

No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

(2 Plates)

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As noticed by A. Führer in his *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 1891, p. 46, there are four inscribed copper plates preserved in the temple of Yōga-badārī (one of the Pañcha-badārī) at Pāṇḍukēśvar (lat. 30° 19' 56" N., long. 79° 35' 30" E.), 54 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, in the Garhwal District of the Kumaun Division of Uttar Pradesh. A tentative translation of the inscriptions was published in 1875 by E. T. Atkinson in a collection of inscriptions from the temples of Kumaun and Garhwal and circulated with a view to securing information about the identification of the places and personages mentioned in them. The text of only one of these records was later edited by R. L. Mitra in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, pp. 71 ff., with a photolithograph. As, however, the work was not done quite satisfactorily, F. Kielhorn afterwards re-edited the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXV, 1896, pp. 177 ff. A detailed analysis of six records from Kumaun and Garhwal including the above inscriptions was also published by Atkinson in *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.-W.P.), 1884, pp. 469-85. But the analysis was based on inaccurate transcripts of the original records. Some years ago, information reached the Government Epigraphist for India that impressions of all the four Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate inscriptions had been secured for the Lucknow Museum. At his request, the Curator of the Lucknow Museum sent the impressions to the Government Epigraphist's office for examination and transcription. The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.

I. Plate of Lalitaśūradēva, Year 22

This is a **single** plate engraved only on one side. It measures about 24·4" × 15·6" excluding a projection (with a squarish hole in it) about 4" long on the proper right side. The royal seal appears to have been originally fixed on this projection as is the case with the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the same king published by Mitra and Kielhorn. We know that the seal of this king had on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper left with a legend in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twentyeight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each *akṣhara* being about 4" × 4". The engraving seems to be deep and carefully executed and the writing is apparently in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of about the ninth century and are the same as those used in the published copper-plate inscription from Pāṇḍukēśvar. The use of initial *ā* and *i* and final *t* are noticed in the record. The *upadhmānīya* is employed in line 3. *B* has always been denoted by the sign for *v*. In line 25 there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 1, 2 and 5. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of *ōjas* or *samāsa-bhūyastva*. In respect of **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the published record of the king, referred to above, and some other epigraphs of the period. Some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. The *anusvāra* is wrongly used in some cases for the final *m* which, however, is usually retained before *v*. The dental nasal has been used for the *anusvāra* in *anyānś cha* in line 16. *Sh* has been used in place of *ś* in *Khasha* in line 15 and *ś* instead of *s* in *°āśēdha* in line 13, while *i* is found instead of *ī* in *°tkirṇa°* in line 25. The word *sahasraṇi* is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form *śahasrāṇi* in the previous line.

The charter is **dated** in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the *Vishuva-saṅkrānti*, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the 22nd year of king Lalitaśūradēva's reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* as well as to the 3rd day of the dark half of Māgha in the king's 21st regnal year. Kielhorn suggested that this date may be the 22nd December 853 A.D. As the date of the present record was also known to Kielhorn through its rough translation published by Atkinson, he noticed the curious coincidence that the details work out faultlessly with the **25th September 854 A.D.** He further observed, "The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśūradēva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in 853 A.D., and in the whole of the 9th century A.D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A.D. 853 and 854 do."

The charter was issued from the city of **Kārttikēyapura** by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Lalitaśūradēva* who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukēśvar, was the son of *P.M.P. Ishtaṅaṇadēva* and grandson of **Nimbara**. The names of the mothers of Lalitaśūradēva and Ishtaṅaṇadēva were *Vēgādēvī* and *Nāśūdēvī* respectively. Lalitaśūradēva's own queen is known, from a Bāgēśvar inscription referred to below, to have been *Sāyadēvī* (possibly the same as *Sāmadēvī* mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of year 21). King Nimbara, who is not endowed with imperial titles and may have been the founder of this royal line, is said to have been devoted to the god Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) and the goddess Nandā-bhagavatī, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaun Division is called Nandādēvī. There is a river called Nandākinī rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Trisūl in Pargana Badhān, lat. 30° 16' 10" N., long. 79° 46' 5" E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandādēvī, which is situated near Tantarakhark above the village of Satōl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbara's son and successor Ishtaṅaṇadēva; but he is called *paramabrahmaṇya* and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalitaśūradēva is also endowed with the same characteristics as his father.

There is an inscription at the temple of Śiva called Bāgēśvar (Vyāghrēśvara) situated at the junction of the Gōmatī and Sarjū in Patti Katyūr in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, 1833, pp. 1056-58. A note on the same record is also found in E.T. Atkinson's *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, pp. 469-70. It was, however, not noticed that the text of the inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghrēśvaradēva. The defective nature of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first of the three charters, as they are given in the absurd forms *Śrī-Bhasantanadēva* (read as *Masantanadēva* in the translation and *Basantanadēva* in Atkinson's account) and *Śāyasvairāmsvairāmdadau*. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as śrī-Kharparadēva, his son śrī-Kalyāṇarājādēva and his son śrī-Tribhuvanarājādēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalitaśūradēva of our record. His name has been read as śrī-Bhūdēvadēva, although the reading *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvar-ōpamīy-ādhyā-śrī-Bhūdēvadēva* seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalitaśūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbara and Ishtaṅaṇadēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalitaśūradēva's son, in which the grant was made. Little therefore is known about the duration of his rule and about the relation of this group of rulers with those mentioned in the other two charters incorporated in the Bāgēśvar record.¹

¹ Cf. *Bhīratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XII, 1931, pp. 149 ff.

The present inscription records the grant of some land which was in the possession of a person named Dēnduvāka and was lying within the jurisdiction of the administrative unit called **Thappalasāri** forming a part of the *vishaya* or district of **Kārttikēyapura**. The name of the *vishaya* shows that it was the district round the city of Kārttikēyapura which was apparently the capital of Lalitāsūradēva. For the religious merit of himself and his parents, the king made the grant in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka installed by *Bhaṭṭa* Śrīpurusha in a village called **Garuḍāgrāma**. It is interesting to note that the king, who claims to be a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), made the grant in favour of Nārāyaṇa or Viṣṇu. It is said that the temple of Nārāyaṇa should get some help from the *Brahmachārins* attached to the *tapovana* at **Badarik-āśrama**. This shows that Garuḍāgrāma was probably close to Badarik-āśrama. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts (*mahādān-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*), whose name was Pīuka. The same official is also mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the 21st year of Lalitāsūradēva's reign; but the name was wrongly read there as *Yijaka*. The record was engraved by Gaṅgabhadra from the draft of the original prepared by Āryaṭa who was in charge of the Department of War and Peace (*mahāsandhivigraha-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*). Both these persons are also known from the published inscription of Lalitāsūradēva.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kārttikēyapura is identified with Baijnāth or Vaidyanāth (lat. 29° 54' 24" N., long. 79° 39' 28" E.), a village in Pargana Dānpur of the Hazūr Tahsil in the Almora District. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson,¹ the city was built by a Katyūri king of the Katyūr valley in Kumaun on the ruins of an older city named Karavirapura. It is not improbable that the name **Kārttikēyapura** is a Sanskritized form of the aboriginal name Katyūr. Possibly Kartipura of the Allahabad pillar inscription² was just another Sanskritized form of the same name. **Badarik-āśrama** is modern Badrināth (lat. 30° 44' 29" N., long. 79° 32' 1" E.) which is a village in Pargana Malla-Painkhanda, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, and contains the celebrated temple of Badarinātha or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. The *tapovana* referred to as located at Badarik-āśrama may possibly be identified with modern Tapoban or Dhak-tapoban, a village on the left bank of the Dhaulī river about nine miles from Jōshīmāth. It is considerably away from Badrināth; but the Bhavishya-Badari lies near it. **Thappalasāri** and **Garuḍāgrāma** cannot be identified.

TEXT :

- 1 Siddham⁴ Svasti [[*] Śrīmat-Kārttikēyapurāt=sakal-āmara-di[t]itanuja-manuja-vibhu-bhakti-bhāva-bhara-bhār-ānamit-āmit-ōttamāṅga-saṁgi-vikāṭa-mukuta-kirīṭa-viṭaṅka-kōṭi-kōṭi-śvēt-aikatā-
- 2 n-anayaka-pradipa-dīpta-dīdhiti-pāna-mada-rakta-charaṇa-kamal-āmala-vipula-va(ba)ha[la*]-kīraṇa-kēsar-āsāra-sārit-āsēsha-viśēsha-mōshi-ghana-tamas-tējasas=Svardhunī-d h a u t a -jaṭājū-
- 3 tasya bhagavatō Dhūrjjaṭēḥ=prasādān=nija-bhuj-ōpārjjitō(t-au)rjjitya-nirjjita-ripu-timira-lavdhō(bdh-ō)daya-prakāśaḥ dayā-dākshīṇya-satya-sattva-śīla-śaucha-śaury-audārya-gāmbhīrya-maryād-āryavṛitt-āscha-
- 4 rya-kārya-vary-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛita-śarīraḥ mahā-sukṛiti-santāna-vī(bī)j-āvatāraḥ Kṛitayug-āgama-bhūpāla-lalita-kīrttiḥ Nandā-bhagavatī-charaṇa-kamala-kamalā-sanātha-mūrttiḥ śrī-

¹ *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 468.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 257.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

- 5 Nīmva(mba)ras=tasya tanayas=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñi mahādēvi śrī-Nāsūdēvi tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ śita-kṛipāṇa-dhār-ōtkhāta-matt-ēbha-kumbh-ākṛiṣṭ-ōtkṛiṣṭa-mukt-ā-
- 6 valī-yaśaḥ-patāk-ōchchhrāya-chandrik-āpahastita-tārā-gaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājā-dhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Isṭagaṇadēvas**=tasyā(sya) puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñi mahādēvi śrī-
- 7 Vēgādēvi tasyām=utpā(tpa)nnah paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇya[h] [Kali]-kalaṅka-pank-ātāṅka-magna-dharaṇy-uddhāra-dhārīta-dhaurēya-vara-Varāha-charitaḥ saha-ja-mati-vibhava-vibhu-vibhūti-
- 8 sthagit-ārāti-chakra-pratāpa-dahanah a[t]i-vaibhava-saṁbhār-ārambha-[saṁbhṛita]-bhīma-bhrūkuṭi-kuṭila-kēsa[r]i-saṭā-bhīta-bhīt-ārāt-ibha-kalabha-bhara[h] atunḍa-raṇa[t]-kṛipāṇa-vā(bā)ṇa-gaṇa-prāṇa-
- 9 guṇa-haṭh-ākṛiṣṭ[t]-ōtkṛiṣṭa-salīla-jayalakshmī-prathama-samālīṅga-āvalōkana-vailakshya-sakhēda-surasundarī-vidhūta-kara-skha[la]d-va[la]ya-[ku]suma-prakara-prakīrṇ-āvatamsa-samva(samva)rddhita-kīrtti-
- 10 vī(bī)[ja]ḥ Prithur=iva dōrddanḍa-sādhita-dhanur-mmaṇḍala-va(ba)l-āvasṭambha-vasa(śa)-vaśikṛita-gō-pāla[n]ā-nīśchalikṛita-dharādharēndraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīma-**Lali**-
- 11 **taśūradēvaḥ** kuśalī | śrīmat-Kārtti[**keya***]pura-vishay[ē] samupagatā[n-sarvvā]n=ēva niyōgasthā[n=rā]ja-rājanaka¹-rājaputtra-rājāmātya-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta-ṭhakkura-mahāmanushya-ma-
- 12 hāka(kā)rttākṛi[t]ika-ma[hāpratihāra]-mahādanḍanāyaka-mahārājapra[mātāra]-śarabhaṅga-[ku]mārāmāty-ōparika-dussādhyasādhnika-da(dā)śāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-śaulki-
- 13 ka-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārī(ri)k-āsē(sē)dhabhaṅgādhikṛita-[hastya]-śvōshṭrava(ba)lavyāpṛitaka-dūta-prēshanika-da(dā)ṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāsika-gamāgami-khā-
- 14 ḍgik-ābhitvaramāṇaka-rājasthānīya-vishyapati-bhōgapati-tarapaty-asvapati-khaṇḍaraksha-pratīś[ū]rika-sthānādhikṛita-va[r*]tmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshētrapāla-prā[nta]-
- 15 pāla-ki[śōra]va[ḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛi]ta-bhaṭṭa-mahatta[m]-ābhīra-vaṇik-śrēshṭhi-purōgān=s-āshtādaśa-prakṛityā(ty-a)dhi[shṭh]ānīyān=Khasha(śa)-Kirāta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gau-
- 16 ḍa-Hūṇ-Ōdra-Mēd-Ān[dhra]-Chāṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvva-samvā(samvā)sān=sama[sta]-ja(jā)-napa[dā]n=bhaṭa-chā[ta-sēvak]-ādin=anyānś cha(nyāmś=cha) kīrttitān=akīrttitān=asmat-pāda=padm-ōpajīvinah prativāsi-
- 17 na[ś=cha] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n=ya]thārham mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samā[jñā]payaty=a[stu] vas=samvi(samvi)dita[m*] upari-saṁsūchita-vishayē **Thappalasā[r]i**-prativa(ba)-ddha-Dēnduvāka-paribhujyamā-
- 18 na[m*] [tā]vat=sthānam mayā mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē pavana-vighaṭṭit-āśvattha-pattra-chañchala-taraṅga-jīvalōkam=avalō[kya ja]la-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)-d-ākāram=asāra[ñch=ā]-

¹ The word is also found in the form *rājānaka*, the same as *rāṇaka* of later records.

Scale: One-half

- 19 **yur**=dr̥is̥h̥tvā gaja-kalabha-karṇṇāgra-chapalatāñ=cha la[kshmyā jñātvā] paralō[ka-nihérē]-yas-ārtha[m*] saṁsār-ārṇṇava-taraṇārthañ=cha puṇyē=hana(ni) **Vishu[va*]-saṁkrāntau** ga[ndha]-pushpa-dhūpa-dīp-ōpalēpana-va(ba)-
- 20 li-charu-nṛitya-gēya-vādyā-sattr-ādi-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-sa[m*]skaraṇāya bhṛitya-pādamūla-bharaṇāya cha abhinava-karma-karaṇāya cha **Garudā-grāmē** bhaṭṭa-Śrīpuru-
- 21 **shēna** pratishṭhāpita-bhagavat[ē] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭarakāya śāsana-dānēna pratipāditam prakṛiti-parihāra-yuktam=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam=a-kiñchit-pragrāhyam=anāchchhēdyam-(dyam) ā-chandr-ā-
- 22 **rkka**-kshiti-sthiti-samakālikam vishayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍam sva-sīmā-gōchara-paryantam sa-vriksh-ārām-ōdbhēda-pra[srava]ṇ-ōpētam dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujiyamāna-varjitam(tam |) yatas=sukha[m] pa(pā)raṁparyē-
- 23 **na** paribhuñjatas=ch=āsy=ōpari-nirddisṭair=anyatarair=vvā dharaṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-ōpadravō manāg=api na karttavyō=[tō]=nyath=ājñā-hānau mahā-drōha[h] svād=iti | nivēśam(śah) tasya dēvasya Va(Ba)-
- 24 **darik**-āśramīya-tapōvara-prativa(ba)ddha-vra(bra)hmachārī(ri)ṇām sa(ya)t-kiñchit=sāthyam-(dhyam) tatra karttavyam tat=sa[rvam] vra(bra)hmachāribhiḥ karaṇīyam(yam) | **pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samva(samva)tsarē** dvāviṁśa(viṁśa)timē **samva(samva)t**
- 25 **22 Kārttika-vadi 15** [|*] dūtak=ōttra mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Piūka[h] [|*] Mahā-sandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrīmad-Āryaṭaḥ(ṭa)-vachanā[t*] ṭaṅk-ōtki(tkī)ṇṇa[m*] Śrī-Gaṅgabhadreṇa [|*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-
- 26 **sudhā** bhukt[ā*] rājabhīḥ=Sagar-ādibhi[h] [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam-(lam) | [|*]¹ Sva-dattām=para-dattāmva(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharām(rām) | shashṭimva-(shṭim va)rsha-śa(sa)hasrā(srā)ṇi śva-vishṭhyā² jāyatē kṛi-
- 27 **mi[h*]** [|*] Shashṭimva(shṭim va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidah | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā chcha(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt[|*] Gām=ēka(kā)ñ=cha suvarṇpañ=cha bhūmēr=apy=ēkām=aṅgulam(lam |) hṛitvā narakam=āyāti yāvad=ā-
- 28 **bhūti(ta)**-saṁplavaḥ(vam) [|*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya mana(nu)shya-jivitañ=cha | śa(sa)kalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)[ddhvā] na hi puru-shaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyaḥ(pyāḥ) [|*]³

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) May there be success ! Hail ! From the prosperous (*city of*) **Kārttikēyapura** ; through the grace of the holy Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) who has destroyed the strength of the dense darkness that robs all discrimination, by removing it with the shower of filaments which are the abundant wide-spread pure rays of the lotuses which are his feet, red with the intoxication from imbibing the bright lustre of the lights that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the crores of the points of the beautiful crowns and coronets on the innumerable heads of all the lords of the gods, demons and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion ; (*and*) whose matted hair is washed by the Ganges ;

¹ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh* for this and the following three verses.

² Read *viṣṭhyām* for *śva viṣṭhyā*.

³ Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*. There is a design here indicating the end of the writing.

(Lines 3-5) (*there was*) the illustrious **Nimbara**, whose splendour shone forth as he overcame the darkness that was his enemies by the strength acquired by his own arms through the grace of Lord Dhūrjati; whose body was adorned with kindness, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, liberality, profundity of character, propriety of conduct, noble behaviour, wonderful achievements and a multitude of other qualities; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men (or, who was an incarnation of the seed of the great Santāna tree of the blessed); whose fame was pleasant like that of the kings at the advent of the Golden Age; (*and*) whose person was endowed with fortune (*derived*) from the lotus-feet of the holy Nandā;

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious **Mahādēvi** Nāsūdēvi, (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Ishtaṅgaṇadēva**, who eclipsed the array of stars as by the moonlight by the elevation of his banner of fame as he drew out excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, cut open with the edge of his sharp sword;

(Lines 6-11) his son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious **Mahādēvi** Vēgādēvi, (*is*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Lalitaśūradēva**, who played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Viṣṇu in the boar incarnation), fit for the burden, in lifting up the earth that had sunk into the distressing mud of the sin of the Kali age; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanish before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brows when (*his adversaries*) begin to collect great strength; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of wreaths of flowers of the bracelets dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous (*lady, viz. the*) fortune of victory, as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mute, yet ringing, sword and arrows; (*and*) who keeps (*other*) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Prithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bent bow;

(Lines 11-17) (*he*), being in good health, pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the officials assembled in the illustrious district of **Kārttikēyapura**, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects¹ headed by the *Rājans* (feudatory rulers), *Rājanakas* (chieftains), *Rājaputras* (princes), *Rājāmātyas* (ministers), *Sāmāntas* (feudatories), *Mahāsāmāntas* (great feudatories), *Ṭhakkuras*,² *Mahāmanushyas*, *Mahākārttikā-kṛitikas* (possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs), *Mahāpratīhāras*,³ *Mahādaṇḍanā-yakas*,⁴ *Mahārājapramātāras*,⁵ *Śarabhaṅgas*,⁶ *Kumārāmātyas* (*Amātyas* or executive officers enjoying

¹ The *ashṭādaśa-prakṛiti* is also mentioned in other records (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 12). The expression *a-ashṭādaśa-prakṛityō(ty-u)pēta* qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 220). The word *ashṭādaśa* has been used in these cases in the sense of 'all'; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 330, note 4; Vol. XXX, p. 115.

² The word *ṭhakkura* is believed to have derived from the Turkish title *te-gin*. Both *ṭhakkura* and *mahāmanushya* appear to indicate noblemen or zamindars.

³ Literally the 'great door-keeper'; but the *Mahāpratīhāra* seems to have been the head of not only the palace-guards but also of the king's body-guards.

⁴ Literally 'the great leader of forces'. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrate.

⁵ *Mahārājapramātāra* is no doubt derived from *pramātri* (i.e. a person who gives evidence or proof) found in some records. He was possibly a counsellor to the king in matters judicial.

⁶ *Śarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon.

the status of a *Kumāra*), *Uparikas* (provincial governors), *Duḥsādhyasāadhanikas*¹, *Dāśāparādhikas*², *Chaurōddharanikas* (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves) *Śaulkikas* (superintendents of tolls), *Gaulmikas* (superintendents of police stations), *Tadāyuktakas*³, *Viniyuktakas*³, *Paṭṭakāpachārikas* (officers to investigate offences against royal edicts and charters), *Āsēdhabhaṅgādhikṛitas* (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, *Dūtas* (envoys), *Prēshaṇikas* (officers in charge of sending messengers), *Dāṇḍikas*⁴, *Dāṇḍapāśikas* (police constables), *Gamāgamins* (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), *Khāḍgikas* (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), *Abhitvaramāṇakas* (special messengers), *Rājasthānīyas* (governors or landlords), *Vishayapatis* (rulers of districts), *Bhōgapatis* (officers in charge of Jāgirs), *Tarapatis* (superintendents of ferries), *Āśvapatis* (superintendents of cavalry), *Khaṇḍarakshas*⁵, *Pratiśūrikas*⁶, *Sthānādhikṛitas* (Thānādārs, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), *Vartmapālas* (superintendents of roads), *Kōṭṭapālas* (superintendents of forts), *Ghaṭṭapālas* (superintendents of landing places on river banks), *Kshētrapālas* (superintendents of cultivated lands of the Khas Mahal), *Prāntapālas* (wardens of the Marches), *Kiśōravādavāgōmahishyadhikṛitas* (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), *Bhaṭṭas* (minstrels), *Mahattamas* (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (and) foremen of guilds, down to the *Khaśas*, *Kirātas*, *Draviḍas*, *Kaliṅgas*, *Gauḍas*, *Hūṇas*, *Uḍras*, *Mēdas*, *Andhras* and *Chāṇḍālas*, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers (probably, policemen and peons), servants and others and to other enumerated and unenumerated people living in dependence on our lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people headed by Brāhmaṇas : Be it known to you :

(Lines 17-24) : Observing that the moving world of the living is as unsteady as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze and noticing that life is without substance just like a bubble of water and knowing that fortune is as vascillating as the tip of the ear of an elephant cub, for the attainment of beatitude in the next world and in order to cross the sea of mundane existence, I have assigned by the grant of a charter, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and of my own, on the auspicious day when the sun enters the (autumnal) equinox, such land as is being enjoyed by Dēnduvāka (and is) within the bounds of **Thappalasāri** in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at **Garuḍāgrāma** by *Bhaṭṭa* Śrīpurusha, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings, oblation of rice, etc., (and) dancing, singing, music, sacrifices, etc., for the repair of what may be broken or cracked and for the maintenance of servants and attendants as well as for the execution of new work ; (the said land is to be) endowed with the exemptions arising out of its nature (as a free gift), not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, nothing to be accepted (as rent or tolls from it), not to be resumed, (but to belong to the donee) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as a piece taken out of the district (to which it belongs), as far as its proper boundaries and pasture lands, together with trees, gardens, springs and cascades (but) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (the donee) enjoying (the grant) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

¹ The *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* says that officers purified by the fear-test should be appointed to *āsanna-kārya*, i.e. emergency work. The *Dussādhyasāadhanika* was probably an official of this class.

² We know that grants were often made *sa-daśāparādha*, i.e. together with the right to enjoy the fines for the ten offences. The *Dāśāparādhikas* were probably officers who dealt with the ten offences, viz. theft, murder, adultery, use of abusive language towards others, untruthfulness, slandering, incoherent conversation, covetousness, desire to do wrong, and tenacity for wrong. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 189, note 4.

³ *Tadāyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* appear to be subordinate ruling officers appointed not by the crown but by the governors or viceroys. Cf. *Sel. Ins.* pp. 351, n. 1 ; 354, 357, 360, note 9.

⁴ *Dāṇḍika* may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying *Dāṇḍapāśika* is apparently the same as the modern Oriya *Dāṇḍuāsi*, i.e. a village watchman.

⁵ The *Khaṇḍaraksha* (cf. *Khaṇḍapāla*) may have been the officer in charge of a small territorial unit, or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins.

⁶ The *Pratiśūrika* was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 285

troubled by the above-mentioned peoples or by others in the slightest degree by seizure, restraint, robbery or in any other way. Whoever will act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence. Something proper may be done in regard to the dwelling of that god by the *Brahmachārins* attached to the *tapōvana* belonging to **Badarik-āśrama** ; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the *Brahmachārins*.

(L. 24-25) In the **twentysecond year** of the increasingly victorious reign : **year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika**. The *Dūtaka* (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Piūka, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (*The plate has been*) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gaṅgabhadra from the words (*of the document written by, or, under the order or instruction of*) the illustrious Āryaṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

(Lines 25-28) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.

II. Plate of Padmaṭadēva, Year 25

This is also a **single** plate inscribed on one side only. It measures about 23·1" in length and 17·2" in breadth with a projection about 4·8" long containing a squarish hole, meant for fixing up the seal, towards the proper right. Like the inscription of Lalitaśūra edited above, this plate also contains 28 lines of writing, the size of the *aksharas* being similar.

The **characters** closely resemble those used in the inscription of Lalitaśūra ; but the date of the charter, as is indicated by internal evidence to be discussed below, must be several decades later. In line 26, there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 2, 3, 4 and 5. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of only one benedictory stanza at the end, the entire charter is written in prose of an ornate style. The **orthography** is similar to that of the records of Lalitaśūra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like *asva* for *aśva* in line 13, *kisōra* for *kiśōra* and *āhira* for *ābhira* in line 14, *yathārahām* for *yathāśham* in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that final *n* has in a number of cases been changed to *anusvāra* ; cf. °*gatām* for *gatān* and °*sthām* for °*sthān* in line 10, etc. But the *anusvāra* is replaced by *ñ* in °*anyāñś=cha* in line 16 and *ñ* in °*viñśati* in line 26. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśūra's records discussed above. Noteworthy is the retention of the final *m* before *v* in many cases and the non-observance of the rules of *sandhi* in a number of places.

The **date** of the charter is given as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the **dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year** of king Padmaṭadēva who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the **first half of the tenth century A.D.** Line 21 refers to the *uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of **Kārttikēyapura** by *Paramabrahmāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Padmaṭadēva* who was the son of *P.M.P. Dēsaṭadēva* and *Mahādēvī Padmallādēvī*, the grandson of *P.M.P. Ichchhaṭadēva* and *Mahādēvī Singhūdēvī*, and the great grandson of *Salōṇāditya* and *Mahādēvī Singhūvalidēvī*. Like Nimbara, grandfather of Lalitaśūradēva, Salōṇāditya is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as devoted to the god Chandraśekhara (Śiva) and the goddess Nandādēvī. His successors Ichchhaṭadēva, Dēsaṭadēva and Padmaṭadēva are endowed with imperial style and are called *paramamāhēśvara* and *paramabrahmaṇya* just as Nimbara's successors. Padmaṭa was probably named after his mother Padmallādēvī. It will be seen that both Lalitaśūra and Padmaṭa ruled from Kārttikēyapura. There are, however, some indications that the latter ruled several decades later than the former. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the orthographical peculiarities of the present inscription, which have already been discussed above and appear to indicate a later date. There is also some indication in the style. It appears that the description of the

progenitor of Padmaṭa's house as *dāna-dama-satya-śaurya-śautīrya-dhairya-kṣham-ādy-aparimita-guṇa-gaṇ-akalita-Sagara-Dilīpa-Māndhātṛi-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha--prabhṛiti-Kṛitayuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāgara* is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbara, founder of Lalitaśūra's house, as *dayā-dākṣiṇya-satya-sattva-śīla-śaucha-śaury-audārya-maryād-āryavṛitt-āśchārya-kārya-vary-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkṛta-śarīra . . . Kṛitayug-āgama-bhūpāla-lalita-kīrti*. Expressions like *pushpa-paṭṭa-nivēṣaṃ kṛtvā* (i.e. having incised the charter on a heated copper plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitaśūra. It may further be noted that the list of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitaśūra. The two lists are common with the exception of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (in addition of *Sāmanta* and *Mahāsāmanta*), *Vishyavyāpṛitaka* (in addition to *Vishayapati*) and *Kāṇḍapati* found in the present charter and *Pratiśūrika* mentioned in Lalitaśūra's grant. The *Pratiśūrika* may have been the superintendent of gladiatorial combats in which *pratiśūras* (literally opponents), i.e. prize-fighters, took part. The function of the *Kāṇḍapati* cannot be determined with certainty; but, if the word *kāṇḍa* may have indicated different branches of such combats, possibly the *Kāṇḍapati* may be taken to have been the same as the *Pratiśūrika*. Whatever that may be, the addition of the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and the *Vishyavyāpṛitaka* in the list of Padmaṭa's officials seems to suggest that he flourished later than Lalitaśūra. In that case, the house of Lalitaśūra may have been overthrown shortly after his son's rule by Salōṇāditya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at Kārttikēyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padmaṭa also ruled from that city.

According to Atkinson¹, a copper-plate grant of Dēsaṭa, father of Padmaṭa, is preserved in the temple of Bālēśvar in eastern Kumaun. It was issued from Kārttikēyapura in the 5th year of the *pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya* of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Ēsāla district by Dēsaṭadēva, it records the grant to Vijayēśvara of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives the names of Salōṇāditya and his queen Sindhavali (or Sindhavali) dēvī followed by those of their son Ichchhaṭadēva and his queen Sindhudēvī, whose son was Dēsaṭadēva. The record was subscribed by the chief civil officer *Bhaṭṭa* Hariśarman, by the chief military officer Nandāditya, and by the scribe Bhadra. Nothing definite can be said about the details, quoted above from Atkinson's account, without examining the original plate.

The inscription records the grant of the following pieces of land situated in *Drumatī* which formed a part of the *Ṭaṅgaṇāpura vishaya* as well as in *Yōśi* probably also forming a part of the same *vishaya*: (1) four *pallikās* (habitations) in the possession of four persons named Dīrghāditya, Buddhabala, Śidāditya (Śivāditya?) and Gaṇāditya in *Drumatī*; (2) fifteen *bhāgas* (allotments of land) belonging to Paṅgara in *Drumatī*; (3) *Tōgalā-vṛitti* (possibly a piece of land originally offered for the maintenance of a person called *Tōgalā*) in *Yōśi*; (4) a *Karmmānta-sthalikā* (barn) situated in *Yōśi* near a *saṅkrama* (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅgā and between Khaṇṇōntara and Ulikā; (5) a piece of land, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the measurement current in the locality, near a *pārāvata* tree at Kākasthalikā-grāma in *Drumatī*; (6) a piece of land, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the measurement of the locality and belonging to Dhanāka, at Randhavaka-grāma in *Yōśi*.

In a paper entitled *Kulyavāpa, Drōṇavāpa and Ādhavāpa*, published in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part II, pp. 943-48, I have suggested that the original *Drōṇavāpa* as known in ancient Bengal was probably equal to 16 to 20 Bengal Bighās (between about 5½ and 6½ acres) of today. Whether the *Drōṇavāpa* of the present record indicates the same area of land cannot be satisfactorily determined. Literally a *Drōṇavāpa* signified originally an area of land that required one *Drōṇa* measure of seed-grams (or their seedlings) of the staple crop for sowing. It is said that the two pieces of land

¹ Op. cit., p. 471. For Atkinson's note on the records of Padmaṭa and Subhiksharāja, see *ibid.*, p. 472. At p. 474 he says that the grant of Dēsaṭadēva recorded the gift of the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyaṇa-varman in favour of Vijayēśvara.

measuring one *Drōṇavapa* each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandūka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarīnātha or Badarī-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the *pallikās*, the *vṛitti* and the *karmānta* were granted by the king in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka having engraved the charter on a heated copper-plate and having endowed the grant with the customary exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift, whose name seems to be *Bhaṭṭa* Dhaṇasra. The charter was written by Nārāyaṇadatta, who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace and was engraved by Nandabhadra whose name seems to associate him with Gaṅgabhadra mentioned in the records of Lalitāsūra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of **Kārttikēyapura** and **Badarik-āśrama** has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitāsūra. **Yōśi** is no doubt the modern Jōshimath or Jyōtirdhām (lat. 38° 38' 24" N., long. 79° 36' 24" E.), famous for one of Śiva's Jyōtir-liṅgas, in the Painkhanda Pargana of the Garhwal District. I have not been able to identify the district named **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** and the subdivision named **Drumatī**, although **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** seems to be the district round modern Joshimath and Drumatī a region not far from it. **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** is mentioned along with another *vishaya* called **Antaraṅga** in the inscription of Padmaṭa's son Subhiksharāja, edited below. In *The Himalayam Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 357, Atkinson suggested that the district of **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of **Antaraṅga** in the Doab between the Bhāgīrathī and the Alaknandā. The people of this region may be identical with the **Ṭaṅgas** or **Ṭaṅgas** of early Indian literature.¹ The villages of **Kākasthalikā** and **Randhavaka** cannot be identified; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jōshimath. The Gaṅgā or the upper course of the Ganges has also been mentioned in connection with one of the pieces of land. In describing the liberality of king Dēsaṭa, father of Padmaṭa, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. **Prāchya** or the eastern, **Udichya** or the north-western, **Pratichya** or the western and **Dākshīṇātya** or the southern. The non-mention of **Madhya-dēśa**, between the Himalayas and the Vindhya and between a place in the East Punjab and another in the East U. P., is probably explained by the fact that the king's dominions were included in that land and that only distant countries required to be named. It seems that the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions, often mentioned separately in the Purāṇas as two additional divisions of India, have not been taken cognizance of. It may alternatively be suggested that by the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham² svasti [[*] Śrīmat-Kārttikēyapurāt=samasta-sur-āsura-pati-makuta-kōṭi-sanni-vishta-vikaṭa-māṇikya-kiraṇa-vichchhurita-charana-nakha-mayūkh-ōtkhāta--timira--paṭala-prabh-āvad[ā]-
- 2 t-ātīśaya-śama-śakti-mahīyasō bhagavataś=Chandraśēkharasya charaṇa-kamala-rajah-pavitrikṛita-nija-tanu-bhuj-ārjjit-ōrjjit-ānēka-ripu-chakra-pratishṭhita-pratāpa-bhāskara-bhā-
- 3 sita-bhuvan-ābhōg-āvirbhāva-pāvaka-śikh-āvali-vilīnaḥ sakala-Kali-kalaṅka-samudbhūt-ōdāra-tapō-vadāṭta(ta)-dēhaḥ śakti-ttraya-prabhāva-samvṛinhita⁴-hita-hētir=ddāna-dama-satya-
- 4 śaurya-śautīrya-dhairya-ksham-ādy-aparimita-guṇa-gaṇ-ākālita-Sagara-Dilīpa-Māndhātṛi-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha-prabhṛiti-Kṛitayuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāga-

¹ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 304.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read *samvṛinhita*.

- 5 ras=tai(s=trai)lōky-ānanda-jananō [Na*]ndādēvi-charaṇā(ṇa)-kamala-lakshmī(kshi)taḥ sama-
dhigat-ābhimata-vara-prasā[da*]-dyōtita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-Salōṇādityas=tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
- 6 dhyātō rājñī mahādēvi śrī-Siṅghūvalidēvi tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra-
(bra)hmanyaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Ichchhaṭadēvas=
tasya
- 7 puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mā(ma)hādēvi śrī-Siṅghūdēvi tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhē
śvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmanyō dīn-ānātha-kṛipaṇ-āttra(tu)ra-śaraṇāgata-vatsalaḥ Prāchy-
Ōdichya-
- 8 Pratichya-Dākshinātya-dvijavara-mukhyānām=anavarata-hēma-dān-āmṛit-ārdrikṛita-karas=
samast-ārāti-chakra-pramarddanah Kali-kalusha-mātaṅga-sūdanah Kṛitayuga-dharm-ā-
vatārah paramabhaṭṭāra-
- 9 ka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dēsaṭadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō
rājñī mahādēvi śrī-Padmāllādēvi tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)-
hmanyaḥ parama-
- 10 bhaṭṭāraka-mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Padmatadēvaḥ kuśalī | Taṅgaṇāpura-
vishayō samupagatām(tān) sarvvān=ēva niyōgasthām(sthān) rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtra-
rājāmātya-sā-
- 11 manta-mahāsāmanta-mahāka(kā)rttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratihāra-mahāsāma-
ntādhipati-mahārājaprama(mā)tā[ra*]-śarabhaṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-dussādhyasā-
- 12 dhā(dha)nika-dāsāparādhika-chaurōddharāṇika-śaulkika-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-
paṭṭakāpachārika(k-ā)sēdhabhaṅgādhikṛita-hastyaśvōshṭrava(ba)lavyāpṛitaka-dūta-prēshaṇi-
- 13 ka-dāṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāsika-vishayavyāpṛitaka-gamāgemika-khāḍgik-ābhītvaramāṇaka-rā-
jasthānīya-vishayapati-bhōgapati-kāṇḍapati-tarapaty-asva(śva)pati-khā(kha)ṇḍa-
- 14 raksha-sthānādhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshēttapāla-prāntapāla-ṭhakkura-
mahāmanushya-kisō(śō)ravaḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-mahattam-āhī(bhī)ra-vaṇik-
- 15 śrēshṭhi-purōgām(gān) s-āshṭādaśa-prakṛity-ādhisṭhānīyām(yān) Khaśa-Kirāta-Draviḍa-
Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hūṇy-Ō(ṇ-Ō)nra(ḍra)-Mēd-Āndra(ndhra)-Chāṇḍāla-paryantām(ntān) sarvva-
sa[m*]vāsām(sān) samasta-ja(jā)napadān=bhaṭa-chāṭa-sēvakā-
- 16 dīn=anyāñścha(nyāmś=cha) kīrttit-ākīrttitān=asmat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinah prativāsinaś=cha
Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarām(rān) yathārahaṁ¹ mānayatī vō(bō)dhayatī samājñāpayaty=astu vas=
samvi(samvi)ditam=upari-sa[m*]-
- 17 sūchita-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha-Drumatī-prativa(ba)ddha[m*] Dirghāditya-Vu(Bu)ddhava-
(ba)la-Śīdāditya²-Gaṇādityānām paribhujyamāna-pallikā-chatasraṁ tathā tasminy=ēva³
Drumatyām Paṅgarasya pa-
- 18 nīchadaśa-bhāgās=tathā Yōsi(śi)-prativa(ba)ddha-Tōgalā-vṛittir=aparam=api⁴ karmānta-
sthalik=āsminy=ēva³ Yōsi-prativa(ba)ddhā Gaṅgā-pachchi(śchi)ma-kūlē samkrama-sam(sa)-
nnikṛishṭā Khaṇṇōn[t]ara-pari[chchinnā*] Ulikā-pari-
- 19 chchinn=āpar[ā] cha tasminn=ēva³ Drumatyām Kākasthalikā-grāmē pārē(rā)vata-vṛiksha-
talima-bhāgē bhūmī tadya-dēsāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāp=āparā cha Yōsi=prativa(ba)-
ddha-Ran[dha]vaka-grāmē Dhanāka-
- 20 satka-bhūmī tadya-dēsāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā [|*] Etā(shā) drōṇa-dvaya-vāpā
bhūr=Nnandūkēna mūlyēna gra(gri)hītvā Va(Ba)darikāśrama-bhaṭṭārakāya pratipāditā
[|*] Mayā cha sa[r*]vv=aiv=[ai]tē(shā) pallikā-vṛi[titi].

¹ Read *yathārahaṁ*.² The intended name may be Śivāditya.³ Read *tasyām=ēva* or *asyām=ēva*.⁴ Read *apar=āpi*.

- 21 karmmānt-ādi-bhūmi-sahitā Uttarāyana(ṇa)-sambhkrāntō(ṇtau) mātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha
 punya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē pavana-vighaṭṭit-āsava(śva)ttha-pattra-charaṇcha(cha)la-
 taraṅga[m*]jivalōkam=avalōkya jala-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)d-ākāra-
 22 m=asāram ch=āyur=drisht[v*]ā gaja-kalabha-karṇnāgra-chapalatān=cha lakshmyā jñātvā
 paralōka-nīrēy-ārtham¹ samsār-ārṇava-tāraṇ-ārthān=cha va(ba)li-charu-sattra-nai-vēdya-
 pradīpa-gandha-dhūpa-pushpa-[gēya]-
 23 vādyā-nṛitya-pūjā-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-puna[h]samskāraya cha bhagavatōḥ(tō)
 śrī-Va(Ba)darikāśrama-bhaṭṭārakāya pratipāditām(tā) pushpa-paṭṭa-nivēśam kṛitvā pra-
 kṛiti-parihāra-yuktā a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pra-
 24 veśy=ā-kiñchit-pragrāhya(hyā) anāchchhēdy=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sthiti-samā(ma)kālīkā
 viśhayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍā ssa(sva)-sīmā-gōchāra-paryantā ssa(sa)-vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhēda-
 prasravaṇyē(ṇ-ō)pētā rāj-ābhāvyā-sakalā(la)-pra-
 25 dāya-samētā dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjjitā [*] yatas=sukham paribhuñjat-
 ōpari²nirddishtair=[anyair=*]vā s[v]alpam=api³ dharāṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-
 ōpadravā(vō)na kaischit=karaṇīyam=a-
 26 nyath=ājñā⁴-vyatikrama(mē) mahā-drōha[h] syād=iti [*] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-
 samva(samva)tsarē pañchaviṃśa(vimśa)timē Samva(Samva)t 25 Māgha-vadī
 43⁵ [*] dūtakō=ttra mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Bhaṭṭa-Dhaṇas[r]a[h] [*]
 27 likhitam=ida[m*] mahāsandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Nārāyaṇadattāny=utkirṇam⁶=
 idam śrī-Nandabhadreṇa [||*] Bhō rājānaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmō bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārtha
 nīyā narēndrāḥ [*] sāmā[nyō]=
 28 'yam dharmma-sētu[r*]=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ ||⁷

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (city of) **Kārttikēyapura** ;

(Lines 1-5) (there was) the illustrious **Salōpāditya** who was established in the purifying rays that manifested over the expanse of the earth as it glittered under the sun of his valour established in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies and acquired by his own slender arms which had been purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the holy **Chandraśekhara** (Śiva) who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre resulting from the extirpation of the mass of darkness by the light issuing from the nails of his feet which are covered by the rays of the beautiful gems attached to the crowns of all the lords of gods and demons ; whose body was purified by great penance and stood above all stains of the Kali age ; (the force of) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacy of the three powers (viz. the majesty of the king, the power of good counsel and the power of energy) ; who being endowed with a multitude of numerous qualities such as charity, self-control, truthfulness, valour, heroism, patience and forbearance, was the repository of deeds (such as those) performed by **Sagara**, **Dilīpa**, **Māndhātṛi**, **Dhundhumāra**, **Bharata**, **Bhagīratha**, **Daśaratha** and other kings of the Golden Age ; who caused delight in the three worlds ; who was distinguished by the lotus-feet of **Nandādēvī** ; (and) who was the sun in the whole earth that was illuminated by the brightness of the agreeable boon which he obtained (from the goddess) ;

¹ Read °nīrēyas-ārtham.

² Read bhūñjata upari°.

³ Read svalpō=pi.

⁴ Read karaṇīyō=nyath=ājñā°.

⁵ It seems that the writer had at first written 4 which he later crossed and wrote 3. The engraver possibly failed to notice that the first figure had been cancelled and thus incised both the figures.

⁶ Read °dattēn=ōtkirṇa°.

⁷ This line begins from below the akṣara ṇa of the word *Nandabhadreṇa* of the previous line.

⁸ Metro : Śalinī.

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* *Singhūbalidēvī*, was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Ichchhaṭadēva* who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); (and) who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 6-9) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* *Singhūdēvī*, was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Dēsaṭadēva*, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas; who was compassionate towards the poor, helpless, wretched and afflicted and the seekers of protection; whose hands were wet with the water taken for making offerings of gold continuously in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udichya, Pratichya and Dākshinātya countries (or, from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters); who crushed the entire circle of his enemies; who destroyed the elephant that was the sin of the Kali age; (and) who was an incarnation of the righteousness of the Golden Age;

(Lines 9-10) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* *Padmallādēvī*, is *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Padmaṭadēva* who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva); (and) who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas;

(Lines 10-16) (he) being in good health pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the functionaries, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of *Taṅgaṇāpura*, headed by the *Rājans, Rājānakas, Rājaputras, Rājāmātyas, Sāmantas, Mahāsāmantas, Mahākārttikākritikas, Mahādanḍanāyakas, Mahāpratihāras, Mahāsāmantādhipatis, Mahārājapramātāras, Śarabhaṅgas, Kumārāmātyas, Uparikas, Dussādhyasādhanikas, Dūśiparādhiṅkas, Chaurōddharanikas, Śaulkikas, Gaulmikas, Tadāyuktakas, Vinīyuktakas, Paṭṭakūpachārikas, Asēdhabhaṅgādhikṛitas, Hastyaśvōshṭrabalavyāpṛitakas, Dūtas, Prēshaṇikas, Dāṇḍikas, Dāṇḍapāsikas, Vishayavyāpṛitakas, Gamāgamikas, Khāḍgikas, Abhitvaramānakas, Rājasthānīyas, Vishayapatis, Bhōgapatis, Kāṇḍapatis, Tarapatis, Aśvapatis, Khaṇḍarakshas, Sthānādhikṛitas, Vartmapālas, Ghaṭṭapālas, Kshētrapālas, Prāntapālas, Thakkuras, Mahāmanūshyas, Kiśōraṇḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛitas, Bhaṭṭas, Mahattamas, Abhīras, Vanīks and Śrēṣṭhins*; to all habitations (and) to all the people down to the Khasas, Kirātas, Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gaudas, Hūṇas, Uḍras, Mēdas, Andhras and Chāṇḍālas; to the soldiers, policemen, servants and others, and to other enumerated and unenumerated living in dependence on my lotus-feet; as well as to the neighbouring people headed by the Brāhmaṇas: Be it known to you:

(Lines 16-20) Four *pallikās* in the possession of Dīrghāditya, Buddhabala, Śidāditya (Śivāditya) and Gaṇāditya attached to *Drumatī* which is attached to the above-mentioned district; and also fifteen allotments of Paṅgara in *Drumatī* in the same (district); and also the *vṛitti* of Tōgalā attached to *Yōśi*; also a *Karmānta-sthalikā*; another (i.e. *Karmāntasthulikā*) in the same (district), attached to *Yōśi*, on the western bank of the Gaṅgā, near the bridge (and) demarcated by Khaṇḍōntara and Ulikā; another (piece of) land in the region of the pavement under the Pārāvata tree at *Kāka-sthalikā-grāma* in *Drumatī* in the same (district) measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the customary standard of its locality; and another (piece of) land belonging to *Dhanāka* at *Randhavaka-grāma* attached to *Yōśi*, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the customary standard of its locality. (Of all the above pieces of land), the land measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* have been obtained at a price by *Nandūka* and have been dedicated (by him) to *Badarikārama-bhaṭṭāraka*.

(Lines 20-26) I, too, observing the living world to be as unsteady in movement as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life is void of substance like a bubble of water, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear, have assigned by the grant of a charter and having incised it on a plate of heated copper all this (land) together with the

land covered by the *pallikās*, the *ṛitti*, the *karmānta*, etc., on the occasion of the **sun's entry upon his northern course**, in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the sea of mundane existence (*and*) to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, to the holy (*and*) illustrious Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka for providing, incense, flowers, singing, music and dancing and for worship as well as for the repair of what may be broken or damaged ; (*the said lands are*) to be endowed with the nature and exemptions (*attached to free-holdings*) ; not to be entered by the soldiers and policemen ; free from the taking of anything (*as rent or tolls*) ; not to be resumed (*but to belong to the donee*) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure ; as pieces taken out of the district (*to which they belong*) as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land reach ; together with and including the trees, gardens, springs and cascades ; along with (*the right to enjoy*) all future dues payable to the king, (*but*) without whatever has been or is in the possession of the gods and Brāhmanas. Wherefore (*the donee*) enjoying (*this grant*) in comfort shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint and robbery or in any other way. Whosoever may act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

(Lines 26-27). In the **twenty-fifth year** of the increasing reign of victory : **year 25, the 3rd (?) day of the dark half of Māgha**. The *Dūtaka* in this case is the illustrious *Bhṛtṭa* Dhanasra who is the *Mahādān-ākshapaṭal-ādhipati*. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyaṇadatta who is the *Mahāsandhivigraha-ākshapaṭal-ādhipati* ; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 27-28) (One of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

III.—Plate of Subhiksharājadēva, Regnal Year 4

This is a **single** plate measuring about 22·2" in length and about 19·2" in height. Its corners, especially the upper right and the lower left, are damaged with the result that a number of letters at the end of lines 1-7 and at the beginning of lines 39-42 have broken away. Fortunately, however, the lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practically the same size as those discussed above, it contains no less than forty-two lines of writing. The size of the *aksharas* (about 3" × 3") is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitāsūra and Padmaṭa.

The **characters** closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmaṭa whose son, as we shall presently see, the issuer of the present charter was. The inscription contains the ordinary numeral figures for 4 and 5 (line 38) as well as the initial vowels *a* (lines 13, 25-26, 32, 40), *ā* (line 40), *i* (lines 26, 27, 29, 39), *u* (line 39) and *ē* (line 33) and the final form of *t* (lines 38, 40). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of seven verses indicating the usual imprecation and benediction at the end of the charter, it is written in prose throughout. The peculiarities of language and **orthography** are the same as those of the inscription of Padmaṭa. Both the *visarga* and the *upadhmanīya* have been applied in °*tpannahh=parama*° in line 11. The *anusvāra* has been wrongly used for the final *n* in *niyōgasthām* in line 13 and has been further modified to *ñ* in °*nīyāñ=khaśa*° in line 17. It is substituted by *ñ* in °*anyāñś=cha* in the same line and by *n* in °*r=vrinsa* in line 26 and in *sansāra* in line 34 and by *ṇ* in *chanchala* in line 33. In some cases the *anusvāra* has been used superfluously ; cf. *khañṇḍa* in 35, *sukhañm=pāru*° in line 37. In *śriyam* (line 42) *ṛi* has been used for *ri*. The word *upadrava* has been used in the neuter (line 37) and *satka* (Prakrit *santaka*) is employed in the sense of 'belonging to'. We may note also the use of *traya* for *tri* and *dvaya* for *dvi*. Interesting is the use of *rājānais*° in place of *rājābhis*° (line 39). Although the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in the prose portion in some cases (cf. *khaṇḍam aṣṭa* in line 19) the last word of the second *pāda* of a verse has sometimes been joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the third *pāda* (cf. lines 39-40).

The grant is dated in the fourth regnal year of king Subhiksharājādēva. The date cannot be verified ; but the record may be assigned to a date about the second quarter of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of Subhikshapura by king Subhiksharājādēva. There is no doubt that the city was named after the king and was his capital ; but whether it was situated near about the king's ancestral capital Kārttikēyapura cannot be satisfactorily determined.¹ Subhiksharāja is said to have been the son of king Padmaṭa and Mahādēvī Īśānadēvī. The description of Padmaṭa's ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padmaṭa himself. The description of Padmaṭa is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhīchi and Chandragupta. This Chandragupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Rājā Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramādityas appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramāditya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty. This is one of the rare cases in which a royal court-poet has preferred the personal name of Chandragupta to the more popular titles Vikramāditya and Sāhasāṅka. The liberality of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjan inscription of Amōghavarsha.² Unlike his predecessors who were Śaivas, king Subhiksha was a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the *vishayas* or districts of Paṅganāpura (already known from Padmaṭa's record) and Antaraṅga made by king Subhiksha in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durgā-bhaṭṭārikā who is said to have been installed in a locality called Harshapura. This group contained the following pieces of land probably all of them attached to a village called Nāmbaraṅga-grāma : (1) land styled Viḍimalāka belonging to Vachchhaṭika lying within the jurisdiction of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas* ; (2) land of (or, at) Hiṭhusāri measuring eight *Nālikāvāpas* ; (3) land at Vāḍipālāka measuring four *Drōṇavāpas* ; (4) land styled Vanōlaka, belonging to Bhōgaru and measuring three *Nālikāvāpas* ; (5) house-site belonging to Śubhaṭṭāka, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Khōnu as well as another plot called Kaṇḍayikā ; (6) land called Śaṭēka, measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* and belonging to Prastara and others ; (7) land styled Yakshasthāna, belonging to Gōvit and Naṅgāka and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (8) land called Talaśāṭaka, belonging to Vihāṇāka and measuring ten *Nālikāvāpas* ; (9) land called Kshī-rakau, belonging to Vannuvāka and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (10) land called Gāṅgēraka, belonging to the *Śrēshṭhin* Jivāka and measuring eight *Drōṇavāpas* ; (11) land called Paivitta, belonging to Jivāka, Sihāditya and Ichchhabala and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (12) land called Kaṭasilla measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* ; (13) land called Nyāyapaṭṭaka, belonging to the people of Nāmbaraṅga and measuring ten *Drōṇavāpas* ; (14) one *hastaka* (probably a piece of land that has fallen in the possession of a person) of Paṅgara who is known also from Padmaṭa's charter ; (15) land called Vāḍibala, belonging to Vachchhabala and others and measuring six *Drōṇavāpas* ; (16) land called Khōrakhōṭṭāṁka, belonging to Śilāditya and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas* ; (17) a *pallikā* (habitation) in the possession of Tuṅgaka that measured six *Nālikāvāpas* and was attached to the *Karmānta* (barn) of Śrīharshapura (probably the same as Harshapura).

The second group of the pieces of land was granted in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka installed on the bank of the Viṣṇu-gaṅgā. This group contained the following pieces : (1) land called Anūpa lying within the jurisdiction of Varōshikā-grāma, belonging to Nāhallāka and others and measuring nine *Drōṇavāpas* ; (2) four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attaṅga and measuring one *Khārivāpa* ; (3) land called Jātipāṭaka

¹ Atkinson suggested that Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Kārttikēyapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 483).

² Cf. above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 242, 248 (verse 48).

together with Ijjara ; (4) two pieces of land at Samijjā measuring nine *Drōṇavāpas* ; (5) land called Gōvaraka lying within the jurisdiction of Pairī-grāma, belonging to the sons of Attaka and measuring twenty *Drōṇavāpas* ; (6) land called Ghassērukā, belonging to the inhabitants of Yōyika-grāma and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* ; (7) land called Śihāra measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* ; (8) land called Valivarddaśilā measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (9) land called Ihaṅga measuring five *Drōṇavāpas* ; (10) land called Rullaṭhi measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (11) land called Tiriṅga measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (12) land called Kuṭṭānaśilla measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (13) land called Gaunōdārikā measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (14) land called Yuga measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* ; (15) land called Kārkaṭāyāla measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (16) two *hastas* (the same as *hastaka* discussed above) of Paṅgara ; (17) land called Dālimūlaka, belonging to Dhaṇāka and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* ; (18) land at Grāmidāraka, belonging to Śirabala and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* ; (19) land called Sūstāvīmā, belonging to Ichchhavardhana and Śilāditya and measuring five *Drōṇavāpas* ; (20) land called Karkarāṭaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the *vishaya* and measuring four *Drōṇavāpas* ; (21) land called Chidārikā, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (22) land called Pannakōrālikā, belonging to the villagers of Chaḍavaka and measuring twelve *Drōṇavāpas* ; (23) land called Lōhārasamēnā, belonging to Tuṅgāditya and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas* ; (24) land called Grāmiyārakanā attached to the *Karmānta* at Yōśi and measuring fifteen *Drōṇavāpas*. These lands were granted together with a *Maṭhikā* meaning a hut, cottage or cell.

The third group of the pieces of land was granted to the god Brahmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land : (1) Ravvapallikā attached to Sēvāyikā lying to the west of Sisaṅkaṭa, to the east of Anvārigantika, to the north of the Gaṅgā and to the south of Samēhakagrāma ; (2) Gṛihaṇḍakapātikā belonging to Vantāka of Sēvāyikā and measuring seven *Nālikāvāpas*.

All these lands including two *pallikās* were dedicated by the king in favour of the three gods, viz. Durgādēvī, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmēśvara, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself with the usual exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The term *Drōṇavāpa* has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. The measurement of a *Nālikāvāpa* cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word *nālikā* is not recognised by them like *drona* in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *nālī*, *nālī* (i.e. *nālikā*), it is said, "According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 484, the *nālī* measure is the same as the *paūka* (Sanskrit *prastha*) ; but from the *Prātimoksha Sūtra*, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil *nālī* is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Magadhese (*Prāt.*, 81)." It seems therefore, that the *nālikā* was originally regarded as the same as *prastha* which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as the one-sixteenth part of the *drōṇa*. A *Nālikāvāpa* of land thus appears to have been $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *Drōṇavāpa* originally. A *khāri* or *khārī* was usually regarded as equal to sixteen *drōṇas*. A *Khārivāpa* of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a *Drōṇavāpa*. A very interesting feature of tenancy or ownership of soil is indicated by the references to pieces of land said to have belonged to all the inhabitants of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, to all the people of Yōyika-grāma, to all the inhabitants of a *vishaya* or district, to the agriculturist house-holders of a locality, and to the inhabitants of a locality called Chaḍavaka.

The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift whose name was possibly Kamalaśila. The charter was written by Īśvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandabhadra who is also known from Padmaṭa's grant. Īśvaradatta of this record seems to have belonged to the family of Nārāyaṇadatta who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace under Padmaṭa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōśi and Taṅgaṇāpura has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. Yōśi is modern Jōshimāṭh and

Scale : One-half

Taṅgaṇāpura was probably the district round it. The identification of the *vishaya* of **Antaraṅga** and the localities called Harshapura, Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, Varēshikā-grāma, Parī-grāma, Yōyika-grāma, Chaḍavaka, Ravvapallikā, Sisaṅkaṭa, Anvārigantika, Samēhaka-grāma, etc., is uncertain. The **Gaṅgā** or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of land as in the case of Padmaṭa's charter. The bank of the Vishṇu-gaṅgā has also been mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to Vishṇuprayāg which is a halting place on the bank of the Alaknandā in Pargana Painkhand. "The name Vishnuganga", says the *Garhwal District Gazetteer*, 1921, p. 204, "is also given to the river (Alaknanda) for some distance of its course above this *Chatti* (halting place) owing probably to the existence of the Vishnukund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of rock between the Dhauli and Alaknanda rivers, one and a half miles from Joshimath."

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² Svasti [||*] Śrīmat-Subhikshapurāt=samasta-sur-āsura-pati-makūṭa-kōṭi-sanni-visṭa-vikaṭa;māṇikya-kiraṇa-vichchurita-charaṇa-nakha-mayūkh-ōtkhāta-timira-paṭala-[prabh-āvadā]-
- 2 ta(t-ā)tiśaya³-śakti-mahīyaśō(sō) bhagavataś=Chandrasē(śē)kharasya charaṇa-kamala-rajah-pavitrikṛita-nija-bhuj-ārjjit-ōrjjit-ānēka-ripu-chakra-pratishti(shṭhi)ta-pratāpa-bhāskara-bhāsita-[bhuvan-ābhōg-āvirbhā]-
- 3 va-pāvaka-śikh-āvali-vilīna-ssa(sa)kala-Kali-kalaṅka-samudbhūt-ōdāra-tapō-vadātta(ta)-dēhaḥ⁴ śakti-ttraya-prabhāva-samvṛiṇhi(samvṛim)hita-hita-hētir=ddāna-dama-satya-śaurya-śauṭīrya-dhairya-ksham-ādy-a[parimita-guṇa]-
- 4 gaṇ-ākalita-Sagara-Dilipa-Māndhātṛi-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha-prabhṛiti-Kṛita-yuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāgaras=trailōky-ānanda-jananō Nandādēvi-charaṇa-kamala-la-[kshitaḥ sama]-
- 5 dhigat-ābhimata-varā(ra)-prasādē(da)-dyōtita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-Salōṇādityas-tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñi mahādēvi śrī-Siṅghava(ba)lidēvi tasyām=utpannaḥ pa[ramamā]-
- 6 hēsvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-I[chchha]tadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñi mahādēvi śrī-Siṅghū-dēvi tasyām=u[tpannaḥ para]-
- 7 mamāhēsvarāḥ(rah) paramavra(bra)hmaṇyō dīn-ānātha-kṛipaṇ-āturaḥ(ra)-śaraṇāgata-vatsalaḥ Prāchy-Ōdichya-Pratichya-Dākshinātya-dvijavara-mukhyānām=anavarata-hēma-dān-amṛit-ā[rdrīkṛita]-
- 8 kara[h*] samast-ārāti-chakra-pramarddanah Kali-kalusha-mātaṅga-sūdanah Kṛita-yuga-dharmm-āvatārah paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Dēśatadēvas=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyā-

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by symbol.³ Padmaṭa's record reads here ° *atiśaya-śama-śakti* °.⁴ The sign for *visarga* here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of *anusvara*.

- 9 tō rājñi mahādēvī śrīmat-Padmāḍēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamūhēśvaraḥ para-
mavra(bra)hmanyah svayam-utkhāta-bhāsvad-asi-prabhā-vitāna-śava(ba)likṛita-vā-
(bā)hu-va(ba)la-vivarjī-āsēsha-dig-dē[ś-ām]-
- 10 ta-praṇām-ōpanīta-kari-turaga-vibhūṣaṇ-ānavarata-pradāna-tiraskṛit-āsēsha-Va(Ba)li-
Vaikarttana-Dadhīchi-Chandragupta-charitaś=chatur-udadhi-parikhā-paryanta-mēkhalā-
dāmnaḥ kshītēr=bharttā paramabhaṭṭā[ra*]ka-
- 11 mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-Padmaṭadēvaḥ(va)s=tasya(sya) puttras=tat-pād-
ānudhyātō rājñi mahādēvī Śrīmadī(d-ī)śānadēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ(nna)h=paramavaish-
ṇavaḥ paramavra(bra)hmanyah suvidita-śāstra-pradīp-ā[lō]-
- 12 ka-dūr-āpasārita-Kali-titimira¹-nikara-hēl-ākulita-sakala-kalā-kalāp-ālāṅkṛita-śarīra[h*] bhu-
vana-vikhyāta-durmmad-ārāti-sīmantinī-vaidhavya-dīkshā-dāna-dakṣa-aika-guruḥ pra-
tīpakṣa-lakṣmī-haṭha-haraṇa-
- 13 khaṇḍita-prachanḍa-dōrddanda-darppa-prasaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-śrīmat-Subhikṣharājadēvaḥ kuśalī | Tēgaṇāpura-vishayē Antaraṅga-
vishayē cha samupagatām(tā)n=sarvvān=ēva niyōga[sthām(sthān) rāja]-
- 14 rājānaka-rājaputtra-rājāmātya-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta-mahāka(kā)rttākṛitika-mahādanḍa-
nāyaka-mahāpratihāra-mahāsāmantaādhipati-mahārājapramātāra-śarabhaṅga-kumā-
rāmāty-ōparika-duḥsādhyasa(sā)ghanika-dā[śāpa]-
- 15 rādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-śaulkika-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-(vvi)niyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārik-āśē
(sē)dhahhaṅkā(ngā)dhikṛita-hastyaśyōshṭa(shṭra)va(ba)lavīyāpṛitaka-dūta-prēśa(sha)-
nika-dāṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāsika-gamāgamika-khāḍgik-ābhīva-
- 16 ramānaka-rājasthāniya-vishayapati-bhōgapati-kāṇḍapati-tarapaty-āsvapati-khaṇḍarakṣa-
sthānādhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshētrapāla-prāntapāla-ṭhakura-
mahāmanushya-kīśau(śō)raṇḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-ma-
- 17 [ha]ttama(m-ā)hī(bhī)ra-vaṇik-chchhrēshṭhi-purōgān=s-āshtādaśa-prakṛity-adhishā(shṭhā)-
niyān=Khaśa²-Kirāta-Draṇḍa-Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hūṇ-Ōndra(dra)-Mēd-Āndhra-Chāṇḍāla-paryan-
tān=sarvva-samvā(samvā)sān=samasta-jānapadān=bhaṭa-chāṭa-sēvakādīn=anyānś=cha³ kī-
rttit-ākī-
- 18 rttitān=asmat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinah prativāsinaś=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=yathārha-
[m*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samvi(samvi)dita[m*] upari-
saṁsūchita-vaishayika-Na(Nā)mva(mba)raṅga-grāma-pratīva(ba)[ddha]-Vachchhaṭika-
satka-
- 19 Viḍimalāka-nāmā bhūmiḥ śhaṇām nālikānām vāpā⁴ [l*] tathā Hiṭhusāryā[m*]⁵
bhūkhaṇḍam(ṇḍam) ashtā-nālika(kā)-vāpa[m*] tathā Vāḍipālākē bhūkhaṇḍam cha-
turṇām drōṇānām vāpā⁶ [l*] tathā Bhōgaru-satka-Vanōlak-ābhīdhāna-bhūkhaṇḍa-
[m*]⁷

¹ Read *timira*.² Read° *yān Khaśa*.³ Read° *anyānś=cha*.⁴ Read *śhaṇ-nālikā-vāpā*.⁵ The *akṣara ryān* is incised on an erasure.⁶ Read *chatur-drōṇa-vāpam*.⁷ We may also suggest *bhūkhaṇḍa-trayam nālikā-vāpam* and similar corrections in the other cases below; but the corrections shown in the text appear to be preferable.

- 20 ttraya(tri)-nō(nā)likā-vāpaṁ tathā Śubhaṭṭāka-satka-śaraṇaṁ Khōnu-bhūmi-samaddhi-(nvi)taṁ Kaṇḍayikā-parichitaṁ tathā Prastar-Āka-Bhutrīṇāṁ¹ satka-Śaṭēka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Gōvitna(n-Na)ṅāka-satka-Ya[ksha]-sthān-ā-
- 21 bhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Vihāṇāka-satka-Talaśāṭak-ābhi-dhānanā² bhūmi[h*] daśa-nālikānām vāpaṁ³ tathā Vannuvāka-satka-Kshīrakāv-abhidhāna-bhū-khaṇḍa[m*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ tathā śrēṣṭhi(shṭhi)-Jivāka-satka-Gaṅgēra-
- 22 ka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ashta-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā) | tathā Jivāka-Sihāditya⁴-Ichchhava-(ba)lānā[m*] satka-Paivitta-nāmā bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Kāṭaśilla-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Nāmva(mba)-raṅgiya-samasta-ja(jā)napadāna(nām)
- 23 satka-Nyāyapaṭṭaka-nāmā bhūmi[h*] daśa-drōṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Paṅgara-hastakam-ēkaṁ tathā [Vachchha]va(ba)la-Viva[ṇṇa]-Kama-Darjjiyāka-Pratham-Ādityānām satka-Vāḍiva(ba)l-ābhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] shaṭṭdrō(ḍ-drō)ṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Śilāditya-satka-
- 24 Khōrakhōṭṭāṇika-nāmā bhūmi[h*] shaṇṇāṁ nālika(kā)nām vāpaṁ⁵ tathā Śrīharsha-pura-karmānta-prativa(ba)ddha-pūrvva-parimāṇa-Tuṅga-paribhujyamāna-pallika(kā |) ētā bhūmayah pallikā chcha(cha) Śrīharshapuri(rī)ya-śrī-Durgā-bhaṭṭārikā-
- 25 yā(yai |) tathā Varōshikā-grāma-samva(mba)ddha-Nāhallāka-Vijjāṭa-Dujjaṇ-Ātuṅga-Nichaya-Tuṅga-Chāvataka-Varāha-Sittaka-satka-Ānūp-ābhidhāna-bhū khaṇḍaṁ nava-drōṇa(ṇa)-vāpaṁ tathā Attaka-puttrāṇām naptrīṇām [cha*] satka-Ānūpē bhū-khaṇḍa-chatu[shṭa]-
- 26 yaṁ khāri-vāpaṁ tathā [Jā]tipāṭaka-nāmā bhū[h*] Ijjara-samanvitaṁ(tā |) tathā Samijjāyāṁ bhūkhāṇḍa-dvayaṁ nava-drōṇa-vāpaṁ tathā Attaka-puttrāṇām satka-Pairī-grāma-prativa(ba)ddha-Gōvarak-ābhidhāna-bhūmirvvinṣa(r=vvinṣati)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Yōyi-
- 27 ka-grāma-nivāsinānām⁶ satka-Ghassērukā-nāmā bhūmi[h*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Sihāra-nāmā bhūḥ drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Valivardda[śi]lā-nāmā bhū[h*] tt[r]aya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Ihaṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] pañcha-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Rullaṭhi-nāmā bhū[h*] [ttra]-
- 28 ya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Tiriṅga-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Kuttāṇaśilla-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Gaunōḍārikā-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Yuga-nāmā bhū[h] drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Karkkaṭāyālā-nāmā bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-
- 29 vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Paṅgara-hastē(sta)-dvayaṁ tathā Dhaṇāka-satka-Dālimūlaka-nāmā bhūḥ dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Śirava(ba)la-satka-Grāmidārakē bhū-khaṇḍa[m*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Ichhavardhana-Śilādityayōs-satka-Sūshṭavimā⁷-bhūḥ pañcha-drōṇa-

¹ The intended reading may also have been ^oBhūlīnām or trayānām

² Read ^odhānā.

³ Read ^onālikā-vāpā |

⁴ The rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored here.

⁵ Read ^ohan-nālikā-vāpā.

⁶ Read ^onivāsinām.

⁷ It is difficult to determine if ^ovīmā is a mistake for ^onāmā.

- 30 vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā viśhayiṇānām¹ satka-Karkkarāṭaka-bhūḥ chaturṇām drōṇānām vāpa[m]² [*] tathā kuṭusvi(mbi)kānām satka-Ridhārikā-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Chaḍavaka-grāmiṇānām satka-Pannakōrā[li]kā-nāma-bhūḥ dvā-daśa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā
- 31 Tuṅgāditya-satka-Lōhārasamēnā³-bhūḥ śhaṭ-nalikānām vāpā⁴ [*] tathā Yōshi-karmmānta-samva(samba)ddha-Gāmiyārakanā⁵-bhūḥ pañchadaśa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) Maṭhikā-samanvitā ētā bhūmayō Viśṇugaṅgā-sammēdyē⁶ bhagavatō(tē) śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭā-rakāya [*] Tath[ā*]
- 32 Sē[v]āyikā-prativa(ba)ddha-Ravvapallik-ābbid ānā(na)sy=āghāṭāni(tāḥ) likhyante [*] Sisaṅkata-simāyām⁷ paśchimataḥ Anvārisantika-pūrvvataḥ Gaṅgāyām=uttarattas⁸=Samēhaka-grāma-dakṣiṇatas=tathā Sēvāyikāyā Vantāka-satka-Grihaṇḍakapāṭik[ā]
- 33 sapta-nālikā-vāpā bhagavatē Śrī-Vra(Bra)hmēśv ra-bhaṭṭārakāya [*] Ētō(tā) bhūmayōḥ(yaḥ) pallikē dvē cha mayā mātā-pittrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhayē pavana-vighaṭit-āsvattha-pattra-chaṇcha(ñcha)la-taraṅga-jīvalōkya(ka)-m=a-
- 34 valōkya jala-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)d-ākāram=asārañ=cha dṛim(dṛi)śhṭvā gaja-kalabha-karṇ-āgra-chapalatāñ=cha lakshmyā jñātvā paralōka-nīśra(śrē)yas-ārtham sansā(samśā)r-ārṇava-taraṇ-ārthāñ=cha puṇyē(ṇyē)=hanī bhagavadbhyaḥ śrī-Durggādēvī-śrī-
- 35 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmēśvarabhaṭṭārakēbhyaḥ gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-pushp-ōpalēpana-sanmā(mmā)rjjana-gīta-vādyā-nṛitya-va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-ārtha[m*] kham(kha)ṇḍa-sphuṭita-puna[h*]saṁskā(śka)raṇ-ārthāñ=cha prati-
- 36 pādītāḥ prakṛiti-parihāra-yuktā [a*]-nā(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyā ma(a)-kiñchit-pragrāhyā ma(a)nāchchēdyā[h*] chandr-ārka-kṣhiti-sthiti-samakālikā viśa(śha)yād=uddhṛita-piṇḍānsva(s=sva)-sīmā-gōchara-paryantānsa(s=sa)vṛikṣh-ārām-ō-
- 37 dbhēda-prasravaṇ-ōpētā ndē(dē)va-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujiyamāna-varjjitā yatas=sukham mpā(pā)ramparyēṇa paribhuñjamānānā[m*] svalpam=api⁹ dharāṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-ōpadraṇa=na¹⁰ kaiśchit=kar[tta*]-
- 38 vyam=atō=nyath¹¹=ājñā-vyatikramē mahā-drōḥah śyād=iti [*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē chaturthē Samva(Samva)t 4 Jē(Jyē)śhṭha-vadi 5 [*] Dūtakō-ttra mahādānākṣhapāṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Kama[la]-

¹ Read *viśhayiṇām*.

² Read *chatur-drōṇa-vāpā*.

³ It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest *Lōhārasamē-nā[mā*]*.

⁴ Read *śhaṭ-nālikā-vāpā*.

⁵ It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest *Grāmiyāraka-nā[mā*]*.

⁶ The intended word may be *sammēdhyā*, 'a sacred locality', or *sambhāda*, 'a confluence'.

⁷ Read *°sīmnaḥ* or *sīmāyāḥ*.

⁸ Better read *Gaṅgāyā uttarata°*.

⁹ Read *svalpō=pi*.

¹⁰ Read *°dravō na*.

¹¹ Read *karṭavyō=atō=nyath°*.