṇavāru, <i>ri.,</i> . . . . .	117, 127	Karahāta-four-thousand, <i>dn.,</i> . . . . .	166
Kambar, <i>Tamil poet,</i> . . . . .	89, 90	Karaiyūr, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	95, 96, 104, 109, 114, 122, 125
Kāñchi, Kāñchīpura or Kāñchīpuram, <i>ci.,</i> . . . . .	22, 23, 242, 253, 263, 265, 269 n., 290, 318, 319, 320n.	<i>karaṇāṅṅ n, off.,</i> . . . . .	132
Kāñchiraṅkulam, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	105, 110, 123	Karaṇḍa, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	5
Kāṅḍāḍai-Āṅḍāṅ, <i>Vaiṣṇava disciple,</i> . . . . .	322	Karandai, <i>l., s. a. Kāṅḍai,</i> . . . . .	249
Kāṅḍai or Karandai, <i>l.,</i> . . . . .	246 n., 247, 248, 249, 251	Kāraṅḍavatt, <i>ri.,</i> . . . . .	315 and n.
Kandana(vrōlu), <i>tn., s. a. Kurnool,</i> . . . . .	246 n.	Karaṅḍia Pargaṅḍa, <i>dt.,</i> . . . . .	158
Kāṅḍēru, <i>vi., s. a. Kantēru,</i> . . . . .	187	<i>kāraṅḍmai, tenure,</i> . . . . .	70, 111, 122
Kāṅḍērvvāḍi-vishaya, <i>dt., s. a. Gaṅḍēruvāḍi, Kāṅḍēru-</i> <i>vāḍi, Kāṅḍēruvāḍi or Kāṅḍravāḍi,</i> . . . . .	187, 192	Karaputa, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	237
Kāṅḍiyūr-nāḍāḷvāṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.,</i> . . . . .	105, 109, 123	Kared <i>alias</i> Kurvaḍe <i>vi., s. a. Kurupūra,</i> . . . . .	48
Kāṅḍravāḍa, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	310, 311, 315	Kāreṅpūḍi, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	273
Kāṅḍukūra, <i>vi., s. a. Kāṅḍukūru,</i> . . . . .	48	Karhāḍ, <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	166
Kāṅhairi, <i>vi., s. a. Kanhara,</i> . . . . .	208	<i>karu-āmuḷa</i> . . . . .	99, 41
Kāṅhairi, <i>co.,</i> . . . . .	211, 214, 222, 224	Karikāla, <i>Chōḷa k.,</i> . . . . .	244, 269
Kāṅhairi-dēśa, <i>dt.,</i> . . . . .	200	Karikāla, <i>Chōḷa tit.,</i> . . . . .	262, 263, 265
Kāṅhairi-khampḍāka, <i>dn.,</i> . . . . .	200, 211, 214, 222, 224	Karikāla-Chōḷa, <i>ep., of Virarājēndra,</i> . . . . .	244
Kāṅhēri inscriptions of Amōghavarsha, . . . . .	54 n.	<i>karuṅi-bhramana, circumambulation by a female</i> <i>elephant,</i> . . . . .	67
Kāṅichohi-ēmbal <i>vi.,</i> . . . . .	105, 110, 123	Kārtalāi inscription of Lakshmanarāja II, . . . . .	280, 281 n.
<i>kāṅippaṅṅu,</i> . . . . .	102	Kariya Māṅikya Bhattar Āpataśhāvar, <i>m.,</i> . . . . .	312
<i>kaṅkōṅ, off.,</i> . . . . .	69, 69, 99, 107	Karṅṅ, <i>ri.,</i> . . . . .	202
<i>kaṅṅi,</i> . . . . .	132, 135, 136		
Kāṅṅāḍiyār, . . . . .	89 n.		
Kāṅṅamaṅḍalam, <i>re.,</i> . . . . .	96		

	PAGE		PAGE
Karka I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	26, 27, 28, 29	Kāvaṇūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	325 n.
Karka II, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	25, 28	Kāvēra, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	22, 23
Karkarāḍi, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	4	Kāvēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	259
Karkkarāja, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	25	Kāvērivallavanallur, <i>vi., s. a. Śirupālaiyūr</i> , . . . . .	99, 112, 124
Karkulam or Kalkulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 114, 123, 125	Kāvī plates of Jayabhata IV, . . . . .	292 and n.
Karkuḅichchi or Kalkuḅichchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122	Kāvidinallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65, 71, 112, 124
Karṇa, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	57, 209, 220	Kavirahasya, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	174, 184
Karṇa, <i>Mahārāja</i> —, <i>Gūjara k.</i> , . . . . .	292	Kavita, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 4
Karṇa, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	310 n.	Kāvyaḍarśa, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	5
Karpakṛtṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 97, 117, 128	Kāvyaḅānākārachūḍamāni, <i>Telugu wk. on rhetoric</i> , . . . . .	335, 336
Karpūra-vāpti, <i>well</i> , . . . . .	17	Kāyākkudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	253, 264, 266
Kārttikēya, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	22, 230, 234, 236, 290	Kāyal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	299
kāruka, <i>cess on artisans</i> , . . . . .	212, 222	Kāyastha, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	271, 272, 277
Karumākulam or Karuṅgulam, <i>vk.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123	Kayattār, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	299
Karumāṅikkam-Koṅṇaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124	Kēḍāra, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	8, 15
Karumāṅikkam Ulagamunḍāṅ-Bhaṭṭaṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Kēḍāra, <i>kshētra</i> , . . . . .	183, 185
Karupākara-Āchār'yaṅ, <i>sur. of Śāṅkaraṅ</i> - Kāḍḍi, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	254, 265, 266	kēḷvi, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	131, 133, 134, 136
Karunākaradēvaṅ Puppavanamudaiyaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	99, 121, 130	Kēḷvi-andaṅḅālar, <i>s. a. Śrōtriya-Brahmaṅ</i> , . . . . .	133
karuṅchey or karuṅcheyparṇu, . . . . .	110, 123	Keonjhar, <i>state</i> , . . . . .	154, 155, 173
Karuṅḅi-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	89, 99, 113, 123	Kērakēra or Kerkers, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	158, 160
Karuṅgulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 110, 116, 123, 127	Kērakēra-vishaya, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	158, 160
Karuṅḅuḷattūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96	Kēraḅa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	22, 23
Karunḅakkudi-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	97	Kēraḅa, <i>co., k. of</i> —, . . . . .	290
Karuppūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 121, 123, 130	Kēraḅaśiṅga-vaḅānāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	89, 95, 96 and n., 99, 111, 123
Karuvili, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92n.	Kēsaiaḅ Dikshita, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Kāsāi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	285	Kēsaari, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161
Kāśi, <i>s. a. Benares</i> , . . . . .	17, 207n., 214, 224	Kēsaari, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	280
Kāśi-Viśvanātha, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	35	Kēsari Copper-plate of Satrubhaḅjadēva, . . . . .	161, 173
kāṅu, <i>coin</i> , . . . . .	131, 134, 135, 136	Kēśava, <i>feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	204 and n., 274, 275
Kāśyapa, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	243, 255	Kēśavabhāṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216
Kāśyapa, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	328, 333n.	Kēśavāchārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Kāśyapa or Mahā-Kāśyapa, <i>disciple of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	327, 329 and n.	Kēśavadāśa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217
Kāśyapa Buddha, . . . . .	333	Kēśavaṅ Kshētrajaṅḅāliḅ Brahma-Pallava-raiaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	135, 136
Kaśāha, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	262	Kēśavaṅ Nārāyaṅaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100
Kaśaka (Cuttaok), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	298, 299	Kēśava or Kēśavōpādhyāya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Kātantra-sūtras, <i>grammatical wk.</i> , . . . . .	222n.	Kēśavapurī, <i>vi., s. a. Kēsapuri</i> , . . . . .	202, 208, 218, 224
Kāthāsaritōḅāra, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	222n.	Kēśava Vyāśa, <i>author and follower of Mahānubhāva cult</i> , . . . . .	205
Katoer, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	299, 300	Kēśō(Kēśava)bhāṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	245
Kaṭṭāraimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	76	Kētumāla, <i>myth. l.</i> , . . . . .	259
Kaṭṭikkallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	86	Kezurura, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kaṭṭikkulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 111, 118, 123, 128	kḅ, . . . . .	279
Kaṭṭikuruḅichchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 121, 123, 130	kḅ, with and without loḅ, . . . . .	165
Kaṭṭinakkṅ Irāṅṅ, <i>m., sur. of Vikrama-pāṅḍya Mūvṅḅavēḅāṅ</i> , . . . . .	39, 41	kḅ, used for sh, . . . . .	200
Kaṭṭivayal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94 and n.	Kḅāḅḅavāḅka, <i>tīt.</i> , . . . . .	27, 39
Kāṭṭanallūr-Iraṅḅiḅai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101n.	Kḅairhā grant of Yaśahkarna, . . . . .	281 n.
Kāṭṭūr, <i>vi., s. a. Catur of Nuniz</i> , . . . . .	300	Kḅajurāho inscription of Dhanga, . . . . .	280
kaulla, <i>tree</i> , . . . . .	296	kḅala-bikāśā, <i>cess at the threshing floor</i> , . . . . .	281 and n.
Kaumārakhaṅḅa, <i>a chapter of Padmapurāṅa</i> , . . . . .	11n.	Kḅhallāri Stone inscription, . . . . .	7, 9
Kaumūḅimāhōśava, <i>dramatic wk.</i> , . . . . .	270 and n.	Kḅhallikōṭa, <i>dm.</i> , . . . . .	48
Kaustubha, <i>jewell</i> , . . . . .	231, 234, 237		
Kautilya, <i>author of Arthasāstra</i> , . . . . .	11n.		

	PAGE
Khaṇḍadēull plate of Raṇabhaṅga,	148, 150, 155
Khandōsh, <i>co.</i> ,	164
Khandēsh, <i>dt.</i> ,	167
Khaṇḍikōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , and hill-fort, <i>s.a.</i> Ghaṇḍikōṭa,	275
Khaṇḍōba, <i>god</i> ,	229
Kharōd inscription of Indrabala and Iśānadēva,	268
<i>Khaṇḍāṅga</i> ,	178
Khēmyidēvabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> ,	216
Khēta or Khēḍ, <i>tn.</i> ,	207
Khēta, <i>co.</i> , lord of—,	211, 222
Khēṭihāra, <i>t.d.</i> ,	207
<i>Khēṭaka</i> , <i>hamlet</i> ,	200, 211, 215
<i>Khēṭaka-maṇḍapa</i> , <i>t.</i> ,	26
Khiching, <i>tn.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Khijjiṅga,	153, 158, 161, 172
Khiḍiṅgahāra-vishaya, <i>dn.</i> ,	48
Khiḍiṅgi, <i>vi.</i> ,	48
Khijjiṅga, <i>ca.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> modern Khiching,	147, 151, 153, 154, 156
Khijjiṅga-maṇḍala, <i>dn.</i> ,	158 and n., 160
Kholēvara, <i>gen.</i> ,	203, 204, 206
Khuṣrū, <i>Muhammadan historian</i> ,	207, 208 and n.
Khvāja Hāji, <i>Muslim gen.</i> ,	207
Kaipir, <i>dn.</i> ,	158
Kiḍāmbi-Āchchaṅ, <i>Vaiśhṇava pontiff</i> ,	323n.
Kiḍāmbi-Nayinār, <i>Vaiśhṇava disciple</i> ,	322
Kiḍāmbi Rāmānuja Appullāṅ, <i>Vaiśhṇava pontiff</i> ,	323 n.
Kūchehita, <i>vi.</i> ,	55, 62
Kijai-Koḍumalūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Madurōdayanallūr,	98
Kijai-Tiruttiyūr-Muttam, <i>dt.</i> ,	96
Kijā-Mālkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	105
Kijānkōṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ,	105, 106, 109, 123
Kijai-paṣalai, <i>vi.</i> ,	100, n.
Kijūṇḍāru, <i>dt.</i> ,	39, 41, 96
Kijūṅṅū, <i>t.d.</i> ,	91, 92, 98, 99, 111, 121, 123, 130
Kijmāttūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	39 n.
Kij-Nettūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Kirtivisālaiyanallūr,	89, 99, 111, 123
Kipihikā, <i>vi.</i> ,	165, 168, 170
Kinhal, <i>vi.</i> ,	168
Kij-śeji, <i>t.</i> ,	110, 123
Kij-śemboṅmāri, <i>vi.</i> ,	49
Kij-śembināḍu, <i>t.d.</i> ,	98
Kijā-Taniyal, <i>vi.</i> ,	95
Kij-Velijāṅṅūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	105, 110, 123
Kiraṅūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	95, 104
Kiraṅūr-nāḍū, <i>t.d.</i> ,	69, 70, 89, 102, 103, 104, 108, 113, 119, 122, 124, 125, 129, 131
Kertisambhu, <i>rel. preceptor</i> ,	310 n.
Kirtivāra, <i>rel. preceptor</i> ,	309, 310, and n., 313, 316, 318
Kirtivāra, <i>god</i> ,	309, 318

	PAGE
Kirtivarman, <i>W. Chāṭukya k.</i> ,	289
Kirtivarman I, <i>W. Chāṭukya k.</i> ,	22
Kirtivarman II, <i>W. Chāṭukya k.</i> ,	28, 270 and n.
Kirtivisālaiyanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Kij-Nettūr,	89, 99, 111, 123
Kirūṅgākkōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> ,	89, 104, 108, 122
Kij-Chūrai, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Uḍaikuṣam,	104, 108, 114, 122, 125
Kij-Paṣalai, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Dānavinōdanallūr,	70n., 89, 99, 100, 111, 112, 114, 115, 124, 125, 126
Kij-śeji, <i>vi.</i> ,	106, 117, 127
Kij-śembi-nāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	89, 102 and n., 113, 124
Kōḍaipirāṭṭinallūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	98
Kōḍaṇḍarāma, <i>sur.</i> of Chōja Ādityavarman,	260
Kōḍaṇḍarāma-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ, <i>vi.</i> ,	75
Kōḍimaṅgalaṃ, <i>vi.</i> ,	97
Koḍumbai (Koḍumbāḷūr), <i>vi.</i> ,	95 and n.
Koḍuṅḅuṣam, <i>vi.</i> ,	96
Kōḍūru, <i>vi.</i> ,	136, 140
Kokangaon, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Kalahaka,	230
Kōkilākhaka, <i>vi.</i> ,	226, 229, 232, 235
Kōkkalla, <i>Kalachuri k. of Tripuri</i> ,	202
Kōkkili or Kokkilivarma-Mahārāja, <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> ,	191, 239
Kōkō Paṇḍita, <i>donee</i> ,	55, 61
<i>kōl</i> , <i>l.m.</i> ,	117, 127
Kolagallu Inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa	
Khotṭiga,	184 n.
Kōlāja, Kōḷālapura or Kuvalālapura, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i>	
Kōlār,	49
Kolar, <i>vi.</i> and <i>dt.</i> ,	252
Kollāpura, <i>vi.</i> ,	262
Kollēru plates,	44, 45 n.
Koḷuvaṅūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	92
Koḷuvūr-kūṅṅam, <i>t.d.</i> ,	39, 41
Kōmāṇḍūr-Āchchāṅ, <i>Vaiśhṇava disciple</i> ,	322
Kōmaṅṅa, <i>m.</i> ,	215
Komarti plates,	283
Kōmaṭi-Vēma, <i>Reddī k.</i> ,	138
Kōnāḍu, <i>co.</i> ,	95 and n.
Kōṇḍai, <i>t.</i> ,	246 n., 249, 251
Kōṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman,	45
Kōṇḍamuruvuḍu, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a.</i> Kōṇḍamuḍu-	
pāḷem,	48
Kōṇḍapalli, <i>fort</i> ,	246 n., 305, 308
Kōṇḍavīḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	137, 246, n., 249, 305, 308
Kōṇḍeḍḍa plates of Dharmarāja,	268, 269
<i>Kōṇḍeḍḍa</i> , <i>tit.</i> ,	65, 131, 134, 135
Kōṅ-āpa Virāśōja-maṇḍalaṃ, <i>co.</i> ,	90
Kōṅōḍa, <i>co.</i> ,	288
Kōṅgu, <i>dy.</i> ,	86, 87
Kōṅgu, <i>co.</i> ,	89
Kōṅḍeḍḍarājakkai, <i>Tamil wk.</i> ,	299 n.
Kōṅkaṅ, <i>co.</i> ,	54 n.
Kōṅkaṅmaṇḍala, <i>co.</i> ,	5.

	PAGE
Korakkulam or Korakkulam, vi.,	105, 109, 123
Koppam, battle of—,	252
Kopperunjingadēva II, <i>Kāṣaerāya</i> ch.,	275, 276
Kōrasōḍḍaka-Paṅchāl, dn.,	284 n.
Kōrōehaṅḍa plates of Viśākhavarman,	284 and n.
Korramangalam, vi.,	96
Korjāpēri, vi.,	106, 108, 110, 122, 123
Korjāyūr alias Uttamaśōḷapuram, vi.,	95
Korukkai, vi.,	297, 303, 306, 309
Kōsala or Kōsala-dēva, co.,	47, 48, 204, 266, 269 n.
Kōsala, co., k. of—,	210, 221
Kōtēsvaranandi, donee,	217
Kōtīpura, ca.,	224
Kōttabhaṅja or Kōttabhaṅja, <i>Bhaṅja</i> k.,	147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 157, 159 n., 160, 161, 163, 173
Kōttai, vi.,	104, 109, 122
Kōttaikkarai, vi.,	89 and n., 302
Kōttaikkurungulam, vi.,	84
Kōttaiyūr, vi.,	89 n., 95
Kotta-Kiṭṭi, vi.,	76, 97, 117, 127, 128
Rottaṅkūlam, vi.,	106
<i>kōttapāla</i> , 'city prefect', off.,	2, 6
Kōttāśrama, hermitage,	162
Kōttikkāṅvāy, l.,	264, 266
Kōtyāśrama, hermitage,	148, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 162 n.
Kōvan, m.,	65
<i>kōvil-nāyakam</i> , off.,	132
<i>kōvil-srikāryam</i> , off.,	74
Krakuchanda, an incarnation of the Buddha,	333 n.
<i>kramavit</i> ,	75
Kṛimilā or Kṛimilā-vishaya, t. d.,	50, 52
Kṛīṅkulamirṭti or Kṛīṅkulamirṭtu, vi.,	140, 145
Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇarāja, <i>Chandella</i> k.,	279
Kṛishṇa, god,	2, 221 n., 234
Kṛishṇā, rī.,	45, 140, 202, 247 n., 299, 300
Kṛishṇa I or Kṛishṇarāja I, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> k.,	25, 28, 29
Kṛishṇa III, <i>Rāshtrakūṭa</i> k.,	38, 166, 174, 184, 239
Kṛishṇa, <i>Yādava</i> k.,	10, 204, 210, 220
Kṛishṇa-Bhaṭṭa, Paurāṇika Kavi—, m.,	325
Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa, donee,	216, 217
Kṛishṇadēva, donee,	216
Kṛishṇadēvarāya, <i>Vijayanagara</i> k.,	297, 305, 308
Kṛishṇamītra, author,	184
Kṛishṇarāja, <i>Kalachuri</i> k.,	239
Kṛishṇarājārāpaka, silver coin,	227, 229
Kṛishṇarājavijayamu, <i>Telugu</i> wk.,	209 n.
Kṛishṇavarman II, <i>Kadamba</i> k.,	107
Kṛishṇavēṅḷ, rī., s. a. Kṛishṇā,	307, 308
Kṛishṇōvara, god,	280
Kṛittivāsa, god, s. a. Śiva,	185
Kṛishṭri, <i>myth</i> k.,	9

	PAGE
Kṛishṭakavarttanī, dt.,	195, 196, 197, 198
<i>Kshatriyāmaha</i> , <i>Yādava</i> ep.,	210, 221 n.
Kshatriyaśikhāmani-valānsū, dt.,	253, 264, 266
Kshatriya-tatāka, tank,	197, 199
Kshēma-Gaṇapati, god,	170
Kshēmagiraka, vi.,	227, 230, 232, 235
Kubja-Vishṇuvarihana, E. <i>Chāḍḍya</i> k.,	269 n.
Kūḍagere plates of Kadamba Śiva-Māndhātṛi- varman,	47 f.
Kūḍali, l.,	247 n.
Kūḍal-Sangama, l.,	244, 246 n., 247 and n., 248, 251
Kūḍal-Sangamam, <i>Vaḍa</i> —, <i>battlefield</i> ,	248, 253, 263, 265
Kūḍalūr-nāḍu, dt.,	95
Kuḍanjādi, vi.,	70, 104, 108, 120, 122, 130
<i>kuḍikkāni</i> , tenure,	110, 123
<i>kuḍināṅga-dēodānam</i> , tenure,	38
Kudrahāra or Kudrāhāra-viśāyā, dn.,	44, 45, 46, 47
<i>kuḍubika</i> ,	238
Kuḍāra, vi.,	46
Kudrāhāra, dt.,	45
Kukkura, engr.,	30
Kukkutāpādi or Kukkutāpādāgiri, mo.,	331
Kukkutā-vihāra or Kukkutāpādavihāra, <i>Buddhist monastery</i> ,	331
<i>kulam</i> , l. m.,	198 n.
Kulachchirai-Nāyanār, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> min.,	64, 93, and n.
Kūḷai-Kulattār, vi.,	95
<i>kuḷakkūḷ</i> ,	97
Kulaśekhara, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k.,	84, 85
Kulaśekhara-dēva, Tribhuvanachakravartin, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k.,	82
Kulaśekhara of <i>Pāṇḍya</i> introduction, <i>Pāṇḍya</i> k.,	89
Kulaśekhara-chatarvēdimangalam, vi.,	73
Kulaśekhara-lāvaramuḍaiyār, god, s. a. Virō- varamuḍaiyār,	84
Kulaśekharaapuram, vi.,	95
Kuli Kutb Shāh, <i>Sultan of Golconda</i> ,	301
Kulittaṅḍanai-chirmai, dt.,	303
Kulōttuṅga, Rājakēsari-varman—, (1148—83 A. D.), <i>South Kongu</i> k.,	83
Kulōttuṅga I or Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I, <i>Chōḷa</i> k.,	66, 206, 242 n., 246, 250, 251, 252 253 and n.
Kulōttuṅga III, <i>Chōḷa</i> k.,	65, 68
Kulōttuṅgaśōḷanallūr, vi. s. a. Parāntaka- nallūr,	92
Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapattinam vi., s. a. Maṅḡḷi- kuḷi,	92
Kulōttuṅgaśōḷapattinam, vi., s. a. Teluṅga- kulakūḷapuram,	96
Kulu, co.,	244 n.
Kulūta, co.,	244 and n., 241, 262

	PAGE
Kumārādēvi, <i>Gupta g.</i> , . . . . .	52
Kumāragupta I, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	51 n., 52
Kumāra-kshatibhrit, <i>s. a. Kumāra Pratāpa-</i> <i>rudra, Kākatīya k.</i> , . . . . .	271, 276 n., 278 and <i>add.</i>
Kumāramāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
Kumārapavitracaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97
Kumāra Rudra-Mahārāja, <i>Kākatīya, k.</i> , . . . . .	276
Kumāra-Vishnu, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	45
Kumbhakōṇam, <i>in.</i> , . . . . .	300
Kumbhī plates of Vijayasinhha, . . . . .	206, 281 n.
Kūna, <i>Kōrukōṇḍa ch.</i> , . . . . .	324
Kunda or Kundan, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	311
Kundadēvichaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97
Kundabāthī, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	173
Kuppēli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 114, 122, 125
Kuppattūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96, 98
Kuppiyūr or Kuppiśālnāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	95
Kuntala, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	166, 261, 262
Kupāla, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	269 n.
Kuppēri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	253, 283, 286
Kūram plates, . . . . .	77
Kūram, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a. Vidyāvintachaturvēdi-</i> <i>māṅgalam</i> , . . . . .	77
Kurama, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kuraṅgi, <i>g.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kurara, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kurarahara, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kurpālam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 307, 309
Kūrram, . . . . .	97
Kurti-dēsa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	140
Kuruchōḥṭṭi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 111, 123
Kupuchchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 306, 309
Kurukshētra, <i>īrtha</i> , . . . . .	16
Kurumbūrnāḍu, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	253, 264, 266
Kurupāragāu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 212, 215, 222, 224
Kurupā, <i>measure of capacity</i> , . . . . .	40, 41
Kurupāra, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a. Kared alias Kurvaḍe</i> , . . . . .	48
Kuruvāḍimidi <i>alias</i> Jinēndramāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94
Kuruvitturāi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	85
Kūsooy, <i>potter</i> , . . . . .	40, 42
Kushāpa, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	33
Kuśika, <i>holy place</i> , . . . . .	207
Kuśumacochan-ādhyaksha, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	213, 223
Kūṭala-saṅgama, <i>see</i> Kūḍal-saṅgamam, . . . . .	262
Kuvalaivēli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 71
Kuvalaivēlīppagru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	118, 128
Kuvalājam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	254, 265, 266
Kuvalāja-nāḍu, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	254, 265, 266
Kuvalālapura, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a. Kōlār</i> , . . . . .	49
Kuvalāśva, <i>myth l.</i> , . . . . .	256
Kuvalayatiṅganallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a. Mēyūr</i> , . . . . .	39, 40, 41

## L

<i>l</i> two forms of— . . . . .	226
<i>l</i> , northern form . . . . .	282
<i>la</i> interchanged with <i>la</i> , . . . . .	243

	PAGE
Laghu-Kaparddi, <i>Śilāhārā k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 56
Lakshkayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144
Lakshmaṇa, <i>epic hero</i> , . . . . .	7, 8, 10, 18, 257
Lakshmanasēna, <i>Sēna k.</i> , . . . . .	174
Lakshmi, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	193, 209, 220, 221 n.
Lakshmidhara or Lakshmidēva, <i>Abhira k.</i> , . . . . .	203, 206
Lakshmidharabhāṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215, 217
Lakshmi-īrtha, <i>īrtha</i> , . . . . .	16
Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa Bhāṅja, <i>Bhāṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	154 n.
Lakshimpura, <i>vi.</i> , <i>sw. of Bommebāḷu</i> . . . . .	188, 193
Lakumādēvi, <i>Vijayanagara g.</i> , . . . . .	188, 190, 193
Lamps, pair of,— <i>auspicious symbol</i> , . . . . .	243 n.
Languages :—	
Kannaḍa, . . . . .	241 n.
Prākṛit, . . . . .	45 n.
Sanskrit, . . . . .	1, 8, 25, 45, 53, 66, 137, 147, 161, 165, 183, 187, 188, 195, 199, 226, 241, 271, 279, 282, 309, 328
Sanskrit prose, . . . . .	44
Tamil, . . . . .	66, 241 and n., 297, 319
Telugu, . . . . .	137, 241 n., 271
Lānji, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	10
Lānkā, <i>s. a. Ceylon</i> , . . . . .	32
Lāshana(Lakshmaṇa)bhāṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215
Lashumi(Lakshmi)dēva, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215
Lāta, Lāṭadēsa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61, 167, 228, 229
Layanagiri, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	165, 168, 170
Leiden Plates of Rājaraḷa I, . . . . .	38, 107
Leiden Plates of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa, . . . . .	242 and n.
Lēkumārī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	44, 46, 47
Lēpāka or Lēbāka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	274 n.
Lichchavi, <i>clan</i> , . . . . .	52
Līlācharita, <i>biographical wk.</i> , . . . . .	200 n. 205 and n.
Līlāvāṭ, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	221 n.
liṅga with serpent, <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	43
lion, <i>emblem on seal</i> , . . . . .	43
lion, <i>emblem of the Harisandra family</i> , . . . . .	228
lion, golden—, <i>Sīnda emblem</i> , . . . . .	166
Lōkamuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	46

## M

<i>m</i> , with and without loop, . . . . .	165
<i>m</i> , final, substituted by anusvāra . . . . .	195
<i>m</i> , final, . . . . .	282
<i>mā</i> , <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	41, 108, 110, 123
Mā'bar, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	207, 208
Mācha, <i>Redḍi k.</i> , . . . . .	140
Māchayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 142, 144
Māchivōkta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	188, 193
Māda, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	139
Māḍakkulakkīl Madurai, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	40 n.
Māḍakkulakkīlōḍimāṅgalam, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	40 n.
Māḍakkulakkīl, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	97, 98, 108, 122
Māḍakkulam, <i>t. ḍ.</i> , . . . . .	70, 89

	PAGE		PAGE
Maṅgalachhikāṭa (Maṅgalāśchikāṭa), l., . . . . .	33	Mahāgīrībāra, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 234
Madalāśikurūchōhi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 117, 123, 127	Mahāgovīnāśuttānta, <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	285
Mādamar mēṇiyāṇṅi, Tamil verses commen- cing with—, . . . . .	64 n.	Mahājayarāja, <i>Śarabhapura k.</i> , . . . . .	268
Madana, <i>god of love</i> , . . . . .	204	Mahākāla or Mahākālamūrti, <i>god, s. a. Śiva</i> , 175, 182	
Madanavarman, <i>Chandīla k.</i> , . . . . .	3	Mahākāla, <i>khētra</i> , . . . . .	183, 185
Madane, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Mahā-Kassapa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	330
Mādavaṇ Divākara-Bhaṭṭan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124	maḥāi, <i>group of villages</i> . . . . .	207
Mādhava, <i>Śailōdbhava pr.</i> , . . . . .	269	Mahāmahattaka, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	2, 4
Mādhavabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217	mahāmākhama, <i>festival</i> , . . . . .	300
Mādhava-drivēdi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	153, 161, 163
Mādhava-Nāyaka, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	324 and n.	Mahāmaṇḍalēvara, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	272
Mādhavārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 142, 144	Mahāmaṇḍalēvarādhipati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	59, 63
Mādhava-Sainyabhīta II, <i>Śailōdbhava k.</i> , . . . . .	269	Mahāmaṇḍalika, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	212, 214, 223, 224
Mādhavasūri, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213, 223	Mahāmātya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	54, 59, 61, 169
Mādhavavarman, <i>Vishṇukūṣḍin k.</i> , . . . . .	269	Mahānadi, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	28
Madhurā, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	260	Mahānāyaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
Madhurāntaka, <i>Chōla tit.</i> , . . . . .	280	Mahānubhāva, <i>sect.</i> , . . . . .	8, 200 n., 205, 208 n.
Madhurāntaka, <i>Chōla k.</i> , . . . . .	261	Mahāpīlūpati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	50, 53
Madhurāntaka-Brahmādhirāja, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	243, 253, 254	Mahāpratihāra, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Madhurāntakachaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi., sur.</i> of Chērām, . . . . .	241, 253, 263, 265	Mahāpravararāja, <i>Śarabhapura k.</i> , . . . . .	268
Mādhuravanaka (Māthuravana), l., . . . . .	33	Mahārāja, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	26, 42, 52, 239, 262, 287, 290, 293
Madhusūdāna, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	310, 313, 317	Mahārājādhirāja, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	2, 22, 23, 24, 50, 52, 149, 152, 153, 161, 163, 172, 173, 187, 192, 211, 214, 222, 224, 230, 234, 236, 240 n., 290, 304, 308
Madhusūdāna, <i>Dāṇḍanātha-Tripūrā—, gen.</i> , . . . . .	325	Mahārāshtra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	167, 168
Madhyadēśa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61, 165, 170	mahāśābdas, . . . . .	165, 169
Madhyama-Kalīnga, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	239	Mahāśāhārika, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	169
madhyasāha, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	77	Mahāśāivāla, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	11 n.
Madinūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Mahāśāmantā, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	165, 166, 169, 229
Madra, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	329 and n.	Mahāśāmantādhipati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	26, 59
Madras Museum plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman, . . . . .	284	Mahāśāmdhivigrahika, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	21, 54, 59
Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla, . . . . .	242 and n.	Mahāśāivagupta, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	47, 266 n.
Madurai, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	64, 70, 83, 87, 108, 122	Mahāśāivagupta Bālārjuna, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Madurai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89, 97	Mahāśāiva-Tivara, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Madurai, <i>vi., s. a. Ollaiyūr</i> , . . . . .	95	Mahāśāivārāja, <i>Śarabhapura k.</i> , . . . . .	263
Madurōdayachaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Marudūr, . . . . .	100, 109, 112, 123, 124	Mahāśāitthā (Mahāśīrtha), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	329, 330
Madurōdayanallūr, <i>vi., s. a. Kīlāikoḍumalūr</i> , . . . . .	98	Mahāśātalavara, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Madurōdaya-Pallavaraiyaṇ, <i>s. a. Dēvan Tillai</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Mahāśātalavārī, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Madurōdaya-vaṅānāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	89, 96, 97, 108, 122	Mahāśāvaga, <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	154
Magadha, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	270	Mahāśāvanā, <i>chronicle of Ceylon kings</i> , . . . . .	32, 34 n., 83, 85
Magadha, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	329, 330	Mahāśāvastu, <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	285
maṅgālār, or pen-piṅṅai, 'daughter', . . . . .	84	Mahāyāna, <i>sect of Buddhists</i> , . . . . .	328
Maganpara, <i>vi., s. a. Mradgāhitaka</i> , . . . . .	230	Mahāendra, <i>Maurya pr.</i> , son of Aśōka, . . . . .	32
maganār, 'son', . . . . .	84	Mahēndra, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	238
mahābālādhiprīta, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	50, 53	Mahēndragiri inscription of Rājendra- Chōla I, . . . . .	242 n.
Mahābhārata or Bhārata, <i>epic</i> , . . . . .	77	Mahēndrapāla, <i>Pratihāra k.</i> , . . . . .	52
Mahāda Plates of Yōgēśvaradēvavarman, . . . . .	172	Mahēndravarma-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Mahādōōpuri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	218, 225	Maher, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	332
Mahādēva, <i>god, s. a. Śiva</i> , . . . . .	77, 185	Mahēśvara (Śiva), <i>god</i> , . . . . .	2, 185, 271, 277, 292
Mahādēva, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	10, 205, 210, 221 and n., 275	Mahēśvara, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	74 n.
Mahādēva, <i>Kākatya k.</i> , . . . . .	202 n.	Mahēśvara-kāṭkāni, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132
Mahādēvabhūṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215, 216, 217	Mahēśvara-sūtras, <i>grammatical wk.</i> , . . . . .	222 n.
Mahādēvapuri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200	Mahī, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	29
mahādēvī, <i>g.</i> , . . . . .	52	Mahidhara, <i>cngr.</i> , . . . . .	311, 315, 315

	PAGE		PAGE
Māhim, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	207	Mānirāri, <i>s. a.</i> Mummudi, <i>Sūāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	53, 54 n.
Māhima, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	207	Mānryidēvabhāta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
Māhima-stava, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	184	<i>mān</i> , <i>man-aerant</i> , . . . . .	40
Māhimsati (Māhishmati), <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33	Mānābharāṇa, <i>Pāṇḍya pr.</i> , . . . . .	39 and n.
Māhīndrabhāta, <i>author and follower of the</i> <i>Māhānubhāva cult</i> , . . . . .	205	Māpābharāṇa-chaturvēdimāṅgalaṃ <i>alias</i> <i>Vijattal</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 89, 102, 113, 119, 124, 129
Māhīndravarmaṇ, <i>E. Gāṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	240 n.	Māpābharāṇa-Iśvaraṃuḍaiyār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	119, 129
Māidēva, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	10, 20 n.	Māpābharāṇa-Mūvēndavējār, <i>m., s. a.</i> Uyya- <i>vandān Poṅṅaṇ</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 124
Māirālabhāta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215, 217	Māpābharāṇapāḍi, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Kaṅṅaṅūr, . . . . .	72
Māirikā, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 229, 230, 232, 234	Māpābharāṇa-Sēndaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	40, 42
Māitrēya, . . . . .	331	Maṅalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	40
<i>maitunāṇār</i> , 'brother-in-law', . . . . .	84	Maṅalūrkuḷakkē, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	40
<i>makuḷa</i> , 'crown', emblem of royalty, . . . . .	249	Mānāmādurai, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Māpāvīramādurai, 101 n., 104	
Mālikīṇiyāṇipraṇ Alagan, <i>m., s. a.</i> Vijaya- <i>Vichehādirādēvar</i> , . . . . .	99, 112, 124	Mānāmātra, <i>Sarabhapura k.</i> , . . . . .	268
Mālai-māṅḍalam, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	320	Mānāmēkūḍi <i>alias</i> Kulōttuṅgaśōlapattinam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	90, 92, 93 and n.
Mālaināḍu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	250	Māpamvuvu, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 57
Mālaiyaṅ Śōṅṅ <i>alias</i> Viḷjattaraiyaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Māpāvīramādurai, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Mānāmādurai, . . . . .	70 and n., 100, 105, 109, 112, 114, 123, 124, 125
Mālaṅḍuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70 n., 89, 102, 113, 119, 124, 129	Māpāvīramāṅgalaṃ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89
Mālāpāhā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	137, 140, 143, 146, 202	Ma chōha, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Maṅchhar, . . . . .	289, 291
<i>Mālatimādhavam</i> , <i>dramatic wk.</i> , . . . . .	34	Mānchūj-grāma, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	291 n.
Mālava, <i>co.</i> , <i>k. of—</i> . . . . .	210, 221	Māndaraja, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	55, 62
Mālavārāyaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 124	Māṅḍaiyārkuḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Mālavārājaṅ, <i>n. of royal seat</i> , . . . . .	70, 108, 122	<i>Māṅḍalādhipati</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	287
Mājavarmāṅikam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92, 93	<i>Māṅḍalika</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	2, 4
Mālavarmaṇ, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	270	<i>Māṅḍalika-Brahmarāshasa, Kāyastha tit.</i> , . . . . .	272
Mālayakōyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Māndarai Rāmaṅ <i>alias</i> Pallavarāyaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	71, 112, 124, 136
Mālayārāyaṅkōttai, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Kaḍambāṅḍuḍi, . . . . .	98	Māndhātā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	174, 183
Mālayasiha, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	2, 4	Māndhātā, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	256
Mālogau, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	29	Māṅḍāḍūr grant of Sūhavarman, . . . . .	45
<i>Māḷigaiḷḷaṅam</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99, 106, 111, 124	Māṅḍaiyārkkarāḷi, <i>Chōla princess and Pāṇḍya</i> <i>queen</i> , . . . . .	64
Mālik Kāfur, <i>Muhammādan gen.</i> , . . . . .	207	Māṅḍalaṃ or Māṅḍai, <i>contraction for chatur-</i> <i>vēdimāṅgalaṃ</i> . . . . .	76
Māliyaṅḍi grant of Ammarāja II, . . . . .	187	Māṅḍalapuri, <i>tw.</i> , . . . . .	229
Mālkāpuram inscription, . . . . .	310 n.	Māṅḍalarāja, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	27
Mālkhed, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	184	Māṅḍalarasa, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	229
Mālud, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	285	Māṅḍajūr grant of Sūhavarman, . . . . .	43 n.
Mālla, <i>Redḍi k.</i> , . . . . .	138, 140	Māṅḍi II, <i>E. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	239
Māllapura or Māllāpura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	335 n.	Mānhali copper-plate, . . . . .	164 n.
Māllār plates of Māśāivagupta, . . . . .	266 n.	Māṅikālakuṇḍa, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	17
Māllavaram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	139	Māṅikkavāchaka, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	93
Māllayārya <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144	Māṅimaṅgalaṃ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83
Māllidēvabhāta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215	Māṅimaṅgalaṃ inscription, . . . . .	247, 248 and n., 250
Mālikārjuna, <i>Vijayanagara k., s. a.</i> Immaḍi- <i>Praudha-Ivēndra</i> , . . . . .	189 and n.	Ma jakkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
Mālikārjuna, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	274, 275	Māṅḷajūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 123
Mālikārjunadēva, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	301, 307, 308	Mānmaṅḍagōpāla, <i>Telugu-Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	274
Mālinātha, <i>min.</i> , . . . . .	139 and n.	Mānma Janapāla, <i>Telugu-Chōla ch.</i> , . . . . .	275
Mālināthayaṅḍaru, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	271, 278	Mānṅēru, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Supruyōḡā, . . . . .	48
Māllu-chaḍḍa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	138 n., 140	Māṅḍaiyārkkōttai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	101 n.
Mālu-Khan, <i>feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308	Mānūrkōyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303
Māḷva, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	203, 204		
Māyāla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	276		
Māṅchenārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 142, 144		
Māṅḍi-Yuvarāja, <i>R. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191		

PAGE	PAGE		
Mānārākōṭṭi inscription of Jaśovarman Sundara- chōla Pāṇḍya, . . . . .	250	<i>Mattamayūra, clan,</i> . . . . .	4
Mānōratha, m., . . . . .	163	Mattēpād plates of Dāmōdaravarman, . . . . .	44 and n.
Mānōratha, myth. Chōla k., . . . . .	244, 259	Māūla, <i>donce,</i> . . . . .	30
<i>Mantrārthika-guruparamparā, Vaiṣṇava pontifical</i> <i>list,</i> . . . . .	323 n.	Maurēyapallikā, vi., s. a. Morwaḍi, . . . . .	227, 230, 237
<i>mantri, 'minister,'</i> . . . . .	4, 59	Maurya, <i>clan,</i> . . . . .	154
Manu, <i>law-giver,</i> . . . . .	243, 255	Mauryas of Konkaṇa, <i>dy.,</i> . . . . .	228
<i>mānyakāṇike, taz,</i> . . . . .	301	Māvalūr, vi., . . . . .	94
Mānyakhēṭa, ca., . . . . .	261	Māvilāngai, vi., . . . . .	98
Mārajavāḍi or Kaiṅvāra, t. d., . . . . .	273, 274	Māyidavōlu plates of Śivaskandavarman, . . . . .	45, 48
Māramāngalam, vi., . . . . .	76	Māyidēvabhāṭṭa, <i>donce,</i> . . . . .	217
Māraṅ-Āchchaṅ, m., sur. of Chōlāntaka Palla- varaiyaṅ, . . . . .	39 n.	Māyūrasērman, <i>Kadamba k.,</i> . . . . .	45
Māraṅgiyūr, vi., . . . . .	247 n.	Māyūravāhanaṅ Āḍuvān Bhāṭṭaṅ, m., . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Māraṅ-Jaḍaiyaṅ, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	35	<i>mayūri, 'pea-hen,'</i> . . . . .	154
Māraṅkīṭṭi, vi., . . . . .	71, 112, 118, 124, 128	<i>Mēghadūta, wk.,</i> . . . . .	7
Māraṅūr, vi., s. a., Palamaṅḍalādittanallūr, . . . . .	89, 99, 111, 123	Mēlai-Koḍumalūr or Koḍumalūr, vi., s. a. Uttamapāṇḍiyānallūr, . . . . .	98
Māraṅūr-nāṭṭu-Vēlāṅ, m., s. a., Sivallavaṅ Pērāyiramūḍaiyaṅ, . . . . .	102, 113, 124	Mēlai-Seluvanūr <i>alias</i> Satrubhayaṅkarānallūr, vi., . . . . .	97
Māraṅūrūḍaiyaṅ Karuṅākaradēvaṅ Purpa- vaṅamūḍaiyaṅ, <i>off.,</i> . . . . .	111, 123	Mēlai-Tiruttiyūr-Muṭṭam, <i>dt.,</i> . . . . .	96
Maravaṅ, . . . . .	110, 123	Mēlāmbikā, <i>Vijayanagara q.,</i> . . . . .	188, 193
Māraṅvarman, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	64, 76	Mēla-Mēlkuḍi, vi., . . . . .	105
Māraṅvarman Kulasēkhara I, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	302	Mētanilsi, vi., . . . . .	96
Māraṅvarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	86	Mēlappaśalai, vi., . . . . .	100 n.
Māraṅvarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya with the <i>Tirumagaḷḷunara</i> introduction, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	85	Mēlkōṭṭe, <i>Vaiṣṇava rel. centre,</i> . . . . .	323
Māraṅvarman Śrīvallabha, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	84, 85	Mēl-kūrū or Vēḍa-Pāmbāṅḡu-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	91, 92, 93, 98
Māraṅvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	67, 86, 87, 88 and n., 89 and n., 132	Mēl-Maṅalūr, vi., . . . . .	95
Māraṅvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	72, 77, 84, 87	Mēlpāḍi, vi., . . . . .	38
Māraṅvarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, (accn. 1183 A. D.), Pāṇḍya k., . . . . .	86, 87, 302	Mēl-Śombōṅmāri, . . . . .	49
Mārayārya, m., . . . . .	142, 144	Mēlūr, vi., . . . . .	95, 96
Marichi, <i>sage,</i> . . . . .	255	Mēl-Vēliyāṅḡūr, vi., . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Mārpidugudēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	75	Mēnelvēli, vi., . . . . .	95
Maruḍaṅkuḍi, vi., . . . . .	105, 109, 123	Mēṅ-Mērkūḍi, vi., . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Marudūr, vi., s. a. Madurōḍaya-chaturvēdimaṅga- lam, . . . . .	70 n., 89, 100, 103, 105, 109, 112, 113, 115, 123, 124, 125	Mēr-Cheli, l., . . . . .	70, 111, 117, 123, 128
<i>marumagaṅ, 'nephew,'</i> . . . . .	83, 84	Mēr-Chūrai, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 123
Maruvāy, vi., s. a. Śrīvallabhanallūr, . . . . .	98	Mērk-ēlundaruḷiṅa-dēva, s. a. Gaṅḍarāditya, <i>Chōla k.,</i> . . . . .	38
Maser, vi., . . . . .	279	Mērkūḍi <i>alias</i> Kalijayamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	89, 105, 110, 123
māśham, coin . . . . .	278	Mērkūḍi-nāḍu, <i>dt.,</i> . . . . .	69, 89, 105, 110, 123, 131
Maṅulipatam, <i>tn.,</i> . . . . .	301	Mēṅ-Paśalai, vi., s. a. Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdi- maṅgalam, . . . . .	70 n., 71, 89, 100, 105, 109, 110, 112, 114, 115, 123, 124, 125, 126
Māṭara, vi., . . . . .	55, 62	Metres—	
<i>maṭha,</i> . . . . .	78	Anusṭubh, 5, 6 n., 12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 16 n., 17 n., 18 n., 20 n., 24, 55, 142, 155, 168 n., 171 n., 175, 185, 191 n., 192, 197 n., 198 n., 199, 209, 241, 311, 333	
Mathurā, <i>kshētra,</i> . . . . .	17	Āryā, . . . . .	155, 311
Mathurā, ci., . . . . .	33	Āryāḡṭṭi, . . . . .	6 n.
<i>mātra,</i> omission of—, . . . . .	195	Aupachōhhandasika, . . . . .	311
<i>Maṭhādhipati, off.,</i> . . . . .	324	Drutavilāmbita, . . . . .	155, 17 n.
Mathurā Inscription of Chandragupta II, . . . . .	50 n.	Gitī, . . . . .	16 n., 56
Maṭṭeḍakkīyēri, vi., . . . . .	104, 109, 122	Hafiqi, . . . . .	209
		Indravajrā, . . . . .	12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 16 n., 17 n., 20 n., 55, 142, 171 n., 209, 311
		Māṭini, . . . . .	5, 12 n., 13 n., 55, 209, 254, 311



	PAGE
Mandākrantā, . . . . .	175, 333
Praharshipi, . . . . .	209, 311
Prithvi, . . . . .	13 n., 55
Pushpitāgrā, . . . . .	155
Rathōddhatā, . . . . .	12 n., 16 n.
śālinī, . . . . .	12 n., 16 n., 55, 171 n., 192, 209
Śārōūlavikrīḍita, . . . . .	12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 17 n., 18 n., 19 n., 20 n., 55, 142, 175, 191 n., 209, 311
Śikharinī, . . . . .	13 n., 209
Sragdharā, . . . . .	15 n., 18 n., 55, 192, 209, 311
Svāgatā, . . . . .	16 n., 170 n.
Upagatī, . . . . .	311
Upajāti, . . . . .	13 n., 14 n., 15 n., 16 n., 17 n., 18 n., 19 n., 142, 169 n., 209, 311
Upēndravajrā, . . . . .	12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 311
Vamēastha or Vamēasthaviḷa, . . . . .	55, 170 n., 209, 311
Vasantatilakā, . . . . .	12 n., 13 n., 14 n., 16 n., 19 n., 55, 142, 155, 209, 311
Viyōginī, . . . . .	311
Meypu, off., . . . . .	103, 106, 113, 125
Mēyūr, vi., . . . . .	39, 41
Milaganūr vi., s. a. Rājēndranallūr, 70 and n., 71, 89, 97, 101, 102, 112, 113, 117, 124, 127, 131	
Milalai-kūṛam, t. d., s. a. Gēyavinōda-valanāḍu, 89, 90, 91 and n., 92 and n., 93 and n., 94, 98, 111, 121, 123, 130	
Milalaimāngalam, vi., . . . . .	74
Mīmāmsā, . . . . .	78
Mīmāṣasarvasva, wk., . . . . .	174
mīṇam or fish, emblem of the Pāṇḍyas, . . . . .	107, 122
Minavan-Mūvēndavēlār, off., sur. of Guṇa- nidi-Aruṭmoliyār, . . . . .	253, 264, 266
Minnēri, l., . . . . .	110, 123
mirror, auspicious object, . . . . .	243 n.
Miśra, family name, . . . . .	201
Mitāksharā, wk., . . . . .	288 n.
Mitasiri, f., Buddhist nun, . . . . .	32 n.
Mitравarman, E. Gāṅga k., . . . . .	196
Mittiravāli, vi., . . . . .	89, 104, 108, 122
Mivāra, s. a. Mivāra (Mēwār), family, . . . . .	172, 173
Mōkshakuṇḍa, tirtha, . . . . .	17
Molliyan-ēmbal, l., . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Monghyr grant of Dēvapāla, . . . . .	50
Moon, myth. ancestor of Pāṇḍyas, . . . . .	66
mora, prakr. form of mayūra, . . . . .	154 n.
Moragiri, l., . . . . .	33
Moriya, clan, prakr. form of Maurya, . . . . .	154 and n.
Mollakallūru, vi., s. a. Śivapura, . . . . .	271, 277
Mo-lo-pa-mo, s. a. Malavarman, k., . . . . .	270
Mo-tu-lo (Māthurā), ci., . . . . .	33
Months, Muhammadan—	
Ramzān, . . . . .	208
Months, lunar,—	
Āshūjña, . . . . .	4 n.
Āvina or Āvayija, . . . . .	25, 30, 31, 139 n., 292, 295

	PAGE
Bhādrapada, . . . . .	54, 60, 201, 211, 214, 222, 224, 271, 277, 278
Chaitra, . . . . .	165, 170
Jyēsthā, . . . . .	2, 195, 198
Kārttika, . . . . .	7, 174, 184, 185, 188, 193
Māgha, . . . . .	52, 53
Mārgaśirsha, . . . . .	200 n., 227, 229
Phālguna, . . . . .	157
Pauṣa, . . . . .	81, 137, 143, 146, 304, 310
Vaiśākha, . . . . .	21, 24, 44, 46, 47, 286, 287, 289, 291
Months, Solar—	
Āṇi, . . . . .	81
Āvaṇi, . . . . .	322
Dhanu, . . . . .	125
Kumbha, . . . . .	36 n.
Mārgaṣi, . . . . .	81
Mēsha, . . . . .	319, 325
Mithuna, . . . . .	35, 37
Mradgāhitaka, vi., . . . . .	226, 229, 230, 232, 235
Mrigāṅka, til., . . . . .	54 n.
Mṛtasañjivani, wk., . . . . .	184
Mṛityujit, myth. k., . . . . .	250
Muchukunda, myth. k., . . . . .	256
Muḍakkā;u, ri., . . . . .	245, 246 and n., 247 and n., 263, 265
Mudaliyār, off., . . . . .	324
Mudal-Kanakkū, off., 'treasury accountant', 132, 133	
Muḍittalaikōṇḍa-Pallavaraiyan, off., s. a. Pōṅu Aravamūḍaiyan Villi, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Muḍikōṇḍapāṇḍiyapuram, vi., . . . . .	98
Mudrahasta, off., . . . . .	163
Mukhalingam, vi., . . . . .	196
Mukkallu, l., . . . . .	264, 266
Muktiśvara, god., . . . . .	17
Mūlā, f., Buddhist nun, . . . . .	32 n.
Mūlakura-bhōjaka, m., . . . . .	44
Mūlaparishad, assembly, . . . . .	83
Mūla-saṅgha, Jain sect, . . . . .	21
mūlasāsana, . . . . .	132
Mūlasthānam-udaiyār, god, . . . . .	86
Mulikināḍu, dt., . . . . .	276
Mulji-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	40, 319
Multai plates of Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, 25, 28, 270	
Mumjasthāna, co., . . . . .	55, 61
Mummaḍi-Nāyaka, Kōrakōṇḍa ch., . . . . .	324
Mummaḍiśōlanallūr, vi., s. a. Vetchiyūr, . . . . .	92
Mūmmōr, vi., . . . . .	92
Mummuḍiśōḷan Virasēkarar, ch., . . . . .	86
Mummuṇi or Mummuṇirāja, Śitāhara k., . . . . .	53, 54, 55, 58, 59, 63
Muṇapālai, vi., . . . . .	92, 93 n.
Mundaya-Kramavittan, donee, . . . . .	242, 263, 265
Mundkhēḍē Copper-plate inscription of Jaya- śakti . . . . .	167
Muniyandai, vi., . . . . .	95
Muñja or Muñja-Vākpati, Paramāra k., 165, 166, 184	

	PAGE
Mūñja, <i>Sinda ch.</i> , . . . . .	165, 166, 168
Mūñjēru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	239
Munnūgruvan-Śēndan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	40, 41
Munōli Stone inscription, . . . . .	204, 206 n.
Murārāti, <i>god, s. a. Vishnu</i> , . . . . .	193
Murwārā, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	278
<i>mutōka</i> or <i>mūfaka</i> , <i>a measure</i> , . . . . .	235 and n.
Muttam, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Muttan Ālvān <i>alias</i> Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mārā- yan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	121, 130
Muttūr <i>alias</i> Uyyakkonḍa-śōlanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94
Muttūranāroṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> , 70, 71, 106, 111, 123, 131, 134, 136	
Muttūrgu-kūṅgam, <i>l. d.</i> , 89, 91 and n., 93, 94, 95, 99, 111, 124	
Mūvaraiyarkōṭṭai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 114, 125
Mūvarkōyil, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	95 n.

N

n, dental, represented by <i>anusvāra</i> , . . . . .	147
n, with and without loop, . . . . .	165
n̄, used before <i>h</i> , . . . . .	195
n̄, used for <i>anusvāra</i> , . . . . .	226
n̄, with and without dot, . . . . .	199
n̄, . . . . .	199
n̄, used for <i>n</i> , . . . . .	271
Nāḍūdūr-Ammāi, <i>Vaiśṣṇava pontiff</i> , . . . . .	323 n.
Nādasīva, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	3, 4, 6
nādu, . . . . .	67, 97, 107, 111, 122
Nāḍuvir-cheli, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	110, 123
Nāḍuvirkōṭṭai, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Nāḍuvirkūṅgu, <i>l. d.</i> , 91, 92, 98, 99, 111, 121, 123, 130	
Nāgai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	324
Nāgadēvabbaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216, 217
Nāgadēva-Jōyist, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Nāgadēvaṅ Rāmaṅ, <i>m., s. a. Rājanārāyaṅa</i> Mūvēndavōlān, . . . . .	101, 113, 124
Nāgahastin, <i>pr. of the Chhinda family</i> , . . . . .	167
Nāgalayya, <i>writer</i> , . . . . .	54, 63
Nāganāthabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215
Nāganāyaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
Nāgaṅga, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
nagara, . . . . .	59, 74
Nagarakhaṅḍa, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	167
Nagarapati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	59
Nāgārjuna, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 58
Nāgārjunikoṅḍa, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Nāgārjunakoṅḍai, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	305, 308
Nāgavardhana, <i>W. Chālukya pr.</i> , . . . . .	228
Nāgasvāmibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Nāgavāvi-agrahāra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	325
Nāggyārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
Nakkainaścalaru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	89, 104, 108, 119, 122, 129
Nakkapēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	61, 105, 109, 115, 122, 126

Nakshatras :—

	PAGE
Aśvati, . . . . .	319, 325
Hasta, . . . . .	201, 322
Jyēsthā, . . . . .	81
Kārttigai, . . . . .	82
Mūigaśrsha, . . . . .	81, 82, 250 n.
Mūlam, . . . . .	81
Rēvatī, . . . . .	36 n.
Rōhini, . . . . .	81, 82, 201
Śatabhishaj, . . . . .	81
Svāti or Śōdi, . . . . .	66, 81, 82, 107, 114, 125
Tiruvōnam, . . . . .	302
Uttara-Bhūdrapadā, . . . . .	81
Uttara-Phalgunī, . . . . .	271
Nālandā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	50, 53 n., 327, 334
Nālandā seals of the Mukharis, . . . . .	268
Nālandā plate of Samudra-gupta, . . . . .	50, 52
Nālandā Copper plate of Dēvapāla, . . . . .	334
Nālandā Copper plate of Dharmapāladēva, . . . . .	328 n.
nāli, <i>measure of capacity</i> , . . . . .	39, 40, 41
Nālukavipperumāl-vīrasimhāsanaṅ, <i>n. of a</i> <i>throne</i> , . . . . .	320
Nallāṅkudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98
Nallirukkai, <i>vi., s. a. Virapāṇḍiyānallūr</i> , . . . . .	93
Nallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304, 307, 308
Nallūcku uchchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98
Nāmadēva, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	311, 315, 318
Nambi, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132
Nambi Poṅṅambalakkūṭṭan, <i>m., s. a., Vīra-</i> <i>śiṅgadēvar</i> , . . . . .	99
Nāndiyada, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	183, 184, 185
Nānāmālvār, <i>Vaiśṣṇava saint, s. a. Śaṭhagōpa</i> , . . . . .	320
Nānmananandana, <i>m., com.</i> , . . . . .	271, 275
Nandā, <i>f., Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	33
Nanda, <i>sp.</i> , . . . . .	154
Nandalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
nandanavanappuram or tirunandanava appu- ram, <i>la id g ft for flower garden</i> , . . . . .	133, 134
Nanda-Prabhañjana varman, <i>E. Ganga k.</i> , 284 and n.	
Nandapura (Nandalūr), <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	274
Nandi, <i>bull</i> , . . . . .	316 n.
Nandikōṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	247 n.
Nāndipura, <i>dt., s. a. Nandod</i> , . . . . .	292
Nandinagara, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33
Nandivarman, <i>Śālakāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 44
Nandivarman II, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	44
Nandivarman Pallavamalla, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	75 and n., 76, 77
Nandivarman III, <i>do.</i> , . . . . .	75 n., 242 n.
Nandod, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	292
Nāṅgaṅ Alagaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124
Nannadēva or Nannādhirāja, <i>Pāṅḍava k.</i> , 267 and n.	
Nanna Guṅāvalōka or Nannaraja, <i>Rāshṭra-</i> <i>kūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	27, 28, 270
Nannarāja Yuddhāsura, <i>Rāshṭrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	25
Narahari-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144

	PAGE
Nāgariyūr (Tirunāriyūr), vi., . . . . .	303
<i>narapati, tit.</i> , . . . . .	5
Narasimha, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	11, 18, 139
Narasimha, <i>Hoysala k.</i> , . . . . .	89 n.
Narasimha, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	310, 313, 316
Narasimha, <i>ch. of the Śulki (Chālukya) family.</i> , . . . . .	280
Narasimhabhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
Narasinga-chaturvēdimangalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Narasimhadāsabhata, <i>donee.</i> , . . . . .	217
Narasimhadēva, <i>gen.</i> , . . . . .	205
Narasimha-jyantishika, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
Narasimha-trivēdi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Narasingapalle plates of Hastivarman (Year 79) . . . . .	195, 196, 282 n.
<i>narasvamin, tit.</i> , . . . . .	51
Nārāyaṇa, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	22, 209, 220, 226, 230, 231, 232, 234, 236
Nārāyaṇa, <i>donee.</i> , . . . . .	292
Nārāyaṇa-bhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144
Nārāyaṇa Nārāyaṇa-Bhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124
Nārāyaṇa Śātta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 123
Nārāyaṇa Subrahmanya-Bhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124
Nārāyaṇapedi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Nārāyaṇarya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
Nārāyaṇa-upāsani, <i>donee.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Nārāyaṇāṣon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	164 n.
Nārāyaṇadēvt, <i>Vijayanagara q.</i> , . . . . .	188, 193
Narimaṅgam alias Varagaṇḍanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65, 106, 110, 117, 123, 127
Narinda, <i>ued. ch.</i> , . . . . .	173
Nariyēndal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106
Narēndrabhaṅja, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 149, 150 and n., 152, 156, 157, 158, 159 and n., 160, 162, 163
Narēndrabhaṅja II, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	153
Narēndrāśvra, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	187, 191
Narmadā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	166, 174, 183
<i>Narmadā-stotra.</i> , . . . . .	184
Nasik Cave inscription, . . . . .	168
Natarāja, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	244
Nātavāḍi, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	276
Natore or Dhanaidha plate of Kumāra-gupta I, . . . . .	51
<i>notam hnd.</i> , . . . . .	73
Nattuvan-kurukkal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	263, 266
Nausāri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	29
Nausāri plates of Jayabhata III, . . . . .	292
Navagrāma, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	174, 182 and n., 184
Navapattalā, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	310, 311, 315
Navapura, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Navagrāma, . . . . .	184 n.
Nāvarkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
<i>navaratra, festival.</i> , . . . . .	229
<i>Navasahasākhacharita, wk.</i> , . . . . .	166
Navasārikā, <i>s. a.</i> Nausāri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	25, 27, 29, 30
Navasāri-vishaya, <i>s. d.</i> , . . . . .	21 n.
Navasāri, <i>donee.</i> , . . . . .	165, 170

	PAGE
Nayākhērā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	311
Nayinārāchārya, <i>rel. preceptor, s. a.</i> Varadā-ohārya . . . . .	322, 323 n., 324
Neḍumāraṇ or Nelvēli-pōrvenraṇiṅraṣir-Neḍumāraṇ, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	64, 83
Neḍuṅjeliyaṇ, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	94
Nelvāyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
Nelvēli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	93, 110, 115, 123, 126
Nelvēli, <i>vi.</i> , probably <i>s. a.</i> Nemmēli, . . . . .	105
Nēra, <i>see</i> Enara, . . . . .	62 n.
Nerijikkūḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Nerkuṅṅam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 111, 118, 123, 128
Nerkuṅṅam ( <i>tiṅṅappu</i> ), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106
Neruvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	83
Nēnari plates of Gōvinda III, . . . . .	167
Nettūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 99 n., 114, 125
Neyvaṅai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297
Nibinā, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Nivinā, Nivinā, Nibiṅḍā or Niviṅḍā, . . . . .	47
<i>Nikumbha, Sēndraka tit.</i> , . . . . .	167 n.
Nikumbhallaśakti, <i>Sēndraka k.</i> , . . . . .	26 n., 30 n., 167 n.
Nilagaṅgavaram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	270, 276
Nilakaptha, <i>god, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	178
Nilakaptha-Nāyakkar, Palappalli—, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	325
Nilakamthārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
<i>nilavari (nilavari), tax.</i> , . . . . .	297, 301, 302
Nilūra, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	274
Nimar, <i>di.</i> , . . . . .	174
<i>nimba, tree.</i> , . . . . .	197, 198
Nimina, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48 n.
Nimmina, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Nivinā, . . . . .	48
Nimna, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48
Nimvā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	55, 62
Nirambaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 116, 126
<i>Niravadya, tit.</i> , . . . . .	21 n.
Niravadya-Paṇḍita, <i>donee, sur. of</i> Udayadēva Paṇḍita, . . . . .	21
Niravadya-Puṅyavallabha, <i>com.</i> , . . . . .	21, 24
Nirvaḍiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97
Nirpaḷani, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Nirpaṇ plates, . . . . .	228, 230
<i>Nirukta, wk.</i> , . . . . .	75 n.
<i>Niruktabhāshya, wk.</i> , . . . . .	75
<i>Nirvachanōttara-Rāmāyanamu, Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	275
<i>nirvāṇa.</i> , . . . . .	329
Nisinghakā, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	334, 335
<i>Niti-sāstra, wk., science of polity.</i> , . . . . .	189, 193
<i>nivartana, l. m.</i> , . . . . .	289, 291, 292
Nivinā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	47, 48
Nivina grant of Dharmarājadēva, . . . . .	27, 269
Niyamam (Nēmam), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
<i>Niyōgika, off.</i> , . . . . .	59
<i>Niyukta, off.</i> , . . . . .	169
<i>Nrisimhapurāṇamu or Ahōbalamāhātmyamu, Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	138
<i>Nritta (Nirukta)-bhāshya, wk.</i> , . . . . .	78

	PAGE
Nujambādarāyar, <i>m., s. a.</i> , Pullāni Mādēvaṅ,	102, 113, 118, 124, 129
Nujambūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	92
Numerical sign or symbol for:—	
1, . . . . .	147, 157, 282
2, . . . . .	52
2 to 6, . . . . .	44
3, . . . . .	30, 44, 147, 157
4, . . . . .	44
5, . . . . .	44, 52
6, . . . . .	44
7, . . . . .	195
9, . . . . .	282
20, . . . . .	282
30, . . . . .	195, 282
60, . . . . .	30
90, . . . . .	147, 157
200, . . . . .	147, 153 <i>n.</i> , 157
600, . . . . .	30
Numerals expressed by chronogram:—	
0, <i>gagana</i> , . . . . .	137, 143, 146
6, <i>tarka</i> , . . . . .	139 <i>n.</i>
7, <i>śaila</i> , . . . . .	139 <i>n.</i>
7, <i>vārdhi</i> , . . . . .	139 <i>n.</i>
8, <i>ibha</i> , . . . . .	137, 143, 146
12, <i>dyumani</i> , . . . . .	139 <i>n.</i>
12, <i>sūrya</i> , . . . . .	137, 143, 146
Nuniz, <i>historian</i> , . . . . .	190, 294, 299 and <i>n.</i> , 300, 301
Nūlmaḍugu, <i>vi.</i> ,	186
<i>Nyāya-bhāṣya</i> , <i>wk.</i> ,	78
<i>Nyāyakandali</i> , <i>commentary</i> , . . . . .	184 <i>n.</i>
<b>O</b>	
<i>O</i> , medial, . . . . .	334
Obborāja, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	300
Ōḍḍi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	298
Ōḍra- <i>vishaya</i> , <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	158 and <i>n.</i> , 159, 160
Ōkkūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 <i>n.</i>
<i>Ōlai-ēḷuttu</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41
Ollaiyūr <i>alias</i> Madurai, <i>vi.</i> ,	95
Ollaiyūr-kūgram, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	95
Ollaiyūrmaṅgalam (Oliyamangalam), <i>vi.</i> ,	95
Ōllāṅgā, <i>s. a.</i> Dēlāṅ, <i>vi.</i> ,	172, 173
<i>Ōm</i> , used as a syllable . . . . .	2
<i>Ōm</i> , marked by symbol, . . . . .	44
Ōmalagiyaṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Ōṅgōḍu grant of Siṅhavarman, . . . . .	45
Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II, . . . . .	43, 44, 45, 49
Ōṅkāra, <i>śāhātra</i> , . . . . .	183, 185
Orissa, <i>co., s. a.</i> Utkala, . . . . .	185
Orukkoṅṅāri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 114, 122, 125
Orya, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	298, 299
<i>oḷḷu</i> , . . . . .	134, 136

	PAGE
Pachchani-Tāṅḍiparāṅ grant of Ana-Vōma,	137, 138
<i>pāḷayṅ</i> , . . . . .	109, 123
Paḷaiḷchhaṅkūḷaṅ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
<i>Paḷārthapraḷēṣa</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	184 <i>n.</i>
Pāḷōvā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	158, 161
<i>paḷiyam</i> , . . . . .	64 <i>n.</i>
<i>paḷiyā</i> , old for <i>u</i> of <i>putta</i> (ten) . . . . .	35
Paḷma-gupta, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	186
Paḷma-nābhahāṅḷa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215, 216 and <i>n.</i> , 217
<i>Paḷma-ṅarāṅ</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	11 <i>n.</i>
Pāḷṅḷeri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	90
Pāḷṅḷūr-kūgram, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	86 <i>n.</i>
Paḷavadi-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	108, 122
<i>Paḷava-śāhāsmāḷi</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	163 <i>n.</i>
Paithaṅ platos of Rāmaachandra, . . . . .	10, 199, 201, 202, 205, 208 <i>n.</i> , 225 <i>n.</i>
Pāliyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65
Pālakōḷa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 145
Palamaḷḷādittanallūr, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Māḷḷāṅḷūr . . . . .	99, 111, 121, 123, 130
<i>Paḷamaḷḷaivilakkam</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	323 <i>n.</i>
Paleacate, <i>co., s. a.</i> Pulicat, . . . . .	309
<i>Pāliḷhōḷa</i> , banner, . . . . .	22, 23, 24
Pālipōkhari, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 211, 215, 222, 224
Pāittapāḷaka, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 229, 232, 233, 235
Pāiyānūḷi Sūriyadēvaṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Tamiḷāḷḷu- kūḷaṅ, . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Pāḷkuriki Sōmanāṅḷa, <i>Telugu poet</i> , . . . . .	174, 184
Palla-Āḷhambaka, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 229, 231, 232, 234
Pallamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98
Pallava, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	75, 108, 122
Pallava territory, . . . . .	45
Pallavadaraiyaṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Pammaṅ Ḍiyāṅ- kunallaperumāṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Pallaḷaṅmahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75
Pallaḷarāyaṅ, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	85
Pallaḷarāyar, <i>m., s. a.</i> Mandarai Rāmaṅ, . . . . .	71, 112, 124
Pallava-kramavittāṅ, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	242, 263, 265
Palli, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	207
<i>paḷḷichchandam</i> , <i>land-tenure</i> , . . . . .	70, 111, 122, 132
Pallidēsa, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	207 <i>n.</i>
<i>paḷḷikā</i> , . . . . .	46
Paḷḷimaḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	39
<i>paḷḷippa 'ai</i> , <i>tomb</i> , . . . . .	38
Pallirāja, <i>k. of Palli</i> , . . . . .	211, 222
Palluḷhambaka, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	231 <i>n.</i>
Palnāḷ, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	207
<i>Paloura</i> , <i>l.</i> mentioned by Ptolemy, . . . . .	285
Paḷuvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 304
Pāmbāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	90, 91, 94 and <i>n.</i>
Pamgarikā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	179
Pammaṅ Ḍiyāṅkunallaperumāṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Pallavadaraiyaṅ, . . . . .	103, 112, 125

	Page
Paṅgaḡalūr, vi., s. a. Paṅḡitapaṅjaranallūr,	104, 108, 120, 122, 130
Paṅgaḡalūr-nāḡu, t. d.,	69, 71, 89, 104, 108, 122
Paṅḡayanēṅḡal, vi.,	105
Paṅḡayanēri, vi.,	110, 123
Paṅḡaiyūrkuḡam, vi.,	95
Paṅḡebadhāraḡa, vi.,	335
Paṅḡchakula,	2, 6
paṅḡchamahāsabda,	59, 275, 292
paṅḡchamahāyāḡa, the five sacred rites,	294, 296
Paṅḡchupa, myth. k.,	259
Paṅḡchapālī vi., s. a. Paṅḡchupālī,	172, 173
Paṅḡcharātra,	325 n.
Paṅḡchpir, dn.,	147
Pāṅḡanāḡalūr, vi.,	303, 306, 308
Pāṅḡāri, off.,	132
Pāṅḡava, dy.,	266
Pāṅḡamēru, ri.,	191
Pāṅḡemēru-māḡāni, da.,	189, 191, 193
Pāṅḡimādēvīsvaramuḡaiyār, god,	72
Pāṅḡimārttāṅḡa, Pāṅḡya tit.,	39
Pāṅḡi-nāḡu or Pāṅḡimaṅḡalam, co.,	90, 91 and n., 93, 94, 95, 96n.
Pāṅḡitapaṅjaranallūr, vi., s. a. Paṅgaḡalūr,	104, 108, 122
Pāṅḡitasarvasva, wk.,	174
Pāṅḡiyaṅḡai-chchuram-irakkīṅḡa, Chōḡa tit.,	36
Pāṅḡiyaṅḡ Pollavaraiyaṅḡ, s. a. Eraṅḡ Periyāṅḡ,	103, 113, 125
Pāṅḡya, dy.,	22, 23, 64, 66, 88, 89 and n.
Pāṅḡyas, five—,	250
Pāṅḡya, co.,	244, 262
Pāṅḡya, co. k. of—,	290
Pāṅḡyakulāntaka, Chōḡa ep.,	245, 262, 265
Paṅḡarikā, vi.,	165, 168
Pāṅḡhāḡ, fort, s. a. Paṅḡāḡa,	203
Pāṅḡini, grammarian,	222 n.
Paṅḡ-Māhēśvaras, a body of officials in Śaiva temples,	132
Paṅḡaṅḡkuḡam, vi., s. a. Deyyaolchhilainallūr,	98
Pāṅḡirāyirappāḡi-guruparamparā-probhāṅḡam, Vaishṅava biographical wk.,	321 n.
Pāṅḡirāyira-ppērayaṅḡmbal, L.,	104, 109, 122
Pāṅḡuḡal, t. d.,	273, 274
Pāṅḡwar, vi.,	3
Pāṅḡpāṅḡ-ēmbal, vi.,	105, 110, 123
Pāṅḡpāṅḡēṅḡal, vi.,	105
Paṅḡisamāḡalam, vi.,	76
Parakāḡa-māḡha, Vaishṅava rel. institution,	323
Parakēśari, Chōḡa k.,	243, 250
Parakēśarinallūr, vi.,	253, 264, 266
Parakēśarivarmaṅ, tit.,	35, 242n., 245n.
Parākrama-Bāḡu, Sinhalese k.,	83, 85
Parākrama Pāṅḡya Pāṅḡu k.,	83, 84, 85, 274
Parākramaḡāṅḡiyāṅḡallūr, vi., s. a. Śeyyāṅḡam,	92

	Page
Parākramapāṅḡiyāṅḡallūr, vi., s. a. Śiḡu- kuḡattūr,	102, 113, 124
Parākramapāṅḡiyapuram, vi.,	97
Paḡalāyikkāl or Paḡalāyāru, ri.,	71, 116, 126
Parama-Bhāḡavata, ep.,	44, 59, 52
Paramabhāḡāraka, Chōḡa k. tit.,	2, 5, 184, 185, 187, 192, 210n.
Paramabhāḡāraka, Chōḡa tit.,	262, 265
Paramabrahṅanya, tit.,	187, 192
Paramanāḡhēśvara, tit.,	5, 44, 197
'Paramanāḡhēśvara Krishṅarāja', legend on coin	229
Paramāra, dy.,	184
Parambaiyūr, vi.,	95
Paramēśvara, tit.,	2, 22, 23, 153, 161, 163, 187, 192, 230, 234, 236, 240n., 262, 265, 290, 293
Paramēśvara-chaturvēdimāḡalam, vi.,	75
Paramēśvavavarman I, Pallava k.,	77
Parama-vaishṅava, ep.,	280
Parāntaka I, Chōḡa k.,	37, 38, 90, 93 and n., 94, 241n.
Parāntaka, Chōḡa k.,	260, 261
Parāntaka-chaturvēdimāḡalam, vi.,	74, 75
Parāntakanallūr, vi.,	89, 99, 121, 130
Parāntakanallūr, vi., s. a. Irumbānāḡu,	93
Parāntakanallūr alias Kulōttuḡaśōḡanallūr, vi.,	92
Parāntaka Neḡuṅḡajāyāṅḡ, Pāṅḡya k.,	76
Parāntaka Tiruppūvaṅamūḡaiyāṅḡ, n.,	90, 111, 121, 123, 130
Parasālūr, vi.,	297
Parāśara-Bhaḡḡa, Vaishṅava rel. preceptor,	324
Parāśarāmabhaḡḡa, n.,	216
Parāśarāma-Jōysi, donee,	217
Parāśarāma Vyāsa, author,	205
Pāraśāka, co.,	22, 23
parasol, emblem on seal,	241 and n.
Parasūrāma, epic hero,	291
Paravilimāḡalam, vi.,	92
Parbhāṅḡ, dn.,	199
Pāri, ch.,	94
parichāraka,	73
Pārijātāpaharaṅamu, Telugu wk.,	298, 299n.
parinirvāna, Buddhist term,	328
Pariyalūr (Tiruppariyālūr), vi.,	303
Pārkuḡam vi.,	105, 109, 123
Parlakimedi plates of Anantavarman (Yr. 204),	196 n.
Parlakimedi plates of Indravarmaṅ (Year 91),	194, 195, 196
Pārthivakēśarinallūr, vi., s. a. Poliyūr,	112, 124
Pārthivēṅḡavarman, Chōḡa feud.,	36 and n.
Parunetkiḡi, Chōḡa k.,	244, 259
Pārvūr, vi.,	92 n.
Pārvati, goddess,	183, 193
Pārvatipriya, god, s. a. Śiva,	183
Pārvativallabha, god, s. a. Śiva,	175

	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Paryāya-Bhāshyakāra, ep.</i> , . . . . .	322	Phāsikā, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	269
Paśāsināthar, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	71	<i>phulabaḍuḥ, off.</i> , . . . . .	200 and n., 212, 223
Pāsupata, <i>cult.</i> , . . . . .	183, 185	Phūlpimpalgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	209
Pāsupatīśarmaṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	21	Piḍārikulaṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Patna Museum Plate of Sōmēsvaradēva, . . . . .	172	Piḍāvūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 114, 125
Paṭṭakila, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	<i>pidi-naḍandayellai</i> , 'boundary circumambulated by the female elephant', . . . . .	67
paṭṭakkōl, <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	115, 126	<i>pidipādu</i> , 'title-deed', . . . . .	131, 133, 135, 136
paṭṭam, <i>la id-tenure</i> , . . . . .	115, 126	Pikira grant of Sūnhavarman, . . . . .	43 n.
Paṭṭa-mahishī, 'senior queen', . . . . .	190	Piḷar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
Paṭṭattāmaṅgalam grant, . . . . .	75n.	Piḷlai Ālvān, <i>m., s. a.</i> Poṅṅambalakkūṭṭan, . . . . .	99, 111, 121, 123, 130
Paura, . . . . .	59	Piḷlaipākkam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	241 n.
<i>Pauravikkhila, off.</i> , . . . . .	169 and n.	Piḷḷaiy-Appai, <i>Vaiṣṇava disciple</i> , . . . . .	322
<i>Paushkarasamhita, wk.</i> , . . . . .	325 n.	<i>piḷḷaiyār, 'son'</i> , . . . . .	84, 88
parajitika, <i>pravrajitā, Buddhist nun.</i> , . . . . .	31, 33	Piḷḷaiyār Aḷagapperumāl, <i>Pāṇḷya pr.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99
Pavanaja <i>s. a.</i> Hanumān, . . . . .	18	<i>piḷḷaiyār-ṣuṭi</i> , sign used for denoting punctua- tion, . . . . .	66
Pavitrāmāṅkika-ebaturvēdimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92	Pimpalagāhvaṇa <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	230, 211, 222
Pavittiramāṅkikapattinaṇ, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98	Pimpalgaon, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200 n.
Payyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Pimpalavāḍi, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 235 n., 209, 211, 215, 222, 224
Peḍakalla, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	276	Pimpral, <i>ci., s. a.</i> Pippalāla, . . . . .	29
Peddanārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144	Pinākin, <i>god, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	193
Pedda-Vēgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	42	Pinarao, <i>Vijayanagara pr., s. a.</i> Chikk-ḍeya, . . . . .	190
Pedda-Vēgi plates of Nandivarman, . . . . .	43 n., 45 n.	<i>piṇḍapāta</i> , . . . . .	34
Pēḍibhatta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215	Piṅgala, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	184
Pemata, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	33	Pippalāla, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	25, 29, 30
Peṇarūpāḍi, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	276	Pippali Mānavaka, <i>sur. of Kāśyapa</i> , . . . . .	329, 330
Peṅḍrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla, . . . . .	295	Pirandaikuḷam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105
Peṇṇāgaḍam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303	Pirāṇḍiyēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 110, 123
Peṇṇōṇḍa-valita, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	189, 193	Pirāṇmalai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	299
Pēraiṇyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Piṣṭhapura, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	238, 239, 269 n., 284 n.
Perambūr-chirmai, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	303	<i>Pitaka, s. a.</i> Tripitaka, <i>Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	32, 33
Pērarulāpṛiyan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	326	Pitāraha, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Pērarulāyṇ or Pērarulāḷaiyṇ, <i>Vaiṣṇava</i> <i>devotee</i> , . . . . .	321, 322	Piṭhapuram pillar inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satyā II, . . . . .	9
Pērarulāyṇ-Appai, <i>Vaiṣṇava disciple</i> , . . . . .	322	Piṭhāpuram, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	284 n.
Pēriyakōṭṭai, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	4)	Pitri-tīrtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	16
Periyaṇ Perān, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124	Point Calimere, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	209
<i>P-riṇaparān</i> n. <i>Tamil classic</i> , . . . . .	64 n., 93 and n.	Pōkharī, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 211, 214, 222, 224
<i>periyavār, periyudēvar</i> or <i>periyānūy-ṇār</i> , 'predecessor', . . . . .	84	Pōli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
Peṇṇā-ōmbal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 111, 118, 123, 129	Pōliyūr, <i>s. a.</i> Pārthivakēśarinallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	39 n., 70 n., 89, 101, 112, 124
Peṇṇā Pāṭṭan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Pōliyūr-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 112, 124
Perumāḷṭāṇ or Perumāḷḍāṇ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	319, 320, 325	Polonnaruva, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	250
Perumaṇalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	136	Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu, . . . . .	250 n.
Perumāṇḍi-bhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144	Pondaiūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273
Perumāṇḍūr, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Palamaṇḍulāḍichcha- nallūr, . . . . .	121, 130	Poṅṅāḷigaittuṅgiṇa-dēva, <i>s. a.</i> Sundara-chōḷa, . . . . .	38
Perumpuliyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70 n., 103, 113, 125	Ponnaladēvi, <i>Vijayanagara q.</i> , . . . . .	190
Perumuḷai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297, 303	Poṅṅambalakkūṭṭan, <i>m., s. a.</i> Piḷlai Ālvān, . . . . .	99, 111, 123
Perunāvalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 n.	Poṅṅaṇ Sūriyadēvaṇ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Jayadhara- Pallavaraiyar, . . . . .	69, 91, 111, 123
Perundurai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Poṅṅaḷḷi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
Peruṅgirinallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	98		
Peruṅkaraiḷkkuḍi <i>alias</i> Tiruvarāṅḷanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95		
Pettāṅḍal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106		
ph, . . . . .	226		
ph, <i>cursive form</i> , . . . . .	166		

	PAGE		PAGE
Poona, <i>taluk</i> , . . . . .	168	Prithivipati II, <i>W. Ganga k.</i> , . . . . .	36
Por-Pandāri, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132	Prithivivallabha, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	23, 24, 26 and n., 28
Pōrrū, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	107	Prithivivarman, <i>E. Ganga k.</i> , . . . . .	240
Pōrgu Aravamundaiyān Villi <i>alias</i> Muḍittalai- konḍa-Pallavaraiyan, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Privileges :—	
Pōto-Novo, <i>port</i> , . . . . .	302 n.	<i>arāṣu</i> , . . . . .	302
Pottipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	273	<i>achāḥabhaḥapraśeṣya</i> , . . . . .	30, 232
Pottappichchōlar, <i>m., s. a.</i> Kappalūruḍaiyān		<i>abhyantara-siddhiki</i> , . . . . .	232
Srirāmaṇ Tiruvuḍaiyān, . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 123	<i>sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya</i> , . . . . .	295
Pottapināḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	278	<i>sa-daśū-parādham</i> , . . . . .	295
Pottipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	140	<i>sa-dhānya-hirany-ādēya</i> , . . . . .	295
Pottunūru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	298, 306, 308	<i>sarv-ādānviśiṣṭiprātibhēdikā-parihīna</i> , . . . . .	232
Poyyāmoḷidēvar, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 123	<i>sarvamānya</i> , . . . . .	307, 308
Prabandha-nirāham, <i>Vaiṣṇavite uk.</i> , . . . . .	322 n.	<i>s-ōparikara</i> , . . . . .	295
Prabhāsa, <i>tirtha</i> , . . . . .	310, 313, 317	<i>s-ōpadyamāna-viśiṣṭikam</i> , . . . . .	296
Prabhāvattiguptā, <i>Vākātaka g.</i> , . . . . .	7	Ptolemy, <i>Greek geographer</i> , . . . . .	285
Prabhūmēru, <i>legend on seal</i> , . . . . .	242 n.	Pudaichchāṅkuli-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Prabōdhachandrodāya, <i>uk.</i> , . . . . .	184 n.	Pūḍiikulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
pradhāna, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	59, 169	pudukku, 'renovation', . . . . .	40 and n., 42
Pradhānabhūpati, <i>feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308	Pudukkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92, 95, 96
Pradyumna, <i>myth. hero</i> , . . . . .	221 n., 231, 231, 236	Pudukkulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	71, 112, 118, 124, 128
Prahlātaṅ or Prahālātan, <i>feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	305 and n., 308	Pugalōgaganḍanallūr, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	73
Prajāpati, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	163	Pūjikkun-Nambi, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132
Paṅāla or Panhāla, <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	203	Pulakēśin, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	26, 27
prapā, 'water-shed', . . . . .	200 and n., 215	Pulakēśi-Vallabha I, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	22
Prasannāmātra, <i>Śarabhapura k.</i> , . . . . .	268	Pulakēśin I, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	289
Prasāntarāga, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	25	Pulakēśin II, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	22, 167 and n., 228, 239, 269 n., 270, 289
Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	189, 190	Pulakṣakti, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 56
Pratāparudra, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , . . . . .	139, 271	Pulicat, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	299, 300
Pratāparudra-Gajapati, <i>Gajapati k.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308	Puli-nāḍu, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	241, 254, 263, 265
Pratigandabhairava, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	323 n.	Pulipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	140, 145
prātīhāra, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	163 and n.	Puli-Šūttukkal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	249 n.
Prattipāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	145	Puliyāngudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	73
Praudhapratāpa chakravarti, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	211, 222	Puliyāṅkulam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
Pravaras :—		Pulivalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Archanānasa . . . . .	201	Pullamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
Ātrēya, . . . . .	201	Pullamēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 106, 109, 110, 122, 123
Pañch-ārshēya, . . . . .	160 and n.	Pullāṅgi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	65
Syāvāśva, . . . . .	201	Pullāṅgi Mādēvaṅ, <i>m., sur. Nulambādarāyar</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 118, 124, 129
Tryārshēya, . . . . .	163 and n.	Pullin-Koggaṅ, <i>engr.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41
Vaishṭha, . . . . .	163	Pulakṣakti, <i>Śilāhāra ch.</i> , . . . . .	229
Pravarapura, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	269 n.	Pullēru, <i>canal</i> , . . . . .	140
prayāna-danda, <i>levy</i> , . . . . .	218, 225	Pullūrkkudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
Prētahradā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	231 n., 234 n.	Pullūḡgi, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Śrīvallabhanallūr, . . . . .	98
Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhata, . . . . .	25	Pulombūru grant of Mādhavavarman, . . . . .	269 and n.
prishṭha-mātrā, sign to denote medial diphthongs, . . . . .	165, 199	Pulugiyāru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	264, 266
Prōla, <i>Reddi k.</i> , . . . . .	140	Pulunja inscription, . . . . .	206
Prōlayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144	Pulvayal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Prōlaya-Vēma or Redḍi-Vēma, <i>Reddi k.</i> , . . . . .	137, 138, 139 and n., 143, 146	Puṅarkuḡchehi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	264, 266
Prithu, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	143, 146, 256	Puṅavāyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94 n.
Prithvibhōja, <i>Bhāṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	148, 149, 150, 151, 152	Puṅganūr, <i>iq.</i> , . . . . .	241 n., 254
Prithivichandra, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	231, 234, 236	Puḍjai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	297
Prithivichandra Bhōgśakti, <i>k. of the</i> <i>Harishchandra family</i> , . . . . .	225	Punnaṅguḍi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Prithvidhara, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	311	Puram, <i>uk.</i> , . . . . .	91
		Puraṅjaya, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	256

	PAGE.		PAGE.
<i>Purapati</i> , off., 'Mayor of a town', . . . . .	169 n.	<i>r</i> , consonants doubled before and after —	195, 226, 282, 289
<i>Purapparaī-nāḍu</i> , dt., 69, 71, 89, 97, 99, 101, 106, 110, 111, 112, 123, 124, 131		<i>r</i> , with and without loop, . . . . .	165
<i>Purapparaī-nāḍu-kilavaṇ</i> , m., s. a. <i>Puttūr-</i> <i>kilavaṇ</i> Battan, . . . . .	101, 112, 124	<i>r</i> , two forms of, . . . . .	279
<i>Purūri</i> , <i>Goī</i> , s. a. <i>Śiva</i> , . . . . .	57, 143, 145	<i>Rāghava</i> , m., . . . . .	10, 20 n.
<i>Purāśrēshthi</i> , off., . . . . .	163, 172, 173	<i>Rāghavadēva</i> , m., . . . . .	13
<i>purasa</i> or <i>purata</i> , 'gold', . . . . .	328	<i>Rāghavanāyaka</i> , donee, . . . . .	216
<i>Puravari</i> , vi., . . . . .	84	<i>Rāghō</i> ( <i>Rāghava</i> ) <i>bhatta</i> , m., . . . . .	215
<i>Puravari-chaturvēdimaṅgala</i> m, vi., s. a. <i>Kiḷān-</i> <i>kāttūr</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123	<i>Rāgōlu</i> plates, . . . . .	283
<i>purāvuvāri-kāṅkāni</i> , off., . . . . .	111, 121, 123, 130	<i>Rahasya-andēsa</i> , wk., . . . . .	323 n.
<i>Puravuvārinallūr</i> , vi., s. a. <i>Kallikkudī</i> , 101, 112, 124		<i>Rāhula</i> , son of <i>Buddha</i> , . . . . .	33
<i>puravu</i> , . . . . .	67, 72, 111, 122	<i>Rāhuttarāya</i> , <i>Tirumalai</i> —, ch., . . . . .	305, 308
<i>Puri</i> ( <i>Hastināpuri</i> ?), <i>kṣētra</i> , . . . . .	17	<i>Rajpur</i> , co., . . . . .	9
<i>Puri</i> , vi., . . . . .	54, 69	<i>Rāi Rāyān</i> , tit., corrupt form of <i>Rāya-Nārāyaṇa</i> , 208 and n.	
<i>Puri</i> , ci., . . . . .	228	<i>Rai Rāyān Rām Deo</i> , <i>Yādava</i> k., s. a. <i>Rāya Nārā-</i> <i>yaṇa Rāmadēva</i> , . . . . .	208
<i>Puri</i> of <i>Jagannāth</i> , tn., . . . . .	286	<i>Rājabhāṇja</i> , <i>Bhaṇja</i> k., . . . . .	148 and n., 150, 152
<i>Puri-Kōṅkaṇa</i> , co., 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 234, 236, 237		<i>Rājāchi Bhām</i> , vi., identified with <i>Bhambhāgiri</i> , 203	
<i>Purkuli</i> , vi., . . . . .	98	<i>Rājādhirāja</i> , tit., . . . . .	188, 193, 254
<i>Purie</i> plates of <i>Indravarman</i> , . . . . .	285	<i>Rājādhirāja</i> , <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	248, 262
<i>purṇa-kumbha</i> , auspicious object, . . . . .	243 n.	<i>Rājādhirāja</i> I, <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	39 n., 73, 245, 252
<i>Pūrṇavarman</i> , k., . . . . .	270	<i>Rājādhirāja</i> II, <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	85
<i>Pū[r]ṇa-nāḷga</i> (?), vi., . . . . .	50, 52	<i>Rājāditya</i> , <i>Chōla</i> pr., . . . . .	38
<i>purōhita</i> , priest, . . . . .	59, 83	<i>Rājagambhira-chaturvēdimaṅgala</i> m, vi., 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 88, 102, 104, 111, 113, 122, 124, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135	
<i>Purukkulaṁ</i> or <i>Puttukulaṁ</i> , vi., 105, 109, 123		<i>Rājagambhīradēva</i> , ep. of <i>Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara</i> I, 66	
<i>Purūras</i> , myth. k., . . . . .	66, 107, 121	<i>Rājagambhīraka</i> , vi., . . . . .	135, 136
<i>Purushai Nāyaka</i> , min., s. a. <i>Purushōttama</i> , 200, 212, 214, 223, 224		<i>Rājagambhīraṇāḍu</i> , dn., 67, 69, 104, 111, 122	
<i>Purushaśiva</i> , rel. preceptor, 310 and n., 311, 312, 316		<i>Rājagau</i> , vi., . . . . .	200, 208, 218, 224
<i>Purushōttama</i> alias <i>Purushai Nāyaka</i> , min., 200, 201, 208, 213, 223		<i>Rājagēha</i> , tn., s. a. <i>Rājagriha</i> , . . . . .	330
<i>Purushōttamabhatta</i> , donee, . . . . .	216, 217	<i>Rājagriha</i> , l., . . . . .	327, 328, 329, 330
<i>Purushōttamadēva</i> , donee, . . . . .	216	<i>rājaguru</i> , 'royal preceptor', . . . . .	3, 6, 331
<i>Purushōttamapuri</i> , vi., . . . . .	199, 200, 208, 218, 225	<i>Rājahundry</i> , tn., . . . . .	285, 301
<i>Pūrva-Trikūta</i> , l. d., . . . . .	229, 231, 232, 234	<i>Rājakēsari</i> or <i>Rājakēsarivarmān</i> , <i>Chōla</i> tit., 36, 241, 242 n., 245, 263, 265	
<i>Pusā</i> ( <i>Pushyā</i> ), name, . . . . .	32 n.	<i>Rājakēsari</i> , <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	243, 258
<i>Pushpakētu</i> , myth. k., . . . . .	259	<i>Rājakuūjara-Pallavarsiyān</i> , m., s. a. <i>Vēḷāṅ</i> <i>Irattai</i> , 101, 112, 124	
<i>Pushpavana</i> , l., . . . . .	136	<i>Rājamahēndra</i> , <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	245, 246, 247 and n.
<i>Pushpavaneśvara</i> , god, . . . . .	64	<i>Rājamahēndrapuram</i> , fort, . . . . .	305, 308
<i>pustaka-bhaṇḍāra</i> , library, . . . . .	325	<i>rājan</i> , tit., . . . . .	227
<i>Puttēmbal</i> , vi., probably s. a. <i>Puttēndal</i> , 104, 109, 122		<i>Rājanirāyaṇa Mūvēndavēḷāṅ</i> , m., s. a., <i>Nāgadēvaṇ</i> <i>Rāmaṇ</i> , . . . . .	101, 113, 124
<i>Puttūr</i> , vi., . . . . .	89, 97, 99, 111, 112, 116, 123, 124, 127	<i>Rājāṇa</i> , pr., . . . . .	274
<i>Puttūr-kilavaṇ-Battan</i> , m., s. a. <i>Purapparaī-</i> <i>nāḍu-kilavaṇ</i> , . . . . .	101	<i>Rājaparamēśvara</i> , tit., . . . . .	188, 193, 304, 308
<i>Puvaṇinallūr</i> , vi., . . . . .	70, 106, 111, 118, 123, 128	<i>Rajapipla</i> , state, . . . . .	292
		<i>Rājarāja</i> , <i>Chēra</i> k., . . . . .	250
		<i>Rājarāja</i> , <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	261
		<i>Rājarāja</i> I, <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	35, 36, 37, 38, 72, 90, 248, 254
		<i>Rājarāja</i> I, E. <i>Chāḷukya</i> k., . . . . .	248, 253
		<i>Rājarāja</i> III, <i>Chōla</i> k., . . . . .	85 n.
		<i>Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu</i> , co., . . . . .	90, 94
		<i>Rājarājēśvara</i> , te., . . . . .	72
<i>r</i> , subscript, . . . . .	66, 266		
<i>r</i> , used for <i>r</i> , . . . . .	66		
<i>r</i> , used before hard consonants and <i>t</i> , <i>ch</i> and <i>k</i> , 131			
<i>r</i> , doubling of consonants after —, . . . . .	147, 328		

## R



	PAGE		PAGE
<i>Rajarañjan, tit.,</i>	254	<i>Rāmañ Uyyavandān, m.,</i>	103, 113, 123
<i>Rājarāñjan, n. of an audience hall,</i>	253, 263, 265	<i>Rāmapāla, k. of Benares,</i>	204
<i>Rājasūmanta, off.,</i>	30	<i>Rāmapañḍita, m.,</i>	218
<i>Rājāsikhāmaninallūr, vi., s. a. Puñyanūḍi,</i>	73	<i>Rāmaprakāti, vi.,</i>	158 and n., 160 and n.
<i>Rājāsēkhara, Chōla tit.,</i>	262	<i>Rāma-Puñyavallabha, m.,</i>	21
<i>Rājasimha, Pāṇḍya k.,</i>	37, 38	<i>Ramasahi, vi.,</i>	153
<i>Rājasimha, sur. of Indraverman, Gaṅga k.,</i>	195, 196, 198	<i>Rāmatīrtha or Rāmatīrthakū l.,</i>	168 and n.
<i>Rājasimha, Chēra k.,</i>	250	<i>Rāmatīrtham plates,</i>	283 n.
<i>Rājasimha-kujakkil, t. d.,</i>	40 n.	<i>Rāmatīrthakā-Eighty-four, dn.,</i>	165, 170
<i>Rājasīnganukakkil, dt.,</i>	9	<i>Rāmāyana, epic.,</i>	11 and n., 231, 234, 237
<i>Rājasīnganukulam, t. d.,</i>	89	<i>Rāmāyanamu, Telugu wk.,</i>	138
<i>Rājāsraya, Chōla tit.,</i>	262, 265	<i>Rāmāyārya, m.,</i>	141, 144
<i>Rājāsraya-chaturvēdimangalam, vi.,</i>	75	<i>Rambhāgiri, l.,</i>	203 n.
<i>Rājataṭṭaka, tank,</i>	197 n.	<i>Rāmēśvarabhāṭṭa, donee,</i>	216, 217
<i>Rājatrāyādhipati, tit.,</i>	5	<i>Rāmēśvara-bhāṭṭāraka, god,</i>	196, 197, 198
<i>Rājāyī, f.,</i>	8, 14	<i>Rāmapuñyavallabha, min.,</i>	289, 291
<i>Rājēndiram, vi.,</i>	89, 97, 112, 124	<i>Rāmṭēk, tn.,</i>	7
<i>Rājēndra III, Chōla k.,</i>	204	<i>Rapabhañja or Rapabhañjadēva, Bhāñja k.,</i>	147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159 and n., 161, 163, 172, 173
<i>Rājēndra-Chōla, Chōla k.,</i>	242 n., 262	<i>Rapadhavaia, m.,</i>	3, 6
<i>Rājēndra-Chōla I, Chōla k.,</i>	244 n., 250 and n., 251, 253	<i>Rānaka, tit.,</i>	240 and n.
<i>Rājēndra-Chōla, E. Chāṭukya k.,</i>	243 and n.	<i>Ranākēsarin, tit.,</i>	267
<i>Rājēndra-Chōla II, E. Chāṭukya k.,</i>	253	<i>Ranākēsarin, Pāṇḍava k.,</i>	267
<i>Rājēndradēva, Chōla k.,</i>	244, 245, 246, 247 and n., 248, 250, 253, 262	<i>Raṅgarāja, god, s. a. Raṅganātha,</i>	320
<i>Rājēndrarāṭhūr, vi., s. a. Miḷagañūr,</i>	102	<i>Ranasiñha, tit., probably of a Pāṇḍya k.,</i>	40
<i>Rājēndraśīnganallūr, vi.,</i>	71, 131	<i>Raṅasiṅgamañgalam, vi.,</i>	40
<i>Rājēndraśīnganallūr, vi., s. a. Achchankōṭṭirukkai,</i>	110, 113, 123, 124	<i>Raṅganātha, god at Srīraṅgam,</i>	320 n., 324
<i>Rājēndraśīnganukakkil, t. d.,</i>	98	<i>Raṅganātha, te.,</i>	322
<i>Rājēndraśōla-Māvalivānarāñjan, n. of a throne,</i>	253 n.	<i>Rāsala, m.,</i>	3, 6
<i>Rājēndraśōlaputram, vi., s. a. Viṭṭūkki,</i>	95	<i>Rasārṇava-sudhākara, rhetorical wk.,</i>	323 and n., 324 and n.
<i>Rājīndyini-Pālaparti, vi.,</i>	140, 145	<i>Rāsāsura-chchirmai, dt.,</i>	302
<i>Rājyaśrī, princess, sister of Harshavardhana,</i>	34	<i>Rāsīs :—</i>	
<i>Rakkasa-Gaṅgarasa, ch.,</i>	275	<i>Dhanus,</i>	82
<i>rāksasa, a form of marriage,</i>	26	<i>Kaṅṅi (Kanyā),</i>	81, 250 n.
<i>Raktapura, ci.,</i>	21 and n., 24	<i>Karkuṭaka,</i>	81, 82
<i>Rākū-maṅḍala, t. d.,</i>	279 and n.	<i>Mēsha,</i>	81
<i>Rāma or Rāmāchandra, god,</i>	7, 10, 161 and n., 162, 194	<i>Mīna,</i>	81
<i>Rāma, myth. k.,</i>	257, 258	<i>Mīthuna,</i>	302
<i>Rāma or Rāmabhūpa, Yādava k.,</i>	14	<i>Tulā,</i>	81, 82
<i>Rāmāchandra, Haihaya pr.,</i>	7, 9	<i>Vrīśchika,</i>	81
<i>Rāmāchandra or Rāmādēva, Yādava k.,</i>	8, 10, 199, 200, 201, 202 n., 205, 208, 207, 210, 211, 214, 221 and n., 223 and n., 224	<i>Rāshtrakūta, dy.,</i>	26, 167, 229
<i>Rāmādēva Rāja, k. of Dēvagiri,</i>	207	<i>Rāshtrakūtas of Berar, dy.,</i>	28
<i>Rāmādēvabhāṭṭa,</i>	216	<i>Rāsh'ra-mahattarādhipāri, off.,</i>	294
<i>Rāmagayā, tīrtha,</i>	17	<i>Rāsh'rapati, off.,</i>	59
<i>Rāmagiri, vi., s. a. Rāmṭēk,</i>	7	<i>Ratanpur Stone inscription of Jajalludēva,</i>	206 n.
<i>Rāmañ Alogan, m.,</i>	101, 113, 117, 124, 128	<i>Ratini, name,</i>	32 n.
<i>Rāman Paramātma Bhāṭṭan, off.,</i>	112, 124	<i>Ratnāgiri, tn.,</i>	207
<i>Rāmanujadar unam, wk. oy</i>		<i>Ratnamālīstōtra, Mahānubhāva wk.,</i>	215
<i>Rāmānuja,</i>	319, 321, 323	<i>Rattapāḍi, co.,</i>	252
		<i>Rattapāḍikonḍaśōlamandalam, t. d.,</i>	254
		<i>Rattapāḍikonḍaśōlavajjanāḍu, dn.,</i>	254
		<i>Rattapāḍi-seven-and-a-half lakhs, co.,</i>	249
		<i>Ravi, ri.,</i>	329 n.
		<i>Ravikulatilaka, Chōja ep.,</i>	245, 262, 265

PAGE	PAGE
Ravikarman, <i>donce</i> , . . . . .	289, 291
Ravivarma-chaturvêdimangalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	72, 76
Rāvutu-Kēśa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	140
Rāyabhañja, <i>Bhr' ja k.</i> , . . . . .	148 n.
Rāya-Nārāyaṇa, <i>Yādava tit.</i> , . . . . .	208 n.
Rāyasahasramalla, <i>Kāyastha tit.</i> , . . . . .	274
Rāyavāchakamu, <i>Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	301
Reddī-Vēma, <i>Keḍḍī k., s. u. Prōlaya Vēna</i> , . . . . .	138
Remdr̥vu, <i>sur.</i> , . . . . .	271, 278
rēpha, . . . . .	226
rēpha, doubling of consonants after —, . . . . .	243
rēpha, doubling of consonants before —, . . . . .	271
Rēvā, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	28
Rēvadāsa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	171
Rēvalla, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	295
Rewah plates of Kumārāpāla, . . . . .	2
Rewah plates of Harirāja, . . . . .	2, 3
Rewah plate of Salakshanavarman, . . . . .	3
Rewah inscription of Malayasimha, . . . . .	4
Rewah plates of Mahārānaka Harirājadēva, . . . . .	2
Rewah plates of K. 963, . . . . .	311 n.
ri, . . . . .	137
ri, sign for, . . . . .	226
ri, initial, . . . . .	309
ri used for ri, . . . . .	8, 147, 165
Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā, . . . . .	7
rik, . . . . .	75 n.
Ṛishikēśava(Hrishikēśa)Bhatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	242, 263, 265
Rituparṇa, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	257
Rōdapādi, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	279 and n.
Rōhinī, ( <i>i. e.</i> the star Aldeberan) wife of the Moon, . . . . .	317 and n.
Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal plates of	
Gōvindachandra, . . . . .	311
Rudra, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	185
Rudra, lord of the Āndhras, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	8, 9
Rudra, <i>Kākatīya k.</i> , . . . . .	10, 202 n.
Rudramahādēvi, <i>Kākatīya q.</i> , . . . . .	273, 274, 275
Rudrasīva, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	5, 311
Rudrasvāmin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	282, 287
Rukmiṇī, <i>goldess</i> , . . . . .	221
Rūpadēvabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
rya, . . . . .	137
S	
ś, . . . . .	309
ś, written like s, . . . . .	1
ś and s, written alike, . . . . .	309
ś used for s, . . . . .	147
ś, palatal, . . . . .	165
s used for ś, . . . . .	328
śa used for cha, . . . . .	243
Sabaras, . . . . .	239
Śabara, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	279
sabhā, . . . . .	69, 71, 72, 74, 83
Sabbhicchha, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	205 n.
Śaḍaiya-Māṅg, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	35, 39 n., 39
Śadiraṅ Salya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	101, 113, 124
Śāḍana(Śāsana)pāndari, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132
Śāḍbhāvasāmbhu, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	310 n.
Śādōla, <i>vi., s. u. Śādulē</i> , . . . . .	208
Śādulē, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	200, 208, 218, 234
Śāḍgāhvāga, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	260
Śākala, <i>ci., s. u. Śāgala</i> , . . . . .	329 n.
Śakalabhuvanāśraya, <i>Chōla tit.</i> , . . . . .	245, 262, 265
Śakalabōkāsraya, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	49
Śākhāe:—	
Āśvalāyana, . . . . .	148, 153 and n.
Bahvricha, . . . . .	55, 61, 165, 170
Chbandōga-Kanṭhuma, . . . . .	292
Mādhyaṇḍina, . . . . .	55, 61, 200
Kāṇva, . . . . .	200
Kanṭhuma, . . . . .	55, 61
Rāṇvāni, . . . . .	55, 61
Śukti-vajash, . . . . .	183, 194
Taittiriya, . . . . .	200, 217, 282, 287
Yajña, . . . . .	55, 61
Śakra, <i>god, s. u. Indra</i> , . . . . .	331
Śaktidhara, <i>god., s. u. Skanda</i> , . . . . .	221 n.
Śaktisāmbhu, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	310 n.
Śaktisīva, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	310 and n., 312, 314
Śaktivarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	238, 283, 284
Śikuntala, <i>Sanskrit dramatic wk.</i> , . . . . .	2 n.
Śikya-bhikṣuṇī, <i>Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	34
Śākyaikabandhu, <i>s. u. Gautama Buddha</i> , . . . . .	333
Śākyasimha, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	333 n.
Śīgala, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	329 and n.
Sagara, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	24, 160, 257
Sagarinā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Sagharakhitā, <i>Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
Sahabhata, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	296
Sāhasāṁka, <i>Śilāhara k.</i> , . . . . .	54, 58
Sahasrajit, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	0
Śivāchārya, . . . . .	132, 133, 135, 136
Śivaa, <i>followers of Śiva</i> , . . . . .	11 n., 159
Śivāla, <i>no.</i> , . . . . .	11 and n.
Salakshanavarman, <i>ck. of Kakarōdi</i> , . . . . .	3
Śilāṅkāyana, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	44, 46
Śilāṅkāyana territory, . . . . .	43
Śālivāhana, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	301
Salsotte islands, . . . . .	229
Śalukki, <i>i. e. Chālukya, dy.</i> , . . . . .	263, 265
Śiluvā Maṅgu, <i>feud. ck.</i> , . . . . .	320 n.
Samagiri, <i>cl.</i> , . . . . .	237
Samagripattana, <i>ln.</i> , . . . . .	227, 237
Sāma Jātaka, <i>Buddhist birth story</i> , . . . . .	330
Samānī Pipāria, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	311
Samangal Plates of Dantidurga, . . . . .	28
Sananikō, <i>Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	31, 23

	PAGE
<i>sāman a, off.</i> , . . . . .	294
<i>sāmantanripati</i> . . . . .	287
<i>Samsatabhuvanāśraya, tit.</i> , . . . . .	22, 23, 187, 192
<i>Śambhu, god.</i> . . . . .	136, 174, 176, 182 and n., 225
<i>Śambūka, Śūdra ascetic</i> , . . . . .	11, 17
<i>Samdhivigrahin, off.</i> , . . . . .	240
<i>Saṅghapālita, Buddhist name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.
<i>saṅghāṭika, saṅghāṭi or saṅghāṭikā, Buddhist</i> <i>term meaning a robe</i> , . . . . .	32S and n., 330
<i>Śaṅkarāchārya, rel. teacher</i> , . . . . .	162
<i>Śaṅkhachūḍa, myth. serpent</i> , . . . . .	53, 56
<i>śamudāyam, off.</i> , . . . . .	99, 106, 111, 123
<i>Śamudragupta, Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	44, 45, 50, 51, 52, 238, 239, 284 and n.
<i>Samudrajit, myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	259
<i>Samudrapāta, dt.</i> , . . . . .	310, 311 and n., 315
<i>Sāmvalabhaṭṭa, donee</i> , . . . . .	218
<i>Sāmvaladēva, m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213, 216, 223
<i>Sāmvala Nāyaka, off.</i> , . . . . .	212, 223
<i>Sāmvarigaṅ, vi.</i> , . . . . .	218, 224
<i>Sāmviṇa, vi.</i> , . . . . .	55, 62
<i>Saṃyutta-Nikāya Aṭṭhakathā, Buddhist wk.</i> , . . . . .	330 n.
<i>Sānchi Inscription of Chandragupta II</i> , . . . . .	50
<i>Sandagrihī, s.a. Sandhivigrahin, off.</i> , . . . . .	172, 173
<i>sandhi, observance of</i> ,— . . . . .	243
<i>do., rules for —, not observed</i> , . . . . .	2, 25, 66, 200, 282, 289
<i>do., mistakes in</i> , . . . . .	279
<i>sandhivigrahi or sandhivigrahika or sandhi-</i> <i>śrahitka, off.</i> , . . . . .	2, 5, 163, 282, 287
<i>Sanjān plates of Amoghavarsha</i> , . . . . .	267
<i>Saṅgama, dy.</i> , . . . . .	186
<i>Saṅgama, Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 192
<i>Saṅgama or Saṅgamaśvara, l.</i> , . . . . .	207
<i>Saṅgama, lord of —</i> , . . . . .	211, 222
<i>Saṅgamaṅgalam, s. a. Śaṅkaramaṅgalam, vi.</i> , . . . . .	105
<i>Saṅgamnēr plates of Bhillama II</i> , . . . . .	54 n.
<i>Śaṅgaṅ-ēmbal, l.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
<i>Śaṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal, vi.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 114, 122, 125
<i>Saṅghamitrā, Maurya princess, daughter of</i> <i>Aśoka</i> , . . . . .	31, 32
<i>Saṅgirāmaśiṅga-Pallavaraiyaṅ, off., s. a.</i> <i>Sūriyaṅ Varantaruvāṅ</i> , . . . . .	101, 112, 124
<i>Saṅkanipalli, vi., s. a. Saṅkarshaṅapuram</i> , . . . . .	140, 145
<i>Śaṅkara, god., s. a. Śiva</i> , . . . . .	162, 185
<i>Śaṅkara-Bhaṭṭa, Kavi—, m.</i> , . . . . .	325
<i>Śaṅkaradēva or Śaṅkaragaṅa, Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	207, 208
<i>Śaṅkaragaṅa, Rāshtrakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	28
<i>Śaṅkaragaṅa, Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	280
<i>Saṅkaramaṅgalam, vi., s. a. Saṅgamaṅgalam</i> , . . . . .	70, 105, 109, 115, 123, 126
<i>Śaṅkara-maṭha</i> , . . . . .	325
<i>Śaṅkaraṅa (Śaṅkaragaṅa), Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	229
<i>Śaṅkaranūrāyaṅa, god.</i> , . . . . .	279, 286, 281

	PAGE
<i>Śaṅkaraṅ-Kaḍāḍi alias Karuṅākara-Āchāri-</i> <i>yaṅ, engr.</i> , . . . . .	254, 265, 266
<i>Saṅkarashaṅapuram, vi., s. a. Saṅkanipalli</i> , . . . . .	140
<i>Śaṅkha, auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 n.
<i>Sāṅkheḍi plate of Śāntilla</i> , . . . . .	229
<i>Saṅkhyārthanāmaprakāśikā, wk.</i> , . . . . .	336
<i>Saṅkrānti or Saṅkramaṅas:—</i>	
<i>Makara-saṅkrānti</i> , . . . . .	301, 306, 308
<i>Ravi-saṅkramaṅa</i> , . . . . .	156, 160
<i>Tulā-saṅkrānti</i> , . . . . .	292, 296
<i>Uttarāyaṅa-saṅkrānti</i> , . . . . .	263, 265
<i>Śaṅṅavaram, vi., s. a. Ilai-Kaḍambaṅgulam</i> , . . . . .	96
<i>Śaṅṅichēṅṅi alias Uttaramallūr-Naṅṅai, f.</i> , . . . . .	78
<i>Śāntalagai, vi.</i> , . . . . .	306, 308
<i>Śāntanu, epic hero</i> , . . . . .	294
<i>Śānta Śiva, teacher</i> , . . . . .	2, 4, 6
<i>Śapta-mātris, 'Seven-Mothers', goddesses</i> , . . . . .	2?
<i>Śarabhaṅpura Kings</i> , . . . . .	208
<i>Śaradaha, vi.</i> , . . . . .	156
<i>Śarapadraka, vi.</i> , . . . . .	158, 160
<i>Śarāṅgabhaṭṭa, donee</i> , . . . . .	217
<i>Śarāṅgaṅyaka, m.</i> , . . . . .	216
<i>Śarāṅgapāṅibhaṭṭa, m.</i> , . . . . .	216
<i>Śarāṅgapāṅidēva, m.</i> , . . . . .	216
<i>Śarapattāṅam alias Vikrama-śōlapperunderu</i> , <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
<i>Sarasvati, goddess</i> , . . . . .	5, 325
<i>Sarasvati-bhaṅḍāra, library</i> , . . . . .	325
<i>Sarasvati-bhaṅḍā-ṅiga, off., curator</i> , . . . . .	325
<i>Sarasvati-bhaṭṭa, m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144
<i>Śārdūlavarmaṅ, Maukhari feud. ch.</i> , . . . . .	270
<i>Śāṅṅapāṅibhaṭṭa, donee</i> , . . . . .	217
<i>Śāṅṅāth, ci.</i> , . . . . .	33
<i>Śāṅṅāth inscription of Mahipāla</i> , . . . . .	310 n.
<i>Śāṅṅapāṅi, god.</i> , . . . . .	16, 207, 209, 220
<i>Śāṅṅasūri, m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 213, 223
<i>Sarsavṅi plates of Buddharāja</i> , . . . . .	228 n.
<i>Sarvajña, tit.</i> , . . . . .	323, 324
<i>Sarvasiddhi, vi.</i> , . . . . .	336
<i>Sarvavarmaṅ, grammarian</i> , . . . . .	211, 222 and n.
<i>Sarvvadēvaiya, donee</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
<i>Śāsibhūṅaṅa-Paṅḍita, comp., s. a. Chandra-</i> <i>bhūṅaṅa-Bhaṭṭa</i> , . . . . .	254, 264, 266
<i>Śāsīdhara, poet</i> , . . . . .	311, 315, 318
<i>Śāstra-Bhaṭṭāraka, m.</i> , . . . . .	132, 133, 135, 136
<i>Śātāra, dt.</i> , . . . . .	166
<i>Śāthakōpa, Vaiṅṅava saint</i> , . . . . .	319, 320, 325
<i>Satrasāla, vi.</i> , . . . . .	272
<i>Satrubhaṅja, Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	148, 149, 151, 152, 153, 161, 163
<i>Satrubhayaṅkaranallūr, vi., s. a. Mēlai</i> <i>Śeluvāṅūr</i> , . . . . .	97
<i>Satrugna, epic hero</i> , . . . . .	257
<i>Śāttaṅ Kaṅavadi, m.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124
<i>Śāttaṅ Kaṅḍaṅ, m., s. a. Tirumāliruṅṅolai</i> <i>Dāsaṅ</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124

	PAGE		PAGE
Śatṭaṅṅūr, vi., . . . . .	95	Śeyyānam <i>alias</i> Parākramapāṇḍiyanallūr, vi.,	92
Śattiyār-ōmbal, vi., . . . . .	71, 112, 124	<i>sk</i> used for <i>kh</i> , . . . . .	8, 200
Satyamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	322	<i>sk</i> probably used for <i>jīhvāmūliya</i> and	
Satyāśraya, <i>W. Chālukya lit.</i> , . . . . .	22 and n., 23, 24	<i>upadhānīya</i> , . . . . .	8n.
Saudāmini, <i>f. character in Mālatīmādhava</i> , . . . . .	34	śhaḍaṅgarid, . . . . .	75
Savāṅṅyapallikā, vi., . . . . .	227, 230, 237	Shanmukha, <i>got</i> , . . . . .	57
Sāvārigavā, vi., . . . . .	230, 208	Shelāravādi, vi., . . . . .	168 and n.
Savitā (Śfvatā), vi., . . . . .	205 and n.	Shikarpur, vi., . . . . .	249
Sāyana or Sāyānāchārya, <i>commentator</i> , . . . . .	74, 77	Shimoga, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	202
Sāyēgavāna, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	211, 215, 222, 224	Sialkot, <i>tn., s. a. Sāgala or Śākala</i> , . . . . .	329n.
Sāyyāpāla, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	8, 14	Śibi, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	209, 220
Schism Pillar Edict of Aśōka, . . . . .	31 and n.	Siddhāntasirōmaṇi, <i>grammatical wk.</i> , . . . . .	221n.
Seasons :—		Siddaladēvi, <i>Vijayanagara q.</i> , . . . . .	190
Hēmanta, . . . . .	200 n.	Siddayadēva-Chōḍa-Mahārāja, <i>Telugu-Chōḍa</i>	
Śisira, . . . . .	200 n.	<i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	275
Śekkilār, <i>poet and min.</i> , . . . . .	93, 94	Sihā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32n.
Semberumāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	121, 130	Śikayilāya-Bhaṭṭaṅ, <i>m., s. a. Śivallava Palla-</i>	
Sēmbi-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	98	<i>varaiyaṅ</i> , . . . . .	65, 103, 113, 125
Sēmbiyadaraiyaṅ, <i>m., s. a. Arayaṅ Uyya-</i>		Śikhānallūr, vi., . . . . .	95
<i>ninrāḍuvāṅ</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124	Śikhī, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	333n.
Sēmbiyaṅ-Pērāmbūr, vi., . . . . .	98	Śilāhāra family, . . . . .	53, 229
Sēmbiyaṅ Viḷupparaiyaṅ, <i>m., s. a. Appaṅ Aru-</i>		Śilāhāra kingdom . . . . .	203
<i>molidēvaṅ</i> , . . . . .	101, 112, 124	Śilao, vi., . . . . .	327, 331
Sēmbiyar, <i>s. a. the Chōlas</i> , . . . . .	108, 122	Śilayaṅ, vi., . . . . .	106
Sēmpoṅmāri, vi., <i>s. a. Sēmpoṅmāri</i> , . . . . .	49	Śilaiyaṅṅeri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 123
Sēnāpati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	169	Śilappadikāram, <i>Tamil wk.</i> , . . . . .	95n, 97n.
Sēndalai pillar inscriptions, . . . . .	49	Śilāra <i>dy., s. a. Śilāhāra</i> , . . . . .	54, 56, 58
Sēndalai, vi., . . . . .	297	Śilē, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6
Sēndamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	92, 93, 254, 264, 266, 297	Śi(Śri)Mādhavaṅ Nārasiṅha-Bhaṭṭaṅ, <i>m.</i> , 100, 112,	
Sēndaṅṅeri, vi., . . . . .	104, 109, 122	<i>124</i>	
Sēndaṅṅeri-Kaṭṭikallūr, (Teṅkarai), vi., . . . . .	97	Siṅgayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 141, 142, 144
Sēndapirāṅ Karumāmugil Bhaṭṭaṅ, <i>m.</i> , 102, 113, 124		Siṅhabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216
Sēndapirāṅ-Periyāṅ, Tājaikkudī—, <i>alias Yādava-</i>		Siṅha, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	202 and n., 204, 209, 220
<i>rāyaṅ, ch.</i> , . . . . .	320	Siṅha, <i>Śabara ch.</i> , . . . . .	279
Sēndavaṅmaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	303, 308, 308	Siṅhāchalam or Siṅhādri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	298
Sēndraka, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	167, 168	Siṅhādri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	306 and n., 308
Sēndraka-vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	167	Siṅhāḷa or Siṅhāḷam, <i>co., s. a., Ceylon</i> , . . . . .	22, 23,
Sēṅḷam, vi., . . . . .	86	<i>250, 251</i>	
Sēṅḷuṅra-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	96	Siṅhāḷāntaka, <i>Chōḷa lit.</i> , . . . . .	260
Sēṅḷuṅru, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	264, 266	Siṅhāḷa, <i>Haihaya pr.</i> , . . . . .	7, 9
Sēnkāṭṭirukkai-Idattuvali, vi., . . . . .	97	Siṅhāḷa, <i>Yādava k.</i> , . . . . .	8, 9n., 10, 13, 208, 275
Sēnkuḷi, vi., . . . . .	104, 109, 122	Siṅhapedi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Sēramāṅ Tōḷaṅ, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	86	<i>siṅhāsanādhipati</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	321 and n.
Sēraṅṅamahādēvi-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	319	Siṅhavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	43, 45
Sēsha, <i>myth. serpent</i> , . . . . .	107, 121	Siṅhavarma, <i>k. of the Hariśchandra family</i> . . . . .	226,
Sēttāḷeri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	65, 105, 110, 123	<i>231, 234, 236</i>	
sēṭikā, <i>a measure or weight</i> , . . . . .	235 and n.	Siṅhavarmarāja, <i>k. of the Hariśchandra family</i> , . . . . .	228
Sēvalūr, vi., . . . . .	95	Siṅhavishṅu-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	75
Sēvarāja (Sivarāja), <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Siṅpivihāre, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 212, 215n., 222, 224
Sēvūṅa, <i>s. a. Yādava, dy.</i> , . . . . .	274	Sinda, <i>Chhinda or Chhindaka of Nāgavaṅsa</i> ,	
Sēvvirukkai-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	136	<i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	166, 167, 168, 169
Sēvvūr, vi., . . . . .	36	Sinda-vishaya, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	166, 167
Sēyḷattūr or Sēyḷakulattūr, vi., 69, 104, 108,		Sindhu, vi., . . . . .	166
114, 120, 122, 125, 130		Sindhubhūpa, <i>k.</i> , . . . . .	28
		Sindūrāchala, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	18, 30
		Sindūrāgiri-māhātmya, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	8, 10n., 11 and n.

	PAGE		PAGE
Sindūragiri, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	10, 11	Śivallavaṅ Alāgiyamaṅavāḷaṅ <i>alias</i> Kāḷiṅ-	
Sindūravāpi, <i>well</i> , . . . . .	17	garāyar, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	69, 99, 111, 124
Śiṅga, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	139, 140	Śivallava-Pallavaraiyaṅ, <i>off.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Śikayilāya-	
Śiṅga I, <i>Récherche ch.</i> , . . . . .	323, 324	Bhaṭṭaṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Śiṅga II, <i>Récherche ch.</i> , . . . . .	323, 324 and <i>n.</i>	Śivallava Pērāyiramudiyāṅ <i>alias</i> Māra-	
Śiṅga III, <i>Récherche ch.</i> , . . . . .	323 and <i>n.</i>	nūrnāttuvēḷaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 124
Śiṅgabhūpāla, Sarvajña—, <i>Telugu ch.</i> , . . . . .	323	Śivamahimna-stōtra, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	183
Śiṅgaḷa-dēśam, <i>s. a.</i> Ceylon, . . . . .	245, 263, 265	Śiva-Māndhātrivarman, <i>Kadamba k.</i> , . . . . .	47
Singama-Naik, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	300	Śivaśasamudram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	290 <i>n.</i>
Śiṅgaṅeriyudaiyāṅ-kāṅipparru, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122	Śivapādasēkhara, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	254
Śiṅgaṅamaṅūr plates, . . . . .	40 <i>n.</i>	Śivapura, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Mollakōḷūru, . . . . .	271, 277
Śirachchandraṅ, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308	Śivapuri, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Śōlamārttāṅḍachaturvedi-	
Śtrāmaṅ Tiruvudaiyāṅ <i>alias</i> Pottapichchōḷur,		maṅgalam, . . . . .	96
<i>m.</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 123	Śivāryya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	44, 46, 47
Śirāmaṅvinnāgar, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304, 306, 308	Śivaskandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	45, 48, 284 <i>n.</i>
Siri, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 <i>n.</i>	Śivigaiyāṅkūḷi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Śiripuram plates of Anantavarman, . . . . .	282, 283	Śiyaka, <i>Paramāra k.</i> , . . . . .	166
Śiripuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	284 <i>n.</i>	Śi-yū-ki, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	34, 322
Śirpur inscription of the time of Mahā-Śiva-		Skanda, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	221, 229, 313, 317
gupta, . . . . .	225 <i>n.</i> , 268	Skandagupta, <i>Gupta k.</i> , . . . . .	51
Śirraiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	skandhāvāra, . . . . .	52
Śirudai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96	Smṛiti, . . . . .	75
Śirudaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96	Smṛitichandrikā, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	288 <i>n.</i>
Śiruka, <i>enrg.</i> , . . . . .	3, 6	Smṛitiśhaṭa, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	203, 206 <i>n.</i> , 208 <i>n.</i>
Śirukaṅuvay, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	264, 266	Śōbbanāth, <i>hill</i> , . . . . .	332
Śirukachchippēḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	74	Śōḷhalaiy-opādhyāya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Śirukilāṅkāttūr, <i>vi.</i> , 70, 71, 106, 111, 123, 131, 134,	136	Śōḷjaṅḍē, <i>hamlet</i> , . . . . .	200, 211, 215, 222, 224
Śirukilāṅkāttūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 111, 117, 123, 128	Śōḷakēraḷaṅ-māḷgai, <i>name of a place</i> , . . . . .	253 <i>n.</i>
Śirukuḍi <i>alias</i> Virakāmugamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , 70, 119,	123, 303, 307, 308	Śōḷamaṅḷalam or Śōṅaḍu, <i>co.</i> , 80 <i>n.</i> , 90, 93, 111,	123, 253, 264, 266, 305
Śirukūḷam, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	102 <i>n.</i>	Śōḷamaṅḍalaśatakam, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	89, 90
Śirukūḷattūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Parākramapāṅḍiyanallūr, 70 <i>n.</i> ,	89, 102, 113, 124	Śōḷamārttāṅḍa-chaturvedimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> ,	
Śirumiḷagi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	106, 111, 123	<i>s. a.</i> Śivapuri, . . . . .	75, 96
Śiru-Nakkaṅeri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123	Śōḷaṅ-palai-kōṅḍa, <i>tit.</i> of Vira-Pāṅḍya, 35, 37, 38, 40	
Śirupālaiyūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Kāvērivalavanallūr, 99, 111,	124	Śōḷaṅ-Śilambaṅ <i>alias</i> Virachōḷa-Laṅkāśvara-	
Śiruttoṅḍa, <i>gen.</i> , . . . . .	93	dēva, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	83
Śiruvāgai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	166, 126	Śōḷapāṅḍiyapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Śiruvayal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96, 105, 109, 123	Śōḷapāṅḍiya-vaḷaṅaḍu, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	69, 89, 96, 111, 124
Śiruveṅkuṅḍam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	97	Śōḷa-Pāṅḍya Mūvēṅḍavēḷār, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	73
Śiṅpālavadhā, <i>Mārāthī wk.</i> , . . . . .	200	Śōḷaiyēri, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Śōḷai-śēri, . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Śitā, <i>goddess</i> , . . . . .	7	Śōma or Śōmēśvara, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	205
Śivajadēva-śarman, Bhaṭṭaputra—, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	148,	Śōmaladēviyūr, <i>Hoysaḷa q.</i> , . . . . .	89 <i>n.</i>
	156, 157	Śōmanātha-bhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217
Śitāṅ-ōmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 122	Śōmanātha-mhānta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	217
Śiva, <i>god</i> , 2, 11 <i>n.</i> , 53, 54, 55, 159, 166, 174, 175,	183, 185, 267, 297, 301	Śōmaṅḍēri, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 111, 123
Śiva, <i>god</i> , depicted on soals, . . . . .	43	Śōmasāmbhu, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	310 <i>n.</i>
Śivabōḷamaṅa, . . . . .	73, 132, 133, 135, 136	Śōmāttūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70, 105, 110, 116, 123, 126
Śivachōḷāmaṅimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75	Śōmavaṅśa, <i>lunar race</i> , . . . . .	209, 220
Śiva-dṛiśāśa-nama-stōtra, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	183	Śōmaya-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
Śivagaṅga, <i>Zamindāri</i> , . . . . .	64, 90, 96	Śōmēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	54, 58
Śiva-Kāuchi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	318 and <i>n.</i>	Śōmēśvara, <i>Hoysaḷa k.</i> , . . . . .	89 <i>n.</i>
		Śōmēśvara, <i>Śilāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	221 <i>n.</i>
		Śōmēśvara I, <i>W. Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	181
		Śōmēśvara II, <i>Chāḷukya k.</i> , . . . . .	245, 246,
			248 <i>n.</i> , 249, 251, 263, 265
		Śōmēśvaradēva-maṭha, <i>monastery</i> , . . . . .	183, 184, 185

	PAGE	PAGE	
Sömēśvara Upādhyāya, m., . . . . .	55, 61	Śrīpuruṣa-Prithivī-Kōṅṅuni, W. <i>Gaṅga pr.</i> , . . . . .	166
Sōmidēva, ch., . . . . .	274, 275	Śrī-Rāghava, m., . . . . .	8
Sōṇḍaṅ-ēmbal, l., . . . . .	110, 123	Śrīraṅga, <i>Karṇāṭa pr.</i> , . . . . .	300
Sōpārā, l., . . . . .	168 n.	Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna, . . . . .	188
Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, . . . . .	239 n.	Śrīraṅgam plates of Mummaḍi Nāyaka, . . . . .	324
Sorai, vi., . . . . .	154	Śrīraṅgarājar, <i>Vaiṣṇava pontiff</i> , . . . . .	323 n.
Soras, vi., . . . . .	158	Śrī-Rāmaṅ Alagaṅ, ch., sur. Aḷagiyapāṇḍiya Brahmādhiraṅga, . . . . .	72
Sōraṅ Mūkkaṅ, m., . . . . .	101, 113, 117, 124, 128	Śrī-Rāmaṅ Paramātmā Bhattaṅ, m., . . . . .	160
Sōraṅ Nāṭṭaṅ, m., . . . . .	103, 113, 125	Śrīrāmaṅ Tiravudaiyān <i>at as</i> Pottappi chehoḷar m., . . . . .	69, 90
Sōrpāraga, l., . . . . .	168 n.	Śrīrāmātmārtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	17
Sō(Śrō)triya-Kramavittaṅ, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	242, 263, 265	Śrīrāma-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	72, 77
Soujjōka, m., . . . . .	334, 335	Śrīśailam, mo., . . . . .	45, 137, 138, 143, 146
<i>śramanera</i> , <i>Buddhist pupil</i> , . . . . .	33, 34	Śrīśailam plates of Virūpākṣha, . . . . .	188
<i>śramanēri</i> , <i>f. Buddhist pupil</i> , . . . . .	34	Śrīśāmaṅta, <i>writer</i> , . . . . .	240
Śrāvastī, ci., . . . . .	33	Śrī Triyambaka, <i>sign manual</i> , . . . . .	187, 194
<i>ś-ēshthin</i> , <i>merchant</i> , . . . . .	240	Śrīvaikunda-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	71, 105, 110, 123
Śrī, <i>goddess</i> , consort of Viṣṇu, . . . . .	320	Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, a <i>body of officials in Vaiṣṇava</i> <i>temples</i> , . . . . .	132
Śrībhāshya, <i>Vaiṣṇava philosophical wk.</i> , . . . . .	321	Śrīvallabha, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	26
Śrībhāshya-guruparamparā, <i>Vaiṣṇava</i> <i>pontifical list</i> , . . . . .	323 n.	Śrīvallabha, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	250 and n.
Śrīchūnda, m., . . . . .	2	Śrīvallabha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam <i>vi. s. a.</i> Mē- Paśalai, . . . . .	89, 105, 112, 114, 125, 115, 121, 125, 126
Śrīdēśam, t. d., . . . . .	98	Śrīvallabhanallūr, <i>vi. s. a.</i> Maruvāy, . . . . .	98
Śrīdhara, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	184 n.	Śrīvallabhanallūr, <i>vi. s. a.</i> Pullūrri, . . . . .	98
Śrīdharabhṭṭa, m., . . . . .	217	Śrī-Vallubhanarēndra, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	26
Śrīgiri, <i>Vijayanagara k. s. a.</i> Pratāpadēva- rāya, . . . . .	190	Śrīvallabhappērāru, <i>vi. s. a.</i> of Vaigai, . . . . .	71, 114
Śrī-Jayabhāṭa, <i>legend on seal</i> , . . . . .	292	Śrīvallabha Sēnānandarāja, <i>Sēndraka pr.</i> , . . . . .	167 n.
Śrīkaṅṭha, <i>god, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	175, 185, 244, 262	Śrīvara, <i>sur. of Pāṇḍya</i> Nedunjadaiyaṅ, . . . . .	76
Śrīkṛāṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	54, 59	Śrīvaramaṅgalam or Śrīvaramaṅgai <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	76
Śrīkīrchakīya, <i>s. a.</i> Śrīkīrya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	35	Śrī-Vāsudēvaṅ Nagnapīrāṅ Bhattaṅ, m., . . . . .	100
Śrīkīrya-thurandhāra, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	322	Śrōtriya-Brahmaṅa, <i>s. a.</i> Kēḷvi-andanātar, . . . . .	133
Śrīkīryam, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	39, 40, 41, 42	Śrungaṅavarapukōṭa plates of Anantavarman, 282, 283, 284 n.	284 n.
Śrīkīryam-śeyvār, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132	Śhānāchārya or Śaiṅvāchārya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132
Śrīkīryil-śrīyam-śeyvār, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132	Śhānapōhī, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	8 n.
Śrīkrishṇaṅ Alagiyarāghava-Bhattaṅ, m., . . . . .	100, 112, 124	Subandhu, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	34
Śrī-Māhēśvara-kṛpākāni, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	132	Subhāshitanivī, <i>Sans. wk.</i> , . . . . .	323
Śrīmān-Narīrē)ndrabhaṭ jādēvasya, <i>legend</i> , . . . . .	158	Suchimatī, <i>f.</i> , . . . . .	330 n.
Ścīmāra, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	76	Suchindram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	39
Śrī-nat-Trāḷōkiyamulla, <i>legend</i> , . . . . .	1	Sūdanabhāṭṭa, m., . . . . .	215
Śrīnagara or Patna, t. d., . . . . .	50	Sūdāna Dikshita, m., . . . . .	55, 61
Śrīnagara-bhukti, t. d., . . . . .	50	Sūdānaiya, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Śrī-Narēndrabhaṭ jādēvasya, <i>legend</i> , . . . . .	147	Sudarsanabhāṭṭa, m., . . . . .	216
Śrīnātha, <i>Telugu poet</i> , . . . . .	138 and n.	Sudhēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	8, 15
Śrīgāva-Śrīnāthamu, <i>Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	138 n., 323 n.	Sudī plates, . . . . .	51
Śrīngēri, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	325	Sugata, <i>s. a.</i> the Buddha, . . . . .	334
Śrīnivāsa, <i>s. a.</i> Ādi-vaṅ-Śāthakōpa-Niyar, Vaiṣṇava <i>pontiff</i> , . . . . .	323	Sukla-tīrtha, <i>tīrtha</i> , . . . . .	16
Śrīnivasiśchārya, Tirumalai—, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	322	Sūlam, . . . . .	301
Śrī-Parāntakanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	111, 123	Sūlāmaṅi or Sūdāmaṅi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 109, 123
Śrīparvata, mo., . . . . .	34	Sūlapāpi, <i>god, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	5
Śrīpati-Agnihōtri, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	55, 61	Sūlavari, <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	297, 201, 302
Śrīpati-Bhatta, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	61	Sūlka, <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	212, 222
Śrīpati-Gaṅgapatī, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	274	Sundaṅ-Ālvāṅ, m., . . . . .	117, 128
Śrīpura, <i>sa., s. a.</i> Śrīpuram, . . . . .	268, 269, 284 n.	Sundaṅ-ēmbal, <i>vi. s. a.</i> Sundanēndaḷ, . . . . .	106, 110, 123

	PAGE
Śuṇḍaṅkuruchchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	121, 130
Sundara-Chōḷa, <i>Chōḷa k.</i> , 36, 37, 38 and <i>n.</i> , 242 <i>n.</i>	
Sundara-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya, Jaṭavarman—, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	250
Sundarakuruchchi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	70
Sundaramūrtti-Nāyanār, <i>saint</i> , . . . . .	64 and <i>n.</i> , 91 and <i>n.</i> , 94 <i>n.</i>
Sundara-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , 38 and <i>n.</i> , 86, 87	
Sundarapāṇḍiya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	94
Sundarapāṇḍiya-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ <i>m., s. a.</i>	
Vēḷāṅ Alagan, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Sundarapāṇḍiya-Pallavaraiyaṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i>	
Kaṇavadi Śīrāmaṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Sundarapāṇḍiyapuram, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	96
Sundara-Pāṇḍya 'who presented the Chōḷa country' <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	131, 135, 136
Sundarapāṇḍyēśvaram, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	39
Sundaraśōḷapuram <i>alias</i> Dēśiyugandapaṭṭi- nam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95
Sundarattōḷuḷaiyaṅ Sōmadēvaṅ, <i>m.</i> , 101, 112, 124	
Sundarattōḷuḷaiyaṅ Dēvaṅ, <i>m.</i> , 102, 113, 124	
Sundaravarman, <i>Maukhari ch.</i> , . . . . .	270
Sundarēśa, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	66, 67
Sundarēśa, <i>Pāṇḍya k., s. a.</i> Māṇavarman	
Sundara Pāṇḍya I, . . . . .	88
Sundarēśa, <i>Pāṇḍya pr.</i> , . . . . .	107, 121
Sūpaṭa, Thākur—, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	8, 6
Suprayōgā, <i>ri., s. a.</i> Mannēru, . . . . .	48
Supūjitarāśi, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	184, 185
śūrakkoḍi, <i>s. a.</i> varāha-banner, <i>Chāḷukya</i> emblem, . . . . .	243 <i>n.</i>
Śūrakkoḍi, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Virakāmugamaṅgalam, 70 <i>n.</i> , 102, 113, 124	
Sūraṇa, <i>poet</i> , . . . . .	140 <i>n.</i>
Sūraṇadi, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	16
Sūraṇa, Venṇalagaṅṭi—, <i>Telugu poet</i> , . . . . .	138
Sūrapati, <i>incarnation of Kāśyapa</i> , . . . . .	329
Sūrayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 142, 144
Suriyā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 <i>n.</i>
Sūriyaṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 123
Sūriyaṅ Varantaruvāṅ <i>alias</i> Saṅgirāmasiṅga- Pallavaraiyaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Sūrpāraka, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	108
Sūrya, <i>te. of—</i> , . . . . .	334
Śūryabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217
Śūryadēvanāyaṅārkkōyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 306, 308
Śūryaghōṣha, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Śūrya-Sīdhānta, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	81
Śūryavarman, <i>Magadha k.</i> , . . . . .	267, 268, 269
Śūryavarman, <i>Maukhari k.</i> , . . . . .	267
Śūttukkal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	249
Suvarṇadvīpa (Sumatra), <i>island</i> , . . . . .	335
Suvarṇaparudadhvaja, <i>banner</i> , . . . . .	59
Suvarṇavarṣha, <i>Hāshprakūṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	25
Svalpa-Sarāyi, <i>vs.</i> , . . . . .	154, 157

Svāmichandra, <i>k. of the family of Hariśchandra</i> , 226, 227, 230, 234, 236	
Svarṇamaya-mrigēndradhvaja, <i>banner of the</i> golden lion, . . . . .	169
Śiastika, <i>auspicious object</i> , . . . . .	243 <i>n.</i>
Svāti-yōga . . . . .	87, 121
Svayambhū, <i>god, s. a.</i> Śiva, . . . . .	175
Svayambhū, <i>engraver</i> , . . . . .	240
Śvētaka, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	240
Syallāmāyi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	161, 162, 163

## T

<i>t</i> , distinguished from <i>n</i> , . . . . .	43
<i>t</i> and <i>n</i> , as first letters of a consonant group written alike, . . . . .	43
<i>t</i> , final, . . . . .	282
tachchāchāriyaṅ, <i>carpenter</i> , . . . . .	254, 265, 266
Tachchanemali, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
Taḍā, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	184 <i>n.</i>
Taḍaiyili-Tiyāgi-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Tāḍanankōyil, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304
Taḍāppirai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Tagarapuraparamēśvara, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	59
Tājakas (Arabs), . . . . .	26, 27
Takkayāpparaṅi, <i>Tamil wk.</i> , . . . . .	246 <i>n.</i>
Talaichchaṅgāḍu, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	303, 306, 309
Talai-kōṇḍa, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	36
Talaināyar, Talaināyaṅ or Talaināyakaṅ, <i>vi.</i> , 297, 303, 306, 309	
Talaiyālaṅgāṅattu-śeruveṅra-Neḷuḷeḷaiyaṅ, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	91
Tāḷa, Tāḷapa or Tāḷa-rāja, <i>E. Chāḷukya k.</i> 187, 191	
Talavaradēva, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	197, 198
Talcher, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	154 <i>n.</i>
Tālikōṭa, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	191
Taiyēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	106, 110, 123
Tāḷaprodduṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	274
Tallaya-daivajña, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	141, 144
Tāmbraṅpa-sthāna, <i>vi., s. a.</i> Dāmaramaḍugu, 49	
Tamiḷavēḷāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3 and <i>n.</i> , 41
Tamiṇāḍukūḷavaṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Paḷiyānilai Śūri- yadēvaṅ, . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Tammaḷa-Bommayya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	323
Tāmrālipti, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	284
Tāmrāparṇi, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	35
Taṅḍalai, <i>vi.</i> , 89, 90, 92, 99, 111, 121, 123, 130	
Taṅḍantottam plates, . . . . .	74, 76, 77
Taṅjāvūr or Taṅchāpuri, <i>tn.</i> , . . . . .	260, 302, 304
Taṅjāvūrpaṭṭaṅa-cheḥṭmai, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	302, 309
Taṅṅilattaraiyaṅ-ēmbal, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Taṅṅir-Andakkūḍi <i>alias</i> Daraṅivicheḥādira- nāḷūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92
Tāmrācupu, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	280

	PAGE		PAGE
Tapasgiri (Tapogiri), <i>mo.</i>	10 and n., 11, 14, 15	Tikhāri, <i>vi.</i>	311
Tārā, <i>Buddhist goddess</i>	34	Tilapudraka, <i>co.</i>	156, 157
Tārāvadra, <i>vi.</i>	21 n.	Tilavalli inscription	202 n.
Taravara, <i>off.</i>	198 n.	Tillaisthānam, <i>vi.</i>	39 n.
Tārikh-i' Alāi, <i>hist. chron.</i>	208	Tillaiyāḍi, <i>vi.</i>	297, 303
Tā'rikh-i-Firuz Shāhī, <i>hist. chron.</i>	207 n.	Tillaiyāḍivittam, <i>vi.</i>	304
Tasgaon plates	204, 205	Timarāja, <i>ch.</i>	300
Tatakaragupta, <i>author</i>	34 and n.	Timmāpuram plates of Vishṇuvardhana	239
Tathāgata, <i>s.a. the Buddha</i>	331	Tippayārya, <i>m.</i>	142, 144
Tattañ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i>	105, 110, 123	Tirappu-Panaiyanēri, <i>vi.</i>	105
Tattabōdhiṇī, <i>wk.</i>	2 n.	Tirappu-Ṣoḍḍan-ēmbal, <i>vi.</i> , probably <i>s. a.</i>	
Tattvasandēsa, <i>wk.</i>	323 n.	Sundañ-ēmbal	105
Taurapaka, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s.a. Toran</i>	292	Tiritthāpa plates	283
Tāyan-Pūdi-ēmbal, <i>vi.</i>	106, 111, 123	Tirthanagari, <i>vi.</i>	297, 304
<i>tēdi</i> , 'date'	81	Tiru-Appaṇūr, <i>Śaiva kōḍtra</i>	64 n.
Tējavarman, <i>k. of the Harischandra family</i>	225,	Tiruchchināppalli-chirmai or Tiruchchirāpalli-	
	227, 233, 235, 237, 238	chirmai, <i>dt.</i>	302, 303, 309
Tēkabbara, <i>vi.</i>	310, 311 and n., 315	Tiruchchirāpalli, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 308
Tekkali, <i>Zamindari</i>	194	Tiruchchonnampuram (Tiruchchinnam-	
Tekkali plates	283	puram), <i>vi.</i>	303
Tēl, <i>ri.</i>	48	Tiruchchuliyal, <i>l.</i>	64 n.
Telingakulakālapuram alias Kulōttungaśōla-		Tirugōkarnam, <i>vi.</i>	89 n.
paṭṭinam, <i>vi.</i>	95	Tirujñānasambandha, <i>Śaiva saint</i>	64 n.
Telingāpa, <i>Telugu co.</i>	301	Tirukkaḍaiyūr, <i>vi.</i>	297, 302, 303
Tēllād-āhāra, <i>dt.</i>	21 n.	Tirukkānappēr, <i>l.</i>	64 n.
Tēnāru, <i>ri.</i>	96	Tirukkaṇḍivaram, <i>vi.</i>	297
Tēnāruppōkku, <i>dt.</i>	96	Tirukkātṭuppalli, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 308
Tēṇ-Kaḷavali-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i>	98	Tirukkōḍikā (Tirukkōḍikāval), <i>vi.</i>	303, 307, 309
Tēṇ-Kallaga-nāḍu, <i>dt.</i>	97	Tirukkoḍunkunram, <i>l.</i>	64 n.
Tēṇkarai, <i>vi.</i>	83	Tirukkoḷambūdūr, <i>vi.</i>	85
Tēṇ-Kāṭṭūr, <i>vi.</i>	95	Tirukkoḍivaram, <i>vi.</i>	304
Tēṇ-Kōṇāḍu, <i>dt.</i>	95	Tirukkōṭṭiyūr, <i>vi.</i>	96
Tēṇṇaṇ <i>i.e.</i> , Pāṇḍya	64 n. 245, 263, 265	Tirukkudandai, <i>vi.</i>	100
Tēṇṇavan Tamilavēl, <i>m.</i>	39 n.	Tirukkudandai Ādityan Ṣendapirāṇ-Baṭṭan,	
Tēṇ-Parambu-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i>	91	<i>off.</i>	112, 124
Tēṇṇalai, <i>vi.</i>	94	Tirukkunṇakkudī (Kunṇakkudī), <i>vi.</i>	96
Tēōḍram, <i>Tamiḷ hymns</i>	91	Tirukkuraiyāyūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 307, 308
Tēvūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 308	Tirukkurrālam, <i>l.</i>	63 n.
Tēwar inscription of Gayakarṇa	311	Tirukkurgaiṇṇirāṇ Pillāṇ, <i>Vaiṣṇava pontiff</i>	323 n.
<i>th</i>	279	Tirumala, <i>hill</i>	322
Thakkur, <i>tit.</i>	4, 5	Tirumalipāḍi, <i>vi.</i>	304
Thakkura Haripāla, <i>m.</i>	2	tirumalaippuram, <i>gift for flower garland</i>	134
Thākurdīyā plates of Mahāpravararāja	268	Tirumālirāṇjōlai, <i>vi.</i>	118, 129
Thāṇā plates of Rāmachandra	201, 221 n.	Tirumāliruṇjōlai-Āḷvār, <i>god</i>	113, 118, 124, 129
<i>thera</i> , <i>Buddhist term</i>	33	Tirumalirāṇjōlai Dāsaṇ, <i>off.</i>	113, 124
Thera Bhadanta Budharakhita, <i>monk</i>	33	Tirumāliruṇjōlainallūr, <i>vi.</i>	70
Thera Chetiyavandaka Bhadanta Budhi,	33	Tirumandiravōlai, <i>off.</i>	106, 253, 264, 266
<i>monk</i>	33	Tirumangalakkudī, <i>vi.</i>	297, 303, 306, 309
Theragāthā Aṭṭakāthā, <i>Buddhist wk.</i>	330 n.	Tirumāṇikkulī, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Theravāda, <i>school of Buddhism</i>	32	Tirumarugaḷ, <i>vi.</i>	304
Thūpārāma	32	Tirumayānam, <i>vi.</i>	85
Tiḍgundi plates of the time of Vikramāditya		Tirumēchchūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 307, 308
VI	166, 168	tirumējukkuppuram	40 and n., 42
tiger, <i>emblem on seal</i>	42, 43, 241	Tirumeyyam, <i>vi.</i>	95 and n.
tiger, <i>emblem of the Chēras</i>	121	Tirumukkūḍal, <i>vi.</i>	78
tiger, <i>Chōla emblem</i>	242 and n.	Tirumukkūḍal inscription	248, 250, 254



	PAGE		PAGE
Tirumūlanāthar, <i>god.</i>	40	Tiruvālavāy, <i>l.</i>	64 n.
Tirumūlattāpattu-Dēvar, <i>god.</i>	39, 41	Tiruvālavāyudaiyār-tiruvilaiyāḍḍarpurāṇam, <i>Tamil wk.</i>	64 n.
Tirumūnaippādi-nāḍu, <i>dn.</i>	111, 121, 123, 130	Tiruvāliputtūr (Tiruvānputtūr), <i>vi.</i>	303, 307, 308
Tirumuttam, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308	Tiruvāḷundūr, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Tirunagari, <i>vi.</i>	297, 304, 306, 308	Tiruvāñchiyam (Śrīvāñchiyam), <i>vi.</i>	304
Tirunelakkupram, <i>vi.</i>	96	Tiruvantirapuram, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Tirunāmanallūr (Tirunāvanallūr), <i>vi.</i>	303	Tiruvāraṅguḷanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Perunkarai- kkuḍi,	95
Tirunāṅgūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 308	Tiruvattiyūr, <i>vi.</i>	319
Tirunaṅipāḷi, <i>vi.</i>	303, 307, 308	Tiruvattiyūr-niṅṅarūḷiya-Paramasvāmin, <i>god.</i>	319
Tirunāraiyūr, <i>vi.</i>	306, 308	Tiruvāvaṇam, <i>t.d.</i>	89, 103
Tirunāraiyūr-nāḍu, <i>dn.</i>	253, 264, 266	Tiruvāvaṇam, <i>vi.</i>	70, 89, 104, 108, 113, 120, 122, 125, 129
Tirunāraṅkoṇḍai (Tiruniraṅkoṇḍai), <i>vi.</i>	303	Tiruvāyakkēvi, <i>off.</i>	69, 99, 106, 111, 123
Tirunāvalūr, <i>vi.</i>	96	Tiruvāyamoḷi, <i>Vaiṣṇava hymns.</i>	320
Tirunāvallūr, <i>vi.</i>	306, 308	Tiruvēḷagam, <i>vi.</i>	64 n., 86 n.
Tirundutēvaṅkuḍi (Tiruttēvaṅkuḍi), <i>vi.</i>	303	Tiruvēḷagamudaiya-Nāyaṅār, <i>god.</i>	86 n.
Tiru-Nelvēli, <i>l.</i>	64 n.	Tiruvēgambam-udaiyār, <i>god.</i>	253, 263, 265
Tirunelvēli-udaiyār, <i>god.</i>	72	Tiruvēḷḷiyaṅguḍi, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Tirupati, Lower—, <i>vi.</i>	322	Tiruveṅgaivāsāl, <i>vi.</i>	88
Tirupōttudaiya-Bhaṭāra, <i>god.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Śiva,	35, 39, 40	Tiruveṅkāḍu inscription,	250
Tiruppādirippuliyūr, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308	Tiruvēṅkaṭānilai-Dēvar, <i>god.</i>	39, 41
Tiruppaḷātturai, <i>vi.</i>	297, 304	Tiruveṅṅagar (Uppiliyappaṅkōyil), <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Tiruppanandāl, <i>vi.</i>	303	Tiruvīḍaikaḷi-Nāyaṅār, <i>god.</i>	320
Tirupparankuṅṅam, <i>Śaiva kṣētra.</i>	64 n.	Tiruvīḍaimarudūr, <i>vi.</i>	36
Tiruppaśālai-nāthar, <i>god.</i>	105, 110, 123	Tiruvīḷaichchīnai-kaṅkāni, <i>off.</i>	132
Tiruppattūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 308	Tiruvīḷaiyāḍal, <i>Tamil wk.</i>	101 n.
Tirupperundurai, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Āvudaiyārkōyil,	92	tiruvīḷakkuppuraṅam, <i>gift for lamp.</i>	134
Tiruppanḍaimarudūr, <i>vi.</i>	38 n.	Tiruvīḷāṅguḍi <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Tiruviraiyāṅkuḍi,	95
Tiruppaḷūr, <i>vi.</i>	91, 304	tiruvīḷappuraṅam,	40 and n., 42
Tiruppullāṇi, <i>vi.</i>	98	Tiruvindaḷūr, <i>vi.</i>	92 n.
Tiruppuṇavāsāl, <i>vi.</i>	64 n., 90	Tiruviraiyāṅkuḍi (Tiruvīḷāṅguḍi), <i>vi.</i>	95
Tiruppuṇavāyil, <i>vi.</i>	94	Tiruvirāmaśvaram, <i>l.</i>	64 n.
Tiruppuṅgūr, <i>vi.</i>	304, 306, 309	Tiruvīśālūr, <i>vi.</i>	297, 303, 306, 308
Tiruppānturutti, <i>vi.</i>	304	Tiruvoggiyūr, <i>vi.</i>	247 n.
Tirupputtūr, <i>vi.</i>	64 n., 82, 83, 250	Tiruvogiyūr inscription,	252
Tiruppūvaṇam, <i>vi.</i> , 64 and n., 89, 70 n., 97, 103, 113, 125		Tittāikuḍi, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308
Tiruppūvaṇam plates, Large—,	76, 82, 88, 132	Tittāṇam, <i>vi.</i>	94
Tiruppūvaṇam plates of Jātāvarman Kulāśē- khara I,	131	Tivara or Tivaradēva, <i>Pāṇḍava l.</i>	267, 268, 269
Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyāṅ Vighnōśvaram <i>alias</i> Vināyaka-Bhaṭṭaṅ, <i>m.</i>	135, 136	Tiwarkhēḍ plates of Nannārja Yuddhāsura, 25, 28, 270 and n.	
Tiruppūvaṇamudaiyār, <i>god.</i>	70, 71, 104, 106, 108, 110, 122, 123, 131, 134, 136	Tiyāgavalli, <i>vi.</i>	306, 308
Tirutēvaṅkuḍi, <i>vi.</i>	306, 309	Tiyandaikkūḍi-nāḍu, <i>t. d.</i>	69, 71, 89, 99, 100, 104, 109, 112, 122, 124
tiruttagappanār, 'father',	84	Tiyaṅūr, <i>vi.</i>	105
Tiruttaṅgāl, <i>vi.</i>	72, 97	Tiyaṅūr-Sōlaiyēri, <i>vi.</i>	105, 109, 123
Tiruttiṅṅainagar, <i>vi.</i>	303, 306, 308	Togarchēḍu plates of Vinayāditya,	289 n.
Tiruttiyūr-Muttam, <i>dt.</i>	96	Tōpamayan-Pāpnaśāṅ <i>alias</i> Viraśrīvallabha- Brahmādhiraṅga, <i>off.</i>	253, 264, 266
Tiru-Uttarakōśamaṅgai, <i>t. d.</i>	98	Tōṇḍaimāṅ-Viṅṅagar-Ālvār, <i>god.</i>	72, 77
Tiruvāḍāpai, <i>l.</i>	64 n.	Tōṇḍai-nāḍ-āṅa Jayāṅḍaśōla-maṅḍalam, <i>t. d.</i>	90
Tiruvāḍavūr, <i>vi.</i>	91 n.	Tōṇḍai-nāḍu or Tōṇḍai-maṅḍalam, <i>t. d.</i>	90
Tiruvāḍige, <i>god.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Viṣṇu,	77	Toran (Toramāl), <i>vi.</i>	293
Tiruvaiyāru, <i>vi.</i>	304		
Tiruvāḷāṅḍu, <i>vi.</i>	85		
Tiruvāḷāṅḍu plates of Rājēndra-Chōḷa, 131, 242 and n., 243, 253			

INDEX

377

	PAGE
Tōravē, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Torveh,	289, 291
Tōsala, <i>co.</i> ,	268
Trailōkyamalladēva, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> ,	2, 3, 5
Trailōkyamalla, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> ,	252 n.
Trailōkyamalla-Āhavamalla, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> ,	325
Trailōkyasāra, <i>name of a ruby</i> ,	244, 262
Trailōkyavarman, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> ,	3
Trailōkyapallava,	291
traiṣṭidya,	50, 53
trēḷa ( <i>yuga</i> ),	60
Tribhuvanachakravartin, <i>tit.</i> ,	131, 134
Tribhuvana Mahādēvi, <i>Kara g.</i> ,	147
Tribhuvanānkūṣa, <i>tit.</i> ,	226 n., 231, 234, 237
Tribhuvanānkūṣa, <i>legend on seal</i> ,	242 n.
tri-chivara, <i>Buddhist term meaning the robes of a monk</i>	323
Trikaliṅga, <i>co.</i> ,	282, 286, 287
Trikaliṅgādhipati, <i>tit.</i> ,	3, 283
Trikūṭa, <i>ṣa.</i> ,	226, 227
Trilingi, <i>vi.</i> ,	195
Trilingi grant,	196 n., 282 n.
Trilōchanābhārya, <i>court poet</i> ,	138
Trinētra, <i>god</i> , s. a. Siva	204
Tripitāka ( <i>Trepiṭikā or Piṭaka</i> ), <i>Buddhist wk.</i> ,	33
Tripurāntaka, <i>Kāyastha ch.</i> , s. a. Tripurāri,	273
Tripurāntakam, <i>l.</i> ,	139, 276
Tripurāntaka-kahētra, <i>l.</i> ,	271
Tripurāntakam inscription of Ambadēva,	271
Tripurāridēva, <i>Kāyastha ch.</i>	271, 272, 273, 274 and n., 277
Tripuri, <i>ci.</i> ,	4, 206, 269, 309
Trisamāpadā, <i>vi.</i> (?)	172, 173
Trisati-rājy-ādhipati, <i>tit.</i> ,	2, 6
Trivara or Trivaranagara, <i>ci.</i> ,	269
Trivara or Trivara, <i>k. of Southern Kōśala</i> ,	269 and n.
Trivēdi, <i>family name</i> ,	75, 201
Trivikrama, <i>Bhoṭṭaputra</i> —, <i>donee</i> ,	148, 150, 157
Trivikramabhātta, <i>donee</i> ,	217
Triyambaka, <i>Vijayanagara pr.</i> ,	186, 188, 189, 190, 193, 194
Triyambakamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> ,	76
Tuhinagiri-sūtā, <i>goddess</i> , s. a. Pārvati,	5
Tulaiyānīlai, <i>vi.</i> ,	95
Tumbavana, <i>l.</i> ,	33
Tuṇḍra, <i>co.</i> ,	244, 262
Tuṅgā, <i>vi.</i> ,	247 n.
Tuṅgabhadra, <i>ri.</i> ,	246, 247 n.
Tuṅjalūr, <i>vi.</i> ,	92
Turaga-sādhanika, <i>off.</i> ,	272
Turumā, <i>ci.</i> ,	96
Turumā-nāḍu, <i>di.</i> ,	88, 96
Tuttikkūṣaṁ, <i>vi.</i> ,	104
Tuttiyūr, <i>ci.</i> ,	89, 104, 108, 120, 122, 129
Tyāgavāli, <i>vi.</i> ,	303

	PAGE
U	
u, used for ū	147
u, medial,	199, 226
u, medial, sign for—,	226
Udagai, <i>ci.</i> ,	250 and n.
Uḍaikuṣam, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Kīṭ-Chūrai,	114, 121, 125, 130
Udaiya, s. a. Chēra,	250
Udayachandramāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> ,	77
Udayadēva-Paṇḍita, <i>donee</i> , s. a. Niravadya-Paṇḍita,	21
Udayadivākaraṅ Śri-Kārimāra-Bhaṭṭaṅ, <i>m.</i> ,	102, 113, 124
Udayagiri, <i>fort.</i> ,	305, 308
Udayana, <i>Pāṇḍava k.</i> ,	267 and n.
Uḍaiyān Nambi Poṅṅambalakkūṭaṅ <i>alias</i> Viraśiṅgadēvar, <i>off.</i> ,	112, 124
Udayaṅ Varaguṇadēvaṅ, <i>m.</i> , s. a. Alāgiyapāṇḍi-ya-Viḷupparaiyaṅ,	101, 112, 124
Udaiyampērūr, <i>v. s.</i> , s. a. Udagai,	250
Uḍaiyārguḍi, <i>l.</i> ,	36
Uḍaiyārkōyil, <i>vi.</i> ,	303
Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār, <i>god</i> ,	76
Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithivīpati II,	37 n., 77
Uddari, <i>vi.</i> ,	202
Uddari stone inscription,	203
Uḍumbandai, <i>l.</i> ,	104, 109, 122
Uḍra, <i>co.</i> , s. a. Oriasa	286
Uḍaṇḍa-Khān, <i>feud. ch.</i> ,	306, 308
Ukhunda plate of Pṛithivībhāṅja,	146
Ulagajandaśōlanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , s. a. Kappalūr,	94, 99, 111, 123, 124
Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyāḷ, <i>Chōṣa g.</i> ,	247, 263, 265
Ulagavaṇi, <i>vi.</i> ,	104, 109, 123
Ulaguḍaiya-Nāyaṅār, <i>Pāṇḍya ep.</i> ,	88
Uḷakkuḍi, <i>vi.</i> ,	97
Ulavapāḍu, <i>vi.</i> ,	48
Umā, <i>f.</i> ,	310, 313, 317
Umāvana, <i>forest</i> ,	29 n.
Umavarman, <i>E. Gaṅgak.</i> ,	283, 284
Ummattūr, <i>co.</i> ,	299 n.
Uṇḍavilli, <i>l.</i> ,	301, 307, 308
Uṇṇāṅigaiyār or Uṇṇāṅigai-sabhaiyār, <i>managing body of a temple</i> ,	132
upadhmaniya, use of—,	50
upadhmaniya, sign for—,	226
Upajjhāyā, 'preceptress',	32
Upamanyu, <i>myth. hero</i> ,	317
Upāsaka,	31, 33, 34
Upasamāpadā, a <i>Buddhist ordination</i> ,	32, 330
Upāsikā, <i>f. disciple</i> ,	31, 33, 34
Upāsikā-vihāra,	32
Uḍendra Bhāṅja, <i>poet</i> ,	154 n.
Ūr,	74
Uḷattūr-kūṅṅam ( <i>Vada-kōṅḍu</i> ), <i>di.</i> ,	93, 95
Uriyappi, <i>l.</i> ,	106, 110, 132

	PAGE
Ulam plates of Hastivarman (year 80), . . . . .	195, 196 and n.
Urta, vi., . . . . .	154
Urta or Uratti-vishaya, dt., . . . . .	147, 153, 154, 157, 161, 162, 163
Uruvupalli, vi., s. a., Ulavapāḍu, . . . . .	48
Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman, . . . . .	43 n., 45
Uruvupalli grant of Yuva-Mahārāja Viṣṇu- gōpavarman, . . . . .	44, 46
Ushaikkurukkai, l., . . . . .	264, 265
Ushavadāta, donor, . . . . .	168
Utkala s. a. Orissa, co., . . . . .	153, 244 n., 261, 286
Uttama-Chōla, Chōla k., . . . . .	35, 38 n., 242 n.
Uttama-pāṇḍiyanallūr, vi., s. a. Mēlai- koḍumālūr or Koḍumālūr, . . . . .	98
Uttamaśīli, Chōla pr., . . . . .	38
Uttamaśīli-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	38 n.
Uttamaśīli-vāykkāl, channel, . . . . .	38 n.
Uttamaśōja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	74
Uttamaśōlapuram, vi., s. a., Korrayūr, . . . . .	95
uttamōttama, a class or type of temple, . . . . .	325
Uttarakōsala, l., . . . . .	207
Uttaramallūr, vi., . . . . .	78
Uttaramallūr inscriptions, . . . . .	73
Uttaramallūr-Naṅgai, f., s. a. Sannichchāni, . . . . .	78
Uttarāpatha, . . . . .	22, 23
Uvaichchar, . . . . .	40
Uvaniyamaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	104, 109, 122
Uyyakkonḍaśōlanallūr, v. i., s. a. Muttūr, . . . . .	94
Uyyanirāḍi Periyālvān, m., . . . . .	102, 113, 124
Uyyān-Sūriyaṅ-āmbal, vi., . . . . .	106, 109, 122
Uyyavandān Ponṇan, m., s. a. Mānābharapa- Māvēndavēlār, . . . . .	99

## V

v, used for b, . . . . .	1, 8, 165, 282, 328
v not distinguished from b, . . . . .	147, 309
v and b indicated by separate signs, . . . . .	195
vā, changed into ā, . . . . .	200
Vāchāspati (Brahmā), god, . . . . .	2
Vāchāspati, min., . . . . .	279 and n.
vāḍā-kaḍamai, s. a. vāḍā-kaḍan, . . . . .	133, 134
Vaḍa-Kaḷavāji-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	98
Vaḍa-Kōṇāḍu, dt., s. a. Urattūr-kūṅgam, . . . . .	95
Vaḍakurukkai, l., . . . . .	264, 266
Vaḍa-Pāmbāṅgu-nāḍu, t. d., s. a. Mēl-kūṅgu, . . . . .	92, 93
Vaḍatalai-Sēmbi-nāḍu, t. d., . . . . .	89, 98, 99, 111, 124, 136
Vaḍa Śiruvāyil-nāḍu, dt., . . . . .	95
Vaḍavalli plates of Aparājita, . . . . .	54 n.
Vaḍahakāḍama, m., . . . . .	160
Vāḍivahana, l., . . . . .	33
Vaḍnēra plates of Buddhārāja, . . . . .	228 n.
Vaḍōba, vi., . . . . .	310, 311, 315

	PAGE
Vāgaikuḍi, vi., . . . . .	70, 71, 89, 104, 108, 122, 131, 134, 136
Vāghaure, vi., s. a. Wāghur, . . . . .	200, 208, 211, 215, 222, 224
Vāghumata, l., . . . . .	33
Vāgīta, god, . . . . .	176
Vāhaḍa, m., . . . . .	2, 5
Vaiśhava, Vaiśhava biographical wk., . . . . .	321
Vaiḅai, ri., sur. Śrīvallabhappēraru, . . . . .	64, 71, 114, 125
Vaiḅal, vi., . . . . .	304, 306, 308
Vaijayanti, l., . . . . .	45, 167
Vaikundānallūr, vi., . . . . .	92
Vayirāgarāma, vi., s. a. Vairāgarh, Vajra or Vajragadha, . . . . .	206
Vaiśāhika, . . . . .	78
Vaiśhānavism, religion, . . . . .	321
Vaiśvadēva, rite, . . . . .	294
Vaitarāni, ri., . . . . .	154, 155
Vaiva . . . . y-vishaya, t. d., . . . . .	50, 52
Vājimeḍha-tirtha, tirtha, . . . . .	16
Vajjāḍa, Śilāhāra k., . . . . .	54 and n., 57
Vajjadēva, Śilāhāra k., . . . . .	55
Vajjadēva (II), Śilāhāra k., . . . . .	54, 57, 58, 63
Vajra or Vajragadha, vi., s. a. Vairāgarh, and n. . . . .	206
Vajrākara, ci., . . . . .	206
Vajrākara, co., . . . . .	211, 223
Vajrayāna or Agraṇaya Mahāyāna, school of Buddhism, . . . . .	34
vaijanāḍu, . . . . .	98 n., 97
Vaijanāḍu-kāriyam, off., . . . . .	99, 106
Vaijabha, Chōla k., . . . . .	244, 260
Vaiabhi, lord of—, . . . . .	292
Vallabha, tit., . . . . .	26, 28, 39 and n.
Vallabha-Vallabha, ep. of Chōla Virarājendra, 262 . . . . .	244, 262
Vallabharasa, . . . . .	29 n.
Vallabhārya, m., . . . . .	141, 142, 144
Vallabhōkta, m., . . . . .	188, 193
Vallam, vi., . . . . .	304
Vallūru or Vallūrupattapa, ca., . . . . .	272, 274 n.
Vāmadēva (Viṣṇu), god, . . . . .	3
Vāmadēva, Kalachuri k., . . . . .	310 n.
Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta, tit., . . . . .	6
Vāmarāsi, rel. preceptor, . . . . .	310 n.
Vāmaya-bhaṭṭa, m., . . . . .	142, 144
Vāmanāchārya, m., . . . . .	216
Vāmadāmbhu, rel. preceptor, . . . . .	310 n.
Vāṅga, co., . . . . .	261
Vāṅśadhara, ri., . . . . .	196, 285
Vāṅgaṅgappērāiyān, m., . . . . .	115, 126
Vāṅmaladīnne, vi., . . . . .	38
Vāṅavāsi, co., . . . . .	23
Vāṅganagar, vi., . . . . .	92
Vāḅijiyūr, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Vāṅṅeru, stream, . . . . .	104, 145

	PAGE		PAGE
Vantya, vi., . . . . .	325	Vēdānta-Dēsika, <i>rel. teacher</i> , . . . . .	319 and n., 321 and n., 322, 323
Varadhacharya <i>alias</i> Nayinārācharya, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	322	Vēdānta-Dēsika, <i>image of</i> —, . . . . .	322
Varadarāja, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	319 n.	Vēdānta-Dēsika- <i>vaidhava-prakāsika</i> , <i>biographical wk.</i> , . . . . .	321 n.
Varaṅgaṅṇallūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Narimaṅgam, . . . . .	65, 110, 123	Vēdavyāsa, <i>sage, s. a.</i> Vyāsa, . . . . .	30
Varaṅga II, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	76	Vēlēndrasāgara-Sripāda, <i>rel. teacher</i> , . . . . .	323
Varaṅgamāṅgalam <i>or</i> Varaguṅamāṅgai, vi., . . . . .	76	Vēḡavati, <i>ri., s. a.</i> Vaigai, . . . . .	64
Varāha <i>or</i> the boar, <i>emblem</i> , . . . . .	290	Vēlāditya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	61
varāha, <i>gold coin</i> , . . . . .	297, 307, 308	Vēlaiyā-upāsani, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	55, 61
Varāha-lāṅchchhana, <i>banner with boar emblem</i> , . . . . .	22	Vēḡaṅ Aḡaṅ, <i>m., s. a.</i> Sundarapāṇḡiya Mūvēndavēḡaṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Varāhavartani, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	284 n.	Vēḡāṅḡeri, vi., . . . . .	70, 97, 116, 127
Vārāṅāsi, <i>s. a.</i> Benares, <i>ci.</i> , . . . . .	179, 207, 211, 222, 309	Vēḡāṅgulam, vi., . . . . .	104, 108, 120, 122, 130
Vārappaḡi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	264, 266	Vēḡaṅ Irattai <i>alias</i> Rājakuṅjara-Pallavarai-yaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	101, 112, 124
Varāta, <i>co.</i> , . . . . .	202	Vēḡāṅkāl, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 123
Varātar, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	108, 122	Vēḡaṅ Kōvaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	102, 113, 125
Vārīya-Perumakkaḡ, . . . . .	132	Vēḡārkuṅchchi, vi., . . . . .	105, 109, 123
Varman, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	270	Vēḡaṅ Sāttāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	99, 111, 123
varnas, <i>castes</i> , . . . . .	208	Vēḡaṅ Śīriḡāṅkō, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	103, 113, 125
vārṅtika, . . . . .	78	Vēḡaṅ Sundarattōḡudaiyāṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	113, 124
Varuṅa-tīrtha, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	15	Vēḡ-Evvi, <i>Vēḡ ch.</i> , . . . . .	90, 91 and n., 94
Vasā (Vāyā), <i>f.</i> , <i>Buddhist nun</i> , . . . . .	33	vēḡi, <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	38, 40, 73, 109, 123
Vasantapaḡḡita, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	218	Vēḡir <i>or</i> Vēḡ, <i>family</i> , . . . . .	95 n.
Vāsātā, <i>Pāṅḡava q.</i> , . . . . .	267	Vēḡiyārrūr, vi., . . . . .	39, 41, 89, 99, 111, 123
vasati-dāṅḡa, <i>tax</i> , . . . . .	218, 225	Vellamukōṅḡa (Bellamkōṅḡ), <i>fort</i> , . . . . .	305, 308
Vasavā, <i>name</i> , . . . . .	32 n.	Vellāṅ, <i>community</i> , . . . . .	74
Vāsavadattā, <i>Sans. drama</i> , . . . . .	34	Vellāṅ-kāṅiyāḡar, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	73
Vasīshṅa, <i>sage</i> , . . . . .	148, 151, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 163, 172, 173, 208, 212, 223	vellāṅ-vagat, . . . . .	67, 111, 122
Vasīshṅasārman, <i>Thakkura</i> —, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	5	Vellāṅtaivēṅḡāṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122
Vāstuśiva, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	310, 312, 315	Vellāru, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	89 and n., 90, 91
Vāsudēva, <i>god.</i> , . . . . .	176, 231, 234, 236, 291	Vellāru (South), <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	302
Vāsudēvabhāṅṅa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215, 218	Vellāru, Northern—, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	302 n.
Vāsudēvaṅ Śūriyadēvaṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	100, 112, 124	Vellāru, <i>ri.</i> , . . . . .	102 n.
Vāsudēvaṅ Nagnapiriṅ-Bhāṅṅaṅ, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	112, 124	Vellūr, vi., . . . . .	89, 92 n.
Vasusvāmin, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	292	Vellūrkuṅchchi, vi., . . . . .	70 and n., 89, 102, 103, 113, 119, 120, 125, 129
Vappuvanna, <i>Śīlāhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	54 and n., 56	Vēḡ-Pāri, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	91
Vātāpi, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	93	Vēḡḡōḡivārīvaṅkāvāḡi, <i>Hist. wk.</i> , . . . . .	323 and n.
Vatḡūru, vi., . . . . .	145	Vēḡūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Aḡaiyapāṅḡiyāṅallūr, . . . . .	70 n., 89, 103, 113, 125
Vavvēru, vi., . . . . .	49	Vēḡūrkuḡakkīḡ, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	97
Vayalagam, vi., . . . . .	95	Vēḡūr-kuḡakkīḡ Śrikundadēvi-chaturvēḡi-māṅḡalam, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	40 n.
Vayalaga-nādu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	95	Vēḡur-Śīrukuḡḡi, vi., . . . . .	121, 130
Vāyināyaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	8, 13	Vēḡvikūḡi plates, . . . . .	76, 133
Vayiramēḡa-chaturvēḡimāṅḡalam, vi., . . . . .	75	Vēma, <i>Reddi k.</i> , . . . . .	140
Vāyḡēvi, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41	Vēma-chamūpati, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	139
Vāyṅṅalainallūr, vi., . . . . .	105, 190, 123	Vēmbāṅḡḡi, vi., . . . . .	69, 70, 114, 120, 125, 130
Vēdas, . . . . .	71, 73, 75, 77, 78, 108, 122	Vēmbōḡ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	105, 110, 127
Vēdas :—		Vēṅāḡḡuḡiyār, <i>Chēra k.</i> , . . . . .	72
Rīḡvēda, . . . . .	165, 200, 212, 223	Vēṅbuḡa- <i>or</i> Vēṅbil-nāḡu, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	97
Śāṅuvēda, . . . . .	200, 218	Vēṅḡai, <i>tiger, emblem of the Chēras</i> , . . . . .	107, 122
Yajurvēda, . . . . .	140, 141, 142	Vēṅḡai-nāḡu, <i>co., s. a.</i> Vēṅḡl, . . . . .	245 and n., 247, 263, 235
Yajurvēda, <i>Black</i> , . . . . .	200		
Yajurvēda, <i>White</i> , . . . . .	200		
Vēda-māṅḡa, <i>institution</i> , . . . . .	323		
Vēdāṅḡa, . . . . .	74, 75, 78		

	PAGE		PAGE
Vēngī, vi., identified with Peda-Vēgī, . . . . .	44, 45, 47	Vikkalaṅ, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	247
Vēngī, co., . . . . .	45, 244 and n., 251, 252, 262	Vikramāditya, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	154 n.
<i>Vēngīpuravarādāhīvara</i> , <i>W. Chālukya tit.</i> , . . . . .	248 m	Vikramāditya, <i>W. Chālukya pr.</i> , . . . . .	191
Vēngī-vishaya, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	45	Vikramāditya, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	226, 227, 228, 289
Vēngōrāshetra, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	45	Vikramāditya I, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	22, 228, 229
Venkāpūr, vi., . . . . .	136	Vikramāditya II, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	21 and n., 27
Venkaṭa II, <i>Karāṭa k.</i> , . . . . .	300	Vikramāditya II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	187, 191, 192, 239
Venkaṭeśa, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	322	Vikramāditya VI, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	166, 245, 246 and n., 249, 251, 252, 262, 265
Vēppangulam, vi., . . . . .	96	Vikramāditya-Vallabha, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	220, 234, 236
Verriyūr, vi., . . . . .	96	Vikrama-Chōja, <i>Kongu-Chōja pr.</i> , . . . . .	82
Vetchiyūr <i>alias</i> Mummaḍiśōjanallūr, vi., . . . . .	92	Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya pr.</i> , . . . . .	39 and n.
<i>vetṭiyān</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	73, 77	Vikramapāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	73, 76, 77
Vibhramatunga, <i>Bhaṅja tit.</i> , . . . . .	172 and n., 173	Vikramapāṇḍya-Mūvēndavēlāṅ, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	39, 41
Vibhramatunga, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	147, 148, 149, 151, 152, 155, 156, 157, 160	<i>Vikramārka-charitramu</i> , <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	138 n.
Vidarbha, co., . . . . .	11	Vikramaśaimhapura ( <i>s. a.</i> Neilore), <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	274
Viḍattal <i>alias</i> Mānābharana-chaturvēdi maṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	70n., 89, 102, 113, 119, 124, 129	Vikramaśōjanallūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Viḷāṅkātūr, . . . . .	92
Viḍattakuḷam, vi., . . . . .	102 n.	Vikramaśōlapperunderu, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Śārapaṭṭa- ṇam, . . . . .	95
Vidiśā, vi., . . . . .	33	Vikramaśōlapuram, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Dēśipattāṇam, . . . . .	97
Vidvān, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	138	Vikukshin, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	256
Vidvēraka, vi., . . . . .	292	Viḷāṅkātūr <i>alias</i> Vikramaśōjanallūr, vi., . . . . .	92
<i>Vidyādhikārin</i> , <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	138, 140	Vilattūr, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Jayāṅgōṇḍaśōjanallūr, . . . . .	92
<i>Vidyāsthāna</i> , . . . . .	78 n.	Vilavaṭṭi grant of Simhavarma, . . . . .	49
Vidyāvīnta, <i>Pallava ch.</i> , . . . . .	77	Villavar, <i>s. a.</i> the Chēras, . . . . .	108, 122
Vidyāvīnta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Kūram, . . . . .	75, 77	Vimalasiva, <i>rel. preceptor</i> , . . . . .	3, 4, 6, 309, 310 and n., 311 and n., 312, 315
Vidyāvīnta-Pallava-Paramēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	77	Vimalāditya, <i>Kulūta ch.</i> , . . . . .	244 n.
Vighnēśvara, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	159 and n.	Vimjhadēvabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217
Vijaya, <i>sur. of</i> Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, . . . . .	189, 190	Vinayachandra, <i>writer</i> , . . . . .	195, 196, 198
Vijayabāhu, <i>Ceylon k.</i> , . . . . .	250	Vinayāditya or Vinayāditya Satyāśraya, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	21 and n., 22, 23, 289
Vijaya-Bhūpati, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	188, 190, 193	Vināyaka, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	208, 212, 223
Vijaya-Dēvavarman, <i>Śālanākāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 43, 44, 45 and n.	Vināyakabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
Vijadharmā, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	295	Vināyakapāla, <i>Pratīhāra k.</i> , . . . . .	52
Vijayāditya, <i>W. Chālukya k.</i> , 21, 22, 23, 24, 228, 229		Vinayasūrya, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	198 n.
Vijayāditya, <i>tit.</i> , . . . . .	27	Vinikōṇḍai, <i>fort.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308
Vijayāditya, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , 248, 249, 251, 263, 265		Vindhya, <i>mo.</i> , . . . . .	11, 269
Vijayāditya (I), <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	Viḷjattaraiyaṅ, <i>m.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Malaiyaṅ Śōraṅ, . . . . .	103, 113, 125
Vijayāditya II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	187, 191	Vinnakōṭa, vi., . . . . .	140, 145
Vijayāditya (III), <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	Vinnakōṭa Peddāna, <i>Telugu poet.</i> , . . . . .	335, 336
Vijayāditya (IV), <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191	Viṅṭūkki <i>alias</i> Rājēndraśōlapuram, vi., . . . . .	95
Vijayāditya VII, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> , 245, 247, 252, 253		Vipparla, vi., <i>s. a.</i> Viripara, . . . . .	49
Vijayagāṇḍagōpāla, <i>Telugu Chōja ch.</i> , . . . . .	275	Vipaśyin, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	333 n.
Vijayālaya, <i>Parakēśari, Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	244, 260	Vira-Baillāja III, <i>Hoyasāja k.</i> , . . . . .	320 and n.
Vijayanagara-paṭṭana, <i>ca.</i> , . . . . .	305	Virabhadra, <i>Bhaṅja k.</i> , . . . . .	148 and n., 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 160, 161, 162
Vijayānkura-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, vi., . . . . .	75	Virabhadrabhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	216
Vijayāśimha, <i>Kalachuri k.</i> , . . . . .	3, 4, 206	Virabhadrasēna Gajapati, <i>Gajapati pr.</i> , . . . . .	305, 308
Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Śālanākāyana k.</i> , . . . . .	42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47	Vira-Chōja, <i>ep. of</i> Virarājēndra, . . . . .	244
Vijaya-Skandavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	49, 284 n.	Virachōja, <i>Chōja tit.</i> , . . . . .	260, 262, 263, 265
Vijayavāda (Bazwada), <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	248, 251	Virachōlādēva, <i>South Kongu k.</i> , . . . . .	83
Vijaya ( <i>vissai</i> )-Vicholādirādēvar <i>alias</i> Malaiki- aiyaṅprap, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	112, 124		

	PAGE		PAGE
Virachōja-Lankasēvaradēva, <i>ch.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Śōjaṅ		Vishṇubhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	215, 217
Śilamban,	83	Vishṇudatta, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	163
Viradēva, <i>monk</i> , . . . . .	335	Vishṇugōpavarman, <i>Pallava k.</i> , . . . . .	44
Viragaṅgappērayaṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 108, 122	Vishṇuhāra, <i>te.</i> , . . . . .	48
Viraiyāchchilai, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95	Vishṇu-Kāñchi, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	318 and n.
Viraiyavitānkanallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>sur.</i> of Sēngulam, . . . . .	86	Vishṇukunḍin, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	269 n.
Virakāmugamaṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> , Śūrakuḍi, . . . . .	70,	Vishṇumamōbi, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	215
102, 113, 119, 124, 129		Vishṇupurānamu, <i>Telugu wk.</i> , . . . . .	140 and n.
Virakēraṅ, <i>name of a royal seat</i> , . . . . .	319	Vishṇurāja or Vishṇuvardhana (III), <i>E. Chā-</i>	
Virakēsari, <i>Pāṇḍya pr.</i> , . . . . .	250	<i>ṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191
virakiduvāṅ, <i>supplier of firewood</i> . . . . .	40, 42	Vishṇuvardhana, <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	239, 248
Viramaḍakku-chobirmai, <i>dt.</i> , . . . . .	302	Vishṇuvardhana (I), <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191
Viramapura, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	293 n.	Vishṇuvardhana (II), <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	191, 283
Viranārāyaṅa-kulakkil Puḷingurūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	40 n.	Vishṇuvardhana, <i>Hoyasa k.</i> , . . . . .	203
Virapāṇḍiyānallūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> , Nallirukkai, . . . . .	98	Vishṇuvardhana Vijayāditya, <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	49,
Virapāṇḍiyāṅkōl, <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	109, 123	252 n.	
Virapāṇḍiyappērayaṅ-ēmbal, <i>l.</i> , . . . . .	104, 109, 122	Vishṇuvarman, <i>ch.</i> , . . . . .	48
Vira-Pāṇḍya, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	83, 85, 86	Vishvaksēna or Sēṅai-mudaliyār, <i>Vaiṣṇava</i>	
Vira-Pāṇḍya, Śōjaṅ-ralai-kōṇḍa—, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	35, 36 and n., 37, 38 and n., 39, 40	<i>devotee</i> , . . . . .	320
Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, <i>Pāṇḍya k.</i> , . . . . .	320	Vissayārya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	140, 144
Vira-Pāṇḍyaṅ-ralai-kōṇḍa, <i>tit. of Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	35	visuā, <i>l. m.</i> , . . . . .	6 n.
Virarājēndradēva, <i>Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	78, 241, 242 n.,	Viśvanīthabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	216
244, 245, 262		Viśvasrit, <i>creator of the universe</i> , . . . . .	107, 121
Virarājēndra-Brahmādhiraṅ, <i>s. a.</i> Chandra-		Viśvabhū, <i>an incarnation of the Buddha</i> , . . . . .	333 n.
śēkharabhūṣaṅa-Bhaṭṭa, . . . . .	254	Viśvēśvara, <i>E. Chāṭukya k.</i> , . . . . .	335
Vira-Rāmanātha, <i>Hoyasa k.</i> , . . . . .	325	Viśvēśvara, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	3
Viraravivarman-Tiruvaḍi, <i>Vēṅḍu k.</i> , . . . . .	84	Viśvēśvara, <i>composer</i> , . . . . .	6
Viraśiva, <i>cult.</i> , . . . . .	174	Viśvēśvara, <i>author</i> , . . . . .	324 n.
Viraśēna, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	259	Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	142, 144
Viraśingadēvar, <i>m.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Uḍaiyāṅ Nambi		Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa, <i>donee</i> , . . . . .	217
Poṅṅambalak-kūttan, . . . . .	99, 112, 124	Vitparti, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Vipparla, . . . . .	49
Viraśōla-Vejaṅḍu, <i>dn.</i> , . . . . .	254, 264, 266	vittabandha, . . . . .	3, 6
Viraśrīvallaḅa-Brahmādhiraṅ, <i>sur. of</i>		Vitthapaya, <i>m.</i> , . . . . .	54, 59
Tōṅamayaṅ-Pāpanāṣan, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	253, 254, 266	Vittūrparru, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	92 n.
Virāṭar, <i>dy.</i> , . . . . .	108, 122	Vivasvān, <i>myth. k.</i> , . . . . .	255
Viravallāṅ, <i>name of a throne</i> , . . . . .	319, 320, 325	Vivēkarāśi, <i>teacher</i> , . . . . .	183, 185
Viravalli, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	321	Vōṅkhara-bhōga, <i>t. d.</i> , . . . . .	282, 286, 287
Viravalli-Pillai, <i>Vaiṣṇava disciple</i> , . . . . .	322	Vratakhāṇḍa, <i>wk.</i> , . . . . .	10, 202 and n., 203, 275
Virēsvaramuḍaiyār, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	84	Vri(Bri)hat-Sārāi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	147, 158
Virifichi, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	255	Vriśabhadhvaja, <i>god, s. a.</i> , Śiva, . . . . .	185
Viripara, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	48	Vriṭrāri, <i>s. a.</i> Indra, . . . . .	57
Virkudi, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	304, 307, 309	<i>vriṭti</i> , . . . . .	73, 74, 77, 200 and n.
Virperu, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> Vipparla, . . . . .	49	Vyāghrakētu, . . . . .	259
Virēdhābhāsa, <i>figure of speech</i> , . . . . .	318 n.	vyākaraṅa, <i>grammar</i> , . . . . .	78
Virūpāksha, <i>Vijayanagara k.</i> , . . . . .	190	vyākhyāta, 'exegete', . . . . .	72
Viśaiyālaya-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	75	Vyājabhayāṅkara, <i>Chōja k.</i> , . . . . .	244, 260
Viśākharvarman, <i>Kaliṅga k.</i> , . . . . .	284 and n.	Vyāsa Bhagavān, <i>god of learning</i> , . . . . .	325
Viśaladēva, <i>Vāghēla k. of Aṅghilvād</i> , . . . . .	203, 204		
Viśalūr, <i>vi.</i> , . . . . .	95		
viśarga changed to <i>sh.</i> , . . . . .	8		
viśarga, used for denoting punctuation, . . . . .	66, 131		
Viśamasiddhi, <i>legend on seal</i> , . . . . .	242 n.		
Viśayapati, <i>off.</i> , . . . . .	30, 59, 294		
Vishṇu, <i>god</i> , . . . . .	137, 188, 231, 234, 237		
		W	
		Wāghūr, <i>vi.</i> , <i>s. a.</i> , Vāghaure, . . . . .	203
		Warāṅgal ca., . . . . .	301

	PAGE		PAGE
<b>Y</b>			
<i>y.</i>	43	Saunhya,	241, 244, 263, 265, 319 n.
<i>y</i> , bipartite,	50, 268	Sukla,	319 n.
<i>ya</i> , symbol resembling—, used to denote <i>ppa</i> ,	130	Vikārin,	319, 325
Yādava or Yadu, <i>myth. k.</i> ,	8, 9, 188, 192	Vikranā,	302
Yādavas, <i>descendants of Yadu</i> ,	9	Vikrita,	271, 277, 278
Yādavas of Dēvagiri, <i>dy.</i> ,	275	Virōdhin,	80
Yādavas of Dēvagiri, <i>Later—</i> ,	10	Yuva,	188, 193
Yājña Dīkshita, <i>m.</i> ,	55, 61	Year (of Gāṅga era) :—	
Yājñasārman, <i>m.</i> ,	21	28,	195
Yājñavalkya <i>Dharmaśāstra, wk.</i> ,	288 n.	80,	196 n.
Yājñavarman, <i>Maukhāri ch.</i> ,	270	87,	194, 195, 198
Yagnēśvarabhaṭṭa, <i>dome</i> ,	216	91,	194, 195
Yaksha, <i>kula putrakū—, engraver</i> ,	157	Year of unspecified era :—	
Yakshadatta, <i>engr.</i> ,	159 n., 161	39,	282, 286, 287
Yakshi, <i>name</i> ,	32 n.	288,	151
Yamunā, <i>emblem of—</i> ,	22, 23	293,	147, 151
Yasāhkarṇa, <i>Kaṭachuri k.</i> ,	5, 310 and n., 311, 312, 316	461,	227
Yasōvarman, <i>Chandēlla k.</i> ,	280	Year, <i>regnal</i> :—	
Yasōvihāra, <i>monastery</i> ,	34	7th,	241, 244, 263, 265
<i>yātrādāna</i> ,	83	10th,	132, 286, 291
Yavanarāsa-sihāpanāchārya, <i>Vijayanagara tit.</i> ,	305, 308	11th year and 108th day,	131, 134, 136
Yayātinagara, <i>ci.</i> ,	269 n.	11th opposite the 13th,	108, 122, 132
Year of the cycle :—		13th year and 4360th day	108, 122
Bahudhānya,	322	25th	107, 121
Bhāvaka (Bhāva),	320 n.	Yōgas :—	
Chitrabhānu,	336	Vyatipāta,	201
Dhātri,	300	Yōgadēvabhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	216
lévara,	301, 304	Yōgibhaṭṭa, <i>m.</i> ,	215
Krōdhana,	165, 170	Yōgi-Mallavaram, <i>vi.</i> ,	244
Pramādi,	273 n., 276	Yudhishtira, <i>epic hero</i> ,	57, 155, 160, 231, 234, 236, 291
Pramōdūta,	273 n.	Yuvarāja, 'crown prince',	139, 149, 188
Sāhōraṇa,	201, 211, 214, 222, 224	Yuddhamalla, <i>tit. of W. Chālukya Maṅgalarāja</i> ,	27
		Yuddhamalla II, <i>E. Chālukya k.</i> ,	239
		Yuddhāsura, <i>tit.</i> ,	25

