

DEPARTMENT OF ARCHÆOLOGY

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXI

PART II

APRIL 1955

1730

EDITED BY

DR. D. C. SIRCAR, M.A., Ph. D.

Government Epigraphist for India



सत्यमेव जयते

Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi
Printed at the Government of India Press, Calcutta, India

1957

Price : Rs. 10.00 or 16 sh.

730

No. 8—NOTE ON MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has edited the Mādagrāma grant which was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman by his Kadamba feudatory Bhīmakhēdi II, son of Dharmakhēdi. Kadamba Dharmakhēdi issued the Santa-Bommali plates¹ in the Gaṅga year 520 during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Mandasa plates² dated in Śaka *nava-śataka-saptarasa* during the reign of Gaṅga Anantavarman. The expression *saptarasa* has been taken by Dr. Majumdar to be a combination of *sapta* (i.e. 7) and *rasa* (meaning 6), although such a combination of an ordinary numerical word with a word-numeral is unknown in early Orissan records, while we have taken it to stand for Sanskrit *saptadaśa*, Prakrit *sattarasa*, i.e. 17. The date of the Mandasa plates is therefore Śaka 976 (1054 A.D.) or 967 (1045 A.D.) according to Dr. Majumdar, but Śaka 917 (995 A.D.) in our opinion. Gaṅga Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates has been identified with the homonymous Gaṅga king mentioned as the father of Dēvēndravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates. Thus in Dr. Majumdar's opinion the Gaṅga year 520 fell sometime after 1054 or 1045 A.D., and therefore the era started sometime about the middle of the sixth century and not about the close of the fifth century as is now generally believed. He thinks that Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates is the same as the Gaṅga king of that name mentioned in the Mādagrāma grant of 1066 A.D. and further identifies that ruler with the well-known Imperial Gaṅga monarch Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman, son of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and father of the great Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Mādagrāma grant with Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman is not so easy as he has made it to appear.

In the inscriptions of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman, the king claims to have been anointed on the 20th April 1038 A.D.³ The same date of his coronation is quoted in the records of his son Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman; but they add that Vajrahasta III ruled for 33 years and that Rājārāja I was anointed on Thursday, Jyēshṭha-su 8, Śaka 992 (20th May, 1070 A.D.).⁴ Similarly the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga state that his grandfather Vajrahasta III ruled the earth for 33 years and his father Rājārāja I for 8 years and that he himself was anointed on Saturday, the 17th February 1078 A.D.⁵ It will be seen that the period from the coronation of Vajrahasta III to that of Rājārāja I covers a little above 32 years, reckoned in the records as 33 years in round number apparently because the king ended his rule in his 33rd regnal year. Similarly the period between the coronation of Rājārāja I and that of Chōḍagaṅga covers 7 years and several months, the duration being reckoned as 8 years in the records. There is hardly any room to doubt the genuineness of these statements. Since Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman is thus known to have ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., he can hardly be identified with Dēvēndravarman of the Mādagrāma grant, who was ruling in 1066 A.D. when Vajrahasta III is known to have been on the throne.

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 2053.

² Ibid., No. 1951.

³ Ibid., No. 1090.

⁴ JAHRS, Vol. VIII, pp. 176 ff.; No. 7 (Appendix A) of 1952-53.

⁵ Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1099. In some of the later records (ibid., No. 1103; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239) of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, the duration of Vajrahasta's rule is given as 30 years apparently through oversight. The evidence of the earlier records of Chōḍagaṅga and of his father must be regarded as more authentic as it is supported by the dates of the coronation of the three monarchs known from their records.

The identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant (1066 A.D.) with Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman (1070-78 A.D.) is supported by Dr. Majumdar with the following arguments which are serially discussed below.

1. He points out that the two sets of rulers, viz. (1) Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant, and (2) Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman, were ruling in the same period. But the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with the homonymous king mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates as the son of Anantavarman is his own suggestion based on his own interpretation of the expression *saptarasa* in the Mandasa plates mentioning Anantavarman.

2. Dr. Majumdar puts unnecessary emphasis on the discrepancies in the Gaṅga inscriptions without noticing that they are really between two sets of records, viz. earlier and later, of which the former are certainly more reliable.¹ He also forgets that the Aṅka reckoning cannot be regarded as responsible for the mistake (as he imagines) regarding the duration of Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman's reign quoted in the records of his son and successor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Firstly, this reckoning was introduced much later than the days of Rājārāja I and Chōḍagaṅga. Secondly, if Rājārāja I ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. (not in 1070 A.D. as clearly stated in his own records) and actually ruled for 12 years in 1066-78 A.D., his son could not have reduced the period to 8 years only according to the Aṅka method of calculation. Because the period of 12 actual years would be 14 Aṅka years (not 8, for 8 actual years would make only 6 Aṅka years). The suggestion that the Kambakaya plates, assigned to Śaka 1003 (1081 A.D.), may be ascribed to Rājārāja I Dēvēndravarman is unconvincing as there is little possibility of the continuation of his rule after the 17th February 1078 A.D. when his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was anointed.

3. There is absolutely no proof in favour of the suggestion that the Gaṅga kings associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime. Dr. Majumdar's belief that Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D., although his father Chōḍagaṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., is based on the wrong reading (Śaka 1064) in later records. The earlier records give the date of Kāmārṇava's ascension correctly as Śaka 1069, i.e. 1147-48 A.D.²

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to accept Dr. Majumdar's view, based on the unwarranted identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with Rājārāja I, that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 546 and 556 A.D.

Dr. Majumdar's contention that no Gaṅga king named Dēvēndravarman ruled before Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.) and that the assumption of the names Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman respectively by a father and a son is not noticed amongst the Gaṅga rulers of an earlier date is wrong. We have among the Early Eastern Gaṅgas at least four Gaṅga kings named Dēvēndravarman who ruled earlier than Śaka 992 and at least two of them are known to have been the sons of kings named Anantavarman.³

Dr. Majumdar rules out the possibility of the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with the Gaṅga king of that name ruling from Śvētaka⁴ and holds that the former must be the homonymous Gaṅga king known from the Santa-Bommali plates on the ground that

¹ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.

² Ibid., p. 242. The correct reading of the date is found also in the recently discovered Dasgoba plates of Rājārāja III to be published in this journal.

³ See Bhandarkar's List, p. 386.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 65, note 3.

the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant have the introductory part couched in almost the same language. This argument in favour of the identification is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The similarity of the introductory part in the three records is clearly due to the fact that all of them were issued by the Kadamba chiefs of Jayantyāpura. That it is of little value in determining the identification of the overlords of those chiefs can be easily demonstrated. In the first place, the introductory part of these records has nothing strikingly in common with the corresponding part of the records of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarmaṇ, with whom Dr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the kings Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarmaṇ, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant. Secondly, we know that the Kauravas of Karkarēḍi, who originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris and later to the Chandēllas, mention, in the introductory part of their records, their overlords of both the families with the same description. It is worth noting that even certain characteristic Kalachuri epithets, such as *Trikaling-ādhipati* and *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyātā*, are known to have been wrongly applied by the Kauravas to their later overlords, the Chandēlla monarchs.¹

As regards the independent rule of certain Gaṅga kings side by side with the early rulers of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attention may now be drawn to the Polsara (Ganjam District, Orissa) plates² issued in 1147-48 A.D. by Arkēśvara, son of Pramāḍi and grandson of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Guṇārṇava.

Recently I had occasion to examine an inscription³ from Nandigaon near Tekkali (Srikakulam District) and two epigraphs⁴ from Paikpad in the Raigad region of the Ganjam District. These records, written in the Gauḍiya script, do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to dates about the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Tekkali inscription refers itself to the reign of king Dēvēndravarmaṇ and the Paikpad epigraphs to that of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dānārṇava. Now, even if it is possible to identify this Dēvēndravarmaṇ with Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarmaṇ, to place Dānārṇava in the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is very difficult in the present state of our knowledge. It is probable that Dānārṇava of the Paikpad inscriptions was related to Guṇārṇava of the Polsara plates.

Dr. Majumdar's theory offers another serious difficulty. The Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates⁵ of the Gaṅga year 526 were issued during the rule of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantabrahmaṇ, i. e. Anantavarman. This suggests that Gaṅga Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarmaṇ, during whose reign the Santa-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 were issued, was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother named Madhukāmārṇava. As Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarmaṇ, with whom Dr. Majumdar identifies king Dēvēndravarmaṇ of the Santa-Bommali plates, was succeeded by his son and not by a younger brother, it has been suggested that Madhukāmārṇava was just another name of Rājarāja I. It has, however, not been noticed that the introductory part of the Chicacole plates does not resemble that of any of the Gaṅga-Kadamba records referred to above or of the copper-plate grants of Rājarāja I so far discovered. The suggestion that Rājarāja I was also known as Madhukāmārṇava is again

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 226 ff., 228 ff., 231 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63 ff.

³ No. 90 of 1954-55.

⁴ Nos. 224-25 of 1953-54.

⁵ Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 2054.

unsupported by any of the numerous records of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family including his own epigraphs. It is also inexplicable why this inscription, like the charters of the Kadambas (believed by Dr. Majumdar to have been issued during the reign of Rājarāja I) and those of the Early Gaṅgas, is dated in the Gaṅga era while the grants of the Imperial Gaṅgas from the time of Vajrahasta III are all dated in the Śaka era. Another difference between these records dated in the Gaṅga era and the grants of Rājarāja I dated in the Śaka era is that, while the former are written in the Kalinga script, the Gauḍiya alphabet has been employed in the latter.

No. 9—SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL, NAVADVIP

This copper plate was handed over to me on behalf of the Varendra Research Society for decipherment in 1937 by Mr. Rajani Mohan Sanyal of Naogaon in the Rajshahi District. It was originally preserved in an old wooden box for a very long time as an heirloom in the family of Namiruddin Khondkar, a Muhammadan priest of **Sultanpur** in the suburb of Naogaon town. The family had originally been settled in the village of **Kalaikuri**, about 8 miles from Naogaon town, in the Adamdighi Police Station of the Bogra District, whence Namiruddin's grandfather came over to Sultanpur about a century ago, having inherited the ancestral property of his maternal grandfather. It cannot now be definitely ascertained if this plate had been brought to Sultanpur among other goods and chattels which he obtained by inheritance. The provenance of the plate cannot thus be exactly determined.¹

The inscription was published by Dr. D. C. Sircar first in an article in the Bengali monthly journal *Vaṅgaśrī*, Vaisākha, 1350 B. S., and then in English in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, March, 1943. He names the record after Kalaikuri. Dr. Sircar, however, had no opportunity of examining the original plate but had to depend on unsatisfactory impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters while some of them were read by him wrongly.

This is a single plate, rectangular in shape, with an oval projection ($3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter) at the top, which shows a triangular hole in the middle. Evidently this was meant to fix the seal, which is now missing. It measures $9\frac{1}{2}$ " \times $5\frac{3}{8}$ " and weighs 52 *tolas*. The writing is well executed and consists of 34 lines, of which sixteen are engraved on the obverse and eighteen on the reverse. Owing to corrosion, from which the plate has suffered especially on the right hand side, many letters on both faces of the plate are either obscure or have completely disappeared. The size of the letters varies from $\frac{3}{8}$ " to $\frac{1}{8}$ ".

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and resemble closely those used in the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription² of the Gupta year 113 and the Baigram copper-plate inscription³ of the Gupta year 128. As in the Baigram, Dhanaidaha, Damodarpur⁴ and Paharpur⁵ copper plates, medial *ā* is sometimes indicated by a hook like stroke at the lower end of the letter to the right; cf. *Brāhmaṇ-ādīn* (line 2), °*bhōgāy-ā*° (line 18), *kulāvāpāh*, *khāta* and *parikhā* (line 21). The form of the medial *u* in *Rudra* (line 3) and *Prabhu*⁶ (line 6) and that of the medial *ū* in *Pūrṇa* (line 1) and *Kumārabhūti* (line 5) may be noted. The sign of *b* may be seen in *Brāhmaṇ-ādīn* (line 2), etc. The rare letter *ḍh* is used in *Lōḍhaka* (line 11). The forms of the conjuncts *ksh*, *ñh*, *hm*, *ṭṭ*, *ṛṭ*, *ñk*, and *lm* may be observed in *Lakshmaṇa* (line 3), *siṅha* (line 5), *Brahma* and *bhaṭṭa* (line 7), *Uṇṭa* (line 8), *Kaṅkuṭi* (line 9) and *Gulma* (line 22) respectively. Final *m* is seen as joined with the preceding letter slightly below the top line in

¹ [Under the circumstances, the inscription may probably be called 'the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Plate'.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345-48.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 78-83.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.

⁶ [See below, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]

samvat (line 34) and so is final *t* in the same word and in *vasēt* in line 31. The numerical signs for 100, 20 and 1¹ are used in line 34 and those for 5 and 2 in lines 26 and 27 respectively.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As in the Damodarpur and Baigram plates, the suffix *ka* is occasionally used, as in *nirdīśhṭaka* (lines 16 and 24) and *upasañharitaka* (line 20). Errors of the engraver may be noted in *Yaśarāma* (line 4) and *rakshya* (line 33). The word *kulyavāpa* is used both in the masculine (line 15) and in the neuter (line 27).

As regards **orthography**, the following may be noted. The letter *b* is occasionally used for *v* as in *viditām-bō* (line 2), *kulyabāpa* (lines 13, 15, 16, etc.), *sambyarahārīṇō* (lines 28-29) and *para-dattām-bā* (line 30). The letter *k* is not doubled before *y* in *dīnārikya* (lines 13 and 19) as in the Damodarpur and Baigram plates, but is occasionally doubled before *r*, as in *Śukkra* (line 9), *vik-krayō* (line 19; cf., however, line 13). The letter *t* is not doubled before *r* as in the Baigram plate, while consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *śarmma* (line 8), *Sarppa* (line 9), *Śarvva* (line 10), *nirdīshṭaka* (line 16), *svarggē* (line 31). Final *m* is retained before *v* in *samvat* (line 34). The guttural nasal takes the place of the *anusvāra* before *h*, in *siñha* (line 4) and *upa-sañharitaka* (line 20).

The document is **dated the first day of Vaiśākha of the year 121²**, which undoubtedly refers to the **Gupta era**. As such, it would fall in April, 440 A. D. The name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned; but there is no doubt that the record belongs to the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, whose known dates range from the Gupta year 113 to 136. The date of the present record falls between that of the Dhanāidaha plate of 113 G. E. and that of the Damodarpur plates of 124 G. E. Dr. Sircar reads the date of the record under study as "the first (?) day of Vaiśākha of the year 120"³, and further observes, "The scratches in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure 1 could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are."⁴

Like other copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period, so far recovered from North Bengal, the inscription relates to the grant, made by the state, of unoccupied uncultivated lands, yielding no revenue, with the object of creating an endowment in perpetuity. The document records that the artisan Bhīma, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradāsa, Dēvadatta, Lakshmaṇa, Kānti-dēva, Sambhudatta and Kṛṣṇadāsa, and the record-keepers Simhanandin and Yaśōdāman, for increasing the religious merit of their parents, presented an application to Achyutadāsa, who was the king's officer (*Āyuktaka*) in charge of the Śrīngavēra *vithī*, and also to the local *adhikaraṇa* (board of administration) and the leading men and house-holders of the *vithī*, for the grant of nine *kulyavāpas* of uncultivated land, yielding no revenue, distributed in the villages of Hastīśirsha, Vibhitakī, Gulmagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā, all within the area of Gōhālī, at the prevalent local rate of two *dināras* for each *kulyavāpa*, for the purpose of endowing them in perpetuity in favour of the Brāhmaṇas Dēvalhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsēnadatta, who belonged to Puṇḍra-varddhana and were students of the Vājasaneyā school and were versed in the four Vēdas, to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The representation was referred to the record-keepers Simhanandin and Yaśōdāman for investigation and report. They verified the statements made in the application as regards the unoccupied and uncultivated lands and also the local rate quoted for their sale. Having ascertained that there was no objection to the proposal, they recommended the grant, whereupon the sale was finally sanctioned. Having received payment of the sale price, nine *kulyavāpas* of land in the said localities were conveyed to the grantees—five *kulyavāpas*

¹ [See below.—Ed.]

² [See below, p. 66, note 3.—Ed.]

³ *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 26 f.n. [For Mr. Sanyal's view referred to here, see B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, p. xii, note. For the reading of the date, see below, p. 66, note 3. Ed.]

to Dēvabhāṭṭa and two each to Amaradatta and Mahāsēnadatta. Of the nine *kulyavāpas*, one was enclosed by an ancient moat, with the Vātā river on the north and the borders of Gulmagandhikā on the west, two *drōṇavāpas* were in Gulmagandhikā, in its east, to the west of the first pathway, and the remaining seven *kulyavāpas* and six *drōṇavāpas* were in Tāpasapōttaka and Dayitāpōttaka in the *prāvēśya*¹ of Hastīśirsha and in Chitravātāṅgara in the *prāvēśya* of Vibhītaka. The transaction was then notified by the king's officer and the local *adhikaraṇa*, from the headquarters of the *vithi* at Pūrṇakauśikā, to the Brāhmaṇas and other residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated, for the preservation of the endowment in perpetuity by themselves as well as by future villagers and officers of government.

It has to be noted that the above application was addressed not only to the king's officer and the local *adhikaraṇa* but also to the leading people of the *vithi*. It has thus been questioned whether village lands in Bengal during the period under review belonged to the people or to the State or to both jointly, subject to the respective interests of each.² It is, however, well known that state ownership of land was an admitted principle of ancient Indian public law.³ The evidence of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* leaves little room for doubt that in the Mauryan land revenue system the entire land belonged to the king.⁴ Even in the Gupta period it is now definitely known that proceeds from the sale of unsettled lands in Bengal belonged to the king.⁵

Besides, it is seen from the seal legends⁶ that these charters for the sale and grant of lands for the creation of permanent endowments were always issued solely by the local *adhikaraṇa*, although the application for the purpose might have been addressed to the leading people of the locality in addition to the head of the district and the local *adhikaraṇa*.⁷ It is also noteworthy that such a mode of address was adopted only in a few instances. In most cases these applications were addressed only to the head of the district and the local *adhikaraṇa*. Even the head of the district (*vishaya-pati*) had to apply to the local *adhikaraṇa* for grant of village lands.⁸ There is thus little doubt that the disposal of village lands really lay with the local *adhikaraṇa*.

Adhishthāna means a 'city'. *Adhishthān-ādikaraṇa* may therefore be interpreted as a 'city office', which was meant for the administration of civil affairs of the city. It is well known that the civil administration of the city of Pāṭaliputra under the rule of the Mauryas was entrusted to a municipal commission which consisted of six boards.⁹ The commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning public welfare, while the departmental functions of the six boards or committees were: (1) industrial arts, (2) care of foreigners, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) retail trade and barter, (5) supervision of manufactures and their sale and (6) collection of the tithe on the price of goods sold. Even under the Maurya administration, such a comprehensive machinery, required for the administration of the complex affairs of the extensive capital city, might not have been needed in the case of smaller towns.

In the Gupta period, the administration of the city of Kōṣṭivarsha was entrusted to one committee only under the control of the head of the district.¹⁰ This committee, called the *adhishthān-*

¹ [For the meaning of this word, see *prāvēśa* known from other records in expressions like *Siviḍi-prāvēśa-Kandalivāḍagrāma* interpreted as 'Kandalivāḍa-grāma having its rent assessed along with that of Siviḍi'. Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]

² Cf. R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, *Orientalia*, Part 2, pp. 486 ff.; U. N. Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 204 ff.

³ U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, pp. 167 ff.

⁴ V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 89 ff.

⁵ U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 208; cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 63; Vol. XXI, p. 81.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, p. 142; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 174 ff.

⁷ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 203 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 54.

⁹ V. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

ādhikaraṇa in the inscriptions, was composed of four members, who, besides having charge of departmental duties, worked also in a collective capacity. These members were the leading banker of the town (*nagara-śrēṣṭhīn*), the chief registrar (*prathama-kāyastha*), and the heads of the associations of artisans (*prathama-kulika*) and traders (*sārthavāha*).¹ The *prathama-kulika* probably supervised affairs relating to industrial arts. The *sārthavāha* was concerned apparently with the regulation of trades, and the *prathama-kāyastha* with all registration works regarding disposal of immovable property, births, deaths, foreigners, etc. It is difficult to ascertain exactly in which way the *nagara-śrēṣṭhīn* was useful to the committee. With his expert knowledge of commodities, his services might have been required in the *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* for supervision of manufactures and collection of duties.² Under the Gupta system, therefore, the departmental functions of the committee for the administration of civil affairs of a city seem to have been arranged as follows: (1) manufactures and collection of duties, (2) industrial arts, (3) trade, and (4) registration.

Regarding the functions of the Maurya commission, it is stated that the boards in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters of public interest such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repairs, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours and temples.³ The members of the Gupta *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* also might have similar departmental and collective functions. At least in the matter of sale and grant of lands it is seen that the committee gave its sanction as a collective body.⁴

As regards the extent of authority of the *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*, it was confined not merely to the limits of the city, but extended also to suburban areas. Thus, in the Paharpur copper-plate inscription, a representation is stated to have been laid before the *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* for the grant of lands in certain rural areas belonging to the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala* of the Dakṣiṇāṃśaka *vīṭhi*.⁵ Similar disposals of land are referred to also in the Damodarpur inscriptions.⁶

The constitution of a *vishay-ādhikaraṇa*, meant for the transaction of affairs of a *vishaya*, seems to have been different from that of the *adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*. It had only a senior member (*jyēṣṭh-ādhikaraṇika*)⁷ at the head, who was sometimes the senior registrar (*jyēṣṭha-kāyastha*).⁸ As the affairs of this *ādhikaraṇa* were probably less complex, no mention is made of a *śrēṣṭhīn*, *kulika* or *sārthavāha* as its member. Disposal of village lands was made by this *ādhikaraṇa* evidently with the approval of the head of the district.⁹ Details are not available about the constitution of the *vīṭhi-ādhikaraṇa*. Its functions were probably similar to those of the *vishay-ādhikaraṇa* and its jurisdiction was confined to a *vīṭhi*.

Another *ādhikaraṇa* referred to in inscriptions is the *aśṭakul-ādhikaraṇa*. This has been explained as an officer having supervising authority over eight *kulas*, the word *kula* being taken to mean either a family or as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by 6 bulls.¹⁰ The appointment of rural officers each for supervision of eight families or a small area of

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

² Cf. U. N. Ghosal, op. cit., pp. 203 ff. [The board of administration seems to have worked like a Pañchāyat, the *Nagaraśrēṣṭhīn* being its chairman. The *Nagarśeṭh* (i.e. *Nagaraśrēṣṭhīn*) heading the Pañchāyat is known from the history of Rajasthan. See *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. VI, pp. 81 ff.—Ed.]

³ V. A. Smith, loc. cit.; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877, pp. 86 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 76.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 200, 204.

⁹ But see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 54-55.

¹⁰ Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 137 f.n. 2.

land in each village does not seem to be a plausible conjecture. Even if such a necessity existed in villages, the purpose might well have been served by the *mahattaras*. Moreover, if it really signifies a village officer, whether for the supervision of different plots of agricultural lands or for the supervision of households, the number of such officers in each village must have been more than one. In the Dhanaidaha plate, the word is used as a neuter singular and seems to signify a corporate body invested with definite administrative powers rather than individual officers. *Grām-aṣṭakul-ādīhikaraṇa* thus appears to be a board composed of eight *kulas* for the administration of village affairs. Dr. Sircar interprets the expression as a 'Village Board' representing eight or more families.¹ The compound *mahattar-ādy-aṣṭa-kul-ādīhikaraṇa* in the Damodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 3² indicates that at least one of the constituents, of which the *aṣṭa-kul-ādīhikaraṇa* was composed, was represented by the *mahattaras*. The term *kula* in the compound *aṣṭakul-ādīhikaraṇa* should thus be better interpreted as a 'community'.³ The other constituents of the *aṣṭakul-ādīhikaraṇa* must have represented other village communities, although it is not possible to ascertain at present what they exactly were.

In the said Damodarpur inscription, a notification is addressed by the *aṣṭakul-ādīhikaraṇa* and other people of Palāśavṛindaka to the people of Chandraḡrāma for the sale and grant of a plot of land. It seems that the administration of the affairs of all these villages remained with the same *aṣṭakul-ādīhikaraṇa* which was located at Palāśavṛindaka. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these *adhikaraṇas* were appointed over convenient groups of neighbouring villages for transaction of their affairs somewhat like the Union Boards of the present day.

The different classes of *adhikaraṇa* as discussed above were instituted in accordance with the requirements of respective territorial divisions. The largest territorial division under the Gupta administration was *bhukti* which was divided into a number of *vishayas*.⁴ A *vithi* seems to have been a sub-division of a *vishaya*⁵ and consisted of a number of *maṇḍalas* or circles⁶ or groups of villages.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the procedure for the disposal of land consisted of the following: (1) presentation of the application for the purchase and grant of land by the intending purchaser to the local officer of the king, the local *adhikaraṇa* and the people of the locality; (2) verification of the statements made in the application by the record-keepers; (3) sanction of the sale and the grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people; (4) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price; (5) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration and the local *adhikaraṇa* to the residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situate and to the officers of Government who were concerned with the affairs for their information and guidance.

It is difficult to form an accurate idea about the area of land which was conveyed by the document under review. Various attempts have been made to fix the area of a *kulyavāpa*. It is now generally accepted that it denotes an area of land on which one *kulya* of grain could be sown. One *kulya* of grain has been interpreted by Dr. Bhattasali to be as much as can be contained

¹ *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

³ For *kula* used in this sense, cf. also R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 231. [The expression *Mahattar-ādi* may mean that the *Mahattara* or village-headman was the chairman of the board.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 318; N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 61.

in a winnowing basket.¹ Dr. Sircar invites attention to the following measures of paddy accepted as the basis of their calculation by the *Smṛiti* authorities of the Bengal school :

8 mushtis (handfulls of grain)	1 kuñchi
8 kuñchis	1 pushkala
8 pushkalas	1 āḍhaka
4 āḍhakas	1 drōṇa
8 drōṇas	1 kulya

"A *drōṇa* of paddy", he observes "is equal in the modern measure to 1 md. 24 srs. or 2 mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy was no doubt called a *kulyavāpa* (cf. *Amarakōsha*, Vaiśya 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 md. of paddy for 10 *bighās*, seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy would require between 125 and 160 *bighās*. A *kulyavāpa* was thus originally not less than 125 *bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one *kulyavāpa* would be from 38 to 48 *bighās* as the rate is 1 md. of paddy seeds for 3 *bighās*."²

One *mushti* or handful of paddy will weigh about $7\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*. One *kulya* of paddy will thus amount to about 10 mds. 8 srs. In North Bengal, half a maund of paddy seeds is usually required for sowing a *bighā* of land, and so, on this assumption, a *kulyavāpa* of land appears to be no less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ *bighās*. On the contrary, Dr. Bhattasali³ points out that the name *kulyavāpa* survives in the form of *kulavāya*, which is the name of the local standard land measure in the Sylhet District, being equivalent to 14 *bighās* only. In the opinion of Pargiter the area was far less, being only a little larger than an acre.⁴

Whatever might be the process by which the area of land in a *kulyavāpa* was originally determined, it must have been definitely fixed, although it could have varied in different localities according to the prevalent custom. This area is frequently referred to in inscriptions as having been measured by reeds. In some localities its dimensions are referred to as being measured by 8×9 reeds,⁵ while in other localities by 6×6 reeds. The reeds consisted of a number of cubits, which also varied according to the lengths of the hand of individuals in different localities.⁷ Even the number of cubits in a reed might have varied in different localities. The quantity of land in a *kulyavāpa* was therefore not the same everywhere.

As regards the situation of the land, Dr. Sircar observes: "The *Vātānadi* of the inscription may be the present *Bārānai* flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rajshahi District. The name of the *Śrīṅavēra vīthī* seems to be preserved in that of the modern *Siṅgrā* Police Station in the *Natore* Subdivision of the same District, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the *Bārānai* and the *Ātrai*. . . . the other localities mentioned in the *Kalaikuri* inscription . . . may be searched for about the southern bank of the *Bārānai*."⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 79, f.n. 2. [See below.—Ed.]

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 501. [See *Bhāratakaumudī*, Part II, Allahabad, 1947, pp. 943 ff.—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 f.n. 2; also *Bhāratavarsha*, 1349 B. S., Vol. XXX, pt. 1, p. 384. [For the later modifications of *kulyavāpa* and *dronavāpa*, see *Bhāratakaumudī*, loc. cit. The area of a *kulyavāpa* as suggested by Pargiter is impossible in view of the price quoted and the high purchasing power of a Gupta gold coin.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 215-16.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, p. 63.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 215-16.

⁸ *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 20.

It will, however, be noted in this connection that the donation referred to in the inscription was made in favour of Brāhmaṇas who belonged to Puṇḍravarddhana, the site of which has now been definitely identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.¹ It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of the grant as near the residence of the donees as possible.² The lands conveyed by the document lay in Hastīśirṣa, Vibhītākī, Dhānyapāṭalikā and Gulmagandhikā, all belonging to the Gōhālī *maṇḍala* of the Śṛṅgavēra *vithī*. There is a place called Siṅgāhār about 20 miles to the south-west of Mahāsthān. *Siṅgāhār* might be a corruption of *Śṛṅgavēra*. About 7 miles to the east of Siṅgāhār is a village called Gōhālī. About a couple of miles to the north of Siṅgāhār is a village called Beheegaon, which might be a corruption of Vibhītākī. About 4 miles to the north-east of Beheegaon is a village called Hātsarā which might be the old Hastīśirṣa. The village of Dhānyapāṭalikā appears to have stood on the bank of the Vāṭā. The only river in the locality is a small stream called Nāgar, an offtake of the Karatōyā. About 3 miles to the north of Hātsarā is a village called Dhānpūjā on the Nāgar river. Is it the modern representative of Dhānyapāṭalikā? I am unable to locate Gulmagandhikā.

TEXT³

Obverse

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śṛṅgavēra-vaithēya-Pūrṇnak[au]śīkāyāḥ Āyuktak[ō]=chyutadāsō=dhikaraṇaṁ
=cha Hastīśirṣhē [Vibhītak]yām [Gu]lma[gandhi]-
- 2 kāyām Dhānyapāṭalikāyām sa-Gōhālīshu⁴ Brāhmaṇ-ādīn=grāma-kuṭumbi[naḥ k]u-
śalam=anuvarya bōdhyanti [||*] [vi]ditam=bō(tam vō)
- 3 bhavishyati⁵ yathā iha-vithī-Kulika-Bhīma-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradāsa-Dēvadatta-
Lakshmaṇa-Kā[ntidē]va-Sāmbhudatta-Kṛishṇa-
- 4 dāsa-Pustapāla-Siṅha(Siṃha)nandi-Yaśōdāmabhiḥ Vithī-mahattara-Kumāradēva-Gaṇḍa-Pra-
jāpati-Uma-Yaśārāma⁶ śarmma-Jyēsthā-
- 5 dāma⁷-Svāmichandra-Harisiṅha(siṃha)-kuṭumbi-Yaśōvishṇu-Kumāravishṇu-Kumārabhava-
Kumārabhūti-Kumāra-Ya[sōgu]pta-Vailina[nḍi ?⁸]-
- 6 Śivakuṇḍa-Vasuśiv-Āparaśiva-Dāmarudra-Prabhumitra⁹-Kṛishṇamitra-Maghaśarmma¹⁰-
Īśvarachandra-Rudra-Bhavanā[tha].¹¹

¹ See above, Vol. XXI, p. 88.

² [There are numerous instances to prove this assumption to be definitely wrong. There can moreover hardly be any doubt about the identification of *Vāṭā-nadī* with the present *Bārānat*.—Ed.]

³ From the original plate.

⁴ [Possibly *Saṅgōhālīshu* or *Sagōhālīshu*.—Ed.]

⁵ [Better *bhavatu*.—Ed.]

⁶ Read *Yaśōrāma*. [Better *Umayaśō-Rāmaśarma*.—Ed.]

⁷ [The reading is *śō(dā)ma*.—Ed.]

⁸ [The *akshara* does not look like *nḍi*.—Ed.]

⁹ [The reading is *Prabha*^o; cf. *Prabhuchandra* in line 3 and *Bhavadatta* in line 8.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The rules of *sandhi*, which is compulsory in a compound, have not been observed here.—Ed.]

¹¹ [The reading seems to be *Rudrabhava-Svāmī[dēva]*.—Ed.]

- 7 Śrinātha-Hariśarmma-Guptaśarmma-Suśarmma-Hari¹-Alātasvāmi-Brahmasvāmi-Mahāsēna-bhaṭṭa-Shashṭhīrā[ma]²-Gu...[śa]-
- 8 rmma¹-Uṇṭaśarmma-Kṛishṇadatta-Nandadāma-Bhavadatta¹-Ahiśarmma-Sōmavishṇu-Lakshmaṇaśar[mma].....Dhaivvaka³-Kshēmaśarmma-Śu-
- 9 kkrasarmma-Sa[rppa]pālita-Kaṅkuṭi-Viśvaśaṅkara⁴-Jayasvāmi-Kaivarttaśarmma-Himaśarmma-Pu[ra]ndara-[Ja]yavishṇu¹-Uma.....
- 10 Siṅha(Siṅha)tta⁵-Bōnda-Nārāyana(ṇa)dāsa-Viranāga-Rājyanāga-Guha-Mahi-Bhavanātha-Guhavishṇu-Śarvva-Ya[śō]vishṇu-Taṅka⁶-Kuladāma va-
- 11 Śrīguhavishṇu⁷-Rāmasvāmi-Kāmanakuṇḍa-Ratibhadra⁸-Achyutabhadra-Lōḍhaka-Prabhu⁹-kirtti-Jayada[ra]¹⁰-Kā¹¹....⁸Achyuta-Naradēva-Bhava-
- 12 Bhavarakshita-Pichchakuṇḍa-Pravarakuṇḍa-Śarvvaḍāsa-Gōpāla-purōgāḥ vayanī cha vijñāpitāḥ iha-vithyām=apratikara-khila-kshētra-
- 13 sya śasvat-kāl-ōpabhōgāy=ākshaya-nīvyā dvi-dinārikya-khila-kshētra-kulyabā(vā)pa-vikraya-maryādayā ichchhēmahi¹² prati
- 14 prati mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-ābhivridhdhayē Paundravarddhanaka-chāturvvedya¹³-Vajēsanēya¹⁴-charaṇ-ābhyanāra-Brāhmaṇa-Dēva-
- 15 bhaṭṭa⁸-Amaradatta-Mahāsēnadattānām pañcha-mahāyājña-pravarttanāya nava-kulyabā(vā)pān=kṛtvā dātum(tum) ēbhīr=ēv=ōpa-
- 16 ri¹⁵-nirdishṭaka-grāmēshu khila-kshetrāṇi vidyantē tad=arhath=āsmattaḥ ashtādaśa-dinārān=grihit[v]ā ētān=navakulyabā(vā)[pā]-

Reverse

- 17 ny=¹⁶anumōḍay[i]tu[m] yataḥ ēshā[m] Kulika-Bhīm-ādīnām vijñāpyam=upalabhya Pustapāla-Siṅha(Siṅha)nandi-Yaśō[dāmnōś=ch=ā]-

¹ [The rules of *sandhi* which is compulsory in a compound have not been observed here.—Ed.]

² [The reading of the name is doubtful.—Ed.]

³ [The reading seems to be *Kānti-Dhōvōka*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Better *Viśva-Śaṅkara*.—Ed.]

⁵ [The name intended may be *Siṃhadatta*.—Ed.]

⁶ [The reading is *Takka*.—Ed.]

⁷ [The name seems to be *Guhavishṇu*, the previous name ending in *śrī*.—Ed.]

⁸ [The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.—Ed.]

⁹ [The reading is *Prabha*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The reading seems to be *ōdatta*.—Ed.]

¹¹ [The reading seems to be *Kāluka*.—Ed.]

¹² [The word *ichchhāmāḥ* appears to suit the context.—Ed.]

¹³ [The reading is *chāturvvedya*.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [The reading seems to be *vājisanēya* which is a mistake for *vājisanēya*.—Ed.]

¹⁵ [Read *ēshā-ēv=ōpari*.—Ed.]

¹⁶ [Read *ōvāpān=anu*.—Ed.]

18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28
 30
 32
 34

18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28
 30
 32

- 18 vadhāraṇay=āvadhṛitō¹sty=ayam=iha-vithyām=apratikara-khila-kshētrasya śāsvat-kāl-
ōpabhōgāy=ākshayanivṛyā dvi-dinā-
- 19 rikya-kulyabā(vā)pa-vikkṛayō=nupittas=tad=diyatām n=āsti virōdhaḥ kaśchid=ity=ava-
sthāpya Kulika-Bhīm-ādibhyō aṣṭādaśa²-
- 20 dinārān=upasaṇha(samha)ritakān=āyikṛitya **Hastisīrsha-Vibhīṭakyām³ Dhānyapāṭa-
likā-[Gulma]gandhikā-grāmēshu**
- 21 dyām dakṣiṇ-ōddēśēshu aṣṭau kulyabā(vā)pāḥ **Dhānyapāṭalikā-grāmasya** paśchim-
ōrtar-ōddēśē [ā]dyakhāta-parikhā-vēshṭita-
- 22 m=uttarēṇa **Vāṭā-nadī[r̥m]** paśchimēna **Gulmagandhikā-grāma-sīmānam=iti** kulyabāpam=
ēkō⁴ Gulmā(lma)gandhikāyām pūrvv-
- 23 ṇ=ādyapathaḥ paśchima-pradēśē Drōṇabā(vā)pa-dvayaṁ **Hastisīrsha-prāvēśya-Tāpasa.
[pōtta]kē Dayitāpōttakē** cha **Vi-**
- 24 **bhīṭaka-prāvēśya-Chitravātāṅgarē** yāva[t*]⁵ kulyabā(vā)pāḥ sapta Drōṇabā(vā)pāḥ shat
ēshu yath=ōpari-nirddiṣṭaka-grāma-pra-
- 25 dēśēshv=ēśhām Kulika-Bhīma-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradās-ādīnām mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-
ābhivṛiddhayē Brāhmaṇa-
- 26 Dēvabhaṭṭasya kulyabā(vā)pāḥ pañcha ku 5 Amaradattasya kulyabā(vā)pa-dvayaṁ
Mahāsēnadattasya kulyabā(vā)[pa-dvayaṁ]
- 27 ku 2 ēśhām trayāṇām pañcha-mahāyājña-pravarttanāya nava-kulyabā(vā)pāni pradattāni⁶
[*] tad=yushmākam t-mi-
- 28 ti⁷ likhyatē cha samupasthita-kālam=apy=anyē⁸ Viśhayapatayaḥ Āyuktakāḥ kuṭumbinō
dhikaraṇikā vā sambya(samivya)va-
- 29 hāriṇō bhaviṣyanti tair=api bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avēkshya akshaya-nīvy=anupālaniyā [*]
Uktañ=cha Mahābhāratē bhagava-
- 30 tā Vyāsēna [*] Sva-dattām paradattām=bā(ttām vā) yō harē[ta] vasundharām(rām)
[*] sa viśhṭhāyām krimir=bhūtvā pi[tribhiḥ] saha pa[chyatē] [*] Shashtim(shṭi)-
varsha-sahasrā[ṇi]
- 31 svarggē vasati bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānuma[ntā] cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [*]
Kṛiśāya kṛiśa-vṛittāya vṛitti-kṣhīṇāya sida[tē] [*] bhūmim

¹ [The reading is *dhrītā(tō)*.—Ed.]

² Read *°dibhyō=shṭādaśa* or *°dibhyah aṣṭādaśa*.

³ Read *Vibhīṭakī*.^o

⁴ Read *kulyavāpam=ēkam*. [Read *vēshṭitam=u(ta u)ttarēṇa Vāṭānādī grama-sīmānam=iti (sīm=eti)*
kulyabā(vā)pam=ē- (pa ē)kē.—Ed.]

⁵ [The letters read *yāva* appear to be written on an erasure and are doubtful.—Ed.]

⁶ [Read *kulyavāpāḥ pradattāḥ*.—Ed.]

⁷ [The reading appears to be *nivēdyati(tē)*.—Ed.]

⁸ [The reading may be *kālam yē=apy=anyē*.—Ed.]

2 **v**ṛittikarīn=datvā s[ukh]ī bhavati kāmada[h] [*] Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā bhuḡyatē cha punaḥ puna[h] .[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=[tasya ta]sya

33 **tadā phalaṁ**(lam ||) Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō yatnād=rakshya(ksha) Yudhiṣṭhira [*] Mahīm=mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēy=ōnupā[la]nam [i]i[ti]¹ [*]

34 **Samvvat² 100 20 1³ Vaiśākha-di 1** [*]

¹ [The reading seems to be *pālanam=iti* || Ed.]

² Read *saṁvat*.

³ This numeral is left out in Sircar's transcript. The sign is distinct in the original. [The reading *१* seems be supported neither by the original nor by the impressions.—Ed.]

No. 10—UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI

One day about the middle of the year 1955, Mr. R. M. Nath, wellknown for his enthusiasm in the discovery and study of antiquities in Assam, when he was Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Gauhati, went to see Swami Sivanandaji of the Umāchala Āsrama on the north-eastern slope of the Kāmākhyā or Nilāchal hill near Gauhati. This part of the hill is known as the **Umāchal** hill. The Swamiji informed Mr. Nath that, due to the uprooting of a very old banyan tree several years back, a huge rock bearing an inscription in very bold characters had been exposed to view near his Āsrama. The information excited the curiosity of Mr. Nath who at once examined the inscription which was found to be in a perfectly satisfactory state of preservation. The rock bearing the inscription was found to measure about 10 feet in height and 12 feet in breadth and to lie about 300 feet above the level of the river Brahmaputra. Next day Mr. Nath again visited the Umāchala Āsrama and took photographs of the epigraph as well as its impressions on blotting paper. A gentleman named L. N. Das took considerable interest in the work. The impressions and photographs of the inscription were shown to the officers of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Later a photograph and an impression of the inscription were also sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. The world of scholars is thankful to Swami Sivananda, Mr. R. M. Nath and Mr. L. N. Das for the discovery of this interesting epigraph.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 12" to 15" by 10" to 11". The first line is 12" in length and the last 15". The characters belong to the Eastern variety of the Gupta Alphabet assignable to a period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. The letters *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* are of the Eastern Gupta type. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to a date near about that of the Barganga inscription¹ of Bhūti-varman (circa 518-42 A.D.), with which it has very close resemblance in respect both of palaeography and style. The form of the letter *y* in the passage *āyushkāmaṁ vishay-ā°* in line 3 of the Barganga inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in °*svāmināya* in line 4 of our record. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the representation of the mute *m* in *kṛitam* in line 2 and of *b* by the sign for *v* in *Valabhadra* (line 3). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is a grammatical error in the passage *bhagavataḥ Balabhadrasvāmināya* in lines 3-4, the intended reading apparently being either *bhagavataḥ Balabhadrasvāmināḥ* or *bhagavatē Balabhadrasvāminē*. It is clear that, for °*svāmināya*, Sanskrit °*svāminē* was the intended reading, although the word *bhagavataḥ* suggests that the scribe had originally °*svāmināḥ* in mind. Of orthographical interest are the retention of the mute *m* before *bh* in the passage *kṛitam bhagavataḥ* (lines 2-3), the avoidance of *sandhi* in the passage *bhagavataḥ Balabhadra°* (line 3) and the change of the final *m* into *anusvāra* in *guhaṁ* (line 4) which is the concluding word of the record. The use of the word *guha* in the neuter, probably in the sense of Sanskrit *guhā*, 'cave', is of lexical interest.²

The inscription was meant to serve the purpose of a label of an artificial cave (*guhā*) or cave-temple constructed by *Mahārājādhirāja Surēndravarmān* for *Bhagavat Balabhadrasvāmin*.

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff. and Plate.

² The word *guha*, as used in the epigraph, does not appear to be derived from Sanskrit *griha* under the influence of local pronunciation.

The epigraph is small ; but its contents have some importance in view of the fact that *Mahārājā-dhirāja* Surēndravarmaṇ, known from this record to have held sway over the heart of the Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa country during the age of the Imperial Guptas, is not known from any other source, while the deity *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin is not mentioned in any epigraphic record of the Gupta period so far known. The construction of artificial caves and the installation of deities therein are wellknown to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.¹ But the present inscription supplies the only instance of the kind for Assam. The record also appears to be the earliest so far discovered in that State.

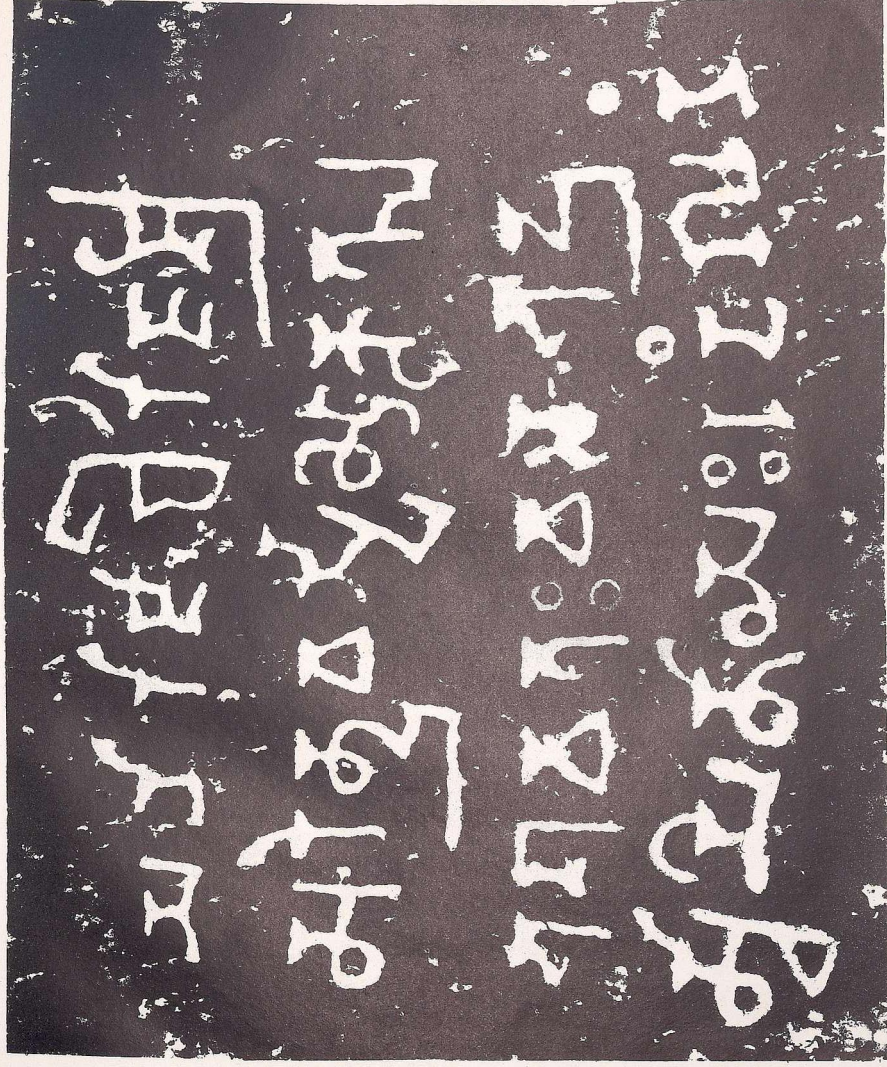
We know that, from the middle of the fourth till the middle of the seventh century, Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa was under the rule of kings of a family called Bhauma or Nāraka and rarely also Varman. This dynasty was founded by Pushyavarman who seems to have flourished in *circa* 350-74 A.D. His successors were his son Samudravarmaṇ (c. 374-98 A.D.), grandson Balavarman (c. 398-422 A.D.), great-grandson Kalyāṇavarman (c. 422-46 A.D.) and great-great-grandson Gaṇapati-varman (c. 446-70 A.D.). Gaṇapati-varman's successor was Mahēndravarmaṇ (c. 470-94 A.D.) whose son Nārāyaṇavarman (c. 494-518 A.D.) and grandson Bhūtivarman or Mahābhūtavarman (c. 518-42 A.D.) were both performers of the horse-sacrifice. The Barganga inscription, which, as already noticed, seems to be slightly later than the record under review, was incised during the reign of the said Bhūtivarman. It therefore appears that the Umāchal rock inscription was engraved during the reign of one of the said rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty. It has to be remembered that the Umāchal hill lies within a short distance from Gauhati where (or, in the vicinity of which) the capital of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings is believed to have been situated.² The question is therefore whether Surēndravarmaṇ of the present record was identical with one of the above kings or he was a usurper. In the latter case, we have to determine whether he was a scion of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty or belonged to a different family. None of these questions can be settled satisfactorily in the present state of insufficient information. Since, however, in ancient India kings often enjoyed a number of different names, it may not be unreasonable to identify Surēndravarmaṇ of our inscription with one of the known rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the fifth century. Since again, in ancient India, kings were sometimes mentioned by synonyms of their names, Surēndravarmaṇ may be tentatively identified with Mahēndravarmaṇ of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty who flourished in c. 470-94 A.D. The names *Surēndra* and *Mahēndra* both indicate Indra, the lord of the gods.

As regards *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin, for whom king *Surēndravarmaṇ* is stated in the record to have built an artificial cave or cave-temple, it may be argued that he was a saint held by the monarch in special esteem. It is, however, more likely that *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin of the present inscription is no other than the wellknown Vaishnavite deity variously called Balabhadra, Baladēva, Balarāma, Saṅkarshaṇa, etc. He was one of the five deified heroes of the Yādava-Sātvata-Viṣṇu clan, the others being Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa), Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba. Of these, Vāsudēva, Balabhadra-Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be worshipped as the four *Vyūhas* by the followers of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcharātra form of early Vaishnavism, although Balabhadra-Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were the more respected among the four. There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadra in the period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The inscriptions of the Gupta age do not refer to his independent worship although the *Vyūha* doctrine finds a prominent place in the Pāñcharātra *Samhitās*, some of which were composed between the fourth and eighth centuries. The *Amarakōsha*, composed during this period, speaks of all the four *Vyūhas*.

¹Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 221ff., 223 ff., 226 ff.

²Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanaśilā*, intro., pp. 8, 22 ; above, Vol. XXX p. 292.

UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN



2

4

2

4

A modified form of the *Vyūha* doctrine is also noticed in the joint worship of Balabhadra, Kṛishṇa and Ekānariṣā (or, Subhadrā), their combined image being referred to by Varāhamihira in the sixth century A.D. Gradually Balabhadra came to be regarded as one of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu.¹ The importance of the Umāchal rock inscription therefore lies in the fact that it testifies to the independent worship of Balabhadra in Assam about the fifth century A.D. Thus it appears that, even though the independent worship of this Vaishnavite deity was no longer popular, it did not die out in the Gupta age.

TEXT²

- 1 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-
- 2 **Surēndravarmmaṇā** kṛitam
- 3 bhagavataḥ Valabhadra-
- 4 svāmināya³ idaṁ guhaṁ⁴ [[]*]

TRANSLATION

This cave (i.e. cave-temple) of the most worshipful Balabhadrasvāmin is constructed by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman. (Or—This cave-temple has been built by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman for the most worshipful Balabhadrasvāmin.)

¹ For the worship of Balabhadra, see *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (*The Age of Imperial Unity*), pp. 447 ff.; *ibid.*, Vol. III (*The Classical Age*), p. 418.

² From impressions.

³ Read either *Balabhadrasvāminah* or *bhagavatē Balabhadrasvāminē*.

⁴ In correct Sanskrit: *īyaṁ guhā*.

No. 11—TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELLA TRAILOKYAVARMAN, SAMVAT 1264

(1 Plate)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered in 1943 by Pandit Govind Sitaram Harshe of the Lakshmipura Mohalla of Saugar, Madhya Pradesh, while he was digging a pit in his house. Tehri (old Tihari) whence the grant was issued¹ is associated with Bānapur and called Tihari or Tehri-Bānapur by the local people. It was formerly included in the Orchhā State of Bundelkhand, but now forms part of Vindhya Pradesh. It is situated at the eastern end of the State near the borders of U. P. The plate now belongs to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, very kindly sent me at my request its photograph and permitted me to edit the inscription in this journal.² Dr. Patwardhan informs me that, when the plate was received, it was bent vertically in the middle and had to be straightened before its impression or photograph could be taken. Except a small portion of the metal broken off on the left lower corner, the plate is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The inscription was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII (1947), pp. 46 ff., from an inked impression supplied to them by Sattase Vaidya of Saugar. But their treatment of the record is not quite satisfactory.³

The single plate, which is engraved on one side only, is very thick and heavy. It measures 14½" by 10½" and weighs 275 tolas. In the centre of the plate, at the top, dividing the first four lines of the inscription, is engraved the figure of seated Gaja-Lakshmi which is found on all Chandella records so far published. There are small holes at the edges on all sides of the plate, which show that a small copper band was rivetted round it to protect the writing; but it has fallen off. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that, in another plate of Trailokyavarma, a similar copper-band rivetted on the four sides of the plate has been found intact.⁴ This method of providing protection to the writing appears to have been at times adopted instead of the one of raising the edges. The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the plate where it was bent, thereby damaging or deforming them in the area affected by the bend. The letters are not of the same size throughout. The first six lines are written in large letters, each measuring about ⅔ of an inch; but from the seventh line the letters become smaller and in the last two or three lines they are reduced almost to half the size. As much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The characters are Dēvanāgarī of the thirteenth century. The forms of *v* and *ch* are similar, as in *Chandrātrēya* and *vaṁśa* in line 1. The consonant *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. There are in all 19 lines of writing. As for orthography, the consonants *d*, *g*, *v*, *l*, *p*, and *m* following a superscript *r* are generally doubled, as in *Madanavarmmadēva* in line 3 and *Paramarddideva* in line 4, etc. *Amuvāra* has replaced the class nasal in *Narēndra* and *chandra* (line 1), but not in *mandira* (line 15) and elsewhere. The text has comparatively few mistakes as contrasted with other Chandella grants.⁵

¹ [The inscription should better have been named either as the Saugar plate after its find-spot or as the Maṇḍāura grant after the gift village.—Ed.]

² The epigraph is noticed in *A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, p. 2.

³ The names *Sihadauni*, *Vaḍavāri* and *Maṇḍāura* in line 7 have been read respectively as *Sinhadauni*, *Vaḍavāri* and *Maṇḍā(p)ura*. The Gaja-Lakshmi figure on the plate has been wrongly taken to be the god Śiva in *siddhāsana*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 272.

⁵ For some of the Chandella grants full of mistakes, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 129, 133 and 135.

The epigraph opens as usual with the praise of the Chandrātrēya or Chandēlla royal family. After making a reference to Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who are known to have been the real founders of the Chandēlla power and after the first of whom the Chandēlla kingdom was called **Jōjākabhukti**, the grant describes three Chandēlla kings, viz. Madanavarman, Paramardidēva and Trailōkyavarman. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara Trailōkyavarman* is described as *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Kālāñjar-ālhpati* (lord of Kālāñjara). The name of Yaśō-varman, who, according to the Baṭṣēvar inscription¹, was the father of Paramardidēva, is omitted here as in records like the Garra plates of Trailōkyavarman² and Mahoba plates of Paramardidēva.³ The charter was issued by Trailōkyavarman when he was residing at Tihari and records his gift of the village **Maṇḍāura**, situated in the **Vaḍavāri** *vishaya*, to *Nāyaka* Kulēśarman who hailed from the village of Raikaura. It seems that the announcement of the grant was made at the **Sihāḍaunī** military camp (*Sihāḍaunī-saṁyē*).⁴ The grantee was the son of *Nāyaka* Gayādihara, grandson of *Rāuta* Sihāḍa and great-grandson of *Rānaka* Naugrahaṇa. He belonged to Vatsa-gōtra having the five *pravara*s, viz., Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and was a student of the Vājasaneyā *śākhā*.

The epigraph cites the following date both in words and numerical figures: **V.S. 1264, Bhādrapada-vadi 2, Friday**. If the year is taken as expired, the details of the date correspond regularly to the **29th August, 1208 A.D.**

The earliest date of Trailōkyavarman known from the Garra grant is Friday, April 22, 1205 A.D.⁵ He appears to have ascended the throne shortly after the death of his father Paramardidēva in April 1202 A.D. during the seige of Kālāñjara by Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak.⁶ There is no agreement among Muslim chroniclers regarding either the date or the course of events of the seige of Kālāñjara.⁷ I am in favour of accepting Monday, the 20th Rajab (*Hisābi*), 599 A.H., corresponding to April 15, 1202 A.D., as the correct date of the capture of the fort by the Muslims. Paramarddin was dead before the fort was captured by the Muslims and the peace with the invaders was then concluded by his son and successor Trailōkyavarman.

Shortly after his accession, Trailōkyavarman seems to have launched an attack upon the Turks, with whom, according to his Garra plates, a battle was fought at Kakaḍādaha, in which *Rāuta* Pāpē, an officer of Trailōkyavarman, was killed. This is confirmed by an Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Viravarman dated the 14th April, 1261 A.D., which states that Trailōkyavarman was 'like Viṣṇu in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turu-shkas'.⁸ Trailōkyavarman had also to face an attack from a certain Bhōjūka, who, according to the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, 'seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two'.⁹ This Bhōjūka was defeated and killed in a battle by Vāśēka, an officer of Trailōkyamalla whom the latter claims to have made 'again the ornament of princely families'.¹⁰ The last known date of Trailōkyavarman, according to the Rewah plates of Harirājādēva, falls in V.S. 1298, Māgha (January-February 1241 A.D.),¹¹ if the Trailōkyavarman of this grant is regarded

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 207 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff.

³ Ibid., pp. 9 ff.

⁴ [The language of the record shows that Sihāḍaunī was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 273.

⁶ Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 720-721.

⁷ Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Muslim History*, p. 183.

⁸ Above, Vol. I, pp. 327, 329 (v. 7).

⁹ Ibid., p. 337.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 234 ff.

as identical with Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman. It seems, however, that he was the king who, according to Minhāj, fled from Kālāñjara when it was attacked by Nusrat-ud-dīn Tāishī in A.H. 631 (1233 A.D.) during the reign of Iyaltimish. According to Minhāj, the king of Kālāñjara was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit.¹ If this account of Minhāj is taken as correct, Trailōkyavarman of the above Rewah plates cannot be identified with the Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman.² Barring this record no inscription of the time of Trailōkyavarman bearing a date subsequent to 1213 A.D., the date of an Ajayagarh inscription,³ has so far been found.

The following places are mentioned in the charter: Vaḍavāri-vishaya, Ṭihārī, Maṇḍāura, Sihaḍaṇṇi and Raikaura. Vaḍavāri appears to be the same as Vaḍavāḍa, mentioned in the Garra plates of Parmardidēva,⁴ or Vaḍavāri of the Semra grant.⁵ It has been identified with Beḍwāḍā in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhānsi District of U.P.⁶ Ṭihārī is the same as modern Tihārī or Tehri-Bānapur, near Tikamgarh. Maṇḍāura is modern Madaora in the Lalitpur Sub-division. It is 28 miles south of Tikamgarh and Tehri and almost at the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. Sihaḍaṇṇi is the same as Siyaḍoṇī of inscriptions, identified⁷ with Siron Khurd nearly 10 miles west-north-west of Lalitpur. I am unable to identify Raikaura.

TEXT

- 1 Ōm^s svasti [||*] Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvśvara-śi[rō]-dhṛitaḥ | Chandraṭrēya-narē-
mdrāṇām vaṁśaś=Chandva(dra) idā(v=ō)jjvalaḥ [||*]
- 2 Tatra pravarddhamānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vīr-āvīrbhāva-
bhāsva-
- 3 rē paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramśvara-śrī-Madanavarmmadēva-pād-ānudyāta-
parama-
- 4 bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramśvara-śrī-Paramarddidēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabha-
ṭṭāraka-ma-
- 5 hārājādhirāja-paramśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Kālāñjar-ādhipati-śrīmat-Trailōkyavar-
mmadēvō vi-
- 6 jayī [||*] Sa ēsha durvīpa(sha)hatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kulavadhūm=iva
vasuṁdharān=nirākulāṁ paripālayann=a-
- 7 vikala-vivēka-nirmalikṛita-matiḥ Sihaḍaṇṇi-sainyē Vaḍavāri-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Maṇ-
ḍāura-gram-ōpagatān=Vrā(Brā)hmaṇān=anyāmkha(ś=cha)
- 8 mānyān=adhikṛitān=kuṭumvi(mbi)-kāyastha-dūta-ve(vai)dya-mahattarān=Mēda-Chaṁḍāla-
paryantān=sarvān=samvō(mbō)dhayati samājñāpaya-
- 9 ti ch=āstu vaḥ samvi(samvi)ditāṁ yath=ōparilikhitō=yam grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalah sa-sthāvara-
jānga- mah sva-sim-āvachchhinnaḥ s-ādha-[ū]-

¹ *Tabqāt-i-Nasirī* (tr. by Raverty), Vol. I, pp. 733-35.

² See, however, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-31; above, Vol. XXV, p. 3 ff.

³ *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 275-277.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 274.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this reference.

⁸ Expressed by symbol.

१॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीराजेश्वर्यै नमः ॥ श्रीराजेश्वर्यै नमः ॥

2

2

२॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीराजेश्वर्यै नमः ॥ श्रीराजेश्वर्यै नमः ॥

4

4

6

6

8

8

10

10

12

12

14

14

16

16

18

18

- 10 rddhvō bhūta-bhavishyad-varṭtamāna-ni(niḥ)śēsh-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratishiddha-chāt-ādi-pra-
vēśās=ch=ā[smā*]bhiḥ **Ṭihari-samāvāsē Chatuḥshashty-adhi-**
- 11 **ka-sa(śa)ta-dvay-ōpēta-saha[sra]tamē samva(samva)tsarē Bhādrapada-māsi**
kṛṣṇa-pakṣhē dvitīyāyān-tithāv=aṅkatō=pi samvata(samvat) 1264 Bhā-
- 12 **dra-vadi 2 Su(Śu)kra-vārē** Raikaura-vinirgatāya Vatsa-gōtrāya Vatsa-Bhārggava-
Chyavan-Aurmma(rvva)-Yā(Jā)madagnya-pañcha-pravarāya Vājaśa(sa)nēya-śākh-ā-
- 13 dhyāyinē Rāṇaka-Naugrahaṇa-prapautrāya |¹. Rāuta-Sihaḍa-pautrāya |¹ Nāyaka-Gayādhara-
putrāya Nāyaka-Kulēsarmmaṇē Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇāya śā
- 14 sanam kṛtvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā bhāga-bhōga-
pasu(śu)-hiraṇya-kara-śulma(lk-ā)di-sarvvam=asmai samupanētavyam(vyam |)
- 15 Tad=ānam=asya grāmaṁ sa-mandira-prākāraṁ sa-nirggama-pravēśam sa-sarvv-āśan-ēkshu-
karppāsa-kuśu(su)ma-sa(śa)ṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruha[m*] sa-vana-kha-
- 16 ni-nidhānaṁ sa-lōha-lavaṇa-tṛiṇa-parllā(rṇṇ-ā)dy-ākaraṁ sa-mṛiga-vihaṅgama-jalacharaṁ
sa-gōkulam=aparair=api sīm-āntargatair=vvastubhiḥ sahita[m*]
- 17 sa-vā(bā)hy-ābhyantra-ādāyam bhūmījānasya na kēn=āpi vādhā kāryā | Atra cha rāja-
rājapurush-ādibhiḥ svaṁ svam=ābhāvyam parihartavyam(vya)m=idañ=ch=āsmad-dāma(na)-
- 18 m=anāchchhēdyam=anāhāryaṇ=ch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmipālaiḥ pālaniyam(yam) || Uktañ=
cha || Shasṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchētā(ttā) v=ānumanta(ntā)
cha tāny-ē-
- 19 va na[rakē vasēta(sēt)] || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yas=tu bhūmim prayachchati | ubbau
tau puṇya-karmma[nau*] niyataṁ svargga-gāminau [*] Sva-hastō=yam rāja-śrī-Trē-
(Trai)lōkyavarmma[ṇah || *]

No. 12—KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

(2 Plates)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

This copper-plate record¹ was secured by Mr. G. C. Chandra, ex-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1940, when he was touring in the Guntur District. It was in the possession of the Tahsildar of the Palnad Taluk, to whom it was handed over by a farmer of Gurazāla, who is said to have discovered it while ploughing a field. Mr. Chandra made over the set of plates to the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy. I edit it below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India with whom the plates now lie.²

The set consists of five plates, each measuring $8\frac{1}{4}$ " by 2" with a hole ($\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter) at their left margin, through which passes a circular copper ring, $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick and about 3" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a mass of copper shaped into a circular seal about $1\frac{3}{4}$ " across, which bears on its flattened surface the legend *Śrī-Vishamasiddhi* in a single line embossed in bold characters over the figure of a lotus in relief. Above the legend is a crescent, also embossed in high relief. The seal is similar to that of the Niḍuparu plates³ except for the difference in the legend which in the latter reads *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 110 tolas.

The characters belong to the Southern variety and may be assigned to a date about the end of the 7th century A. D. The inscription is neatly engraved and is fairly well preserved except for some portions damaged on the last plate. Of the individual letters, the vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ē* and *au* occur, *a* in lines 4 and 6, *ā* in line 45, *i* in lines 2 and 39 and *ē* in line 33. The medial sign for short *i* is indicated by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter as in *vi* in *vikramasya*, and its length is denoted by a sharp inward curve of the loop on its left side as in *śrī* in line 2 and *kī* in *Kirtti* in line 6. The aspirate *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a sharp inward bend of the right hand shaft of the letter, as in *phala* in lines 17 and 44; *b* is of the closed type throughout; the Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in lines 5 and 15 and *ṛ* in lines 29 and 38. The final *m* is written in a diminutive and cursive form and is shaped like an inverted interrogation mark with its right arm stretched upwards, as in *putrāṇām* (line 3) and *rājyāṇām* (line 4). The *rēpha* is denoted by a short vertical shaft attached right over the letter as in *audāryya* and *gāmbhīryya* (lines 1 and 12); but when it occurs in conjunction with the sign for *i* which is denoted by a circle attached to the top of the letter, it is written in two ways, viz., with the circle enclosing the shaft as in *°rtti* in *Kirtti-varmaṇaḥ* (line 6) and with the circle attached to the top of the shaft as in *°rddhi* in *visparḍdhita* (line 15).

The language of the charter is Sanskrit composed in prose throughout except for the minatory verses at the end of the document. As regards orthography the consonant after the *rēpha* is generally doubled except where the *rēpha* occurs due to sandhi as in *āyur-bala* (line 30). Minor errors in syntax (duly corrected in the body of the text itself) are met with in lines 22, 29, 33, etc.

¹ C. P. No. 39 of 1940-41.

² I am indebted to my colleagues Messrs M. Venkataramayya and P. B. Desai for a number of useful suggestions they offered while I was preparing this article.

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55.

The charter commences with a prayer invoking longevity, health and prosperity of the king and success in the attainment of his desires. In the delineation of his forbears of the parent line, the record omits the name of Pulakēśin I after Raṇarāga although he appears to have been accounted for. Again, while describing the relationship of Kīrtivarman with Raṇarāga, the expression *pranaptā* has been used wrongly for *naptā*. Vishṇuvardhana II, the donor, is correctly described as the *prapautra*, i.e. great-grandson, of Kīrtivarman.

The object of the grant is the gift of the village of **Koneki in Paḷḷirāśhṭra** by **Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana**, the son of Indravarma-mahārāja who is described with such epithets as *Tyāgadhēnu*, *Vigrahasiddhi*, *Simhavigrama* and *Rājalōkāśraya*¹ and as the brother of Jayasimha-vallabha. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha for the longevity, success and prosperity of its issuer, i.e. king Vishṇuvardhana (line 30). It seems to have been committed to writing about eight months later, on the date recorded at the end of the grant, viz. regnal year 30 of Jayasimha, Āsvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa-nakshatra (lines 44-46). The recipient of the gift was Viduśarman of the Parāśara *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Taittirīya *charaṇa*, the Bōya of Kandēru and a resident of Ātukūru. He was the son of Mahāsēnaśarman who is described as a scholar of repute in the various branches of learning and is extolled as 'the very Vararuchi of the present day'² for his erudition in the exposition of the *āgamas*. Having received the gift village, Viduśarman seems to have divided it into 120 shares and distributed them in turn, among fifteen persons whose names and individual shares are specified in detail. Of them, the first four, namely Vishṇuśarman and his son Mādiśarman as well as Mahāsēnaśarman and his brother Dāmaśarman figure as the principal donees each getting 20 shares apiece, while the rest who figure as the *bōyas*³ of specified villages are assigned shares ranging between one and six. The number of shares thus given to the donees comes to 114 only. Perhaps the remaining 6 shares that make up the total of 120 are those set apart as *dēvabhōga* (text line 31).

The king then enjoins not only upon the future rulers of his line but also upon the officials who were in charge of the village produce (*grāma-saṁbhav-ādhipatīh*) to protect the gift. These latter are specified as Dhanañjaya and others of the *Ayyaṇ-ānvaya*, i.e. lineage of Ayyaṇa.

Of considerable interest in the record are the details of the two dates, possibly specifying the respective occasions on which the gift was made and the deed registering the gift, subsequently committed to writing. A lunar eclipse in Māgha marked the occasion of the former and Āsvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa, in the 30th year of Jayasimha marked the latter. The latter, it may be noted, was the auspicious occasion of *Vijayadaśamī*. This rare citation of a double date, in a way, serves as an aid for arriving at the precise date of the record and therefore of the exact year of commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule which, according to Fleet, is c. 615 A.D. and according to the latest calculations 624 A.D.⁴ Since the charter is dated in the 30th year of Jayasimha, i.e. roughly the 47th year from the commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule, counting 17 full years of reign for Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the eighteenth regnal year being his last and perhaps also the first year of the reign of his successor Jayasimha, it would fall somewhere between 662 and 671 A.D. according as the initial year of the Eastern-Chālukya rule is taken as 615 or 624 A.D. In the range of years 662-671 A.D., that year in which a lunar eclipse

¹ Of the four epithets, *Tyāgadhēnu* and *Simhavigrama* are already known whereas *Vigrahasiddhi* and *Rājalōkāśraya* are introduced for the first time by the present record.

² The date of Vararuchi is disputed. Some scholars assign him to 500-350 B.C. and some place him in the Gupta period. The epithet *adyakāla-Vararuchi* applied to the donee's father Mahāsēnaśarman indicates that Vararuchi belonged to a remote past at the time of Jayasimha I, i.e. the 7th century A.D.

³ Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1921-22, App. A., No. 2.

⁴ *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49; *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, p. 3.

occurred in Māgha and the *tithi* *śu*. 10 of the succeeding Āśvayuja was a Monday would be the date of our record. During the period in question lunar eclipses in Māgha occurred in the years 668, 669 and 670 A. D. Leaving out of consideration the year 668 as improbable for the other date, viz., the date on which the record was committed to writing (the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja), the month Āśvayuja of the year 668 having preceded Māgha in which the grant was made, we have to see whether the *tithi* of the succeeding Āśvayuja in the year 669 coincided with a Monday. The English equivalent for the details in this year works out to September 11, Monday, on which the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa was also current.¹ This much therefore can be said that on the date the grant was committed to writing, namely 11th September 669 A. D., the 30th regnal year of the king was current. Whether the lunar eclipse in Māgha in the preceding year, i.e. 668 A. D., also fell in the same regnal year, it is not possible to determine. The year 669 A. D. being thus the 30th year of reign of king Jayasimhavarallabha, his initial year of reign will be 669—30=639-40 A. D. Deducting 17 years covering the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana from this, we get 639-40—17=622-23 A.D. as the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule.

A point arises here as to how Vishṇuvardhana II, with the title of *Mahārāja*, could issue a charter under his own royal seal bearing the legend *Vishmasiddhi*, during the very reign of his uncle Jayasinha. We know for certain that his own father Indravarman, whom he succeeded to the throne, ruled as king, although for a very short duration, and issued the Koṇḍanāgūru grant.² Vishṇuvardhana II calls himself the son of Indra-bhaṭṭāraka in his Pamiḍimukkala plates (second set)³ which he issued in the 3rd year of his reign; but in another, viz. his Pamiḍimukkala plates (first set)⁴, which is undated, he is described as the son of Jayasinha. Some of the Eastern Chālukya grants assign to Jayasinha a reign of 30 years while the majority of them state that he ruled for 33 years. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that the plates under review belonged almost to the fag end of Jayasinha's reign. It is not improbable that, at this period of his life, the king associated in the regal duties, his nephew, Vishṇuvardhana with full authority even to issue royal grants as the one under review under his own seal. In lines 22-24, the record enumerates a number of officials who were all notified of the gift by an order of the king. Among them the mention of the *Talavara* is noteworthy. This reminds us of the *Mahātālavara* known from such records as the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.⁵ Among the village officials in South India, the *Talari* or *Talayāri* holds even today a responsible post.

The village of *Kopeki*, is stated to have been situated in *Paḷli-rāshṭra*. It can be identified with the village Kōṇaṅki, not far from Gurazāla in the Palnad Taluk, Guntur District. There is another village of the same name in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the same District. But as this village is far away from Gurazāla, the findspot of the plate, Kōṇaṅki in the Palnad Taluk seems to be the village intended. *Paḷli-rāshṭra*, in which the gift village lay, appears to be the ancient name of the modern Palnād. In inscriptions the name occurs variously as *Pallināṇḍū*,⁶ *Pallināṇḍu*⁷ or *Pallidēśa*,⁸ and it is referred to as a 300-division. In Telugu literature, some *chāṭu verses* ascribed to Śrīnātha (c. 1385-1475 A.D.), the court poet of the Redḍi kings, give a graphic picture of this tract variously called *Pallenāḍu*, *Palnāḍu* and *Palledēśamu*.⁹ It may be

¹ In calculating the details of the date I have followed the method suggested by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part i, pp. 153 ff.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 115, para. 20; C. P. No 15 of 1916-17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, C. P. No. 14 of 1916-17.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and p. 7, fn.1.

⁶ A. R. No. 334 of 1936-37.

⁷ A. R. No. 18 of 1941-42.

⁸ A. R. No. 575 of 1909; *SIU*, Vol. X, No. 66.

⁹ V. Prabhakara Sastri, *Śrīngāra Śrīnāthamu*, pp. 237-238, 249.

incidentally noted that *paḷḷi* connoted, in Tamil literature, a place of worship, especially of the Buddhist or Jaina sect.

The donees are all associated with the names of villages, of which they are stated to be the *Bōyas*. This expression, supposed to be a corruption of *bhōgika*, also occurs in another Eastern Chālukya charter belonging to the reign of Indravarmān.¹ All the villages mentioned in the record with the exception of one can be located, as shown in the table below, in the Palnad and adjacent Taluks of the Guntur District.

No.	Village mentioned in the plates	Its modern name	Taluk
1.	Kandēru	Kantēru	Guntur
2.	Ātukūru	Andukūru	Sattenapalle
3.	Mudukuru	Mutukūru	Palnad
4.	Koṇḍasāmi	Koṇḍepāḍu(?)	Guntur
5.	Pāti	Pātibaṇḍa	Sattenapalle
6.	Kumunūru	Kōnūru(?)	Do.
7.	Naḍukūru	Naḍikūḍe	Palnad
8.	Kanparu	Kanuparṛu	Narasaraopet
9.	Irukutūru	Ikkurru	Do.
10.	Veḷuchaḷi	Velicherla	Bapatla
11.	Re [....]	Reṭūru (?)	Do.

TEXT²

First Plate

- Śrī[r]=vijayatām [i*] Mahārā[ja][sya*] [āyu]r=ārōgyam=aśvavyāñ=ch=ābhivarddhamit[ām]
[i*] Iṣṭa-sampad³=ast=uttū⁴(ūtta)rōttarā[h*] kri[yās]=sa-
- mpadya[ntām i*] [Śrī]mad-**Asanapur**-ādhishṭhānu(na)-vāsi(sī) Śrīmad-bhagavat-svāmi-Mā-
(Ma)hāsēna-pādānudhyātā-
- nā[m] tribhuvana-mātri(tri)bhir=abhirakshitānām Ma(Mā)navya-sana⁵gōtrāṇām Hārīti-
putrāṇām Kō(Kau)śi[kī]-
- vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām(nām) chatur-udadhi-paryyanataḥ(ta)-prathita-yāsasam(sām)
Aśvamēda(dha)-
- yājīnām(nām) Chālukyānām=anvayam=unnamayituma(tum) Sakrarddana(Saṅkrandana)-
bhūta-Raṇarāgasya

Second Plate, First Side

- pranaptāḥ(ptuḥ)⁶ asahya-vikramasya vipula-kirttē[h*] Kīrttivamma(rmma)ṇa[h*] prapautra-
[h*] śaktitraya-vaśīkri(kṛi)ta-saka-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1921-22, App. A, No. 2, and Part II, p. 97.

² From the original plates.

³ The scribe had written something below *d* and scored it later.

⁴ A length mark appears to have been wrongly added to the subscript *t* in *ttū*.

⁵ The syllable *na* is redundant.

⁶ For *pranaptuḥ* read *naptuḥ*.

- 7 la-mahimaṇḍalasya Satya(tyā)śraya-Pri(Pri)thivi(vi)vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-
bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ānu-
- 8 jasya sv-āśidhārā-namita-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya [stha]¹la-jal-ādi-durgga-vishamēshv=a-
- 9 pi la[bdha]-vijayatā(sya) prathita-jana-prastuta-kāmadhēnō[h*] lōk-ātiśayita-vikramatayā
naralōka-
- 10 vikra[masya Vi]shṇuvarddhana-ma[hārājasya] priyatanayasy=ānēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-la-
bdha-vijayaśila-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 tā-prasūta-yaśaḥ-prasūt-āmōḍa-ga[ndh-ā]dhivāsita-sakala-digmaṇḍalasya nānā-śa(śā)str-ā-
- 12 bhyās-ōpabṛṁhita-niśita-vimala-buddhēḥ tyāg-audāryya-gāmbhīryya-dhairyya-kānti-pra-
- 13 jñ-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-āla[rñ*]kṛitasya trailōka(kya)-vikram-o[d*]dyōdi(ti)ta-sakala-lōk-āśraya-
bhuja-yu-
- 14 gaḷa-bala-namit-āsēsha-ripu-nṛipativara-makuta-taṭa-ghaṭit-ānēka-maṇi-kiraṇa-rāga-rañji-
- 15 ta-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷasya vi(vi)ra-dhvaj-ōpātta-Śakra-a[r*]ddhi-visparddhita-vibh[ū]tēr=
anēk-āhi-

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 ta-nara-vara-śiraḥ-karōṭikā-vitā[na]-vikhyāta-yaśasō dēva-dvija-guru-yatadhi(yaty-atithi)-
śiṣṭ-ēṣṭ-ā-
- 17 nuji(ji)vi-saṁbandhibhir=anavarata-prakām-ōpabhōga-bhujyamāna-vividha-puṇya-phala-
saṁpu(pū)-
- 18 rṇṇ-āmṛita-dhēnōḥ śrī-Jayasimgha(ha)vallabha-mahārājasya priy-ānujasya Tyā-
- 19 gadhēnuḥ(nōḥ) śakti-traya-sampan-ā(nn-ā)nēka-vidyā-viśāradaḥ(dasya) ripu-maṇḍalēshv=api
Vigrahasiddhiḥ(ēḥ) simha-
- 20 vikrama-nay-ōpētātvaṁ²(tvād)Rājālōkāśraya-śrīmad-Indravarma-mahārājasya putra[h*]

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 nānā-śa(śā)str-ābhyās-ōpā[tt-ā*]nēka-vidyā-viśāradaḥ **Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya-**
(rājah) Paḷli-rāshtrē Kone[ki]-
- 22 **nāma-grāma[rñ*]** saṁpradattaḥ(dāya) grāmēyakān rājapurusha-taḷavara-daṇḍanāyaka-
rāshṭrika-
- 23 dūta-bhaṭa-naṭa-chēṭaka-parichāraka-niyukt-ādhyaksha-prasāstṛi-samāhartṛi-nā³-
- 24 nāyakāś=ch(kāms=ch)=ājñapayati [[*] Śrōtriyasya sakala-dig-anta-prathita-yaśasō yajana-
yā-
- 25 jan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigrahā(ha)-niyama-niratasya sarvv-āgama-vi-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 26 śēsha-pratipādanatvād=adyakāla-Vararuchir=iti vikhyātasya Mahāsēnaśarmma[ṇah]

¹ In *stha*, the subscript looks more like *ṭ*.

² The final *m* is introduced in a diminutive form above *tvā*. This is evidently intended for *ī*.

³ This *nā* is redundant.

i.

1
2
3
4

5

6

7

8

9

10

ii.a.

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

ii.b.

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

iii.a.

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

26

27

28

29

30

- 27 putrāya Viduśammā(rmma)ṇaḥ(ṇē) brāhmaṇa-sūtra-mantra-tantr-ōpaniṣa[t*]-prabhṛityā-
naka(ty-anēka)-vidyā-vidu-
- 28 shē Parāśara-gōtra(trā)ya sarvva-satv-ā(ttv-ā)nukampita-maitri(trī)-chirttā(ttā)ya Taitrika-
(ttirīyaka)-chara-
- 29 [ṇā]ya Āpastamba-sūtrāya Kandēṇu-Bōya-Brāhmaṇa(ṇāya) Ātukuru-va(vā)stavyasya(vyāya)
- 30 Māgha-māsē sōmaggrahaṇa-kā[lē] asmad-āyur-bala-vijaya-bhōg-aśvāryya(ryy-ā)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 31 varddha(vṛiddha)yē sampradatta dēvabhōga-hala-varjja[*] Mamān=vayajā yē kēchid=
anāgatē kā-
- 32 lē bhūmipā[lā][h*] sarvvē grāma-sa[m*]rakṣaṇam kurvvantu grāma-sambhav-ādhikri(kṛi)-
tā[h*] sarvvē Ayya-
- 33 ṇ-ānvayajā Dhanañjaya-prabhṛitayas=tat-purushāḥ(shās=cha) [*] ētasya [grāmē(masya)]
śōttara-śatē[shv=am]-
- 34 śēshu Vishṇuśarmmaṇē vimśati[h*] aśśakāni(kāh) [*] tasya sununā(sūnavē) M[ā]diśar-
mmaṇē vimśati[h*]
- 35 Mahāsēnaśarmaṇē vimśati¹[h*] tasya cha priy-[ā]nujasya(jāya) Dāmaśarmaṇē vimśi(śa)ti-
[h*] Mudokura-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 36 Bōyasya(yāya) Gaṇaiśarmmaṇa(ṇē) shaṭ³ [*] [Ā]tukuru-Bōyasya(yāya) Vishṇuśarmmaṇē
pañcha [*] Koṇḍasāmi-Bō-
- 37 yasya(yāya) pañcha⁴ [*] Pāṭi-Bōyasy=ē(yāy=ai)ka[h*] Kumunūru-Bōyasya(yāya) Mādi-
śarmmaṇa(ṇē) chatvā[ri](rah).....[i-Bō]⁵-
- 38 yasya(yāya) dvē(dvau) [*] Naḍukuri-Bōyasya(yāya) Sarvvāśarmmaṇē dvau [*] Velu[chaḷi-
Bōya]-Pe[tṭa]-
- 39 śarmmaṇa(ṇē) d[v]au [*] Rē..[Bōya]sya(yāya) dvau [*] Kanpa-Bōyasya(yāya) Maṇḍa-
śarmma[ṇē] dvau [*] Rēvaśarmma[ṇē] dvau [*] Iru-
- 40 kuṭūru⁶-Bō[yasya(yāya)] dvau [*] Yō=smā(sma)ch-chhāsanam=a[dhi](ti)kramya[ti*] sa
pāpō(paḥ) śārīram daṇḍam=arhati [l*]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 41 Bhūmi-dānā[t=paran=dā][na*]n=na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhyati [*] [Tasy=āpa]haraṇāt=pāpan=
na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhya-

¹ The implied reading appears to be [ēsha grāmāḥ] sampradattaḥ dēva-bhōga-hala-varja iti.

² This expression is written over an erasure.

³ The letter ṭ is introduced above the line between sha and the following letter.

⁴ The letters pañcha are written over an erasure. The prominent circle above pa has to be ignored.

⁵ Three or four syllables are completely worn out here and the medial i sign alone of a letter preceding tō is visible.

⁶ The rēpha over bō is redundant.

- 42 ti [||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harētu(ta) vasundharām(rām) [||*] [gavām śata-saha]-
[srāṇām ha*][ntu][h*] pibati ki-
- 43 lvi(lbi)sham(sham) [||*] Ba[hu]bhi[r*]=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālī[tā] [||*] [ya]sya
yasya ya-
- 44 [dā bhū]mi[s*]=tasya tasya tathā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] Śrī-Jayasimṅha(ha)vallabha-
mahārāja-
- 45 sya pravarddhamāna-vija[ya*]-rājya-sa[m*]va[t*]sarē trimśati¹-varsha(shē) Ā-
śvayujē māsē śukla-pakshē da[śa]-
- 46 mī-divasē Śravaṇa-Chandravārē Gaṅgavijaya-varddhaki-likhitam=idam sā(śā)sa-
[nam] [||*] svasti [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

(Lines 1-2) Invocation.

(Lines 3-21) From his victorious capital Asanapura, king **Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja**², the son of Rājalōkāśraya Indravarma-mahārāja entitled Tyāgadhēnu who was the dear younger brother of Jayasimhavallabha-mahārāja who was the dear son of Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja who was the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya-Prithivīvallabha (i.e. Pulakēśin II), and the great-grandson (*prapautra*) of Kirttivarman who was the great-grandson (*pranaptā*) of Raṇarāga³.

(Lines 22-40) having granted the village **Koṇeki** in **Paḷli-rāshṭra**, orders the officials *grāmē-yaka*, *rājapurusha*, *taḷavara*, *daṇḍanāyaka*, *rāshṭrika*, *dūta*, *bhaṭa*, *naṭa*, *chētaka*, *parichāraka*, *nigukta*, *adhyaksha*, *praśāstri*, *samāhartri* and *nāyaka* (thus) : 'to Vidūsarman of the Parāśara *gōtra*, *Taittiriya charaṇa* and *Āpastamba sūtra*, the *Bōya* of Kandēru and a resident of Ātukuru, well-versed in the various branches of learning such as the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Sūtra*, *Mantra*, *Tantra*, *Upanishad*, etc., and benevolently inclined towards all living beings, who is the son of Mahāsēnaśarman, a *śrōtriya*, who is conversant with the *Vēdas*, whose fame is wide-spread and who is constantly engaged in *yajana*, *yājana*, *adhyayana*, *adhyāpāna*, *dāna* and *pratigraha*, who is well known as the very Vararuchi of the day for his erudition in expounding all the *āgamas*—(to him, i.e. Vidūsarman) is given (the village) Koṇeki with the exclusion of the *devabhōga* land, on the day of the lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha, for the increase of our longevity, strength, success, enjoyment and prosperity. "In future let all the rulers of my lineage, and the hereditary village officers, Dhanañjaya and such others of the lineage of Ayyaṇa, protect the village." In this village, out of the hundred and twenty shares, twenty are for Vishṇuśarman; twenty for his son Mādiśarman; twenty for Mahāsēnaśarman; twenty for his dear brother Dāmaśarman; six for Gaṇaiśarman, the *Bōya* of Mudokuru; five for Vishṇuśarman, the *Bōya* of Ātukuru; five for Koṇḍasāmi-bōya; four for Mādiśarman *alias* Pāṭi-bōya, the *Bōya* of Kumunūru; two for.... bōya; two for Sarvvaśarman, the *Bōya* of Naḍukuru; two for Peṭṭaśarman, the *Bōya* of Veḷuchālī; two for Rē... bōya; two for Maṇḍaśarman, the *Bōya* of Kanpaṇu; two for Rēvaśarman and two for the *Bōya* of Irukuṭuru.

(Lines 40-44) Imprecatory and minatory verses.

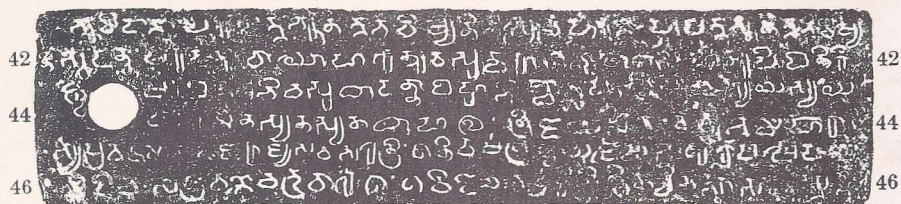
(Lines 44-46) This order was engraved by the artisan Gaṅgavijaya in the augmenting year 30 of the reign of king Jayasimhavallabha-mahārāja in the month of Āśvayuja śukla-paksha, daśamī, Śravaṇa (nakshatra), Monday.

¹ Read *trimśatitama*?

² The descriptive epithets, etc. of the kings are omitted in this abstract.

³ Kirttivarman was actually the grandson of Raṇarāga and not his great-grandson.

v. b.



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 13—JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V. S. 1191

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Shēr Shāh Sūr, the celebrated Afghan emperor of Delhi (1539-45 A.D.), is accused by Badāūni and other Muslim historians of wanton callousness in destroying old cities for founding new ones on their ruins after his own name.¹ On this point Nūr-ul-Haqq says in his *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh* : "Shēr Khān founded many cities after his own name, as Shēr-gaṛh, Shēr-kōṭ . . ."² There are numerous places bearing such names in different parts of Northern India even to this day, one of them being **Shērgaṛh** representing a fort in ruins and a town (now almost deserted) standing on the river Parwān (a feeder of the Kālī-Sindh which is a tributary of the Chambal), about ninety miles to the south-east of Kōṭah in the District of that name in Rājasthān. On the 16th of January 1953, I visited Shērgaṛh from my camp at Kōṭah in search of inscriptions in the company of Mr. P. N. Kaul, then Commissioner of the Kōṭah Division of Rājasthān, and Mr. R. N. Hawā, then Collector of the Kōṭah District. I take this opportunity of thanking both the officers for their kindness shown to me and the interest they exhibited in my work. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. K. Majumdār of the Herbert College, Kōṭah, who accompanied me to Shērgaṛh and helped me in various ways.

On a careful examination of the inscriptions at Shērgaṛh, it was found that three of them had been previously published. One of these three is a Buddhist inscription supposed to be dated in V. S. 847 (790 A.D.).³ This is incised on a slab of stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs to the proper left of the gate of the deserted town and is a *praśasti* (eulogy) recording the construction of a Buddhist temple (*mandira*) and a monastery (*vihāra*) to the east of Mount (*giri*) Kōśavardhana by a *Sāmanta* (feudal chief) named Dēvadatta.

The second published inscription from Shērgaṛh, which bears dates in V. S. 1074 (1017 A. D.), 1075 (1018 A.D.) and 1084 (1027 A.D.), is built into a front line pillar of the local Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple, although there is no doubt that it originally belonged to a different religious establishment.⁴ The inscription actually consists of three distinct documents. The first of these records a daily grant of one *karsha* of ghee as unguent to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka while the other two speak of several grants in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka of this record with the *Śiva-bhakta-Śaiva* called Nagna-bhaṭṭāraka, mentioned in the Dhanop (old Shāhpurā State, now a part of the Udaipur Division of Rājasthān) inscription⁵ of V. S. 1063, although there is also a view that 'since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon exist, it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka-Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person'.⁶ It seems to us that Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka was a

¹ Cf. Badāūni's *Muntakhab-āt-Tawārīkh*, English translation (Bib. Ind.), Calcutta, Vol. I, 1898, p. 472; K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, 1921, p. 404.

² Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its Own Historians*, Vol. VI, p. 189.

³ Bhandarkar, List, No. 21. The record was edited by Hultzsch first in *ZDMG*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 547 ff., and afterwards in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff. For the date of the inscription, see also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351, and Vol. XXVI, p. 152.

⁴ Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 104, 105 and 115. The inscription was first edited by Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 176, and afterwards by Altekar in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 137-41.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 138 note.

Śaiva ascetic in charge of the temple of Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) and that the grant was made in his favour but was meant to be also enjoyed by his successors in the charge of the temple in question. We have numerous grants made permanently in favour of a single individual since they were meant to be enjoyed also by his descendants. The above Śaivite establishment is stated to have included, besides the temple, a considerable area of land styled Sōmanāthadēva-pallikā.

The third of the published inscriptions from Shērgaṛh is engraved on a stone slab now embedded in the front wall of the Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa temple, although, like the other inscribed slab in that temple, it must have belonged originally to an older temple of Śiva called Sōmanāthadēva.¹ The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the copy of a copper-plate grant of the Paramāra king Udayāditya (known dates : V. S. 1116=1059 A.D., V. S. 1137=1080 A. D., and V. S. 1143=1086 A.D.), none of whose copper-plate charters has so far been published. It is, however, a matter of regret that some parts of the record, including the passage containing the date, cannot be made out owing to damages in the stone and to its lower end being built into the wall. The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Paramāra king, when he was stationed at Kārpāsikā-grāma and took a ceremonial bath on the occasion of the *Damanaka-parvan*, in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) of the Kōśavardhana *durga* (fort) which, as noted above, is called *giri* (hill) in another of the Shērgaṛh inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kōśavardhana was the old name of modern Shērgaṛh and that the temple of the god Sōmanāthadēva, now untraceable, lay in an old hill-fort at the place.

The published inscriptions from Shērgaṛh (ancient Kōśavardhana), it will be seen, reveal the existence of two religious establishments, one Buddhist and the other Śaivite. Amongst the inscriptions traced by me at the place, including the above, there are two epigraphs disclosing the interesting fact that, side by side with the Buddhist monastery and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jains also flourished at Kōśavardhana in the early medieval period. Another unpublished inscription at Shērgaṛh also interested me considerably. Unfortunately all these three records are preserved unsatisfactorily, the pieces of stone on which they are engraved being mutilated.

The stone bearing the last of the above three unpublished inscriptions was found within the fort. The record in four lines contains two verses, numbered in figures, and the date at the end. But the left half of the epigraph is broken away and could not be traced. The third line of the extant portion of the inscription (5 inches by 12 inches) containing the end of the first verse in the *Śāradālavitrīṭita* metre and the beginning of the second in *Anuṣṭubh* reads : °yā Gaṅgādharaṁ namdatu || 1 || *Dṛiḍham nīra-griham bhavyam kṛita[vām]*, while the date in line 4 reads : *Saṃvat || 1285 || varkhē(rshē)*. There is no doubt that the first verse of this epigraph, dated V. S. 1285 (1228 A.D.), invokes the god Śiva under the name Gaṅgādhara (i.e. 'the bearer of the Ganges [in the matted hair on his head]') and the second records the construction² of a *nīra-griha* by an individual whose name is lost. The expression *nīra-griha* literally means 'a water-house' and the invocation, in connection with its construction, of the Gaṅgādhara aspect of Śiva is easily intelligible. But the nature of this *nīra-griha* can hardly be determined although it seems to be the same as Persian *ābdār-khānah*, *ābdār* being a person entrusted with the charge of water for drinking.³

The first of the two Jain inscriptions referred to above was also discovered in the fort. It is engraved on a piece of stone that was found embedded in a wall. The stone was so dressed as to leave a broad border on the sides of an excavated bed meant for the incision of the record. The border was apparently meant for the protection of the writing. The inscription covering a space, about 20 inches by 20 inches, is beautifully engraved on the said bed. It contains 34 lines of writing.

¹ Ibid., pp. 132 ff.

² The reference may also be to repairs done to an older structure.

³ The building referred to seems to be different from a *prapā-maṇḍapa* (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 328, text line 13).

Unfortunately a piece of the stone about the middle has broken off taking away with it portions of many of the lines. As the record could not be completed on the bed prepared for it, the concluding lines, numbering two only, were engraved on the lower raised border; but the letters of this part are almost completely lost.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that a squarish space, measuring 13 inches by 12½ inches, in the centre of the excavated bed in the stone was created by disturbing the continuous writing of lines 6-28 for the accommodation of a *Padma-bandha* design. While lines 1-5 and 29-34 of the epigraph contain about 46 letters each, lines 6-28 have each only about 20 letters, half of them to the left of the central square and half to its right. The pericarp of the *padma* is made by a circle with a diameter of about 1½ inches, which is surrounded by another concentric circle having a diameter of about 2 inches. The oblong petals, 12 in number and each about 11 inches in length, spread out from the outer one of the two central circles. The outer edge of all the so-called petals is covered by another concentric circle about 13 inches in diameter, which touches the four borders of the central square, in their middle. There are again four concentric circles within this outer circle, which cut the oblong petals and create four circular spaces each about ½ inch in breadth. In the outer one of the above circular spaces, beginning from the left end and moving upwards, are put at the end of the upper six petals the numbers 1 to 6 against the beginning of six feet of 1½ stanzas in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, their tenth syllable which is common to all the six being placed in the inner circle or the pericarp of the *padma* and the following nine syllables being continued on the opposite petals on the other side of the double circle at the centre. Some letters of the last two feet of the second stanza in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* are placed in the second inner circular space between the petals, the corresponding spaces within the petals being occupied by the first and last syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas engraved before, so that all the letters incised in this circular space have to be consecutively read to make out the third and fourth feet of the second stanza. The third inner circular space contains only the second and penultimate syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas referred to above; but they do not appear to yield any sense if read in the circular way. It is, however, interesting to note that the letters in the fourth inner circular space which contains only the third and seventeenth syllables of the six *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* feet were intended, when read in the circular way, to read *śrī-Varasēna-muninā kṛitam=īdam* (i.e. 'this is composed by the illustrious monk Varasēna'), in which only the final *m* had to be added at the end as a part of the last syllable. There is no doubt that the above *Padma-bandha* points to the skill of the author of the stanzas in question as a versifier. Unfortunately a break in the stone, referred to above, stands in the way of deciphering the stanzas completely.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a double *danḍa* and the passage *Oṃ namō Vītarāgāya*. Then follow 14 stanzas in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, all of them in eulogy of the Jina. The three lines at the bottom of the excavated bed in the stone, which contain the end of the last verse of the *praśasti* and were continued on the lower rim of the stone, read as follows :

- 32 tēna stutō=si vachasā manasaḥ prasādāt || 14 ||¹ Śrī-Varasēna-munēr=mmīta-vāchā yaṭ=
tīrīṭṭīlītam=atra bhadantīḥ [*] tat=kshamītavayam=utō=sya cha sā-
- 33 dhōr=ātmaja-dōsha iv=ēha janētuḥ || 15 ||² Dvi-shach-chha(ṭ-chha)śārṅk-aika-mītē=
tha Vaikramē samā=samūhē sita-saptamī-dinē | Madhau cha māsē nava-chai-
- 34 tya-sadmani mahōtsavō Nēmi-jinasya kārītaḥ || 16 ||³ Putrēṇa Va(Ba)ladēvasya Rāghavēna
manīṣhīna(ṇa) | dāna-dharmma-niratēna bhavyēna guṇasā(śā)linā || [17*]⁴

¹ Metre: *Vasantatilaka* as already noted above.

² Metre: *Dvīdhaku*.

³ Metre: *Vaṇśastha*.

⁴ Metre: *Anuśtubh*.

In the portion of the inscription quoted above, verse 15 discloses the name of the author of the *praśasti*. He was the same Jain monk śrī-Varasēna-muni who composed the stanzas in *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, arranged in the *Padma-bandha* style, and is referred to above. Verse 16 says how a *mahōtsava* (great festival) of the Jain Tirthaṅkara Nēminātha was celebrated at the new Chaitya on the seventh of the bright half of Madhu (Chaitra) in V. S. 1162 (1105 A.D.). The year is given in the words *dvi* (2), *śaṭ* (6), *śaśāṅka* (1) and *eka* (1) which have to be read in the usual reverse order. The *praśasti* was apparently composed and engraved on stone on the occasion of the said festival. Verse 17 seems to disclose the name of the engraver of the record, who was Rāghava, son of Bala-dēva. The verses quoted above show that, although the author was a skilful versifier, his language was greatly influenced by Prakrit. He has not only used such forms as *kshamītavayam* (for Sanskrit *kshantavayam*) and *janētuḥ* (for Sanskrit *janayituḥ*), apparently for the sake of the metre, but has also coined the expression *tīritillita* (the same as Sanskrit *bhrānta* according to Hēmachandra's Grammar which equates Prakrit *tīritilla* with Sanskrit *bhram*) from a Prakrit root. The inscription is therefore of considerable lexical interest.

The second Jain inscription which forms the main subject of the present paper was found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tirthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shērgarh. The three Tirthaṅkaras represented are Śānti (Śāntinātha), Kunthu° or Kunthanātha and Ara (Aranātha). As early images of the Tirthaṅkaras Kunthu and Ara are rare, I examined the inscription with considerable interest.¹

The inscription is written in eight lines and covers a space about eighteen inches in length and five inches in height. But the stone on which it is engraved is mutilated and some letters in lines 1-3 are broken away and lost. The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by Prakrit. The record is written in verse with a passage in prose at the end. This passage gives the date of the inscription, which is also found quoted in one of the verses. The record exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of both the scribe and the engraver. It bears the date : V. S. 1191, Vaiśākha-sudi 2, Tuesday, which corresponds to the 29th March 1134 A. D. ; but the week day was Thursday and not Tuesday as given in the inscription.

The first half of the first verse of the record, which is considerably damaged, speaks of the wife of a person named Māhilla who was probably residing at a *pattana* or township called Sūryāśrama (literally, a hermitage associated with the Sun-god). The second half of the stanza says how Śrīpāla and Guṇapālaka (Guṇapāla), probably two sons of the said Māhilla, migrated to Mālava. The first half of verse 2 says that a son named Dēvapāla was born to Śrīpāla while nine sons, viz. Pūnī, Marthā, Jana, Ilhuka and others were born to Guṇapāla-ṭhakkura's son whose name was probably Śānti. The second half of this stanza says how all these persons caused to be made the *Ratna-traya* (i.e. images of the three Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Śāntinātha, Kunthanātha and Aranātha) at Kōśavarddhana or at the base of the hill-fort of Kōśavarddhana (*Kōśavarddhana-talē*). The first half of verse 3 quotes the date of the inscription while its latter half records the obeisance of Dēvapāla's sons, viz. Mālhū, Sadhānu and others as well as Nēmi, Bharata, etc., who were the sons of Pūnī and Śānti (possibly a brother of Pūnī), to the gods, Śānti, Kunthu and Ara, who (i.e.

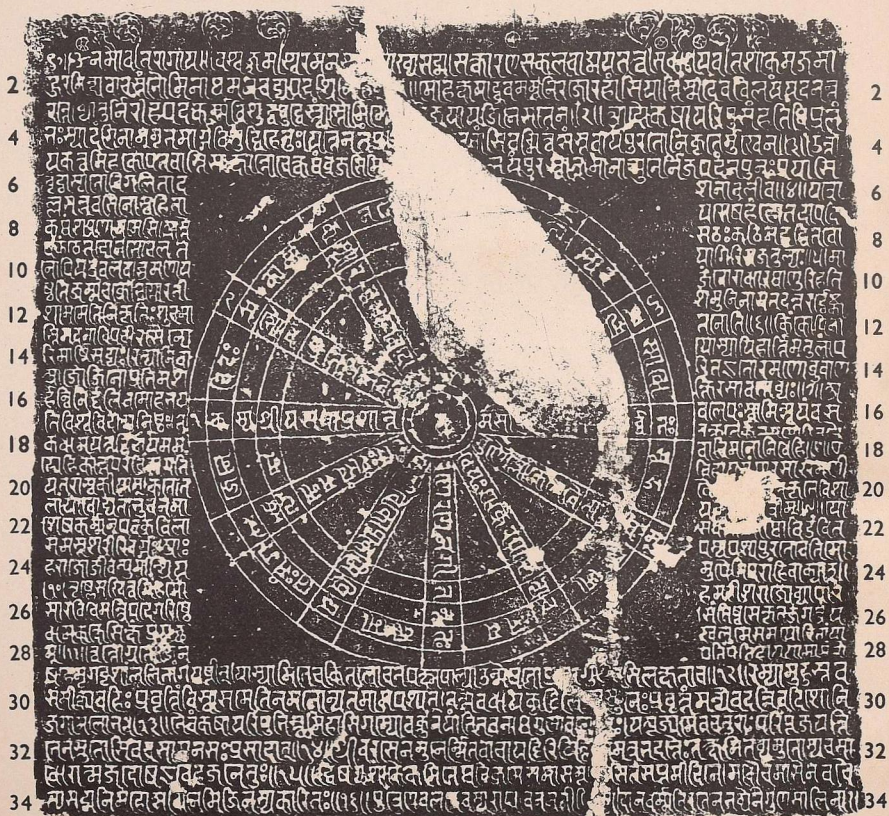
¹ B. C. Bhattacharya observes, "Hitherto no image of Kunthanātha (seventeenth Jina) . . . has come to light" (*The Jaina Iconography*, p. 74) and speaks of "one or two images of Aranātha (eighteenth Jina) that have been found out so far in Northern India" (op. cit., p. 76), although "the images of Śāntinātha (sixteenth Jina) so far discovered are not a few in number" (op. cit., p. 73). He probably means images belonging to a date earlier than the late medieval period. Śāntinātha's symbol is the deer, Yaksha Kimpurusha (or Garuḍa), Yakshiṇī Mahāmānasī (or Nirvāṇī), chowrie-bearer king Purushadatta and Kēvala tree Nandin. Kunthanātha's symbol is the goat, Yaksha Gandharva, Yakshiṇī Balā (or Vijayā), chowrie-bearer king Kuṇpāla and Kēvala tree Tilaka. Similarly Aranātha has as his symbol a fish or the *Nandiyāvarta* (a type of *Svastika*), Yaksha Yakshēndra, Yakshiṇī Dhāraṇī, chowrie-bearer king Gōvinda and Kēvala tree Chyūta (mango tree).

JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V.S. 1191

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 18
 20
 22
 24
 26
 28
 30
 32
 34
 36
 38
 40
 42
 44
 46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56
 58
 60
 62
 64
 66
 68
 70
 72
 74
 76
 78
 80
 82
 84
 86
 88
 90
 92
 94
 96
 98
 100

SCALE: ONE-HALF

SHERGARH INSCRIPTION WITH PADMABANDHA



- 6 | 3 || Dāṁdi-sūtradhar-ōtpannaḥ(nna)-Silāsri¹-sūtradhāriṇā [*] Śānti-[Ku]mthū(thv-A)ra-
nāma(mā)nō jayantu ghaṭitā Jināḥ || 4 || Dēvapāla-su-
- 7 t-Ēlhukaḥ Gōshṭhi-Visala-Lallukaḥ(kāḥ |) Māukaḥ Hariśchandra-ādīḥ Gāgā-sva(su)putra[h*]
Allakaḥ² || 5 || **Sarṁvat 1191 Vaisāsha³-sudi 2 [Marḥ]-**
- 8 **gala-dinē** pratishṭhā karāpitā⁴ [||:]⁵

¹ The correct form of the name may be *Śilāsri*.

² The language of this verse is not quite satisfactory.

³ Read *Vaiśākha*.

⁴ Read *kāritā*.

⁵ A *visarga*-like sign is placed between the two double *daṇḍas*.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM



D. C. SIRCAR
REG. No. 3977 E'36—499'56.

Scale: Five-Twelths

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES, (P. L. O.),
CALCUTTA.

No. 14—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

(1 Plate)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

Śālihūṇḍam is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State, about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam, the District headquarters. It is on the banks of the Vamśadhara which joins the Bay of Bengal some five miles further down. The hills of this place have yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been briefly described in this journal.¹ Earlier excavations at the place have been fully described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1919-20.² When I visited the place in October 1953, I came across an inscribed casing slab of stone.

The slab bearing the inscription formed part of the top frieze of stones on the exterior surface of the Mahāchaitya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognized from the fact that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription can be seen on the inscribed stone itself.³

The inscription reads :—

*Dhamma(mā) Raño Asokaśirino*⁴

This fragmentary record refers to the religious edicts (*dhammā*) of the illustrious **Aśoka**. According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,⁵ Dharmāśoka, i.e. the Maurya emperor Aśoka, set up stone pillars (*śilā-yashṭi*) at Chaityas as human memorials. Aśoka himself is said to have visited the sites. Very probably the Mahāchaitya at Śālihūṇḍam is a creation of the Mauryan times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to Aśoka's religious records in this inscription incised at a later date by devotees.⁶ An inscribed pot, discovered at this place, has been assigned by Sri T. N. Ramachandran on palaeographic grounds to the first century A. D. at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have preceded it. As our stone forms part of the Mahāchaitya, it is apparently of an earlier date.

Some scholars are inclined to read the first two words in the inscription as *Dhammarāṇo* (Sanskrit *Dharmarājasya*) and take it to be the epithet of Aśoka.⁷ In support of this reading attention is drawn to certain inscriptions referring to kings as *Dharmarāja*, *Dharmamahārāja*, etc. I differ on this point. According to Buddhist literature the epithet *Dharmarāja* was applied

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133 ff.

² Op. cit., pp. 34-38.

³ [The record does not appear to be fragmentary. On the stone slab on which the space occupied by the writing is 22" by 2" (an *akṣara* being 1½" in height), there is no space for letters before the record in ten *akṣaras* while there is what looks like a damaged punctuation mark after it (cf. the symbol at the end of the Musanagar brick inscription, above, Vol. XXX p. 120, n. 5).—Ed.]

⁴ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

⁵ K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (1934), p. 12; Sanskrit Text, p. 27, vv. 370-374.

⁶ It is likely that the slabs of the entire top frieze of the *stūpa* or of a part of it were inscribed and the inscription went round the drum of the *stūpa* in one line. All these slabs are, however, unfortunately missing barring the one under review. [See note 3. above.—Ed.]

⁷ Cf. A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology, 1953-54*, p. 13.

to the *Chakravartins* and we find it often applied to the Buddha.¹ Aśoka has no place in the Buddhist scriptures as a *Chakravartin*. In his inscriptions he styles himself *Devānāṃpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā* and not *Dharmarāja*. The present inscription similarly refers to him as *Rājā Aśokaśrī*.²

Some scholars are inclined to assign the inscription to a date about 100 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that, on palaeographical grounds, it is assignable to a period between the 2nd and the 1st century B.C.³

¹ Pali-English Dictionary, P. T. S., p. 174.

² [The word *Chakravartin* means 'an imperial ruler'. In the Buddhist works, Aśoka is represented as a *dvīpa-chakravartin*, i.e., as the lord of the entire Jambū-dvīpa. See Buddhaghosha's *Sāmantapāsādikā*, P. T. S., Vol. II, p. 309. The epithet *Dharmarāja* suits Maurya Aśoka, called Dharmāśoka, admirably. Indeed he was the ideal *rājā chakravartī dhārmiko dharmarājah* of Buddhist conception (cf. P. T. S. Dictionary, s.v. *chakkavartin* and *dharmika*).—Ed.]

³ The palaeography of the inscription has been discussed by me in *Proc. IHC*, 1953, pp. 79-80. [In our opinion, the palaeography of the inscription points to a date not much earlier than the second century A.D. Although it is not quite easy to explain the purpose of this interesting record, it may not be impossible that an ancient tradition ascribing a Buddhist structure at Sālihūṇḍam to Maurya Aśoka was current in the locality and that this label referring to it was affixed at a later date.—Ed.]

No. 15—PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This is a set of three plates discovered in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house at the village of **Pedda-Dugam** in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. The record was published by Mr. V. Bhanumurthy, who secured the plates for examination through the Collector of the District, first in the Telugu monthly journal *Bhārati*, March 1955, pp. 86 ff., and then in *JAHRs*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. His reading and interpretation of the epigraph, however, contain many errors. The plates¹ were received in July 1955 for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, and were returned, at his request, to the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.

The set consists of **three** thin plates each measuring about 7" by 2·7". The first plate bears writing only on the inner side while the others are inscribed on both the sides. There is a hole (about 4" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through in the left margin of the plates. The oval face of the **seal** soldered to the ring is so completely defaced that no legend or emblem is visible on it. The three plates together weigh about 50 *tolas* while the weight of the ring with the seal is about 17½ *tolas*. The plates are numbered on the obverse side in late Telugu-Kannada numerals, apparently not incised at the time of the engraving of the plates.

The **characters** belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to a date roughly about the fifth century A.D. They closely resemble the script of such other records, belonging to the said age and discovered in the same region, as the Ningondi grant edited above.² But, as will be shown below, the internal evidence of the inscription under study seems to support its ascription to a date not much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b* in some cases (cf. *Vrāhmaṇa* in line 5), although *b* also occurs in the record (cf. *Brāhmaṇānām* in line 7). The numeral 9 occurs in line 23. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though there are many grammatical errors in the text of the document. With the exception of four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end of the charter, the whole record is written in prose. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, the inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the age and area in question. Interesting is the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in *yak-kriyā* in line 14. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, while final *n* has also been similarly changed in *°mān* in line 16. Among other errors of spelling, attention may be drawn to *sinha* for *śimha* (line 1), *aṁśu* for *aṁśu* (line 16), *sambatsarō* for *saṁvatsarō* (line 22), etc. The date of the charter is given as the **tenth day of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 9**, apparently of the reign of Śatrudamana and not of his overlord referred to in the record. The absence of any reference to the *pakṣa* may suggest that the month was solar.

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. The charter was issued from the victorious Śimhapura by a *Mahārāja* who is described as *bhagavatō Damanēśvarasvāmīnaḥ pād-ānudyātāḥ* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrihitāḥ*. *Bhagavat* Damanēśvarasvāmīn was apparently a deity whom

¹ This is No. 7 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, App. A.

² See Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff. and Plates. For some other inscriptions of the type, see above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 35-36, etc.

the issuer of the grant held in special esteem while the *Bhaṭṭāraka* was a monarch to whom he owed allegiance but whose name has not been mentioned. The name of the *Mahārāja* is given as *Śatrudamanadēva*. Whether the deity Damanēśvara, worshipped by him, was named after himself (cf. the latter part of his name) or after one of his predecessors named Damana cannot be determined with certainty.

Mahārāja Śatrudamana's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was issued to the villagers (*grāmān* in the sense of *grāmēyakān*), headed by Brāhmaṇas and others, residing at the three localities called Duhāgrāma, Vasuvāṭaka and Gōvāṭaka within what is called the *agrahāra* (revenue-free area in the possession of Brāhmaṇas) of Giri-Kaliṅga-Varddhamaṇa (i.e. the Varddhamaṇa *agrahāra* in the Giri-Kaliṅga district). As the gift villages are stated to have been situated in an *agrahāra*, the present grant may be regarded as a reallocation of the localities, which were already revenue-free, in favour of the donees of the charter. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas named Bappaśarman and Śarvaśarman who were the sons of Yajñaśarman and residents of Paṭṭuvagrāma. They belonged to the Kaunḍinya *gōtra* and were students of the Taittirīya school of the Yajurveda. The gift villages were made a *brāhmaṇa-dēya* and granted to the donees as a *dvija-bhōga*. The three villages constituted three *vr̥ttis* or shares, two of which were granted to Śarvaśarman and one to Bappaśarman. The villagers were enjoined to receive orders from the donees and follow them as well as to pay to them whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (*pratyāya*), produce of the fields (*mēya*), etc. The above is followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in lines 14-22. Next comes the date of the charter, already discussed above. The name of *Vaidya* Krishṇadatta, who was the *dūta* or executor of the grant, occurs in line 24 with which the document ends.

There are several points of interest in the inscription under study. It reveals for the first time the existence of a king named Śatrudamana who ruled from Siṃhapura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. It is well known that this city is mentioned as the capital of the Kaliṅga country in the Ceylonese chronicles and that many *Mahārājas* enjoying the title *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* or *sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati*, who flourished about the fifth century A.D., issued their charters from the same place.¹ We also know that the history of Kaliṅga about the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in South Kaliṅga and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Siṃhapura.² Kings Umavarman and Chaṇḍavarman of the Piṭṭibhakta family had one of their capitals at Siṃhapura. The Mātharas, who originally ruled from Piṣṭapura, appear to have ousted the Piṭṭibhaktas from Central Kaliṅga. The Ragolu plates,³ issued by the Māthara king Śaktivarman from Piṣṭapura, record a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Siṃhapura, while the Ningondi and Sakunaka grants⁴ of Prabhañjanavarman and Anantaśaktivarman, respectively the son and grandson of Śaktivarman, were issued from Siṃhapura itself. The Vāsishṭhas of Dēva-rāṣṭra in Central Kaliṅga, i.e. the modern Yellamanchili area of the Visakhapatnam District, appear to have extended their power over the Piṣṭapura region and extirpated the Mātharas sometime about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Śatrudamana of our inscription appears to have ruled earlier than all the rulers mentioned above as having issued their charters from Siṃhapura.

An interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that, while the other *Mahārājas* of the age and area generally claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga and were apparently independent

¹ Cf. *The Classical Age*, pp. 211 ff.; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff.; *Mahāvamsa*, VI, 35; Geiger, *Cūlavamsa*, trans., Part I, p. 213, note 1.

² See *The Classical Age*, loc. cit.

³ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff.; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 226 ff.

monarchs, *Mahārāja* Śatrudamana acknowledged the supremacy of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* or paramount ruler. The style *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigrihita* applied to a *Mahārāja* reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors.¹ We also know that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice, enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.

The feudatories (including those enjoying a semi-independent status) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and were often called *Paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānudyāta*, i.e. meditating on or favoured by the feet of the overlord. The expression *pāda-parigrihita* also occurs instead of *pād-ānudyāta* in the same context in epigraphic records in the description of certain subordinates of the Gupta emperors.² It is therefore very probable that the overlord of *Mahārāja* Śatrudamana was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the *Mahārāja* of *Sinhapura* could have possibly owed allegiance in the age in question while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by *Prithivivigraha-bhaṭṭāraka* about the middle of the sixth century.³ The absence of the name of Śatrudamana's overlord in the charter under study and its date given in his own regnal reckoning instead of the Gupta era appear, however, to suggest that the king was enjoying a semi-independent status at the time of issuing the grant.

The Allahabad pillar inscription⁴ of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions certain rulers of the Kalinga region, who were defeated by the Gupta monarch but were reinstalled by him in their respective kingdoms. Whether the rulers of that area acknowledged Gupta supremacy as a result of Samudragupta's expedition cannot, however, be determined although that is not improbable. We have also to note that the ruler of *Sinhapura* is not mentioned in the list of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and that the city may have become prominent after the third quarter of the fourth century when the said epigraph was engraved. One of the rulers of the Kalinga region mentioned in the list of Samudragupta's adversaries is *Damana* of *Brāṇḍapalla*. This king can hardly be identified with Śatrudamana of *Sinhapura* because not only are the names of the rulers but also those of their capitals are different. In any case, the combined testimony of the Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrudamana and the Sumandala plates of the time of *Prithivivigraha* would point to the hold of the Guptas on parts of the Kalinga country. If the area in question did not come under Gupta influence during the reign of Samudragupta, it may have been subdued by his son Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) or grandson Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) as the later members of the Imperial Gupta family do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the conquest of such a far off tract. But the *Mahārājas* of the *Sinhapura* region must have thrown off the Gupta yoke considerably before the end of the fifth century not long after Śatrudamana's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of *Sinhapura* has been indicated above. *Duhāgrāma* seems to be no other than modern Pedda-Dugam (literally, 'the bigger Dugam') which is the find-spot of the record. The identification of the other two villages is uncertain though they appear to have stood in the same neighbourhood. The location of *Paṭṭuvagrāma* cannot be determined. The *Vardhamāna agrahāra* is stated to have been situated in *Giri-Kalinga* which seems to be the name applied to a hilly district of Kalinga. In ancient times, usually the *Godavari* (sometimes even the *Krishna*) was regarded as the south-western

¹ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.

² See *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 283, 285, 310, 324, 328, 338.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

boundary of the Kalinga country. About the fifth century A.D., as we have seen, 'the lords of Kalinga' were ruling from Pishtapura in the south and Sinhapura and other cities in the Srikakulam region. With the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, often styled 'lords of Kalinga', at Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam) about the end of the century, the name Kalinga gradually came to be exclusively applied to their kingdom. The Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa, which formed part of the ancient Kalinga country at least down to the sixth century, became later known as Tōsalī after an ancient capital of the land identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District.¹

TEXT²*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham³ [*] Vijaya-Siṁha(Siṁha)purād=bhagavatō Damanēśvara-
- 2 svāminah pād-ānudyātō Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigri-
- 3 hitō mahārāja-śrī-Śatrudamanadēvaḥ Giri-
- 4 Kalinga-Varddhamān-āgrahārē Duhāgrāmē Vasuvāṭakē

*Second Plate, First Side*2⁴

- 5 Gōvāṭakē sa (cha) Vṛā(Bṛā)hmaṇa-purōgad=⁵ grāmāñ=chharī-ādi-kuśalañ
- 6 spri(pri)shṭvā likhaty=asty=ētē mayā grāmakā [ā*]tmana[h] puny-ā(ny-ā)pyāyana-
- 7 nimittam Brāhmaṇānām(bhyām) Paṭṭuvagrāma-vāstavyāya(bhyām)
- 8 Kaundinya-sagōttrāya(bhyām) Taittirīya-savra(bra)hmachārīṇē(bhyām)
- 9 Yajñaśarmmaṇaḥ puttra(ttrābhyām) Vappaśarmmaṇāya Śarvvaśarmma-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 10 nāya cha⁶ triṇy=api⁷ grāmakā dattā ābhyā[in] vṛā(brā)hmaṇa-dēya[in] kṛitvā
- 11 dvija-bhōgō viśriṣṭas=tad=yushmābhi[h*] śrōtavayam⁸=ājñā cha kartavyā [*]
- 12 attra cha Śarvvaśarmmaṇāya(nē) vṛitti-dvaya[in*] Va(Ba)ppaśarmmaṇāya(nē)
- 13 cha vṛittir=ekā [*] sarvvē cha samuchita-grāmāñ[in] pratyāya-
- 14 mēy-ādim⁹=upanēśya(shya)tha [*] bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkā[h*] Yāḥ=kriyām dharma-
- 15 sa[in]yuktām manas=āpy=abhinandati [*] varddhatē sa yath-ēshṭēna (shṭaṇ=cha)

¹ For the geography of Kalinga, see my article on ancient Orissa, in *JIH*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 263 ff.

² From the original plates and their impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ The figure, which is a modern Telugu-Kannaḍa numeral, stands in the margin near the beginning of line 6.

A similar figure for 1 is found on the blank side of the first plate.

⁵ Read *purōgān*. The word *grāma* appears to have been used in the sense of *grāmēyaka* or *grāmaśālin*.

⁶ Read *Bappaśarmmaṇē Śarvvaśarmmaṇē cha* or *Bappaśarmma-Śarvvaśarmmaṇābhyām*.

⁷ Read *trayā-pi*.

⁸ Better read *śrōtavā*. The word *anayōḥ* is understood in this sentence.

⁹ Better read *grāmāñām samuchita-pratyāya-mēy-ādi*. The word *ābhyām* is understood here.

i

2 4

1. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 2. பூசினவா உயுருகரன் ஈவா உயிர்
 3. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 4. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்

ii, a

6 8

1. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 2. பூசினவா உயுருகரன் ஈவா உயிர்
 3. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 4. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்

ii, b

10 12 14

1. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 2. பூசினவா உயுருகரன் ஈவா உயிர்
 3. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்
 4. கையேயுபுருஷகரன் உயிர்

iii,a

16

16

18

18

20

20

iii,b

22

22

24

24

*Third Plate, First Side*3¹

- 16 śukla-pakshē iv=ānśumān² || [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā³
 17 vasudhā⁴ vasudh-ādhipaiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
 18 tasya⁵ tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [2*] Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō
 19 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīm=mahimatām śrēṣṭha
 20 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [| 3*] Shashtīm varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 sva[r*]ggē mōdati bhūmidah [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha
 22 tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t*] || [4*] ity=ēvaṁ-likhita-samba(sarṁva)tsarō
 23 navamō 9 Āshāḍha-māsa-divasō daśamō
 24 dūtō vaidya-Kṛishṇadatta[h] ||[*]

¹ The figure (a modern Telugu-Kannada numeral) stands in the margin near the beginning of lines 17-18.

² Read *paksha iv=ānśumān*.

³ There is an unnecessary dash-like mark after the word.

⁴ Read *bahudhā*.

⁵ Read *bhūmis=tasya*.

No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(1 Plate)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions¹ are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Aruḷaḷa Perumāl temple at **Little Kāñchipuram**, Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **language** as well as the **script** of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The **object** of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of **Uḍaiyakāmam** in **Antarudra-vishaya** by Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi, for offerings and worship, to the god Allālanātha while she was at **Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi**.² The inscription is dated in the **19th year** of the reign of **Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Anantavarmarāhutadēva** who is stated to have belonged to the **Gaṅga** family. The king is further described as the son of [the god] Purushōttama and a **Paramavaishṇava** who regularly observed the *ekādaśi-vrata* and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the *mahāvākya*. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., **Mina** śu'5, Wednesday, **Rēvatī**. As the year of the commencement of this king's reign is known to be 1211 A.D.³, the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the *tithi* quoted having ended the following day at 02. The *nakshatra* **Rēvatī** is misquoted for **Rōhiṇī**.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by **Kaliṅgēśvara** **Aniyañkabhīma**-rāhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumāl. The *sthānattār* of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Rājarāja III** and contains the following astronomical details: **Āḍi 12**, **Saptamī**, **Monday**, **Āsvatī**, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kāñchipuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gaṅga king's wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chōḷa king Rājarāja III, the second is dated in the latter's 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are found at Kāñchipuram. It would appear that king **Aniyañkabhīma III** (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, Nos. 444 and 445 of 1919.

² Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka (modern Cuttack in Orissa). **Aniyañkabhīma III** issued from that place a number of grants in 1230-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-258; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). **Antarudra-vishaya**, in which the village **Uḍaiyakāmam** was situated, has been identified with the modern **Antarōḍha Pargana** in the **Sadar Sub-division** of the **Puri District** of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 2).

³ Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 259.

political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chōla king Rājārāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of over-grown and disloyal Chōla vassals like the Kāḍavarāya chieftain Kōpperuñjīga.¹ The reign of Rājārāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh trouble for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Mājavarmaṇ Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājārāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Hoysala king Narasiṃha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāḍava chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (*mḷēchchadēśa*) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamaṅgalam (Sēndamaṅgalam). When Narasiṃha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kāḍavarāya and restored Rājārāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyaṅkabhīma III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kāḍavarāya chieftain but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōla kingdom.² Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kāḍavarāya chieftain or actually sent his army to the Chōla country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoysala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoysala Narasiṃha II : " His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas why should I describe ? Describe how he lifted up the Chōla, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikaṇṇa forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequalled valour ".³ Another contains the following details : " The king Vira Narasiṃha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chōla king who sought refuge with him and, having seen [the god] Allāṇātha, stationed there a body of the *bhēruṇḍas* (the name of a regiment ?) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Ratnakūṭa capital, was at peace. Then the body of the *bhēruṇḍas*, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāñchīpura. And having seen the lord of Kāñchīpura, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allāṇātha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of *vīra-bhēruṇḍas*. " ³

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date ; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1230 A.D.¹ Among the many achievements attributed to Hoysala Vira-Narasiṃha II in the first of the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to, mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikaṇṇa forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vira-Narasiṃha invaded the Kāñṇa country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāñchīpuram it was defeated by the Hoysala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram by the army of Aniyaṅkabhīma is further indicated by the second Hoysala inscription which categorically mentions Vira-Narasiṃha's invasion and uprooting of the Magara kingdom (*Magara-rājyaṁ nirmūlya*), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōla king who had sought

¹ [See below, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].

² *EC*, Vol. V, Cn. 203.

³ *Ibid.*, Cn. 211.

his protection (*śaraṇāgata-Chōla-rājān pratishṭhāpya*) and his stationing at Kāñchīpuram of the army of the *bhērūṇḍas* for uprooting evil-doers (*dushṭa-nirmūlan-ārtham tatra bhērūṇḍa-varggaṁ sthāpayitvā*).¹

One does not know what the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikalīṅga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Magaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem regions), or the Kāḍavarāya chieftain whose hostile activities against Rājārāja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram being the Trikalīṅga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the *bhērūṇḍa-vargga* after remaining at the place for sometime went forth and conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains (*nirgatyā tasmāt parabalam=atulaṁ Vindhyam=adriṁ vijitya*). The *para-bala* (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyāṅkabhīma, which was the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.²

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaiṣṇava temple in the heart of the Chōla kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chōla king Rājārāja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance,³ though the document could have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Rājārāja III was then a prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam with his vassal Kōpperuñjiṅga, and the Chōla country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchīpuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was put an end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.⁴

Though the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kāñchīpuram in the course of 1230 A.D., *Kaliṅgēśvara* Aniyāṅkabhīma's devotion to the god Allāṇātha of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumāḷ, for which the *sthānatattār* of the temple agreed to measure a *nāḷi* of ghee by the *Ariyeṇavallā-nāḷi*. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chōla Rājārāja III. It suggests that, after Rājārāja's release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyāṅkabhīma III recognised him as the Chōla king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chōla country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kālīṅga king was at Kāñchīpuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant *in absentia* from Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi itself in the same way as his wife Sōmaladēvī had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.⁵

Inscription No. I

TEXT³

- 1 Svasti [*] Chatu[r*]ddaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrī-Purushōttama-charaṇ-ādēśa(śā)t [*] Samara-mukh-āṇēka-ripu-di(da)rppa-marddana-bhujabala-parākranma-⁴
- 2 ma-paramavaishṇava-para⁵mabhaṭṭāraka-jaganmūlakāraṇa-śrī-Purushōttama-putra-traiva-sundharā-samundha(ddha)raṇa-praba(cha)ṇḍa-dō-

¹ [See below pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].

² *EC*, Vol. V, Cn. 203 and 211.

³ From an impression.

⁴ This *nma* is redundant.

⁵ This *ra*, which was first omitted by the scribe, seems to have been later engraved on *pa*.