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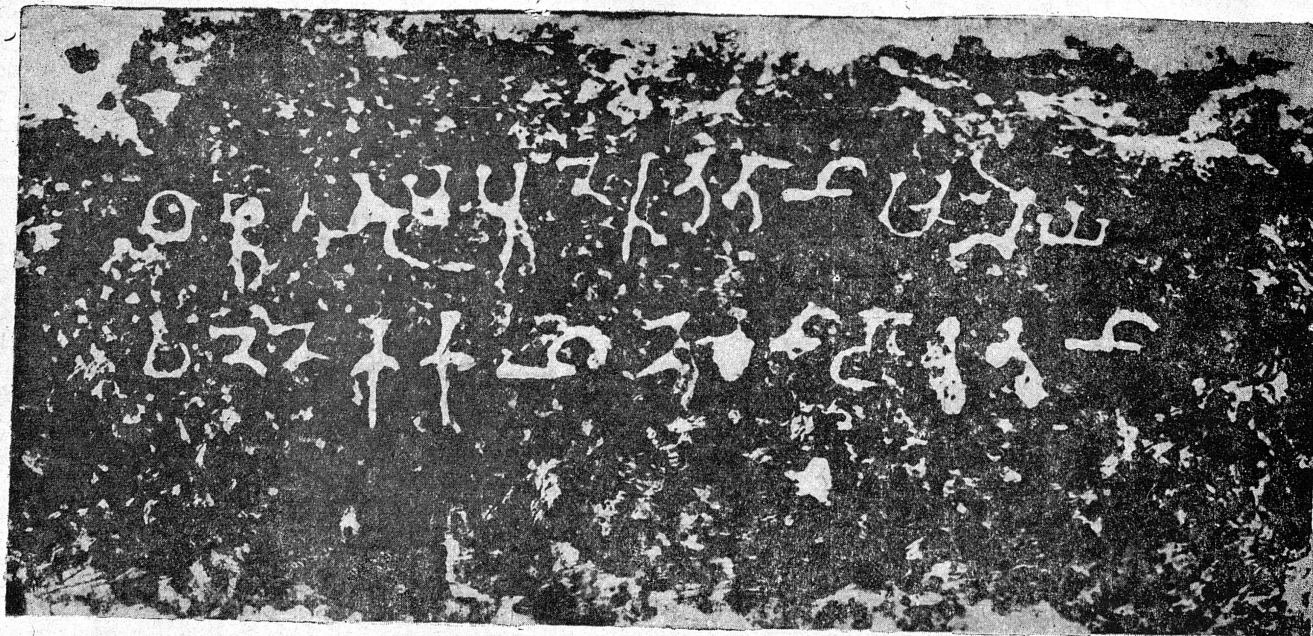
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ARACHCHALUR BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

A



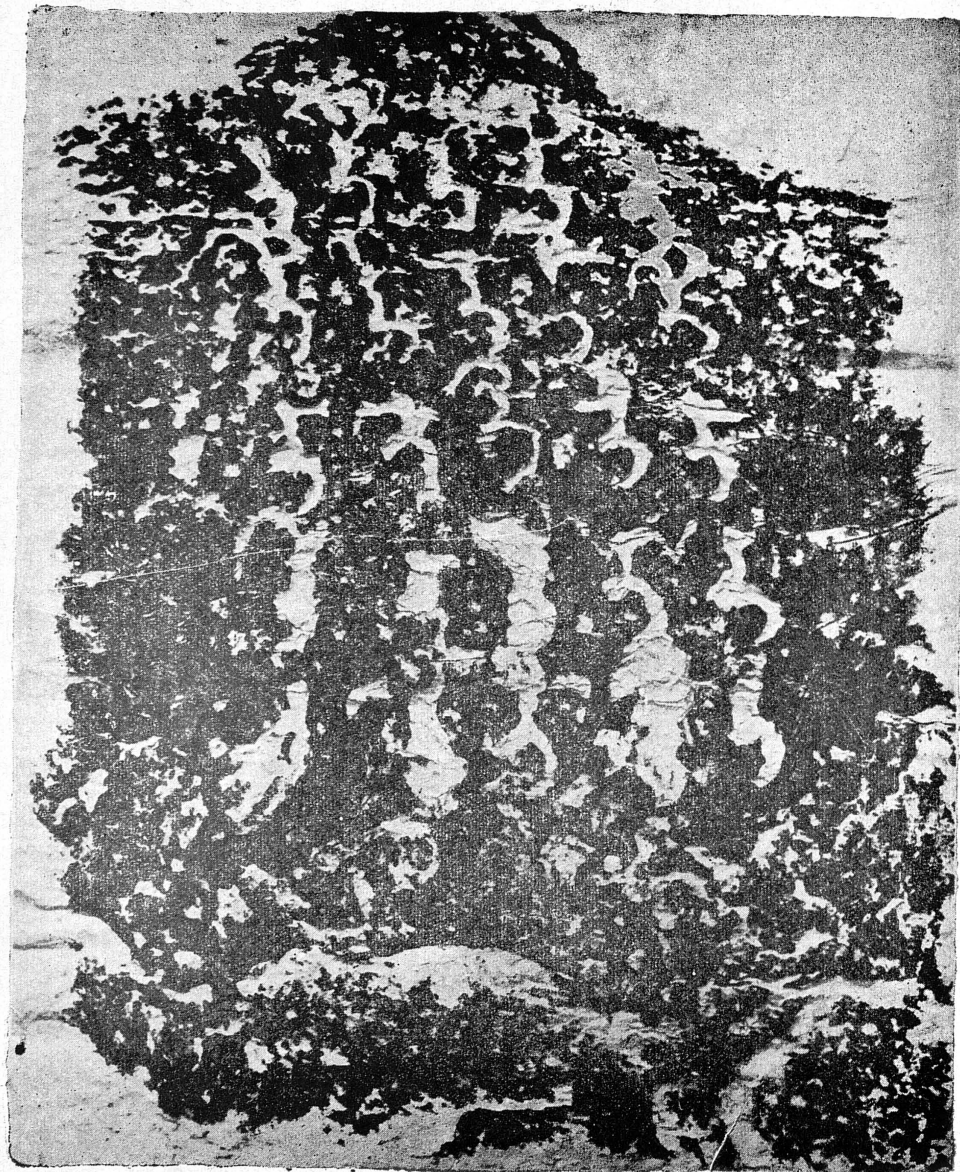
From Photograph





ARACHCHALUR BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

B



From Photograph



## No. 15—INSCRIPTIONS FROM ARACHCHALUR

( 2 Plates )

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

A cavern in the Nāgamalai range of hills about more than two kilometers from the village of Arachchalūr in Erode Taluk in Coimbatore District, Tamil Nadu has yielded three inscriptions engraved on the beds inside it. They are edited here on account of their unique importance for Tamil palaeography and cultural history. The main inscription is engraved on a fairly complete bed and the other two are engraved on the beds on either side of it, a little away.<sup>1</sup>

The language of the inscriptions is Tamil and the characters are Tamil script of the 3rd century A. D. The palaeography of the record is very interesting. The only vowel *e* occurring in the inscription at the very beginning is made up of a nearly round sign with a dot inside. The use of this dot to indicate that the letter is short is very interesting because it follows in this the well-known rule laid down in the ancient Tamil work *Tolkāppiyam* stipulating that short *e* and *o* get dots marked above them as in the case of consonants.<sup>2</sup> But this rule does not seem to have been observed in respect of other consonants, stops or full.<sup>3</sup> The letter *ta* has a shorter stem with the arm on the right taking a curve towards the bottom line. The vowel sign for *u* in the form of a horizontal stroke to the right is attached to this consonant and also to *la* where the horizontal stroke is extended as a curve. This sign appears to have been added inadvertently to the letter *pu* which has already got an extended lower arm to signify the *u*. The cerebral *na* is formed by writing the central stem of the original form from the end of the top line to the beginning of the lower line. This is obviously the result of a running hand. This is a crucial feature for our consideration of the script. The form of *ma* is that of the horse-shoe with a short horizontal stroke attached to the inside of the right upward arm of the letter. The letter *lai* is formed by the accented convex curving of the lower left arm and by attaching two strokes towards the left of the right arm.<sup>4</sup> The letter *ka* is distinguished by the tendency to curve the central horizontal stroke. *Te* is formed by attaching a single stroke to the left of the top head mark of *ta*. The form of *cha* is along expected lines though the right arm is not fully clear. The typical final *ṇ* is written by bending the central line both from the middle and the right end of the base line.

It will be clear from the discussion of the palaeographical features that the script in use during the period of this inscription has developed very well registering important changes in respect of the letters *e*, *t*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* not noticed earlier thus justifying the naming of the script as Tamil at least during this period, if not earlier. We may as well dispense at this stage with the use of the names such as Tamil Brāhmī or Late Brāhmī. The absence of this development

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep. 1961-62 Nos. B 280-82.

<sup>2</sup> Eḷuttadikāram, *sūtra* No. 13.

<sup>3</sup> It is generally difficult to be sure of the dots in the inscribed surfaces of stones especially when they are not dressed for the purpose of engraving.

<sup>4</sup> This letter has been read elsewhere as *ṇi* which is impossible. See below p. 92, n. 6.



in the adjacent regions provides us with sufficient justification to distinguish this from the rest and to apply straightaway the nomenclature of 'Tamil' script.

Palaeographically this inscription is very important. For, in respect of one letter *ṇ* which is written by a running hand connecting the right end of the top stroke and the left end of the bottom stroke, the beginnings of Vaṭṭeluttu can be discerned. With a curve of the top and the bottom strokes it has become the regular Vaṭṭeluttu *ṇ* as seen in the Irulappatti inscription.<sup>1</sup> It is apparent that the regular Tamil *ṇ* was evolved on account of the Grantha influence.

This inscription has been read differently by three scholars as below :—

- 1 Eluttum puṇarttāṇ maṇiy  
vaṇṇakkaṇ Āḍaṇ Čāttāṇ<sup>2</sup>
- 2 Siddham Tittam pūpa tattāṇ Maraiya  
vaṇṇakkaṇ Tēvaṇ Čāttāṇ<sup>3</sup>
- and 3 Eḷu tānam paṇvittāṇ maṇiy  
vaṇṇakkaṇ Tēvaṇ Čāttāṇ<sup>4</sup>

The reading quoted in the first case differs in respect of two words such as *maṇiy* and *Āḍaṇ* from our reading of the same as *malaiya* and *Tēvaṇ*. The other two do not attract any discussion on account of their apparent improbability in respect of a major part of the text.

The main inscription as read by us says that Tēvaṇ Čāttāṇ a painter from the hill put the other two inscriptions, both consisting of the syllables *tā*, *tē*, *ta* and *kai* arranged in different orders in five rows, each containing five letters. Tēvaṇ Čāttāṇ was evidently the composer of the two charts, the purpose of which is not stated. It is significant that they contain the important consonant *t* combined with the vowels *ā*, *ē*, *ai*. This seems to suggest that the charts were intended to be the texts for the beginners of a dancing class where the *aḍavus* or the symbolic sound arrangements marking the foot-work and the finger-play are taught. The expression *puṇarttal* used in the inscription is very revealing since the same word has been used in the well-known classical work *Śilappadikāram* in a similar context.<sup>5</sup>

Tēvaṇ Čāttāṇ is described as *malaiya-vaṇṇakkaṇ* which is understood by us as a painter from the hill.<sup>6</sup> *Vaṇṇakkaṇ* occurs also as the epithet of many a poet belonging to the age of the Sangam classics covering a period upto the times of the present record.<sup>7</sup> Among the many

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol. XXXIX, pp. 211 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As read by T. N. Ramachandran quoted in *Kalvēṭṭiyal*, p. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *South Indian Palaeography* by T. V. Mahalingam, pp. 290-08.

<sup>4</sup> *Corpus of the Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions* by I. Mahadevan, 1966, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Arāṅgēru-kāḍai, lines 13 and 57. The idea of composition is conveyed in both the references cited. See also Aḍiyārkkunallār's commentary on lines 63-64 of the same text. See *Kalvēṭṭiyal* by Four Authors, Department of Archeology, Government of Tamil Nadu, 1972, pp. 75-78.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. pp. 77, the reading *malaiya* given in the Annual Report is misquoted as *maṇiy*. The letter in question cannot be read as *ṇi* obviously because *ṇa* is written by connecting the right end of the top stroke with left end of the bottom stroke.

<sup>7</sup> The commentators, as [quoted by the lexicon] have understood the term as denoting the profession of coin-testing.



ARACHCHALUR BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

C



From Photograph



meanings of the word *vannakam* from which *vannakkaṇ* may be derived, such as eulogy, a member of a composite verse, sandalwood and fragrance as given by the Tamil lexicon none may suit the context. But if the word is considered to be a derivative of Sanskrit *varṇaka* which means also paint, mask, etc., the donor may be considered to be a professional painter. There is nothing to preclude the possibility of a professional engaged in the manufacture, trade or authorship of any one of the several imports noted above, being the author of the charts associated with the inscriptions, the composition of which might have been his hobby. Later epigraphical references to *Vannakkaṇār-ambalam*, *vannakkak-kūli* and *vannakkaṇ* respectively do not help us very much to settle the meaning of this word very clearly.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

4 E[uttu[p]-puṇaru(r)ttāṇ malaiya

2 vanṇakkaṇ Tēvaṇ [Chā]ttaṇ<sup>3</sup>

## Translation

Tēvaṇ Chāttaṇ, a painter from the hill combined (the) letters.

The other two read as follows :

1 *Ta tai tē tai ta*<sup>4</sup>

2 *tai tai tē tai tai*<sup>5</sup>

3 *tā tē tai tē tā*

4 *tai tā tai tā tai*

5 *ta tai tā tai ta*

<sup>1</sup> *SIL.*, Vol. XIII No. 309 ; *A. R. Ep.* 1908 No. 147 ; 1929 Nos. 353 and 354.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The sound *ch* has been used here to indicate the original form of the letter used in this early inscription, though it is actually pronounced as a sibilant and so transliterated generally.

<sup>4</sup> The first and the last letters of the first and the fifth rows are read as *tā* in the Report.

<sup>5</sup> The second and the fourth letters of the second row are read as *ta* in *Kalvetṭiyal*, p. 75.

1 *kai ta tai ta kai*

2 [*ta ti ta tai ta*]

3 *tai ta tai ta tai*

4 *ta tai ta tai ta*

5 [*kai ta tai ta kai*]

---



## No. 16—KATNI PLATES OF JAYANATHA, YEAR 182

(1 Plate)

USHA JAIN, JABALPUR

Information regarding these plates was received by me in December 1978, through Dr. G. D. Gupta, Lecturer in the Government Degree College, Katni (District Jabalpur, M.P.), who also showed me the impression of a part of the inscription incised on them. At that time the plates were in the possession of Shri Morris Methews of Katni, whose late father, Shri Khusilal Methews is said to have found them somewhere near Uchahara (Ancient Uchchakalpa) in Satna district, about forty years ago. The plates are now in deposit in the Rani Durgavati Museum at Jabalpur. The authorities of that museum kindly permitted me to publish the same.

They are three copper-plates, each measuring 18.6 cm in breadth and 16 cm in height. They were originally held together by a copper-ring, passing through a round hole of about 1 cm in the middle of the top of the plates. The ring is now lost. The edges of the plates are slightly thickened. The total weight of the three plates is 1825 gm.

The plates are quite smooth. They are inscribed on one side only. There are in all 39 lines of writing on the three plates. The first plate contains 15 lines, while the second and third plates have 12 lines each. The record is in a very good state of preservation. It is neatly written and carefully engraved. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets of the sixth century A.D. They resemble the other charters of the Uchchakalpa dynasty and those of the Parivrajaka Mahārājas. The average size of the letters, which are well formed, is about one cm. Final forms of *m* occur in lines 16, 17, 31, and 39. Two different forms of *ya* are noticed in line 31 in *yasya yasya*. Letters omitted in original writing, have been added at their respective places in smaller forms as *tā* in line 30 and *yām* in line 32.

As regards orthography, *b* has been used for *v* in *viditam bō* in line 6 and *dattam bā* in line 26. The consonants followed or preceded by *r* are sometimes doubled as in *anukkrāmēna* in line 4, *parṇṇa* in line 12, *mēkattra* in line 17, *puttra*, *prapauttra* in line 18, etc. The use of *n* before *śa* is noteworthy. Similarly *n* has been used for *anusvāra* in *sinha* in line 13. The use of the Prakritised form *dinna* in place of *datta* is remarkable. Other omissions and irregularities have been corrected in the text.

The language is Sanskrit and except the benedictive and imprecatory verses quoted in lines 26-33, the whole composition is in prose.

The charter was issued from Uchchakalpa by Mahārāja Jayanātha, son of Mahārāja Vyāghra and Mahādēvi Ajjhitadēvi, grandson of Mahārāja Jayasvāmin and Mahādēvi Rāmadēvi, great-grand-son of Mahārāja Kumāradēva and Mahādēvi Jayasvāminī and great-great-grandson of Mahārāja Aughadēva and Mahādēvi, Kumāradēvi, on the third *tithi* of first fortnight of the month Pausha in the year 182 of an unspecified era. It is addressed to the brāhmaṇas, the artisans (*kārūkās*) and the inhabitants of Kalabhikuṇḍaka and states that

sixty shares of that place were granted to twenty-five persons of the four castes, as shown below :

<i>Caste</i>	<i>Name of donee</i>	<i>Shares donated</i>
Brāhmaṇa	Arkadāma	5
Do	Vōrāli	5
Do	Avalapta	4
Do	Haridatta	3
Do	Dāmōdara	2
Do	Vishṇusvāmin	2
Do	Kumārasvāmin	2
Do	Prathilasvāmin	3
Do	Vēdasvāmin	2
Do	Vasusvāmin	2
Do	Sōmasvāmin	4
Do	Rudraśarman	1
Do	Bhavanandasvāmin	1
Do	Agnisvāmin	1
Do	Rudradattasvāmin	1
Do	Sū[rya]dattasvāmin	1
Do	Nāgadinnasvāmin	1
Do	Parṇnasvāmin	1
Kshatriya	Phalgu	4
Do	Sinhanāga	1
Do	Ādityevarman	2
Vaiśya	Śivadāsa	2
Do	Pratīhārādēva	4
Śūdra	Dāsa, son of Rāmana	4
Do	Rudradāsa	2
25		60



The gift was made for the increase of the merits of the king and was to be enjoyed by (their) sons, sons' sons and (further) descendants, with the *udraṅga* and *uparikara*, not to be entered by the irregular or the regular troops and with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers. The donees were to be paid regularly the taxes like *śulka bhāga*, *bhōga*, *hiranya* and other taxes.

The charter was written by Manōratha, the *sāndhivigrahika* (minister for foreign affairs) who was the son of *bhōgika* Varāhadinna and grandson of *amātya* and *bhōgika* Phalgudatta Manōratha who is designated here as *sāndhivigrahika* is described as *mahāsāndhivigrahika* in the Sohawal copper-plate charter of Sarvanātha dated in the year 191 thus possibly pointing to his elevation sometime between the years 182 and 191.<sup>1</sup> He continued to serve Sarvanātha in the same capacity upto the year 197.<sup>2</sup>

In lines 35-36, we are further informed that the present grant was made after excluding the land measuring ten *halas* which was already granted by a previous charter.

The boundaries of the granted village are defined in lines 36-38. They are in the east a *madhūka* tree in Dēhakapallī; in the north, Vaṅgumīṇa river; in the west, Gōhārighaṭṭa upto the mountain and in the south the *garta* (pit) called Uṅgara.

Mahārāja Jayanātha is already known from two charters of his own<sup>3</sup> and from six charters of his son Sarvanātha.<sup>4</sup> He belonged to the dynasty which was ruling in the Baghelakhaṇḍa area with its headquarters at Uchchakalpa (modern Uchahara, a railway station on Katni-Allahabad line of Central Railway). The earliest known date of his son Sarvanātha is the year 191 as known from the Sohawal plates.<sup>5</sup> From the present record we come to know that Jayanātha was ruling in the year 182, which should be the year of the Gupta Era, thus corresponding to 501-02 A.D.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in this record, Uchchakalpa has already been identified with Uchahara. The exact findspot of the record is not known. The granted village of Kalabhikuṇḍaka therefore cannot be identified although its boundary limits have been mentioned.

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

[Metres : Verses 1-5 *Anuṣṭubh*]

- 1 Ōm<sup>7</sup> svasty=Uchchakalpāt(n)=mahārāj=Aughadēva[\*s]=tasya puttras=tat-pādānudhyātō mahādēvyām
- 2 Kumāradēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Kumāradēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pādānudhyātō mahā-
- 3 dēvyām Jayasvāminyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayasvāmī tasya puttras=tat-pādānudhyātō ma-

<sup>1</sup> above Vol. XIX, pp. 127-139.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 132-34.

<sup>3</sup> Karitalai Plates, year 174, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 117-120; Khoh Plates, year 177, *ibid.*, pp. 121-25.

<sup>4</sup> Sohawal Plates, year 191, above, Vol. XIX, p. 129 ff.; Khoh Plates, year 193, C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 125-29; Khoh Plates, year 197, *ibid.*, pp. 132-34; Khoh Plates, year 214, *ibid.*, pp. 135-39; Khoh Plates, *ibid.*, pp. 129-30 and unpublished Satna Plates.

<sup>5</sup> above, Vol. XIX, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>6</sup> From photographs.

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

- 4 hādēvyām Rāmadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Vyāghras=tasya puttras=tat-pādānudhyātō mahā
- 5 dēvyām=Ajjhitadēvyām=utpannō mahārāja-Jayanāthaḥ kuśalī Kalabhikuṇḍakē brā-
- 6 hmaṇ-ādī[n]=kuḷumbinaḥ kārūkāmś=cha samājñāpayati [\*] vīditam=bō=stu<sup>1</sup> yath=aiva (v=ā)sma(smād)=
- 7 grāmād-aṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) pañcha Arkkādāmasya Vōrālēḥ pañcha Avalaptasya
- 8 chatvāraḥ Harī(ri)dattasya ttra(tra)yaḥ Dāmōdarasya dvayaḥ(yaḥ) Vishṇusvāmīna[h\*] dvayaḥ
- 9 Kumārasvā(svā)mīnaḥ aṇśa(amśa)-dvayaḥ Prabhilasvāmīnē=ṇśa(mśa)-ttreyaḥ Vō(Vē) dasvāmīnē=ṇśa(mśa)-dvayaḥ
- 10 Vasusvāmīnē=ṇśa(mśa)-dvayaḥ Sōmasv[ā]mīnē=ṇśa(mśa)ś=chatvāraḥ Rudrasarmmāya (rmmaṇē) aṇśa(amśa)[\*h]
- 11 Bhavanandasvāmīnē=ṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) Agnisvāmīnē=ṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) Rudradattasvāmīnē=ṇśaḥ (mśaḥ) Sū[ya](rya)dattasvā-
- 12 minē=ṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) Nāgadinnasvāmīnē=ṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) Parṇnasvāmīnē=ṇśaḥ(mśaḥ) ēbhir=ēva yath=ōpari-
- 13 khitaka brāhmaṇair=ata gra(ṛi)hītaka-kshattriya Phalgu[\*nē] aṇśa(amśa)kās=chatv[ā] raḥ Siṇha-
- 14 nāgasy=āṇśaḥ(āṇśaḥ) Ādityavarmaṇaḥ aṇśa(amśa)-dvayaḥ vaiśya Śivadāsasya
- 15 \*Pratīhāradēvasy=āṇśa(āṇśa)ś=chatva(vā)ra(rah)

### Second Plate

- 16 <sup>a</sup>=aṇśa(amśa)-dvayaḥ śūdra Rāmaṇa-puttra-Dāsasy=āṇśa(āṇśa)s=chatvāraḥ Rudra-
- 17 dāsasy=āṇśa(āṇśa)-dvayaḥ ēvam=ēkattra [paṁ]cha-viṇśa(viṁśa)tāḥ brāhmaṇa-ādi-purō
- 18 gāṇāṁ yath=ōpari-likhitakānāṁ sva-puny-ābhivṛddhayē puttra-prapauttra-tat-pu-

<sup>1</sup> Read vīditam=vō=stu.

<sup>2</sup> This line appears to be a later addition.

<sup>3</sup> This may probably indicate that the number of the plate is 2.



# KATNI PLATES OF JAYANATHA

i

2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8
10	10
12	12
14	14

ii

16	16
18	18
20	20
22	22
24	24
26	26

28 28  
 30 30  
 32 32  
 34 34  
 36 36  
 38 38

From Photograph



- 19 ttr-ādy-anukkramēṇa chandr-ārka-sama-kālikah s-ōdraṅgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ a-chāṭa-
- 20 bhaṭa-prāvēśyaś=chōra-daṇḍa-varjitaḥ agraḥāratvēn=ātisrīṣṭas=tē yūyam=ē-
- 21 shām samuchita-sulka-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaṁ karishyath=ā-
- 22 jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyāś=cha bhavishyatha[\*||] Yē=ch=āsmad=vañś(vaṁś)-ōtpaddyamānaka-rājāna-
- 23 s=tair=iyam dattir=nna vilōpyā anumōdaniyā yathā-kālāñ=cha pratipāla-
- 24 niyā samuchita-rāj-ābhāvya-kara-pratyāyā[ś=cha\*] na grāhyā[h\*][\*] Yaś=ch=aimām datti[\*m] lō-
- 25 paya(yē)t sa(t=sa) pañchabhiḥ=mahāpātakai[r\*]=upapātakaiś=cha samyukta[\*h] syād=u(t [\*] u)ktañ=cha
- 26 Mahābhāratē bhagavatā Vēdavyāsēna Vyāsēna Vyāsēna<sup>1</sup> [\*] Sva-dattām=para-dattāmbā (ttām vā)
- 27 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira[\*] mahīm mahimatām śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālana-[m\*] [||\*1]

### Third Plate

- 28 Prāyēṇa hi narēndrāṇām vidyatē [n=ā\*]śubhā gatiḥ [||\*] pūyantē tē tu satatām
- 29 prayachchhantō vasundharā[m ||\*2] Shasṭi[\*m] varsha-[saha]srāṇi svarggē mōdati bhū-
- 30 midah[\*] āchchhētā<sup>2</sup>(ttā) ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēdba(t[||4\*]Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā
- 31 rājabhis=Sagarādibhi[h |\*] gya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||4\*]
- 32 Sarvva-sasya-samṛiddhān=tu yō harēta vasundharām(rām)[||\*] śva-vishṭhāyām<sup>3</sup> kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ
- 33 saha majjati=ti(ijati[||\*5]Iti) samvatsara-śatē dv=āśi=ty=uttarē Pausha-māsa(sē) prathama (mē)-paksha(kshē)
- 34 ttri(tri)tiyasyām(yāyām) likhitaṁ bhōgika Phalgudatt-āmātya naptrā bhōgika Varāhadi-
- 35 nna-puttra-sāndhivigrahika-Manōrathēn=ēti [||\*] Pūrvva-tāmra-paṭṭi(ṭa)-takashan<sup>4</sup> da-

<sup>1</sup> This is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> This letter is written below the line.

<sup>3</sup> This letter appears to have been added later on since it is written small and the required space is not available

<sup>4</sup> [The intended word may probably be *nibaddha*.-Ed.]

- 36 śa-halān=varjjayitvā ēsha tāmra-paṭṭa iti [||\*] Pūrvvēṇ=āsy=āghāṭaḥ  
 37 Dēhakapālyām madhūkaḥ [||\*] uttarēṇa Vaṅgumīṇa nadi[||\*] Paśchimēṇa(na)  
 38 yāvat=parvvatasya Gōhāri-ghaṭṭaḥ [||\*] Dakṣiṇēn=ōngara-gartta iti [||\*]  
 39 Ājñā svayam [||]

No. 17.—L. D. INSTITUTE PLATES OF VIJAYARAJA, V. S. 1160

(1 Plate)

K. M. BHADRI, MYSORE

In October, 1978, during my annual collection tour, I visited the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad. The Institute authorities were good enough to permit me to examine the copper-plates, being edited here and prepare estampages. According to the authorities of the Institute the set of copper-plate was received from Shri Kalyāṇavijayajī of Jalor, Jalor District, Rajasthan. It consists of two copper-plates each measuring 10.5×21.5 cm. The ring and the seal are missing. The plates weigh 732 gm.

The present record has been transcribed and its gist given by Shri Lakshmanabhayī Bhojak.<sup>1</sup>

Both the plates are engraved on their inner sides only. The first plate consists of eight lines of writing and the second one nine lines. Excepting the line number eleven on the second plates., which is inserted later above line number nine, in the top right hand margin, the letters are boldly and clearly engraved and they are in an excellent condition of preservation.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. The characters are Nāgarī which are regular for the period to which the record belongs. As regards orthography the following features may be noted. Both *prishṭha-mātrās* and *śirō-mātrās* have been used to indicate medial *ē* and *ō*, e. g. *sōmyē* in line 1 ; and *dēvān* line 4 ; and *sōmagrahaṇa* in line 3. Medial *ai* form occurs thrice (in *grāmasyaivōttara* in line 6, and in *asmad-vamśajair=anyair=api* in line 13) and always it is indicated by a *prishṭha-mātrā* to the left of the consonant and a *śirō-mātrā*, unlike with two *śirō-mātrās*, as in the regular Nāgarī script. Letter *dha* is written like *Va* e. g. *mahārājādhirāja* in line 5, *aśvamēdha* in line 15 and *sudhīh* in line 17. In the letter *dhā* there is a small horizontal stroke in the middle, connecting the consonant and the vowel sign, e.g., *Ākhābhīdhāna* in line 6 and *bahubhīr=vasudhā bhuktā* in line 14. *Anusvāra* has been used throughout for class nasals, e.g., *Śamkara* and *saṁtarpya* in line 4 and *Chamḍajah* in line 17.

The record is dated in the Vikrama Samvat 1160, Chaitra śu. 15, Wednesday, which regularly corresponds to A. D. 1103 March 25. A lunar eclipse occurred on that day and it is referred to as *sōma-grahṇa* in line 3.

The object of the record is to register the grant of land by *Rājaputra* Pūrṇarāja who is described as belonging to the Paramāra-jāti and as the son of Miyaṇapāla, for the prosperity of his parents and himself, to the brāhmaṇa Rudra, son of Mādā of the Bhāradvāja-gotra and the Vāvṛitya-śākha, who was an emigrant from Sunēla-sthāna. The land granted measured a half of a field called *ākha* or *ākhā* and was situated to the north of the village Vādhaṇavādā.

The charter was written by Tējala, son of Chamḍa of the Kāyastha caste and the Gaudra (for Gauḍa ?) lineage at the command of the king. The record ends with the sign-manual of the king Vijayarājadēva.

<sup>1</sup> *Sambodhi*, Vol. 7, pp. 117-18. The plate accompanying the article under the caption Vijayarājadēva's copper-plate, V. S. 1160 is not of this one.



The king is styled as *Mahārājādhirāja* and the donor and his father as *Rājaputra*. From the title *Rājaputra* of the donor Pūrṇarāja and from the expression "*Vijayarāja-prasād-āvāpta*" in lines 5 and 6, with reference to the grant-village Vādhanavādā obtained by Vijayarāja's favour, it becomes evident that he was a subordinate ruler under Vijayarāja. The signature of the king at the end of the record, too, supports this point. The donor Pūrṇarāja is described as belonging to the Paramārājāti which is one of the clans that are called the Agnikulas.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the king, Vijayarājādēva we know nothing except that he was a *Mahārājādhirāja*. In the absence of the genealogical details of the king it is very difficult to identify him. The title *Mahārājādhirāja* of Vijayarāja of the present record is enough to indicate that his stature was that of an independent king. There was a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vijayarāja who issued a copper-plate charter from Jalor on 16th April 1109 A. D. during the reign of king Viśala of the Jalor branch of the Paramāras.<sup>2</sup> The very title of this Vijayarāja itself rules out the possibility of identifying with him Vijayarāja of the present record who was already a *Mahārājādhirāja* in 1103 A. D.

We know of Vijayarāja of the Vāgaḍa branch of the Paramāras whose two inscriptions have been found at Arthūṇā. One of them,<sup>3</sup> engraved on the pedestal of the stone-image of Hanumān, is dated in [Vikrama] year 1165 and the other<sup>4</sup> in Vikrama year 1166. From the latter we know that Vijayarāja was the son of Chāmuṇḍarāja and grandson of Maṇḍalika. The former record does not give the names of the father and grandfather of Vijayarāja. In both the records Vijayarāja is not given any imperial titles. However, H. V. Trivedi attributes both these records to one and the same king.<sup>5</sup>

We may consider the possibility of identifying Vijayarāja of the present record with his namesake of the Arthūṇā inscriptions. Besides similarity in the names and contemporaneity, we have nothing else to say in support of this proposed identification. On the contrary, we may point out that whereas Vijayarāja of the Arthūṇā inscription of V. S. 1165, which is later in date than the present record, is not endowed with any imperial title, Vijayarāja of the present record is styled *Mahārājādhirāja*.

Pūrṇarāja, the donor and his father Miyaṇapāla cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

There is some difficulty in knowing the *śākhā* to which the donor belonged. It occurs in the last line of the first plate and can be read as *Vāvṛitya*. We may consider *Vāvṛitya* as a corrupt form of Bahvṛicha.

The actual area of the land granted is not mentioned in the record. But it is stated that it covered a half of a field which was called either *ākha* or *ākhā*. Among the boundaries of the grant land are given the *Dāta(śa) rathi-kshētra* to the east, the field belonging to (*satka*) a person described as Pūṭadā-suta to the south and the field belonging to Thālā to the west. The boundary mark on the northern side cannot be ascertained as it is engraved in small and indistinct letters above the first line of the second plate.

<sup>1</sup> *The Paramaras*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> *C. I. I.*, Vol. VII, Part II, pp. 309 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 312 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310.

*i* $\dot{u}$ 

SCALE : Three-Fourth

Of the geographical names occurring in this record Vādhaṇavāḍā-grāma, in which the grant land was situated, has been identified with the present Vādhaṇavāḍī, situated about 7-8 miles away from Jalor in the Jalor District of Rajasthan.<sup>1</sup> This village is situated in the Āhar Tahsil of the Jalor District. The village Sunēla-sthāna wherefrom the donee originally hailed can be identified with the modern town of the same name (Sunēl) in the Rāmpura-Bhānpura district of the former Indore State.<sup>2</sup>

TEXT<sup>3</sup>[Metres : Verses 1-3 *Anuṣṭubh*]

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Vikrama Saṁvat 1160 Chē(Chai)tra śudi 15 Sōmyē<sup>5</sup> (Saumyē) Paramāra-  
jāti  
2 rājaputra-śrī-Pūrṇarājō rājaputra-śrī-Miyaṇapāla-sutaḥ śāsanarī  
3 prayachchhati yathā || may=ādyā sōma-grahaṇa-parvaṇi snātvā trilōkī-gu-  
4 ruṁ Śamkaram=abhyarchya dēvān pitṛīn [tānu]śhāṁpta<sup>6</sup> saṁtarpya mātā-pitrōr=ātma-  
5 nas=cha(ś=cha) śrēy-ōbhidi(vi)ddhayē mahārājādhirāja śrī-Vijayarāja-prasād-āvā-  
6 pta sva-bhujiyamāna-Vādhaṇavāḍā-grāmē grāmasy=aiv=ōttara-diś-āgrē Ākh-ābhidhāna  
7 kshētrasy=ārdham brāhmaṇa-Rudrāya-Mādā (dō)-sutāya Sunēla-sthāna-vinirgatāya Bhā-  
8 radvāja-gōtrāya tri(tri)-pravarāya Vāvṛitya<sup>7</sup>-śākhinē śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvam(rva)-

## Second Plate

- 9 m=ā-chandra-ārkaṁ pradattaṁ || yasy=āghāṭanāḥ likhyaṁtē yathā || pūrvatō  
śrī-Dāta(śa)ra[thi]<sup>8</sup>  
10 kshētram | dakṣiṇatō Pūṭaḍā-sutāmām(nām)-satka-kshētram | paśchimātō Thālā-satka  
kshētram [||\*]  
11 <sup>9</sup>uttaratō Vāpala<sup>10</sup> kē...kā  
12 param=ēate(t) kshētr-ārdham chatur-āghāṭan=ōpētam brā<sup>9</sup> Rudrāya śāsanēn=ōdaka  
pūrvam(rva)-

<sup>1</sup> Bhōjak op. cit.<sup>2</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXIII, p. 145. The location 24° 22' N and 76° 0' E given in the Gazetteer which is correct, does not actually fall within the limits of the district but is found in Indore district proper (vide One Millionth Map., sheet No. 45).<sup>3</sup> From Impressions.<sup>4</sup> Expressed by a symbol.<sup>5</sup> Bhōjak reads *Sōmē*.<sup>6</sup> Read : *mānushānścha*.<sup>7</sup> Read *Bahvrīcha*.<sup>8</sup> Bhōjak reads *Dātaraṇi*.<sup>9</sup> This is engraved above at the right hand top corner. It begins with the numerical figure for two and a *kākapāda* indicating that it is in continuation of the second line of this plate.<sup>10</sup> Bhōjak reads ; *Vāpalākēvāḍikā*.



- 13 m=ā-chaṁdr-ārkrām(rkaṁ) pradattaṁ | mattāḥ<sup>1</sup> [a\*]smad-vamśajair=anyair=api sarvadā sarvathā pālaniyaṁ ||
- 14 yata[m=u](thā u)ktaṁ bhagavatā Vyāsēna || bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Saga-rādibhiḥ |
- 15 kasya [ka]sya yaścha<sup>2</sup> bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ || [1 ||\* gavāṁ-kōṭi pradānē[na\*] aśvamēdha
- 16 -śatēna cha | tadāgānām-sahasrēna bhūmī-hartā na śuddhyati || [2 ||\*] Gaudr-ānvaya<sup>3</sup>-samu[dbhūtaḥ] Kāya
- 17 stha-[ma]ta Chaṁḍajah | Tējalāḥ śāsanaṁ rājñāḥ śāsānād=alikhat sudhīḥ || [3 ||\*]
- 18 Sva-hastaṁ(staḥ) śrī-Vijayarājadēvasya ||

<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps originally intended to write *mad=va°* and *asmad* was then introduced resulting in the confused writing here.

<sup>2</sup> Read *yasya yasya yadā*.

<sup>3</sup> Bhojak reads *Gaud-ānvaya*.



No. 18—THUBAUN INSCRIPTION OF HARIRAJADEVA V.S. 1055

(1 Plate)

BALACHANDRA JAIN AND C.B. TRIVEDI, JAIPUR

Thūbaun is a small village situated on the left bank of the river Orr, near Chanderi in the Guna District of Madhya Pradesh. It is known as a pilgrimage centre of the Jains. There are many Jain temples in a group which have now been renovated. The other but more important groups of ruined temples—Jaina, Vaishṇava and Śaiva exist in the low valley in the nearby jungle. A small rivulet Nilati flows close by these older temples. Some of the groups have their boundary walls. Some stand near the village while others are situated far off in the jungle.

The inscription edited below was discovered from Thūbaun in 1970 by Shri C.B. Trivedi, Superintending Archaeologist, New Delhi. It was found built into the outer wall of the house of Shri Ram Ratan Kirar who informed that the inscription was originally found buried under the debris of his house. The other informant Shri Noneju, an elderly bundela Thakur however, told Shri Trivedi that several years back, the inscribed slab was removed from the ruins of the old temples by an ancestor of Ram Ratan who was a treasure-hunter. The inscription is published here from the ink impressions prepared by C. B. Trivedi.

The inscription is incised on buff colour sandstone slab which is banded by floral design and measures 120×90 cm. The writing covers a space of about 120 cm in breadth and 31 cm in height. The record consists of 14 lines and the average size of the letters is 2 cm.

The characters are Nāgarī of the tenth century A.D. and resemble those of the Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of Hariraja, dated V.S. 1040.<sup>1</sup> As usual the *Prishthamātrās* have been used in this inscription. The language of the record is Sanskrit and except the words 'Svasti Kēśavāya namaḥ' at the beginning and the date portion at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are in all 18 verses none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, the use of *sva* for *su* in line 1, of *sa* for *śa* in lines 2 and 9 and of *sri* for *śrī* in line 11 may be noted.

The date of the inscription is mentioned at the end as Vikrama Samvat 1055 which may correspond to A.D. 998-99. The *praśasti* was composed by the Brāhmaṇa (*dvija*) Āhila who was the son of Āśāditya the best among the knowers of the *pāñcharātra* school. The name of the engraver has not been mentioned in the record.

The main object of the inscription is to record the construction of the temple of Jar ārdana-Vāsudeva by Kēśava the son of Moṭṭaṇa and Māhaṭa, the grandson of Jayasvāmin and the great-grandson of Sūrasvāmin of the Garga family. The temple is said to have been constructed in V. S. 1055 when the famous king Harirājadeva born in the Pratihāra-kula was ruling over the earth. He is said to have beheld kings equalling Śrī Harsha and Dhaṅga as his subordinates (*karada*). The inscription opens with homage to the deity Kēśava. Verses 1 to 4, are in praise of Viṣṇu. Then in verse 5 we are told that there was born in the Garga family, a learned brāhmaṇa Sūrasvāmin by name who possessed knowledge of all the branches of

<sup>1</sup> above, Vol. XXXI, plate facing page 312.

Yōga. The qualities of Śūrasvāmīn are described in verse 6. The son of Śūrasvāmīn was Jayasvāmīn who is described in the next two verses 7 and 8. Verse 9 tells that the son of Jayasvāmīn was Moṭṭaṇa while verse 11 mentions his wife Māhaṭa. In verse 12, we are informed that their son was Kēśava who was like Viṣṇu (Kēśava). The qualities of Kēśava are described in verse 13. The construction of the temple of the deity Vāsudēva by Kēśava is mentioned in verse 14. Verse 15 contains the prayer that the fame of Kēśava may last long.

The Pratihāra king Harirāja is already known from the Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates,<sup>1</sup> Kadwaḥa fragmentary stone inscription,<sup>2</sup> Pachrai Śāntināth image inscription<sup>3</sup> and two Chandēri stone inscriptions.<sup>4</sup> His Bharat Kala Bhavan charter was issued in V.S. 1040. It informs that he was ruling over the area around Siyadonj, modern Siron Khurd about 15 kms to the north-north west of Lalitpur, the headquarters of the district of that name in Uttar Pradesh. The Kadwaḥa inscription calls him a *nripachakravartin* and states that he came to see the sage (name lost) who was the successor of *Āchārya* Dharmasiva. The Chandēri inscription belonging to the reign periods of his successors mentions Harirāja as an early ruler of the family. From the present record, we come to know that the area around Thūbaun was also included in the dominion of Harirāja. The record under study states that Harirāja had, as his subordinates, kings who were equal to Śrī-Harsha and Dhaṅga. Dhaṅga is no other than the famous Chandēlla ruler, the son of Śrī Harsha, who is said to have extended his dominion in the west up to Gōpagiri (Gwalior) and Bhāsvati on the Mēlavānadi.<sup>5</sup> Dhaṅga was a contemporary of the Pratihāra ruler Harirāja and since the former acknowledged the Gūrajara-Pratihāra emperor Vināyakapāla as his overlord, it is not unlikely that Harirāja who belonged to the Pratihāra-kula and actually represented a branch of the imperial family, might have posed as superior to Chandēlla Dhaṅga. The Pratihāra house represented by Harirāja ruled in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of the Chandēllas and that is why Dr. D.C. Sircar intends to suggest that possibly Kālānjara was conquered earlier by Chandella Yaśovarman from this branch of the Gūrajara Pratihāras.<sup>6</sup> Whatever be the case, it is quite evident from the study of the present record that at the time of Harirāja in V.S. 1055 (A.D. 998-99) the Pratihāras of Bundelkhand were not feudatories of the Chandēllas.

This is the second dated record of the family, the first being the Bharat Kala Bhavan Plate of V.S. 1040 (A.D. 948). The third inscription of the Pratihāras of Bundelkhand dated V.S. 1100 has been published by us in the Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, while the fourth one (V.S. 1122) is reported from Pachrai.

#### TEXT<sup>7</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1, 9, 12 and 18 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 10 and 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3-4 *Prīṭhivī* ; verses 5 and 14 *Āryā* ; verse 6 *Ṣaṣantīlākā* ; verse 7 *Upagītī* ; verses 8 and 11 *Upēndravājirā* ; verse 15 *Sragdharā* ; verses 16 and 17 *Indravājirā*].

1 ओं<sup>8</sup> स्वस्ति॥ केसवाय नमः॥ स नो विष्णुर्विभूत्यै स्तान्निघ्नता येन संगरे (१\*) सुरारातीनयत्नेन स्वरिद्रस्य स्थितिः कृता॥<sup>9</sup> (१\*) यद्रुद्ध्वा करणानि बाह्यविषयवृत्ति कृत्वा मनः संवेश्यो

<sup>1</sup> above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 309—13.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 117 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Gwalior Rajya Ke Abhilekh*, No. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, Nos. 632 and 633.

<sup>5</sup> above, Vol. I, p. 129, verse 45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 311.

<sup>7</sup> From ink-impressions.

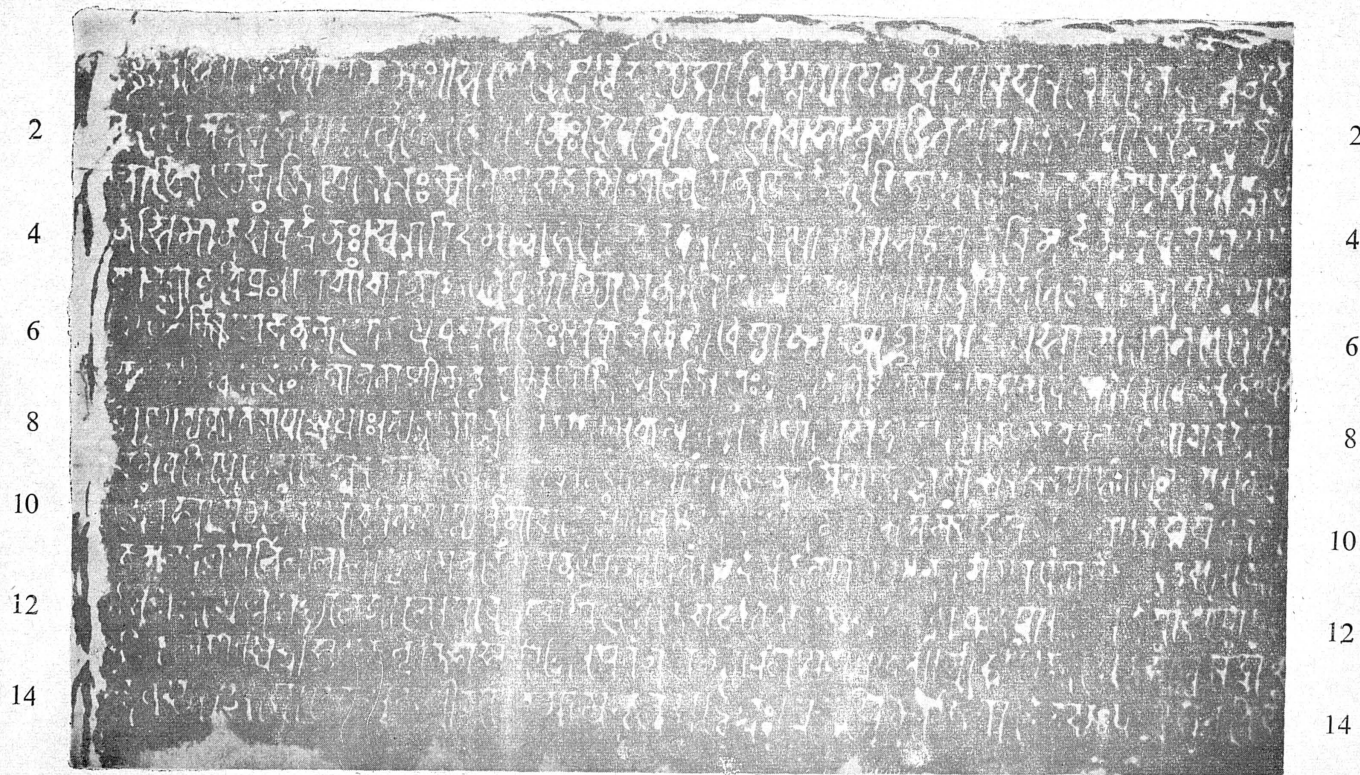
<sup>8</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>9</sup> Engraved above the line.



# THUBAUN INSCRIPTION OF HARIRAJADEVA

## LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF

2  
4  
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8  
10  
12  
14

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

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... ... ... ... ...

SCALE : One-Third

- 2 तरन्तमन्तकभयाद्वयायंति सद्योगिनः । वेदान्तागमयोगसा(शा)स्त्रगदितं वाइमानसागोचरं वा  
(वां)च्छन्त्याशु पदं तदस्तु भवतां संसारविच्छिन्नतये ॥ (२॥\*) जयत्यसुरसुन्दरीहृदयदाहदावान-
- 3 लो हिरण्यकशिपोरुरः कुलिशसदृशैः पात्ययन्नखैर्भृकुटिभासुरः । क्षतजलिप्तसर्वाङ्गकः<sup>1</sup> ॥<sup>2</sup> क्रो-  
धारुणविलोचनो नरहरिस्सटाङ्गपटः (३॥\*) जयत्यमरकामिनीम-
- नसि मानसबर्द्धनः<sup>1</sup> ॥<sup>2</sup> सुरारिदमनो हरिः कृतवराहरूपो रा(रु)षा सुदृप्तमरिमर्दनं रिपुमपास्य  
येनाहवे हिरण्यनयनं कृता जलनिधेर्द्धरापोद्धृतिः ॥ (४॥\*) शूरस्वामी नाम्ना बभूव
- गार्गान्व(यो\*) विप्रः । योगांगजो ज्ञातिपु(पु) मान्यो<sup>3</sup> मनीषिणां प्रवरः ॥ [५\*] स्वीयान्वयैक-  
तिलकः कृ(क)तुव्र(वृ)द्धिमुख्यो यस्याध्वरेषु विततेषु मुदं समीयुः । देवाः सदाभि[ष्टु]तसोम-  
मदेन विप्राः प्रां(प्रा)-
- 6 दक्षिणाकनकगोहयवस्त्रदानैः<sup>4</sup> । [६॥\*] सकलकलाधिष्ठानं तस्माज्जातो जयस्वामी ॥ (१) जलधेरिव  
शीतांशुज्जननयनानंदकृत्युकृती [१७॥\*] सोध्यैष्ट वे[दा]न्सकलानयष्ट मरखैः सुरास्त्वां-<sup>5</sup>
- 7 श्व पितृ(तृ)स्त्वधाभिः [१\*] द्विजानताप्सी(र्षीत्) क्रतुदक्षिणाभिः सुदक्षिणः कृष्णनिविष्ट-  
चेताः ॥ [८॥\*] प्रद्युम्नवन्मुरारातेः स्कन्दः पशुपतेरिव । तस्माच्च मोट्टणो जज्ञे दुग्धाब्धेरिव  
चन्द्रमाः ॥ [९॥\*] सत्यत्यागदयादयः खलु
- 8 गुणा व्यक्तातरापाश्रयाः<sup>1</sup> ॥<sup>2</sup> त्यक्तवान्यान्गुणिनोप(त)मेकमसमं प्राप्याश्रयं भेजिरे । किं चान्यच्च-  
पलापि सागरमुता संत्यज्य मानाप्यहो दानेज्यासुरसच्चसु प्रतिदिनं यस्य स्थिराभूत्सदा ॥ [१०॥\*]  
शचीव शक्रस्य
- 9 रमेव विष्णोः<sup>1</sup> महेश्वरस्यापि हि पार्व्वतीव । तस्य पृ (प्रि)या माहटनाम्निकाभूद्भार्या शरीरस्य  
हिता धनस्य ॥ [११॥\*] तयोः सुतार्थिनोज(र्ज)ज्ञे केशवः केशवोपमः । संप्रात्य यं पिता  
मेने धन्यं वंश(शं) सहात्मना ॥ [१२॥\*]
- 10 किं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मायमन्तचारुचरितः सृष्टयर्थमागाद्भुवं<sup>1</sup> ॥<sup>2</sup> विष्णुस्वित्करणीयमांगमसमं<sup>6</sup> संदर्श[य\*]  
न्देहिनां(नाम्) । रुद्रोयं परमप्रकर्षमतुलं ज्ञाने स योगे दिशन्नित्येवं विबुधा निरीक्ष्य नियतं संशेरते  
यं सदा ॥ [१३\*]
- 11 कमलदलसलिललोलां सु(श्रि)यमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं(तम्)<sup>7</sup> । [३]दमकृत तेन मंदिरममर-  
पतेव्विसुदेवस्य ॥ [१४\*] ॥ यावद्धते(त्ते)मुरारिर्मणिमसमरुचं<sup>7</sup> वक्षसा कौस्तुभाख्यं । यावत्का-  
माभिहन्ता शिरसि श-

<sup>1</sup> The verse may be read as follows for the sake of the metre :

हिरण्यकशिपोरुरः कुलिशकर्कशैः पात्ययन्न  
नखैर्भृकुटिभासुरः क्षतजलिप्तसर्वाङ्गकः—Ed.]

This *danda* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> [The metre is defective. The insertion of the expression *dhīrō* here would make it correct :—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> There is a floral design between द and क्षि at the beginning of the line which is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> There is a *visarga* sign which is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> [for अगम—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> The design noticed in line 3 is repeated between तृ and ष्य and between म्म and णि ।



- 12 शिकलामुल्लसद्रव्यालजाले । यावद् (द्रव) ह्यापि वेदान्निगदति वदनैः सुस्वरन्तावदेषा ॥<sup>1</sup> कीर्तिभूयादधी-  
धप्रशमनललिता सुस्थिरा केशवस्य ॥ छ ॥<sup>2</sup> [१५\*] धन्ये प्रतीहारकुलाभिजाते ॥<sup>1</sup> पृथ्वी समाशासति
- 13 विक्रमेण ॥ (1) शुभ्रां सुधाकुन्दनिभां स्वकीर्तिं ॥<sup>1</sup> प्रतं (त) न्वति क्ष्मावलये यथावत् ॥ [१६॥\*]  
श्रीहर्षधङ्गादिनिभां (भा) वरेन्द्रां (द्रा) न्संपश्यति स्वान्करदानिवैतान् ॥ (1) तस्मि (स्मिन्) नृपे  
श्रीहरिराजदेवे । विनिम्मितं धाम जना—
- 14 दंतस्य ॥ [१७॥\*] आशादित्यसुतः श्रीमानिमामकृत सद्भि (दिद्भि) जः । प्रशस्तिमाहिलाभिख्यः पाच-  
रात्रविदां वरः ॥ थ<sup>2</sup> ॥ [१८॥\*] सन्व (स्व) त् । १०५५ ॥ थ<sup>2</sup> ॥ लिखितेयम् ॥ ७ ॥

<sup>1</sup> This stroke is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> [See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 218. These two letters seem to stand for signs indicating the change of subject matter and the end of the section respectively-Ed.]

No. 19.—A NEW CHARTER OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 6

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI, DHARWAR AND K.V. RAMESH, MYSORE

This copper plate inscription was in the possession of Shri Ranga Rao of Hosanagara, Hosanagara Taluk, Shimoga District, Karnataka State. The set was secured for the department of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwar by Dr. A. Sundara, Reader in the Department.

The set consists of three thin sheets of copper, each measuring 18.5 cm × 4.5 cm, all the plates having suffered damages along the upper and lower edges, more so in the case of the third sheet. The plates have each a hole, about .9 cm in diameter in the middle of the left margin, about 1.1 cm away from the edge. Through these holes passes a thin copper ring about 3.5 cm in diameter, to which is soldered a seal, whose oval-faced surface has the figure of a prancing lion in relief, facing left. The edge of the seal is raised all around. Plate I, which has four lines of writing on the inner side, the outer side being blank, weighs 42 g; plate II, which has four lines of writing on each side, weighs 56 g; and plate III, which has four lines of writing on the inner side, the outer side being blank, weighs 35 g; the ring with the seal weighs 48 g. The engraving is shallow and, barring a few letters which are either damaged or lost along edges of plates I and III and a few letters which are more or less fully worn out in line 8 on the first side of the II plate, the writing is well preserved.

The charter, issued on the full moon day of the fourth *paksha* of *Hēmanā* in the sixth year of the reign of Vijaya-Mṛigēśavarman of the Kadamba dynasty, records a royal grant of land made to the brāhmaṇa Nāgasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra.

The language is Sanskrit and the script employed is the Southern variety of later Brāhmi normally found employed in contemporary charters of the region in question. But for the two imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire composition is in prose. The palaeographical features are generally regular for the second half of the fifth century to which period the charter under study belongs. The letters have clear serif marks on top which, in some cases, approximate to box-heads. The signs for the subscripts *ch*, *y* and *v* follow the same pattern and this has resulted in the orthographical error of *sya* being written for *sva* in line 15.

The numerical symbol for one is engraved on the left margin, above the ring hole, and before the commencement of the lines on the inner side of the first plate. The other sides are not numbered.

The text commences with the auspicious word *Svasti*. Next is mentioned the victorious (city of) Vijayantī (line 1) from which the charter was, in all probability, issued. Then follows the introduction of the ruling king *Dharmma-Mahārāja* Vijaya-Mṛigēśavarman, preceded by many of the dynastic epithets usually met with in the *praśasti* portion of the early Kadamba charters (lines 1-4). Next occur the details of date viz., full moon day of the fourth fortnight of the winter season in the sixth year of the king's reign (lines 4-5).

In the grant portion which follows (lines 5-12) it is stated that the king Vijaya-Sīva-Mṛigēśa-varman, who had amassed great merit through his many births, who had won many battles, who had earned great wealth by the sheer strength of his arm, who was an adept in ruling over his subjects well, who was connected with all living beings and who was devoted to the gods, brāhmaṇas and elders (or, alternatively, preceptors), made a grant of six *nivarttanas* (of land) situated in the middle of Mahā-Kaytaka and made over by Priyavrata and (six *nivarttanas* of) land situated in the middle of Kiṛu-Kaytaka and made over by Māndhātṛi, to the brāhmaṇa Nāgasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The lands were granted with the customary pouring of water through the palm with *dakṣiṇā* and free from all encumbrances.

The passage relating to the lands granted is not clearly worded. But, from the run of the passage it may be inferred that two pieces of land, each measuring six *nivarttanas*, one located in Mahā-Kaytaka and originally belonging to Priyavrata and the other located in Kiṛu-Kaytaka and originally belonging to Māndhātṛi, were made over to the king in order to enable him to make the gift. It may be mentioned in passing that the name of Mṛigēśavarman's successor was Māndhātṛivarman, though we do not know whether Māndhātṛi, the original owner of one of the gift lands, was identical with the above Kadamba prince.

Lines 12-16 contain the usual imprecatory portions in Sanskrit prose and verse. The inscription ends with the statement that the text was written by Kīrttivara.

The issuer of the present charter, Mṛigēśavarman is already known to us as the issuer of a grant<sup>1</sup> in his second regnal year; the Dēvagiri plates<sup>2</sup> of his third regnal year; another set of Dēvagiri plates<sup>3</sup> of his fourth regnal year; the Huṇasūr plates<sup>4</sup> of his seventh regnal year; the Hirēśakuna<sup>5</sup> grant and the Hāsi plates<sup>6</sup> of his eighth regnal year. The present charter is the only grant, so far known, of his sixth regnal year. He also figures in a fragmentary inscription from Banavāsi.<sup>7</sup>

The date portion in the present set (lines 4-5) has a noteworthy feature in that the *ritu* or season and its fortnight (*pakṣa*) are mentioned in Prakṛit as *Hēmantān pakhē*.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Vijayanti is the well known Banavāsi in the Sirsi Taluk of North Kanara District and was the capital of the early Kadambas. We are unable to identify on a modern map the villages of Mahā-Kaytaka and Kiṛu-Kaytaka in which the gift-lands were located.

### TEXT\*

#### First Plate

1 Svasti [\*] Vijayantyām [\*] Svāmī-Mahāsēna-Mitrigaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhishiktasya Māna

<sup>1</sup> above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 151-52 and plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 35-36 and plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38 and plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Hs. 18 and plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 33 and plate.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24 and plate.

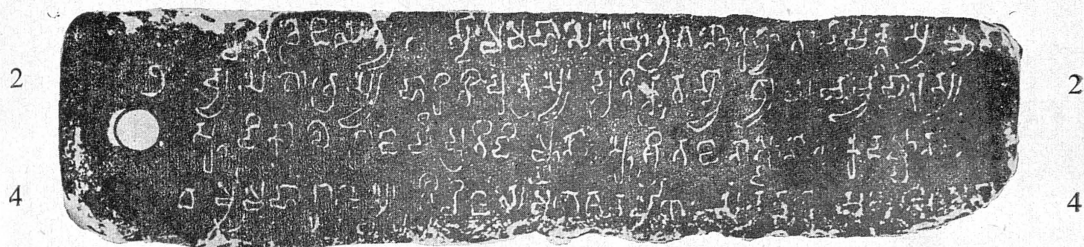
<sup>7</sup> *Studies in Indian History and Culture* (P.B. Desai Felicitation Vol.), pp. 57-62 and plate XXI.

\* From the plates and estampages.

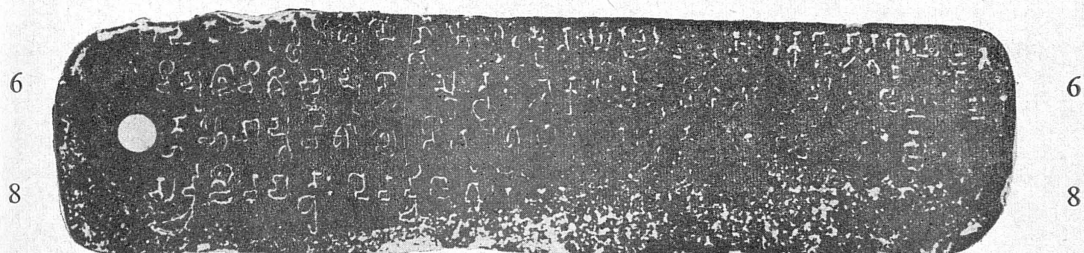


# CHARTER OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN

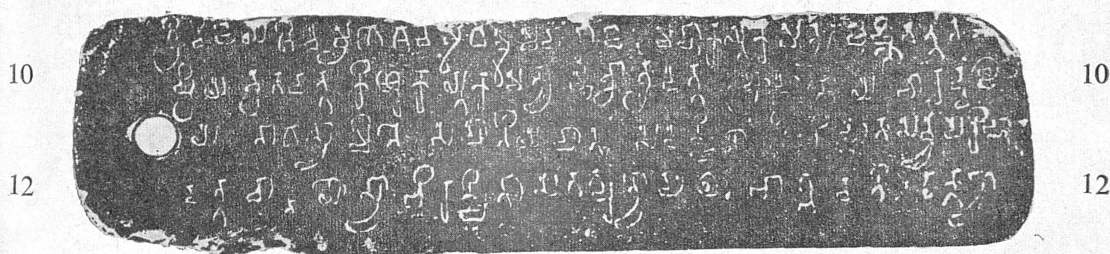
*i*



*ii a*



*ii b*



*iii*



SCALE : One-half

- 2 vya-sagōtrasya Hāritī-putrasya pratikṛita-svādhyāya-charchchā-pārasya<sup>1</sup>
- 3 ādikāla-rājarshi-pratibimbasya āsrita-jan-āmbānām Kadambāna[m]
- 4 Dharmma-mahārājasya śrī-Vijaya-Mṛigēśavarmmaṇaḥ saṁvatsarē shashthē Hōman[t]ā-

*Second Plate : First Side*

- 5 [na]-pa[khē] chaturthē tithau paurṇamāsyām anay-ānupūrvyā anēka-janm-āntar-ōpārjita
- 6 vipula-viśiṣṭā(shā)-pūṇya-skandīnāḥ n-aikā-samīra-vijayī sva-bhuja-bala-par[ā]-
- 7 kram-āvāpta-viśāla-vibhav-aśvavyā[h] samyak-prajā-paripālana-daksha[h]
- 8 sarvva-jīva-bandhuḥ dēva-dvija-guru-bhaktāḥ<sup>2</sup> . . . . .

*Second Plate : Second Side*

- 9 śrī-Vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigēśavarmma-mahārājaḥ Mahā-Kaytaka-madhy[ē] shashṇi(ṇ=ṇi)varṭtanam
- 10 Priyavrata-datta[m\*] Kīru-Kaytaka-mātya(dhyē) Māndhātṛi-datta[m] brāhmaṇāya Bhāra-  
dvājā-
- 11 ya Nāgasvāminē sa-pāṇīya-pātaṁ sa-dakṣiṇam pariḥṛita-sarvva-parihāra[m]
- 12 dattavān [\*] Yō=sy-ābhirakṣitā sa tat-pūṇya-phala-bhāg=bhavati [\*] uktañ=cha [\*]

*Third Plate*

- 13 [Bahubhir=vva]sudhā bhu[kṭā] [rājabhis]-Sagar-ādhibh[iḥ] [\*] yasya yasya yadā bhū  
[mis=ta]-

<sup>1</sup> The numeral one is engraved on the margin a little away from the beginning of this line.

<sup>2</sup> A few letters after this are lost. On the analogy of other Kadamba plates, the lost letters may be tentatively restored as *Dharmma-mahārājaḥ Kadambānām*.

14 sya tasya tadā phalami [m<sup>1</sup>=[[ 1 ||\* i] ti [[\*] apaharttā<sup>1</sup> sa pañcha-mahā-pātaka-saṃyuktō  
[bhava]-

15 ti [[\*] api cha [[\*] Sya (Sva)-dattām=para-dattām [vā\*] yō harēta vasundharā[m] [[\*] Shashṭīm  
varsha-

16 sahasrāṇi narakē pachyatē tu sa[h\*]<sup>1</sup> [\*2] iti śrī-Kirttivarēṇa likhitē=ti ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

<sup>2</sup> Better read Yō=paṇarita.



## No. 20—ANUGUL COPPER PLATE GRANT OF SANTIKARADEVA, YEAR 2

(1 Plate)

SNIGDHA TRIPATHY, BHUBANESWAR

Sometime during March, 1968, a set of three copper plates was discovered at Lokeipasi, under Bantala P.S. of the District of Dhenkanal. The plates were reported to have been unearthed from a field of Sri Udayanath Behera of the same village. They were preserved in a stone casket at the time of discovery. Proceeding on this information furnished by Sri Nityananda Mahapatra, the then Minister for Cultural Affairs Department, the Late Mr. A. Das, Secretary in the same department secured them on payment of Rs. 100/- from Sri Udayanath Behera for study and preservation in the Orissa State Museum. He published a paper on this copper plate grant with a reading of the text supplied by Sri S. N. Rajguru, ex-Epigraphist of the Museum.<sup>1</sup> The information of the discovery of the grant was also gathered by Sri Somnath Pattnaik Varma and Sri Harischandra Panda, Lecturers in Oriya and History respectively who published its reading in a local Oriya magazine<sup>2</sup>. I studied the inscription from the original plates. After careful examination it was found that the text presented by the Late Mr. Das is inaccurate in places and his interpretation of it is confusing in nature. There is enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription with a fresh reading from the original plates. I have pointed out the defects in his treatment of it in the footnotes as well as on the body of the paper. I find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. Das's suggestions as well as Mr. Rajguru's reading of the inscription. In the following lines some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the donor who issued this charter.

The set consisting of three thin copper plates attached to a copper ring and a seal, was kept in a stone box at the time of its discovery. Both ends of the plates are found in shape and the rims are not raised. Each plate measures 24.5 cm. by 7 cm. The diameter of the ring is 9 cm. A portion of it is now broken which was previously joined by a lamp of bronze. The oval seal is in the shape of a full blown lotus which measures 8.6 cm. × 6.5 cm. Lotus petals are carved at the bottom of it. In the middle of the surface of the seal, there is the emblem in relief of a couchant bull facing proper right. Below the bull there is the legend in one line read as *Śrī Śāntikaradēvasya*. Above the bull is a crescent. The first and the third plates are inscribed only on the inner side and the second plate has writing on both sides. There are altogether 24 lines of writing. The incision of letters on the second plate and a few on the third are not deep. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not on the whole quite satisfactory.

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabets and may be palaeographically assigned to the 10th century A. D. They resemble closely those of the other records of the period found in the Dhenkanal-Anugul area in Orissa and nothing calls for special mention. In the third plate the characters show a variety of East-Indian alphabets

<sup>1</sup> *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, pp. 1-14ff. See also *A.R. Ep.*, 1974-75, App. A. No. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Navajivana*, September, 1969, No. 5.

about twice the average size of the letters in the other plates. The initial *ā*, *i*, and *ṛi* are found in lines 3, 12 and 13 respectively. The initial *i* is represented in this inscription by two ringlets placed side by side with a horizontal bar above them. The sign for *avagraha* is omitted in case of *yo= sau* in line 2. *T* takes the place of final *t* in cases like *vasata* in lines 16 and 19. The final *m* at the end of the word is changed to *anusvāra* in many cases, while in others when it is not so transformed, it is represented by a dot and a horizontal stroke below it as in modern Bengali fashion. Final *n* and *t* occur respectively in lines 11 and 16 (cf. *Janapadān* and *Ēkāmraṇāt*). *P* has little difference from *y*. The writing shows the same peculiarities that are found in almost all the records of the 10th/11th centuries A.D. in Orissa. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities deserve notice. A consonant after is usually duplicated (cf. lines 1, 2, 4, 7, 10 and 20); in those like *kurvāṇā*, *nirvāra* in line 7 duplication does not occur. *Sh* has been used for *ś* (cf. *kushalī* in lines 9 and 16). *Ṇ* has been used for *anusvāra* (cf. *vaṇsē* in line 4 and *Śubhākaraṇka* in line 5). *Anusvāra* is changed to class nasal and involved into *sandhi* in the case of *dēhinān=dēha-madhyē*, (lines 2-3). The rule of *sandhi* is also not observed in some places. The record contains a number of scribal mistakes which have been corrected in the body of the text.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. It is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. There is an invocation to Lord Śiva at the beginning. The next two verses describe the genealogy of the donor Śāntikaradēva followed by a verse in his praise. The grant portion is in prose. The remaining verses at the end of the grant are imprecatory and benedictory ones.

The inscription is one of *Paramamāhēśvara Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍalādhipati*, Śrī-Śāntikaradēva, son of Śubhākara and grandson of Dharmmakara and records that he made a gift of the village Kākura situated in the *viśaya* (district) of Tālachēra in the Yamagartta-maṇḍala limited by its four boundaries. The donee was a brāhmaṇa named Vāmanasvāmin, son of Padmanābha who belonged to the Maudgalya-gōtra, Pañchārsha-pravara and a student of Ṛig-Vēda. The gift was made from the Varāhatīrtha at Śrī-Virajā, on the occasion of *akshaya-tritīyā* for the merit of the king's forefathers and himself. The donee migrated from a place named Ilāpadā. Śāntikaradēva made also another gift of the village Rakallā in the *viśaya* (district) of Lēlēsīmha situated within the same kingdom (Yamagartta-maṇḍala). The gift was made from Ēkāmraṇa at the bank of Bindusaras. The occasion for the grant was a lunar eclipse in the month of Śīvaṇa. The donee was the same Vāmanasvāmin. Both the gifts were made free from all obstructions, subjected to payment of taxes by the inhabitants of the villages to the donee. The charter was registered on the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Pausa in the second regnal year of the king. The gifts were formally announced in the presence of a number of high officials of the State. Śāntikaradēva made these two grants one from Varāhatīrtha, and the other from Ēkāmraṇa, apparently during his pilgrimage to these two holy places.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals the existence of a new king tracing the origin of his family to the sage Maṭhara. Śāntikaradēva the issuer of this grant was ruling from Yamagartta-maṇḍala. He also is described as Aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍalādhipati, lord of eighteen *maṇḍalas* which he acquired by his own valour. The learned editor remarked in doubt that he might have been a descendant of the Maṭhara family due to the mention of the sage named Maṭhara. It is a well-known fact that many ruling families during the medieval period considered it to be a privilege to trace their origin to a mythological figure or a sage or saintly person when their family name

was forgotten in course of time. The editor also suggested that Śāntikaradēva might have belonged to Bhaumakara dynasty as "kara" suffix is used in his name and those of his predecessors, and wrongly interpreted that his kingdom comprised of the present Jājpur region in the Cuttack District.<sup>1</sup>

Śāntikaradēva is described in the record as *ashtādaśamaṇḍalādhipati*, the lord of eighteen maṇḍalas which includes Yamagartta-maṇḍala. It is interesting to note that the Tuṅgas, who ruled the same region, probably before the period of Śāntikaradēva's rule describe themselves as *Samasta Gōṇḍramanātha*<sup>2</sup> or *Ashtādaśa-Gōṇḍramanātha*. The Nandōdbhavas, the rulers of *Airāvatta-maṇḍala*, also called themselves *Samasta-Gōṇḍramanātha* or *Ashtādaśa-Gōṇḍramanātha*.<sup>3</sup> This probably meant that they were lords of the aboriginal tribes, mostly Gonds who predominated these tracts of Dhenkanal-Talcher region during the period under review. It would appear from the present charter that Śāntikara was also the ruler of these tracts and the credit of being the lord of eighteen *maṇḍalas* may just be an exaggeration. In this connection it may be pointed out that there were a number of semi-independent feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas ruling more or less contemporaneously in the Dhenkanal-Anugul region. They were the Sulkis of Kōḍālaka-maṇḍala, the Nandōdbhavas of Airāvatta-maṇḍala and the Tuṅgas of Yamagartta-maṇḍala. The Tuṅgas were the feudatories of the Bhaumakaras as known from the Talcher plate of Śivakara dated in the year 149.<sup>4</sup> But Yamagartta-maṇḍala was ruled by a number of ruling families, apart from the Tuṅgas, as revealed by a number of inscriptions including the present charter in question, during the period of 9th and 10th centuries A.D. Jayasīṃha of an unknown dynasty ruled Yamagartta-maṇḍala as a semi-independent feudatory chief under the Bhauma-Kara kings.<sup>5</sup> His charter mentions the Bhauma *Samvat* 128. It seems that the family of Jayasīṃha was ousted by the Tuṅgas who were again succeeded by the dynasty represented by Rāṇaka Apsarōdēva as known from the copper-plate grant of Daṇḍimahādēvi dated in the year 180.<sup>6</sup> Whether Śāntikaradēva was a scion of the family of Apsarōdēva or belonged to an altogether different line, cannot be determined in the present state of insufficient information. Moreover, the rulers of this region must have had short rule as revealed by their inscriptions including the present one. The fact that the Tuṅgas also ruled Yamagartta-maṇḍala points to the shortlived span of the rule by the family represented by Śāntikara.

Śāntikara's charter has no affinity with those of the imperial line of the Bhauma-Karas in respect of the text, style and the genealogy furnished by it. Notwithstanding the considerations made above it can be assumed that he belonged to a collateral branch of the imperial line, since 'kara' suffix is used at the end of his name and his predecessors. It is possible to suggest that several collateral branches of the Bhaumakara family might have flourished later on at the time of their decline and ruled small principalities in different parts of Orissa under their suzerainty. This seems to be the first reference to the existence of such a collateral branch

<sup>1</sup> This charter is considered to be spurious on two grounds : (1) the absence of any reference to (a) Maṭhara as the founder of the dynasty in other records, (b) the name Bhauma or Kara in the present charter and (c) the name Dharmakara in the known genealogy of the Bhaumakara dynasty ; (2) the name Tālachēra-vishaya referred to in this charter is a modern name not to be found in any of the epigraphic records assignable to the early medieval period. See Umakanta Subuddhi, *The Bhaumakaras of Orissa*, pp. 25-26, note 25. But see the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 91-104 ff.

<sup>3</sup> above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74-82.

<sup>4</sup> B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-51.

<sup>5</sup> *JBORS.*, Vol. II, pp. 417-19 ff.

<sup>6</sup> above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.



of the imperial line in this charter, ruling Yamagartta-maṇḍala. Śāntikaradēva enjoyed an independent status and used the royal title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Aṣṭādaśa-maṇḍalādhipati* and his second regnal year instead of the Bhauma *Samvat*.

As for the localities mentioned in this charter, Yamagartta-maṇḍala, the kingdom of Śāntikaradēva can be determined with the help of this inscription as well as those of the Tuṅgas. It was situated in the valley of the river Brāhmaṇī comprising of the Anugul-Talcher region. The name has been identified by Sri B. Misra with Jamagaḍiā in the sub-division of Anugul.<sup>1</sup> Virajā, which is popularly known as Virajā-kshētra and has been identified with modern Jaipur in Cuttack District, was a centre of pilgrimage from very early times as evidenced from this inscription. During the period of Bhaumakaras it was their capital and was named as Guhēśvara-pāṭaka. It grew into a centre of Buddhism during their reign and afterwards as a centre of Śaivism and Tāntrism. Varāhatīrtha is evidently the name of a sacred spot on the banks of the Veitarāṇī on which Śrī Virajā (Jaipur) is situated. Ēkāmraka, the old name for Bhubaneswar, mentioned in this record, is also known from other epigraphic records and literary sources.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription is the earliest to mention the name of Ēkāmraka. Bindusaras is no other than the famous tank Vindusarōvar at the old town of Bhubaneswar. The importance of these places has been elaborately discussed by the late A. Das in his article on this copper-plate grant. Kākura-grāma has been identified by late A. Das with the village Kākuḍi in the Talcher sub-division. He identified Lēśiṅga-vishaya with Kulursiṅhā and the village Rakallā with Nakalā under Angul sub-division, close to the findspot of the charter. There is no village named Nakalā but Basalā under Bantala P. S. adjacent to Lōkēpasi, the findspot of the inscription.

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

Metres : verse 1, : *Sragdharā* : verses 2-3 and 5-8 : *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 4 : *Śārdūlavik-riḍita*.]

### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [||\*] Nāḍī-chakr-ōdara-sthaḥ kshiti-jala-dahana-sparśan-ākāśa-dhāmā<sup>5</sup> |  
sarvv-ātmā sarvva-śaktiḥ
- 2 śaśi-taraṇi-gatir=vviśva-mūrttiḥ Purāṇaḥ | yō=sau dēv-āti-dēvō<sup>6</sup> vicharati bhagavān=dē-
- 3 hinān=dēha'-madhyē | \* ādyō Hatsābhidhānas=sa jayati jagatām prāṇa-bhūto Mahēśaḥ ||1\*|  
Āsīd=vēda-vidā-
- 4 m=ādyō Maṭhar-ākhyō mahā-muniḥ | tasya vaṇṣē<sup>9</sup> va(ba)bhūv=ātha nāmnā Dharmmakarō  
nripaḥ || [2\*] Niḥsi (Nissi)-

<sup>1</sup> B. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See *Brahmesvara temple inscription of the time of Udyotakesari*, *JRASB Letters*, 1947, Vol. XIII pp. 63-74 ff.

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

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

<sup>5</sup> Shri Rajaguru reads *dhamā* and overlooks the unnecessary *danḍa* after the word.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Dēvādidevō*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *dēhinām dēha*.

<sup>8</sup> Rajaguru overlooks the unnecessary *danḍa* inserted here and reads *madhyō sōdyōhatsabhidhānō* which does not carry any sense and also overlooks the duplication of *s* at the end.

<sup>9</sup> Read *vaṇṣe*.

# ANUGUL COPPER PLATE GRANT OF SANTIKARADEVA

i

2 १ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 4 २ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 6 ३ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः

ii a

8 ४ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 10 ५ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 12 ६ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः

ii b

14 ७ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 16 ८ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 18 ९ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः

iii

20 १० वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 22 ११ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः  
 24 १२ वाडीवृक्षाय समुद्रं हितलदन्वसात्वाकाशवामोत्तमोत्तमवैशतिः

5 ma-sau(śau)rya-sampannas=tasy=ābhūt=tanayaḥ kṛitī | Śubhākar-āṅka yō bhūpaḥ |  
prajānām sa śubh-ākaraḥ || [3\*]

6 Tasmād=ēva mahaujasō<sup>3</sup> nija-bhū(bhu)ja-prauḍha pratāp-ārjita-sphīt=āshṭādaśa-maṇḍalō

*Second Plate ; First Side*

7 Vasumati-nāthaḥ prajā-vallabhaḥ | kurvāṇachcha<sup>3</sup>(ṇaś=cha)tur-āvḍhi(bdhi)-sima-vipulaṁ  
nir-vīram=ū(m-u)rvvī-talaṁ<sup>4</sup>

8 dēvaḥ Śāntikaraḥ sarōja-nayanō jajñē manōj-ākṛitih || [4\*] Śrī-Virajasah | Parama-māhē-

9 śvara-mahārā[jā\*]dhirāja-paramēśvar-āshṭādaśa-maṇḍal-ādhipati-śrī Śāntikaradēvaḥ  
kusha(śa)li |

10 Yamara(ga)rtta-maṇḍalē Tālachēra-vishayīya-Kākura-grāmē nivāsinaḥ sāmanti-

11 sāmavāyika-pramukha-samasta-janapadān samājñāpayati mānayati vō(bō)dhayati |  
vidita-

12 m=astu bhavatām | grāmō=yam prasiddhaiś<sup>5</sup>=chaturbhiś=sīma(mā)bhīr=avachchinna<sup>6</sup> |  
Ilāpadā[d\*] vinirgatāya |

*Second Plate ; Second Side*

13 Ṛig-vēd-ādhyāyinē<sup>7</sup> Maudgalya-sagōtraya | Pañch-ārsha-pravarāya<sup>8</sup> | Padmanābha-  
sutāya-Vāmana-

14 svāmi-śarmaṇē pitṛiṇām=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-vivṛiddhayē | Varāha-tīrthē | Askhaya-  
tritīyāyām sa-

15 rva-vā(bā)dhā-va(ba)hiḥ-śāsanīkṛitya pradatt=ōsmābhir=atō vidhēyibhūya karam=  
amusmai(shmai) dada(dā)nāḥ | sukhām

16 vasata | ath=ānyad=Ēkāmbra(mra)kāt | Śrī-Śāntikaradēvaḥ kusha(śa)li | Lēlēsīmha-  
vishayīya-Rakallā-grā-

17 mē sāmanti-sāmavāyika-pramukha-samasta-janapadān=ājñāpayati | viditam=astu  
bhavatām

<sup>1</sup> Rajaguru reads *bhāyaḥ*.

<sup>2</sup> Rajaguru reads *mahājasō*.

<sup>3</sup> Rajaguru overlooks double *chch*.

<sup>4</sup> Rajaguru reads *nirvairam=abdhitalam*.

<sup>5</sup> Rajaguru reads *prasiddha*.

<sup>6</sup> Rajaguru overlooks the letter *ra* and adds another *na* in the word *simābhir=avachchinnaḥ*. This and the following six *danḍas* upto line 15 are not necessary.

<sup>7</sup> Rajaguru reads *ādhyāyinō*.

<sup>8</sup> Rajaguru reads *pavarācha*. The Maudgalya *gōtra* has three *pravaras* viz., Āngiras, Bharmyaśva and Mudgala. But the inscription mentions five *pravaras*, not supported by any evidence.



18 grām=ōyam=api sīmābhis=chatusribhir=avachchhinnaḥ<sup>1</sup> | Sōma-grahē | Vi(Bi)ndu-sarasi  
Bhaṭṭa-śrī-Vāmanasvāminē Śrā-

19 vanyām sarva-vā(bā)dhā-va(ba)hiḥ-śāsanikṛitya pradatt=ōsmābhir=at=ōsmāi karam  
dadānāḥ sukhām vasata ||

### Third Plate

20 Bhūmi-dānē phalaṁ sarvva[m\*] haraṇam sarvva-pātakam (kam) [1\*] śvaśvadh-dha [r\*]-  
mmānavairāṅkai śasvadhī-dharaṇī-hatāḥ<sup>2</sup> [5\*] Va(Ba) hubhir=vasudhā-

21 dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhi[h\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ  
(lam) || [6\*]

22 Āsphōṭayanti pitarō valgayanti<sup>3</sup> pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē yō (jā)naḥ(taḥ) sa

23 nas=trātā bhavishyati || [7\*] Bhūmiḥ yō haratē mūḍhō hāraya [tya]pi tamō-vṛitassa (taḥ | sa)  
viśṭhāyām kṛimī(mi)r=bhū-

24 taḥ(tvā) pitṛibhi[h] saha pachyatē || [8\*] Saṁ 2 Pausa śudi 5 ||

<sup>1</sup> Rajaguru reads *r=avachchchinnah*.

<sup>2</sup> The letters are very much corroded and the meaning of these words is also not clear.

<sup>3</sup> Rajaguru reads *kalpayanti*.

## No. 21—PANGURARIA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

S. SUBRAMONIA IYER, MYSORE

The inscription edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist is engraved on the shaft, about 3 m long of a stone umbrella (*chhatri*) discovered in the course of excavations very near the rock on which the Aśokan edict is engraved at Pāngurāria in the Budani Tahsil in Sehore District in Madhya Pradesh. It was copied by me in March 1977.<sup>1</sup>

There are in all two lines of writing. The second line starts at a point below the middle portion of the first line. The inscribed area covers about 73 cm in length and 6.2 cm in breadth. Individual *aksharas* are about 1.6 cm in height though the consonants endowed with vowel marks are bigger in size. The writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the second century B. C. Of particular interest from the palaeographical point of view are the forms of letters *bh*, *t*, *m*, *y* and *h* which can be compared to similar letters found in the inscription of this period viz. the Sāñchi stūpa inscriptions.<sup>2</sup> Among the initial vowels *a* occurs in lines 1 and 2 while *e* is found in line 2.<sup>3</sup>

The language of the epigraph is Prakrit. As regards orthography, there is nothing significant to mention. There are however a number of spelling mistakes viz. *dana* for *dānaṁ*, *atevasi* for *atevasinī* and *kārāpikā* for *kārāpita*.

The inscription is in prose. It records that it (evidently the *chhatri* on which the present epigraph is engraved) is the gift of *bichhuṇi* (*bikshuṇī*) Sagharakhitā (Saṅgharakhitā). The parasol (*cnhata*<sup>4</sup>) thus gifted was caused to be made (*kārāpita*) by Pusā (Pushyā), Dhamarakhitā (Dharmarakshitā) and Arahā (Arāṇṇī), the female pupils (*atevasinī*) of Koramikā.

It is already known from the Pāngurāria rock edict of Aśōka<sup>5</sup> that a monastery called-[U]pūṇṭha-vihāra was situated in Māṇemadēśā to which Aśōka went on pilgrimage. The present inscription proves indirectly the possible existence of a Buddhist monastery (*viḥāra*) to which the umbrella in question was gifted. Could these two *viḥāras* be identical? It is however difficult to state with certainty in the present state of our knowledge. If they are identical, it is possible to surmise that the *viḥāra* built during the time of Aśōka would have continued to exist in the second century B. C. In this connection, it is however to be noted that in the epigraph under study, the name of the *viḥāra* to which the umbrella was obviously given as gift is not mentioned.

Pusā, Dhamarakhitā and Arahā are described as the disciples of Koramikā who seems to have been a Buddhist nun. The same name figures in two inscriptions from Sāñchi as well.

<sup>1</sup> This is No. B 171 of *ARIE*. 1976-77.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Monuments of Sāñchi* Vol. III pls. CXXIX and CXXXVI.

<sup>3</sup> The macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

<sup>4</sup> For the occurrence of similar expression see Lüders' List No. 1276.

<sup>5</sup> above. Vol. XXXIX p. 1 ff.

While in the one<sup>1</sup> Saṃgharakhitā is described as Koramikā,<sup>2</sup> in the other<sup>3</sup> Dhamarakhitā is stated to be the female pupil of Koramikā. These two inscriptions on palaeographical grounds have been assigned to a period between the third century B.C.<sup>4</sup> and the first half of the second century B.C. It is quite probable that Koramikā figuring in the present epigraph may be identical with her namesake appearing in the Sāñchi inscription. It is also not improbable to believe that Dhamarakhitā of the Sāñchi inscription may also be identical with her name sake occurring in the present epigraph.

### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Sagharakhitāya bhichhniya da(dā)na Koramika(kā)ya atevasini(nī) hi kāra(rā)-pitaṃ<sup>6</sup>
- 2 Pusāya cha Dhamarakhitāya cha Arahayā<sup>7</sup> cha eṭā atevasini(ni)yō kārāpikā chhatasa

<sup>1</sup> Luders' List No. 526.

<sup>2</sup> Luders translates it as an inhabitant of Kurama? Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. No. 648.

<sup>4</sup> above Vol. II, pp. 89.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> This word is redundant as this occurs again at line 2 in its proper place.

<sup>7</sup> There is an *anusvāra* like mark below the letter *ha* which may be ignored.





## No. 22—ASANAPAT NATARAJA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF SATRUBHANJA

(1Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

Recently my attention was drawn to the photograph and transcript of an inscription appearing in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XIII, No. 2 (July, 1965), pp. 1ff. The article on the inscription, found at the village of Asanapat in the Keonjhar District of Orissa, is from the pen of Aniruddha Das, the then editor of the journal ; but he quoted the text of the record as tentatively read by Satyanarayana Rajaguru, the then Epigraphist to the Government of Orissa, as well as its tentative translation which has not been attributed to Rajaguru possibly through oversight. The inscription in thirteen lines, beautifully engraved under the representation of a gracefully fashioned figure of Naṭarāja Śiva on the stone slab, has been attributed to the 3rd or 4th century A. D., apparently by Rajaguru though a clear statement in this regard has been avoided. Thus the image, under which the inscription is engraved on the same stele, has been indirectly assigned to the 3rd or 4th century A. D. This is quite wrong while the published transcript and interpretation of the record are also full of errors. The inscription has been noticed in the Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1974-75.<sup>1</sup>

The image of eight-armed Śiva-Viṇādhara, engaged in the Tāṇḍava dance, has Ūrdhva-liṅga and jaṭā-mukuta, and his attendant Bhṛiṅgin is seated cross-legged with folded hands on the god's lower right side and the other attendant Nandin (Bull) on his lower left side probably dancing with his face raised upwards in order to see the god's face. Thus the bull's mouth reaches the fingers of the extended second left arm of the god, which is in the *patākā-hasta* pose. The god plays on the lute with the two front hands (*i.e.* the main or first pair) while with the back pair he holds the head and tail parts of snake above his head. The god's second and third right hands hold respectively the rosary and the kettledrum and his third left hand holds the trident. The position of the god's legs, feet and knees resembles the dancing pose of Figures 41, 51, 73, etc., in the *Tāṇḍavalakṣṇaṃ*,<sup>2</sup> which exhibits 108 dance poses as depicted on a *gōpuram* of the Chidambaram temple after Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. The left foot of the dancing god flatly touches the ground, but the right foot touches it by the toes. There is no Apasmāra-purusha. C. Sivaramamurti assigns the image to the 6th century A.D.,<sup>3</sup> so that the inscription is ascribed by him indirectly to the same date. This seems to be correct.

As regards the images of Dancing Śiva, called Naṭeśvara in the inscriptions of the Chandra dynasty and found in fairly large numbers in South-Eastern Bengal, N. K. Bhattasali says, "South India is particularly rich in the images of the Dancing Śiva. In Northern India, these images are scarcely met with..... How Bengal, especially the present Dacca and the Tippera Districts, came to share this peculiarity with Southern India is an interesting problem of history".<sup>4</sup> Although some local characteristics are exhibited by these Dancing Śiva images

<sup>1</sup> No. B. 35.

<sup>2</sup> By B. V. Narayanaswami Naidu and P. Srinivasulu Naidu, Madras, 1936.

<sup>3</sup> *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature*, New Delhi, 1974 p. 177, Fig. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*, Dacca, 1929, p. 110.

of early medieval Bengal, we had occasion to suggest that their discovery was one of the results of the migration of a considerable number of South Indians to Bengal during the age of the Pālas and the Sēnas.<sup>1</sup> Although the well-known Natarāja form of Śiva developed in the South during the Chōla period,<sup>2</sup> it has been rightly said, "The South Indian Nṛityamūrtis of Śiva at first showed a well-marked variety which, however, came to be merged in one outstanding type, the Śiva Natarāja. . . ."<sup>3</sup> Considering the great influence of South Indian culture on Orissa,<sup>4</sup> it has to be investigated whether the Asanapat Natarāja has any similarity with any of the South Indian images of Dancing Śiva of the early period. According to Sivaramamurti, the Asanapat image is so developed in its iconography that there can be no doubt about the existence of an established earlier tradition.<sup>5</sup> The representation of the bull of this sculpture probably in the dancing pose with face upwards may have later developed into the upward looking Dancing Bull of the Bengal Sculptures.

On a careful examination of the palaeography of the Asanapat inscription, I find that it cannot be much earlier than the 6th century A. D. Not only that. Besides the fact that the published transcript and translation or interpretation of the epigraph contain numerous errors, it has not been noticed that there are two verses at the beginning of the record so that the entire document should not have been read as written in prose.

Although the published photograph of the Asanapat inscription does not show all the letters clearly, the date of the inscription can be determined with the help of its palaeography. However, after preparing my paper on the basis of the published photograph, I had an opportunity of checking my transcript with the help of inked impressions of the inscription received from Shri K. G. Krishnan, Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Smt. S. Tripathy, Epigraphist to the Government of Orissa, and I am extremely grateful to both of them. The palaeography of the Asanapat inscription is unlike other Orissan epigraphs in that the record uses the forms of the letters *l* and *h* found usually in East Indian inscriptions of a period from the fourth to the sixth century A. D.<sup>6</sup> However, from a glance at the writing, the Asanapat epigraph looks earlier than dated Orissan records like the Sumandala plates of 569 A. D.,<sup>7</sup> the Soro plate of 579 A. D.<sup>8</sup> and the Kanas plate of 569 A. D.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, among the three grants, the one that is the earliest in point of date is palaeographically later than the other two. Thus the letter *y* retains its older tripartite form in the Soro and Kanas plates, but has developed the later bipartite form in the Sumandala plates. In the present inscription, *y* in *Yā(Ya) kshēśvara* in line 8 has the bipartite shape; but in all other cases, its form is tripartite, the left limb of which exhibits a curl on the left with opening on the outer side. This peculiarity is noticed in the Soro plate among Orissan epigraphs and in such other records as the Gunaighar plate (507 A. D.),<sup>10</sup> Damodarpur plate (543-44 A. D.),<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Social Life in Ancient India* ed. Sircar, Calcutta, 1971, pp. 115-16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. K. Coomaraswamy *Hist. Ind. Indon.* Art. 1927, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> J. N. Banerjee in *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* ed. Majumdar, Bombay, 1955, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> *Cf. Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.* Vol. VI, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (*Corp. Ins. Ind.* Vol. III, pp. 1 ff. and plate) and the Damodarpur plate of 543-44 A. D. (above Vol. XV, p. 141 ff. and Plate). For an earlier Mathura inscription with the peculiarity see Sircar, *Sel. Ins.* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1965, p. 518 (Bk. II No. 42A).

<sup>7</sup> Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 79 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 197 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 329 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.* Vol. VI, 1930, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>11</sup> Above Vol. XV, p. 141 ff.



Farīdpur and Mallasarul plates (later half of the 6th Century A. D.),<sup>1</sup> the Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman (early years of the 7th century A. D.)<sup>2</sup> and the Bower manuscripts<sup>3</sup>. Likewise the form of *s* has a late look only in two cases in line 3 in *Saptataraṅgaḥ hrivai sa*. The long curved *i*-sign in *bhikṣhu* (line 10), *vijñāna* (line 12), *°m=iti* (line 13), etc., and the similarly long curved right arm of *n* in *vyākaraṇa* (line 11), *prakaraṇa* (line 12), etc., in the present epigraph considered together with the above facts appear to point to a date not earlier than the first part of the 6th century A. D. This is probably supported by the representation of the letter *b* occasionally by the sign for *v*. We know that *b* was written by its own sign till the last quarter of the 5th century A. D. when it began to be written in Eastern India sometimes by the *v* sign and the indiscriminate use continued, in rare cases, till the early years of the 7th century A. D.<sup>4</sup> when *b* came to be written by *v* only. The present inscription writes *b* in *brahmachārī* (line 9), and *bauddha* (line 12), but *v* for *b* in *vyihaspa*<sup>5</sup> (line 7) and this kind of indiscriminate use is noticed in Orissan records like the Sumandala (lines 12, 13, 17) and Soro (lines 5, 11, 16) plates, though the Karras plate writes *b* by the sign for *v* in all cases. *Anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* has been changed wrongly to *n* in lines 4 and 11.

Besides the two introductory stanzas, the record is written in one sentence in prose which states that Mahārāja śrī-Śatrubhaṅja, son of Mahārāja Mānabhaṅja from Mahādēvī Damayantī, built the temple no doubt meaning a temple for the god Śiva represented apparently by his Liṅga, the inscribed Natarāja stele probably being fixed near its front door. The rest of the sentence contains a number of the king's epithets.

Both the verses at the beginning refer to the king although it was expected that the first of them would introduce the god and the second the ruling king. Moreover, it is interesting that the name Śatrubhaṅja is not mentioned in either of the two stanzas although that was expected. That, however, the king referred to in verse 1 is Śatrubhaṅja is indicated by the fact that one of Śatrubhaṅja's epithets is *Nāga-varṇś-ōdbhava* meaning the same thing as *Nāg-ānvaya* occurring in the stanza. This is of considerable importance because here the Bhaṅja dynasty or at least one of its branches is described as an offshoot of the Nāga clan. The only epithet that could have been used in this verse by the poet as the king's name is Raṇaślāghin. The stanza is in adoration of the moon among kings, the illustrious Raṇaślāghin of the Nāga dynasty, who made the fame of his family as well as of his father lasting as long as the end of the present *yuga* (i.e. Kali-yuga).

The second stanza is likewise without any specific mention of the name Śatrubhaṅja and the only epithet of the king that could have been used here as a sort of personal name seems to be Dēvaputra. It was a typical title of the Kushāṇas of Kaṇishka's house which seems to have succeeded in extending its power over wide areas of Eastern India. A very large number of Kushāṇa coins particularly of copper and their imitations have been discovered in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and it appears that the original copper coins were in regular supply during the rule of the Kushāṇas while they were locally manufactured by the moneyers when the supply of genuine coins stopped as a result of the end of Kushāṇa rule or domination in these parts.<sup>5</sup> It is of course difficult to say if Śatrubhaṅja's epithet or secondary name Dēvaputra

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIX, 1910, p. 195 ff. ; above Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 287 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Surv. Ind. Imp. Ser.* Vol. XXII, above Vol. XXIII, p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. inscriptions of Budhagupta's time (Sircar *Sel. Ins.* Vol. I, 1965, pp. 334, text line 10, 336 text line 1) Dubi plates of Bhāskaravarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXX, p. 287 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sircar, *Problems of Kushāṇa and Rājput History*, p. 52 ff. (Eastern Boundary of the Kushāṇa Empire).

is in anyway reminiscent of the rule of the Kushāṇa Dēvaputras in Orissa. The name also reminds us of certain medieval Orissan kings who called themselves the son of Durgā, Rudra, Mahēśvara and Purushōttama.<sup>1</sup> The verse is in adoration of Dēvaputra whose valour remained unchecked in hundreds of battles, who was the unique tree having the quality of the god of wealth (Kubēra) on the earth (i.e. the Kalpa-vriksha) and who is the sun which was that mass of splendour.

Besides the epithets of Śatrubhaṇja in the prose sentence to which reference has already been made above, there are others in this section, which are important. He is called the lord of the Vindhyan forest which reminds us of the titles *Vindhya-narēśa*, *Vindhya-ēśvara* or *Sakala-Vindhya-ādhipati* enjoyed by the Śaila kings of the Ragholi plates.<sup>2</sup> This inclusion of the hilly jungle of the Keonjhar District in the Vindhyan forest supports the belief that all the ranges running east to west or west to east in the Central belt of India were known as the Vindhya.<sup>3</sup>

An important epithet states that Śatrubhaṇja made gifts of lakhs of cows at holy places like Pāṭaliputra (usually written *Pāṭaliputra*, modern Patna), Gayā, Krimilā (Rajauna-Valgudar near Luckeesarai, Monghyr District), Lalāvardhana, Puṇḍravardhana (modern Burdwan in West Bengal), Gokkhaṭī, Khadraṅga and Tāmīlīpti (also written *Tāmralīpta*, *Tāmralīpti*, etc., which is modern Tamluk in the Midnapur District, West Bengal) as well as the holy places in the two territories called Tosali (i.e. North and South Tosali in Orissa). Some of these names are not known from other sources; but the list suggests that Śatrubhaṇja visited certain temples on pilgrimage at a number of places not only in Orissa but also in Bengal (both the present Bangladesh and West Bengal) and Bihar. This he seems to have done as a feudatory of the contemporary Gupta emperors whose dominions included Bengal, at least down to 543-44 A. D. when the fifth Damodarpur plate was issued, and Orissa as far as the Ganjam region till 569 A. D. when the *Guptarājya* was *varitamāna* there according to the Sumandala plates.

Associated with this claim is another in which Śatrubhaṇja is stated to have made gifts of lakhs of *hiranya* (possibly, some types of gold coins including the Kushāṇa and Gupta Dīnāras) and also thousands of grants at the various *maṭhas* or temples such as the *maṭha* founded by a conch-shell-worker of Ahicchhatra probably lived or had been settled there in connection with his trade. The capital of this line of Bhaṇja kings may have been Khiching in the Mayurbhanj District, Orissa.

The catholicity of Śatrubhaṇja is indicated by another epithet which says that he made houses and monasteries for various types of recluses belonging to the Brahmanical, Buddhist Jain and other communities. He was interested in the study of Buddhist scriptures as we shall see below. The king also claims to have been a giver of alms to the heretics, probably meaning the Buddhists and Jains.

Śatrubhaṇja was a learned man as he claims to have studied the *Bhārata* (*Mahābhārata*) Purāṇa, *itihāsa* (legends), grammar, *Samikshya*, logic, *Mīmāṃsā* (*Karma-mīmāṃsā* and *Brahmamīmāṃsā* or *Vēdānta*), the metrical science, *Vēda*, *Bauddha-prakarana* (i. e. the scripture of the Buddhists) and *Sāṅkhya* and is further described as the store-house of superior knowledge and an expert in all the arts. The word *Samikshya* means the Sāṅkhya philosophy which is mentioned separately possibly through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the word *kalā* has been used in *sakala-kalā-abhijñā* in order to indicate the 64 arts.

<sup>1</sup> See Sircar, *Studies in the Religious Life of Ancient and Medieval India* 1971, p. 64 and note.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol. IV, p. 41 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.* 1971, p. 56 note 6.

ASANPAT NATARAJA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF SATRUBHANJA



2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12

From Photograph



The location of the geographical names occurring in the inscription has already been discussed above.

# TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres :—Verse 1 *Āryā*; Verse 2 *Āryāgītī*.]

- 1 Sa jayati narēndra-chandraḥ śrīman=Nāg-ānvayō Raṇa-ślāghī [1\*]. yēna sa-pitur=ggō-  
trasya cha kṛitā
- 2 yug-ānt-āchalā kīrtti[h] (||) [1\*]. Sa jayati punar=ēva Dēvaputra[h\*] samara-śatēshu <sup>2</sup>a-  
khaṇḍitaḥ<sup>3</sup> pratāpaḥ [1\*]
- 3 mahitala-Dhanad[ō](da)-guṇ-aika-vṛikshaḥ Saptaturaṅgaḥ hṛivai<sup>4</sup> sa tēja (jō)-rāśi  
[h||\*] [2\*] Mahārājā-śrī-Māṇa (na) bhañj [ā]-
- 4 <sup>5</sup>tmaṇēna mahadēvyā[m] Damayantyām=utpann-ānēka-<sup>5</sup> samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijayinā Nāga-  
vanśō(vamś-ō)-
- 5 dbhavēna prabhāv-ōpaha(na)ta-sarvva-sāmanta-ādhi-patinā Vindhya-āṭavī-nāthēna sva-bhuj-  
ōpārjjita-
- 6 kīrttinā Pāṭalīputra-Gayā-Krimilāḥ(lā) Lalā<sup>6</sup> varddhana<sup>7</sup>-Puṇḍravarddhana-Varddha-  
māna Gōkkaṭi-Khadraṅga-Tāmalīpti-
- 7 ubhaya-<sup>8</sup> Tōsalishu gava[m\*] laksha-pradēna nānā-dēś-āgata-chātur-vvaidya-jāmvārāmī-  
vṛihaspadhā<sup>9</sup>
- 8 Āchichchhatraka-saṅkhakāra-maṭha(thē)Yā(Ya)ksh-ēśvara-Manibhadra-maṭhē - ch=  
ānyēshu maṭha-sthānēshu
- 9 datti-sahasr-ānēka-hiraṇya-laksha-pradēna brahma-chārī(ri)-charaka-parivrājaka-
- 10 bhikshu-rnnigra(nirgra)nthaka-varṇṇāntak<sup>10</sup>-āvasatha-vihāra-kārakēna(na) pāshaṇḍa-bhik-  
shadēna

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śatēshv=a°*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *khaṇḍita-pra°*.

<sup>4</sup> Omit *hṛivai*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *°panṇēn=ānēka*.

<sup>6</sup> Here *l* has the shape of the letter in *Tōsalishu* in line 7 ; but elsewhere it has a somewhat different form. It is difficult to say whether we have to read *l* in these two names.

<sup>7</sup> There is a mark here to indicate the omission of the following name which is written below the line.

<sup>8</sup> Read *°lipty-ubhaya*.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading may have been *brāhmaṇēbhyō=grahār-ādi-pradēna*.

<sup>10</sup> The intended word here may be *varṇṇ-āntara* or better *vargg-āntara* meaning religious communities other than the Buddhist and Jain.

- 11 Bhāratha(ta)-purāṇ-ētiḥāsā-vyākaraṇa-samīkshya-nyāya-mīmāṃsā(māṃsā)-chchhanda [h\*]-  
śra(śru) ti-
- 12 bauddha-prakaraṇa-sāṅkhyā-jñēna vijñāna-rāśinā sarvva-kal-ābhijñēna mahārāja-śrī-
- 13 Śattrubhañjēna dēv-āyatanam kāritam=iti [ll\*]

**No. 23—KUNDESWAR COPPER PLATE GRANT OF CHANDELLA  
PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1255**

(1 Plate)

RAM SHARMA, MYSORE

It was during an official tour in the month of February, 1972 that I visited Tikamgarh, a district headquarter-town in Madhya Pradesh and chanced to meet Shri P. S. Shrivastava, Lecturer, Basic Training Institute, Kuṇḍēśvara in Tikamgarh Tahsil and District, who gave information about a collection of copper plates in the local museum at Kuṇḍēśvara and therefore advised me to contact Shri S. P. Shrivastava, Principal of the same college. The latter made all the copper plates—three in number, available for my examination. One of them belongs to Chandēlla Vidyādhara and the other two making up one record is edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist.<sup>1</sup>

The findspot of the copper plates in question is not known. The first plate measures 37.8 cm × 29.5 cm. The figure of goddess Lakshmi in *padmāsana* posture has been carved in the blank space provided by a gap, in the middle, of the first four lines of the first plate. As the elephants on either side usually found in most other Chandēlla copper plates known so far are missing here, this can be considered as a form of simple seated *Lakshmi* instead of the usual figure of *Gaja Lakshmi*.<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the last two lines a circular hole had been attempted but left unfinished. In the second plate space obviously for a similar hole, is left in the middle of the first two lines though the hole was never made and as a result both the plates are kept separately and were not held together by any ring and seal.

There are 18 lines of writing in the first plate. The edges have been fastened with thick copper strips, which are about 1.2 cm in width, thus making a few letters along the ends indistinct. The second plate contains altogether 15 lines of writing with a space of about 0.3 cm left in between from the middle of the 8th line and the 9th line. The edges of this plate were also provided with similar strips, out of which portions of the right strip and the bottom strip are only intact. The writing on both the plates has been well executed and fairly well preserved excepting loss of a few letters here and there. The first plate weighs 2520 gms and the second 2510 gms.

The characters belong to the period of early Nāgarī. The form of *tha* and double *va* are similar, cf. *rthō* (line 11) and *rvva* (line 14). The sign for *virāma* has been added always at a place between the honorific title and individual names like *ti | Āsādharma* (line 20), *pari Sōmēśvara* (line 17), etc.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, which is grammatically generally correct. As regards orthography the doubling of letters succeeding superscript *r*, as *rkka* (line 14), *rgga* (lines 12, 21 and 32-33), *rchhya*, (line 11), *rtta* (line 31), *rdde* (line 33), *rppa* (line 28), *rmma*

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep. 1971-72 No. A 8.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H. C. Ray *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 715. The simple form of seated *Kakshmi* is met with also in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (originally from Tikamgarh) plates of Paramardin V. S. 1247. See above Vol. XXXII, plate facing p. 127.



(line 3), *rvva* (line 14, 27-30) and the wrong use of dental *sa* instead of palatal *śa* as in Kasyapa (lines 15 and 25) as a result of the influence of the local dialect are noteworthy.

The inscription is dated Vikrama 1255, Māgha ba. 11, Friday which corresponds to 1198 A. D., December 25, f. d. t. 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village Vyaṭilā in Vōḍiṭhari *vishaya* to several brāhmaṇas of several *gōtras* hailing from several villages, by the king *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Paramarddidēva of Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) dynasty who was the lord of Kālāñjara and who is said to be meditaing upon the feet of *P.M.P. Śrī Madanavarman* who meditated upon the feet of *P.M.P. Śrī Prithvivarmadēva*. The shares given to each as shown below have been specified.

This is the latest copper-plate issued in the reign of this king, the latest, so far known being that dated V. S. 1247.<sup>1</sup> The composition of the text and its engraving deserves some notice. The expression *madhyē* in line 15 and the space left in the second plate seem to suggest that the engraving was begun before composing the entire text of the record and the space left unengraved was not anticipated earlier. It is possible that the entire passage after *madhyē* in line 15 upto and gap after line 26 was inserted slightly later. This remark will not however apply to the Semra and the Charkhari plates of the same king where also the expression occurs.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription commences with the *siddham* symbol, followed by the expression *svasti*. The stereotyped introductory verse referring to the Chandrātrēya family is given next. The prose passage that follows refers to the rulers Jayaśakti, Vijayaśakti among the early kings of this family.

The king's genealogy is given which is followed by the details of the grant along with the injunctions. After the usual imprecatory verse the charter ends with the sign manual of the king Paramardidēva.

The details of the donees and their shares are tabulated below :—

Serial No.	Gōtra	Donee's father's Name	Name of the Donee	Shares in <i>padas</i>
1	Kaśyapa	<i>Paṁ</i> Gaṁgādharma	<i>Miśra</i> Śivāditya	2 <i>padas</i>
2	Vasishṭha	<i>Agni</i> Vidyādharma	,, Jayāditya	1 <i>pada</i>
3	Vatsa	<i>Paṁ</i> Gaṇēśvara	,, Dāmōdara	1 "
4	Bhāradvāja	,, Sōmēśvara	<i>Pa</i> Daiūka	1 ,,
5	Parāsara	,, Śrīnivāsa	<i>Mi</i> Śrīharsha	2 <i>padas</i>
6	—do—	<i>Vō</i> Śrīnivāsa	<i>Vō</i> Śrīkara	1 <i>pada</i>
7	Bhāradvāja	<i>Vau</i> Vamśadhara	<i>Vau</i> Kuladhara	1 "
8	—do—	<i>Vau</i> Vamśadhara	<i>Vō</i> Hālūka	1 ,,

<sup>1</sup> above Vol. XXXII p. 126 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* Vol. IV p. 158 ; XX p. 130.

Serial No.	Gōtra	Donee's father's Name	Name of the Donee	Share in <i>padas</i>
9	Śaṇḍilya	Ti Gōlādhara	Ti Yaśōdhara	1 <i>pada</i>
10	Vasishṭha	Āśānamda	Ti Arthēśvara	1 „
11	Bhārgava	Vau Rālhē	Vau Hālūka	1 „
12	Gautama	Pa Nayanapāla	Pa Parāntaka	1 „
13	Vatsa	Miśra Dāmōdara	Dvi Lakshmiḍhara	1 „
14	Śaṇḍilya	Agni Mālhaṇa	Agni Rālūka	1 „
15	—do—	Agni Gōlhaṇa	Ti Vṛitikara	1 „
16	—do—	Paṁ Sōmē	Paṁ Kēśava	1 „
17	Vatsa	Paṁ Kalhaṇa	Paṁ Tāttaka	1 „
18	Kaśyapa	Dvi Śubhakara	Dvi Divākara	1 „
19	Kauśika	Ava Śubhakara	Dvi Hṛishikēśa	1/4 „

Amongst the abbreviations preceding the names of the brāhmaṇas, *Mi*, *Ti*, *Dvi* and *Agni* appear to stand respectively for the titles such as *Miśra*, *Tivārī*, *Dvivēdi* and *Agnihōtrī*. It is known already that *Pa* or *Paṁ* stands for *Paṇḍita*. The abbreviation *Ava* stands most probably for *Avadāni*, but no suitable explanations can be found for *Vō* and *Vau*. However, these might stand for *Vōlāpika* or so.

Some space for two and a half lines has been left after line 26 probably with an intention to include some more names. The king asks the village people including the Brāhmaṇas and other respectable persons and officials including cultivators, householders, clerk, the executor of the grant, physicians, members of the village council upto even *mēdas* and *chāṇḍālas* to give the entire dues to the donees. The usual injunctions are then laid down.

The village in question was donated along with temples and *prākāra* (surrounding wall), right of exit and entrance, together with *aśana* (*pītaśāla*), sugarcane, cotton plants, flowers, hemp plants and trees like mango and jack tree, etc., along with forest, mine, riches, treasures, iron ore, etc., timber, bricks, and stones, along with animals and whatever other items found within the limits of the village. It is stipulated that none should interfere with the donees' rights of enjoyment, cultivation, donations, mortgage, selling, etc. This section ends with the exhortation to (future) rulers to protect this grant without disturbing or withdrawing the same.

Amongst the dues referred to *bhāga*, as the meaning of the word also indicates, stands for royal share of the produce and *bhōga* means the periodical supplies made by tenants to the king.<sup>1</sup> It seems that the share in the produce like cotton, flower, hemp plant, minerals, iron, timber, bricks, stones, etc., was called as *bhāga* while *bhōga* as the meaning of the word appears to suggest stands for the shares of sugar-cane, mango, Jack

<sup>1</sup> Sircar's *Glossary* p. 48 under *bhāga-bhōga-kara* which is not a single levy as suspected by him.

fruit, milk, etc., which were offered in seasons and periodically. The expressions *bhāga-bhōgādi* or *bhāga-bhōga-paśu-hiranya* occurring in the Chandēlla grants indicate that *bhāga* and *bhōga* are different levies.

Three names of geographical importance have been mentioned in the record. In line 9 the expression *Jēvaḍāha-samāvāsē* suggests that the ruler had his camp at *Jēvaḍāha* at the time of the donation of the village *Vyaṭilā* in the *vishaya* (district) of *Vōḍiṭhari* (line 6). It is difficult to find exact identification of the names at present. However, the village *Vyaṭilā* may be indentified with the village *Tilā* in Tahsil and District *Tikamgarh*. It is likely that the first letter might have been dropped in course of time. The village *Jēvaḍāha* may be identical with the village *Jēvarāmōrā* in Tahsil *Niwādi* of district *Tikamgarh*.

### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

(First Plate)

- 1 Oṃ<sup>2</sup> | Svasti | Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṃ viśvēśvaraśirō-dhṛitaḥ | Chāmḍrātrēya-narēn-drāṇām vaṃśaś= chāmḍra iv=ōjivalaḥ || [1 ||\*] Tatra pravarddha-
- 2 mānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vā(vī)r-āvirbhāva-bhāsvarē parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā
- 3 dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Prithivīvarṇa-nāḍva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Ma[ dana ]<sup>3</sup>[va\*]
- 4 rmmadēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Kālāmjar-adhipati-
- 5 śrīmat-Paramarddiddēvō vijayī [1\*] Sa ēsha durvishahatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripukulaḥ kula-vadhūm=iva vasuṃdharān=ni [rākulām pari]
- 6 pālayan-navikala-vivēka-nirmmalikṛita-matiḥ Vōḍiṭhari-vishay-ānta[h\*]-pāti-Vyaṭilā-grām-ōpagatān=vrā (n=brā) hmaṇān=anyāmś=cha mānyān=a-
- 7 vi(dhi)kṛit[ā\*]n kuṭumvi(bi)-kāyastha-dūta-vaidya-mahattarān=mēda-chaṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvvān=sam(m)vō (bō)dhyati samājñāpayati ch=āstu vaḥ samviditaṃ ya-
- 8 th=ōpari likhitō=yam grāmaḥ sajala=sthalah sasthāvara-jaṅgavāḥ (maḥ) sva-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ s-ādha-ūrdhvō bhūta-bhaviṣyad-varttamā-
- 9 na niḥśēś-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratishiddha-chāt-ādipravēśaś=ch=āsmābhiḥ |<sup>5</sup> Jēvaḍāha-samāvāsē pañcha-pañchāsa(śa) d-adhika sa(śa)ta-dva-
- 10 y=ōpēta-sahasratamē samvatsarē Māghē māsi kṛishṇapakṣhē ēkādaśyān=tithāv=aṅkatō=pi Samvat 1255 Māgha vadi 11 Śukra-vārē
- 11 Uttarāyaṇa-samkrāntau puṇya-tīrth-ōḍakēna vidhivat snātva dēva-manushya-piṭrīm<sup>6</sup>=santarpya bhāskarapūjā-puraḥsaram char-āchara-gurum bha-

<sup>1</sup> From ink impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> The letters are damaged.

<sup>4</sup> The engraver has forgotten to engrave this letter.

<sup>5</sup> The *danda* is redundant here.

<sup>6</sup> The *anusvāra* is redundant here.

KUNDESWAR COPPER PLATE GRANT OF CHANDELLA PARAMARDIDEVA  
VIKRAMA 1255

i

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- 12 gavantaṁ Bhavānīpatim=abhyarchchya hutabhuji hutvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-  
yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē nānā-bhaṭṭ-āgrahāra-vinirggatē-
- 13 bhyō nānā-gotrēbhyō nānā-pravarēbhyō nānā-śākhādhyāyibhyō nānā-prapautrēbhyō  
nānā- pautrēbhyō nānā-putrēbhyō nānā-
- 14 Śarmabhyō brāhmaṇēbhyah kuśalatā-pūtēna hast-ōdakēna svasti-vāchana-pūrvva-  
chandr-ārkkasama-kālam putra-pautr=ādy-anvay-ānugā
- 15 mi-śāsanam kṛtvā pradattaḥ | madhyē || Kasya (śya)pagōtra paṁ | <sup>1</sup> Gaṁgādhara-putra  
Miśra | Śivādityasya pada-dvayam(m) || Vasishṭha-gōtra Agni-
- 16 Vidyādhara-putra Miśra | Jayādityasya padam=ēkam || Vatsa-gōtra pi (paṁ) Gaṇēśvara-  
putra Miśra | <sup>1</sup> Dāmōdarasya
- 17 padam=ēkam || Bhā (Bhā) radvāja-gōtra paṁ | Sōmēśvara-putra pa(paṁ) Daiūkasya padam=  
ēkam || Parāśaragōtra vā(vō) | <sup>1</sup>
- 18 Śrīnivāsa-putra vō | Śrīharshasya padam=ēkam(m) || Parāśara-gōtra vau | <sup>1</sup> Śrīnivāsa-putra  
vau | Śrīka-

(Second Plate)

- 19 rasya padam=ēkam || Bha(Bhā) radvāja-gōtra vau | Vamśadhara-putra vau | Kuladha [a]  
sya padam=ēkam || Bha (Bhā) radvāja-gōtra vau | Vēsa
- 20 [dha]ra-putra vau | [Hā] lūkasya padam=ēkam || Śā[m\*]ḍilya gā(gō) tra ti[\*] | Gōlādhara-  
putra ti | Yaśōdharasya padam=ēkam ||
- 21 Vasishṭha-gōtra ti | [Āśā]nanda-putra ti | Arthēśva(śva)rasya padam=ēkam || Bhārggava-  
gōtra vō | Rālhē-putra vau | Hālūkasya padama (m=ē)-
- 22 kam || Gō (Gau)tama-gōtra pa (paṁ) | [Na]yaṇapāla-putra pa (paṁ) | Parāntakasya  
padam=ēkam || Vatsa-gōtra Miśra-Dāmōdara-putra dvi | La-
- 23 kshmīdharasya padam=ēkam || Śāmḍilya-gōtra agni | Mālhaṇa-putra agni Rālūkasya pa-  
dam=ēkam || Śāmḍilya-gōtra agni |
- 24 Gōlhaṇa-putra ti | Vṛitikarasya padam=ēkam || Śā[n\*]ḍilya-gōtra paṁ | <sup>2</sup> Sāmē-putra  
paṁ | Ka (Kē)śavasya padam=ēkam || Vatsa-gōtra paṁ ||
- 25 Kalhaṇa-putra paṁ | Tāttakasya padam=ēkam || Kasya(śya)pa-gōtra dvi | Śubhakara-  
putra dvi | rdvi (Di)vākarasya padam=ēkam | Kausi (śi)-
- 26 ka-gōtra | ava<sup>3</sup> Śubhakara-putra dvi | Hṛishikēśasya pada-chaturth-āmśah || <sup>4</sup>
- 27 Iti matvā bhavadbhir=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā bhāga-bhōgādika [m\*] sarvvam=  
ēbhyaḥ samupanētavyam [m\*] tad=ēnam=eśhām

<sup>1</sup> The *daṇḍa* inserted after such abbreviations like *paṁ* (for *Paṇḍita*) *vā*, *vō*, *vau*, *ti* etc. , seem to denote a punctuation mark.

<sup>2</sup> This is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> This probably stands for *avadāni*.

<sup>4</sup> The next line is engraved after leaving a blank space of about 0.5 cm.

- 28 grāma-sa-mamdira-prākāra-sa-nirggama-pravēśa-sa-sarvva-āśan-ēkshu-karppāsa kuśu  
(su) ma (sumbha)-saṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruha-sava-
- 29 na-khani-nidhāna-salōh-ādy-ākaram kāsth-ēshtikā-pāshāṇa [sa-gōku] lam<sup>1</sup>=aparē (rai) :-  
api sīm-āntarggatē(tai)r=vva
- 30 stubhiḥ sahitam śa (sa)-vā (bā) hy-ā [-bhya\*] ntar-ādāya bhūmjānānām karshatām karshā-  
payatām dānādhāna-vikrayam vā kurvvatām
- 31 na kēn=āpi va (bā) dhā karttavyā [||\*] Atra cha rājapurush-ādibhiḥ sva śva (sva) ma (m=ā)  
bhāvyaṁ va(pa)riharttavyam-idaṁ=[ch]-<sup>2</sup> āsmad-dā-
- 32 nam=anāchchhēdyam=anāhāryaṁch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmipālaiḥ pālaniyam=iti || uktaṁ=  
cha<sup>3</sup> || shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi sva
- 33 rggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchhēttā na(ch=ā) nu nantā cha tānya (ny=ē) va naraka (kē)  
vasa (sē)t || sva-hasta (stō)=yaṁ śrī Parānārdidēvasya mata[m\*] mama [||\*]

1 The vertical mark for medial *ā* on the right side has been wrongly written as medial *ā*.

It appears that the engraver had intended to write *āchā* which is different from *ā* only in respect of the lower member.



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The following books are available for sale at the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, South India.

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume II, Part II : *Bharhut Inscriptions*, edited by H. Lüders and revised by E. Waldschmidt & M.A. Mehendale. Price Rs. 30.

2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. IV : Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era : Parts I and II (pages 193+722 with 3 maps and 103 Plates), by V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D. Litt., 1952. Price Rs. 125.

3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume V : *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas*, by V. V. Mirashi. Price Rs. 40.

4. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10 : The Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscriptions of Aśoka (pages 24 and 18 Plates), by R.L. Turner, M.C., M.A. D. Litt. 1952 (second impression. Reprinted). Price Rs. 10.

5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 400 by F. Kielhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. Price Rs. 35.

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