No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR
(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

As noticed by A. Fuhrer 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-badari (one of the Pañccha-badari) at Pāndukēśvar (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 Pāndukēśvar 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 The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.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 Lalitaśrėda, 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 Pāndukēśvar 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 leg in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twenty-eight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each akṣara 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 Pāndukēśvar. The use of initial ā and ī and final ṭ are noticed in the record. The upadharmaṅga 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 imperative verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of dūṣ or saṁdūṣ-dhāyastos. 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 v. 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 anyānē cha in line 16. Sl has been used in place of ṭ in Khassa in line 15 and ṭ instead of s in ṛṣṭēla in line 13, while ī is found instead of ī in "tīrṇa" in line 25. The word sahasraśi is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form sahasraśī in the previous line.

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The charter is dated in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the Visha-wa-saṅkrānti, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttiika in the 22nd year of king Lalītāṣūradēva’s reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the Uttarāṣa-va-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 Lalītāṣūradēva 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 Paramabhāṣṭāraka Mahārāja-dhiraja Paramēvara Lalītāṣūradēva who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukēśvar, was the son of P.M.P. Ishṭagaṇadēva and grandson of Nimbara. The names of the mothers of Lalītāṣūradēva and Ishṭagaṇadēva were Vēgādevī and Nālādevī respectively. Lalītāṣūradēva’s own queen is known, from a Bāgēśvar inscription referred to below, to have been Śayadēvi (possibly the same as Śāmadēvi 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 Dhūrjaṭī (Śiva) and the goddess Nāḍi-bhāgavatī, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaun Division is called Nāḍi-dēvi. There is a river called Nandākinī rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Triśul in Pargānā Bādhān, lat. 30° 16' 10" N., long. 79° 46' 5" E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandādevī, which is situated near Tarakāharak above the village of Satāl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbara’s son and successor Ishṭagaṇadēva; but he is called paramēvara and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalītāṣūradēva 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 Gomati and Sarjā in Patti Katvār in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. VII, 1838, 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 Śri-Bhasananjadēva (read as Masananjadēva in the translation and Bāsananjadēva in Atkinson’s account) and Śayadēvira-maṅgāmacchādēva. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as śri-Kharparadēva, his son śri-Kalāyarajadēva and his son śri-Tribhuvana-rājadhēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalītāṣūradēva of our record. His name has been read as śri-Bhūdēvadēva, although the reading paramabhāṣṭāraka-mahārājadhiraj-adhipī-nāma-sūryā-jayā-sūryā-pāmpur-sūryā-sūryā-bhūdēvadēva seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalītāṣūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbara and Ishṭagaṇadēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalītāṣūradēva’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


OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTION, KARITTIKEYAPURA IS IDENTIFIED WITH BAIJNĀTH OR VAIDLĀVANĀTH (LAT. 29° 54' 24" N., LONG. 79° 39' 25" E.), A VILLAGE IN PARGANA DĀNPUR OF THE HAZĪR TAHŚIL IN THE ALMORA DISTRICT. ACCORDING TO A TRADITION NOTICED BY ATKINSON,2 THE CITY WAS BUILT BY A KATYŪR KING OF THE KATYŪR VALLEY IN KAMAU ON THE RUINS OF AN OLDER CITY NAMED KARAṚIPURA. IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE THAT THE NAME KARITTIKEYAPURA IS A SANKRITIZED FORM OF THE ABORIGINAL NAME KATYŪR. POSSIBLY KARTIPURA OF THE ALLAHABAD PILLAR INSCRIPTION3 WAS JUST ANOTHER SANKRITIZED 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 SRĪNAGAR, AND CONTAINS THE CELEBRATED TEMPLE OF BADRINĀTH AND BADARĪ-NĀRĀYANA. THE TAPOBAMA REFERRED TO AS LOCATED AT BADARIK-ĀŚRAMA MAY POSSIBLY BE IDENTIFIED WITH MODERN TAPOBAN OR DHAKTAPOBAN, A VILLAGE ON THE LEFT BANK OF THE DHAULI RIVER ABOUT NINE MILES FROM JŚHĪMAṬH. IT IS CONSIDERABLY AWAY FROM BADRINĀTH; BUT THE BHAVISHYA-BADARI LIES NEAR IT. THAPPALASAŚI AND GARUDĀGRĀMA CANNOT BE IDENTIFIED.

TEXT

dvaya-pradīpa-dhūtihitī-pāna-madā-rakta-charanā-kamalā-āmala-vipula-va[ha][a][a*]-kīsanā-rōsa-sārit-ākāsa-viśēsha-mahā-ghanas-tējasas = Svargdhiṃ-bhaumu-ta -
ṣatōjū

3 āsya bhagavatī Dhrūjyajē = prasādān = niya-bhuj-ōpārijitī-(t)aujyajita-nirγjita-rupam-
śāstra-sattva-āśla-śanasa-saṣa-saṣa-saṣa-kāo-tāù

4 raya-kārya-vari-ādi-guṇa-gaṇa-ālakrita-sāriraḥ mahā-sukṛiti-saṁtana-viś(bij)-āvatāraḥ Kṛitayug- 
āgama-bhūpā-la-lalita-kṛttīḥ Nandā-bhagavatī-charaṇa-kamalā-kamalā-saṃtha-mūrṭīḥ ārī-

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1 The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India, Vol. II, p. 488.
2 Sales Inscriptions, p. 257.
3 From impressions.
4 Expressed by symbol.

6 vaiṣyaś-putak-ōchhhrāya-chandriśk-āpahatita-tāra-gaṇaḥḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājā- dhīrāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-Isṭaṇāpadēvā-sasvāy(a)ya puttras-tat-pād-ānuḍhyātō rājīṇi mahādevī śrī.-


pāda-padm-ōpjavinaḥ pravīśa.-


1 The word is also found in the form rājāsaka, the same as rāssaka of later records.
19 yuṛ-drisṭvā gaja-kalabha-karṇāgra-chapelataḥ-cha la[kahmyā jñātavā\]
paralōka[ka-nilār]-
yas-ārtha[ṁ*] samār-ārṇava-taraṅgarthaḥ-cha puṇyā-hana[ni] Visuḥ[va*]-saraṅkṛanta
ga[ndha]-pūṣpa-dhūpa-dip-ōpāpana-va[ba].

20 li-charu-mṛitya-gēya-vādy-STAR-a-pravarttanāya khαṇḍa-sphuṭita-sa[ṁ*]karaṇāya bhṛtya-
pāda-mūla-bharaṇāya cha abhinava-karmma-karaṇāya cha Garuḍā-grāmē bhαṭa-Śrīpuru-

21 aheṇa pratishṭhāpita-bhagavata[ē] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhātārakāya āsasana-dānēna pratipāditaṃ
dwikṣa-ārām-ōdbhēda-pra[sva]jñ-ōpētaṃ dēva-Vrā[Brāj]maṇa-bhukta-bhūyamāna-

22 rka-kshti-sthitī-samakālikaṃ visayād-uddbhītita-piṇḍani śva-sīmā-gēcha-parayaṇtaṁ sa-
vikṣa-ārām-ōdbhēda-pra[sva]jñ-ōpētaṁ dēva-Vrā[Brāj]maṇa-bhukta-bhūyamāna-

23 [n̄] pa pariḥuṇjangataḥ-ch-āṣy-ōpari-nirūdhiṣṭair-anystarair-vvā dharana-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-
ādīk-ōpdravō maṇg-āpi na karttavyō-[tō]-nayath-ājñā-hānau mahā-drōhaḥ[ḥ] svād-itī | nīvēsmaṁ(sah) tasya dēvasya Va(Ba).

24 darik-āśramiya-tapāvara-ra-pratīva(ba)ddha-vrā(brā)machārī(ri)ṇāṁ sa(ya)t-kiṃcitaṁ-sātheyam-
(dhyāni) tattva karttavyān tat-sa[rvva]hi vṛ(na)[b]r(a)machārībhiḥ karanīyaṁ(yam) | prava[rddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃva(sahva)tsare ] dvāvinēsa(virēsa)timē
sa[mva(sahva)]

25 22 Kārtika-vadī 15 [[*] dūtak-ōttra mahādānākṣaṭalādhikrita-Śrī-Pūkā|h ][*] Mahā-
sandhivigrhaḥkṣaṭalādhikrita-Śrīmad-Āryaṭa(h)ta-vacchanā[†*] taṅk-ōtki(tk)īṃnā[†*] Śrī-Gaṅgabhadraṇa [[*] Va(Ba)bbhir-vvā-

26 sudhā bhukt[ā*] rāja-hus-Sagārd-āḍibhiḥ |[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam-
(lam) |[*] Sva-dattām-para-dattāmva(tτāṁ vā) yō harēta vaśundharāṁ(rām) | shashṭivma-
(ṣṭ)ē vya[sa]hα-sa[b]hābhār(a)riḥ śva-viśtyē jāyati kri-

27 mi[ḥ*] [[*] Shashṭimva[ṣṭ]ē[vya]hα-va[sa]hābhār(a)riḥ svarggh śaśthiti bhūmidh | ācchhētā
ch-ānumata cch(a)ḥ tāṁyē śva narakē vasē[†*] Gām-e[ka(kā)n]e-śa svarpaṇā-śa
bhūmēr-āpy-ē-kāṁ-saṅgulam(lam) hṛtāvā narakam-āyati yāvad-a-

28 bhūt(ta)-sāṃplavaḥ(vam) |[*] Iti kamala-dal-śmva[mb]-vindu-lōlām śriyam-anuclātita
mana(ṇu)sṛya-jīvitaḥ-cha | sa(sa)kalam-idam-udāḥrītaḥ-cha vu(bu)[ddhva] na hi puru-
shāh pari-k(ī)rttyā śvīpyah(pyāḥ) [[*] ]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) May there be success! Hail! From the prosperous (city of) Kārttikeyapura; 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 imbining the bright lustre of the lights that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the crowns 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: Aunakṣhurā for this and the following three verses.
2 Read viştyē for śva viśtyē.
3 Metre: Puṣḥpiṣṭā. 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 Dūḥārtiṣṭie; 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 Mahādevī Nārāṇēvi, (was) the devout worshipper of Mahēvāra (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramahattāraka Mahārājāhūrāja Paramēvāra, the illustrious Ishṭagāṇadēva, 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 Mahādevī Vighādevi, (is) the devout worshipper of Mahēvāra (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the Paramahattāraka Mahārājāhūrāja Paramēvāra, the illustrious Lalitaśrīvadēva, who played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Vishnu 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 brow (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 bracelet 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 mace, 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 Pṛithu 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 Kārttikeyapura, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects1 headed by the Rājas (feudatory rulers), Rājanākas (chieftains), Rājaputras (princes), Rājāmātias (ministers), Sāminatas (feudatories), Mahārānāantas (great feudatories), Ṭhakuras,2 Mahāmanusya, Mahākārtātyākatas (possibly superintendents of offices), Mahāpratikāras,3 Mahārājanāmates,4 Sarabhangas,5 Kumārāmātias (Amātias or executive officers enjoying

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1 The word mahākārtātyākata is also mentioned in other records (cf. Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, p. 12). The expression sa-mahākārtātyākata qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 220). The word mahākārtātyākata has been used in these cases in the sense of 'all': cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 336, note 4 ; Vol. XXX, p. 112. The word mahākārtātyākata is believed to have derived from the Turkish title -tin. Both ṭhakura and mahāmanusa-
sha appear to indicate noblemen or zamindars.

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

3 Literally 'the great leader of forces'. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrat.

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

5 Sarabhangas literally mean 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon.
the status of a Kumāra), Uparikās (provincial governors), Dhṛṣṭākṣara-dhātikās, Dāñca-pādikās (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves), Sañcārikas (superintendents of tolls), Gaumālikas (superintendents of police stations), Tadāyuktakās, Viniyuktakās, Pañcakōśa-rīkas (officers to investigate offences against royal edicts and charters), Asadabhabhaṅgādikās (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, Dūtas (envoys), Prāshapikās (officers in charge of sending messengers), Dāṅca-pādikās, Dāṅca-pādikās (police constables), Gaumālikās (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), Khādjikās (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), Abhravamāṇikās (special messengers), Bājasthāniyās (governors or landlords), Vishayapatis (rulers of districts), Bhūgopātis (officers in charge of Jāgras), Tarapatis (superintendents of ferries), Aśvapatis (superintendants of cavalry), Khañcara-khas, Pratiśārikās, Sīhādikās (Thānādārās, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), Vartiṇapālas (superintendants of forts), Ghatapālās (superintendants of landing places on river banks), Kshetrapālas (superintendants of cultivated lands of the Khas Mahāl), Prāntapālas (wardens of the Marches), Kīrāvadavagāmāhādikās (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), Bhūtās (ministers), Mahatamās (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (and) foremen of guards, down to the Khāsas, Kirātas, Dravīdas, Kaliṅgas, Gāudās, Īḍas, Mādas, Andhras and Cāñḍālās, 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 Brāhmāṇas: 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 Dēnvūvakā (and is) within the bounds of Thapalāsāri in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at Garuḍāgrāmā by Bhaṭṭa Śripuruṣa, 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 Brāhmāṇas. Wherefore (the donee) enjoying (the grant) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

1 The Kaṇḍaliya Athādāstra says that officers purified by the fire-test should be appointed as aṣaṇa-kārya, i.e. emergency work. The Dhṛṣṭākṣara-dhātikā was probably an official of this class.

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

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

4 Dāñca-pādikās may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying Dāñca-pādikā is apparently the same as the modern Oriya Dāñca-patia, i.e. a village watchman.

5 The Khandara-kās (cf. Khandapala) 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 Pratiśārika was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 256.
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 tapaṇa belonging to Badarkāśrama; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the Brahmachārins.

(L. 24-25) In the twentyscecond year of the increasingly victorious reign: year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kaṛttika. The Dūtaka (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Prāka, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (The plate has been) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gaṅgabhadrā 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 beneficent verses.

II. Plate of Padmaṭaḍēva, 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 Lalitaśāra 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 Lalitaśāra; 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 beneficent 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 Lalitaśāra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like asa for aśa in line 13, kisā for kīṣā and ākīsa for ākṣīrā in line 14, yathārahām for yathākēm in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that final n has in a number of cases been changed to anvāra; cf. āgatām for gatān and 5sthām for 5sthān in line 10, etc. But the anusvāra is replaced by n in anyāṅkēcha in line 16 and n in viṁśati in line 26. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśāra's records discussed above. Note-worthy 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 Padmaṭaḍēva who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the first half of the tenth century A.D. Line 21 refers to the uttarāgya-saṅkrānti as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of Kārttikeyapura by Paramaḥauṣṭaraka Mahārāja Paramēśvara Padmaṭaḍēva who was the son of P.M.P. Dēṣṭaḍēva and Mahādevī Padmaṭaldi, the grandson of P.M.P. Ichchhaṭaḍēva and Mahādevī Śiṅghūḍēvi, and the great grandson of Salōṇāḍīya and Mahādevī Śiṅghuvalīḍi. Like Nimbhā, grandfather of Lalitaśāra-dēva, Salōṇāḍīya is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as devoted to the god Chandraśekhara (Śiva) and the goddess Nandādevī. His successors Ichchhaṭaḍēva, Dēṣṭaḍēva and Padmaṭaḍēva are endowed with imperial style and are called paramamahēṣvara and paramabrahmaṇa just as Nimbhā's successors. Padmaṭa was probably named after his mother Padmaṭaldi. It will be seen that both Lalitaśāra and Padmaṭa ruled from Kārttikeyapura. 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 Padmaša’s house as dāna-dama-satya-kaurya-kautyrya-dhairya-keham-śdy-aparimita-guna-gan-akalita-Sagara-Duilpa-Mändhāyī-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhaṅgītha-Dakrathā–prabhātri-
Kriṣthya-bhūpāla-charita-sāgara is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbāra, founder of Lalitāśūra’s house, as dayā-dākeṣānya-satya-sattva-sīla-sauka-kaurya-auḍhārya-maryādā-
ārava-rāja-kṛṣita-vāryāditya-gan-śālaṅkṛta-sārīra... Kriṣṇa-yūga-bhūpāla-lalita-kīrti.
Expressions like pushpa-patā-nivakṣaṇa-pradīpa (i.e. having incised the charter on a heated copper
plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitāśūra. It may further be noted that the list
of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitāśūra. The two lists
are common with the exception of Mahāsāṃkāśāyin (in addition of Sāmanta and Mahāsāmanta),
Vishayásṛiṣṭaka (in addition to Vishayapati) and Kṛṣṇapati found in the present charter and
Pratīṣṭhāna mentioned in Lalitāśūra’s grant. The Pratīṣṭhāna may have been the superintendent of
gladiatorial combats in which pratīṣṭhāna (literally opponents), i.e. prize-fighters, took part. The
function of the Kṛṣṇapati cannot be determined with certainty; but, if the word kṛṣṇa may have
indicated different branches of such combats, possibly the Kṛṣṇapati may be taken to have been
the same as the Pratīṣṭhāna. Whatever that may be, the addition of the Mahāsāṃkāśāyin and the
Vishayásṛiṣṭaka in the list of Padmaša’s officials seems to suggest that he flourished later than Lalitāśūra.
In that case, the house of Lalitāśūra may have been overthrown shortly after his son’s rule by Salgāditya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at
Kārttikeyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padmaša also ruled
from that city.

According to Atkinson, a copper-plate grant of Dēmaša, father of Padmaša, is preserved in the
temple of Bālēśvar in eastern Kumun. It was issued from Kārttikeyapura in the 5th year of the
pravaraśāhamaṇa-vijayaṛiṣṭa of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Āśā district by
Dēsaṭādeva, it records the grant to Vijayāśvara of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate
gives the names of Salōnāditya and his queen Sīnāvalli (or Sīndhavalli)devi followed by those
of their son Ichchhaṭādeva and his queen Sīndhudevi, whose son was Dēsaṭādeva. The record was
subscribed by the chief civil officer Bhaṅga 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 Drumati which
formed a part of the Taṅgaṇāpura vishaya as well as in Yōśi probably also forming a part of the
same vishaya: (1) four paliṅkas (habitations) in the possession of four persons named Dirghaditya,
Buddhabala, Sūndiṭiṭya (Śvāditiṣṭya) and Gaṅaditya in Drumati; (2) fifteen bhāgas (allotments of
land) belonging to Paṅgara in Drumati; (3) Tōgalā-vṛtti (possibly a piece of land originally offered
for the maintenance of a person called Tōgalā) in Yōśi; (4) a Karmāṇa-atlangā (barn) situated
in Yōśi near a sākkrama (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅga and between Khaṇḍānāra and
Ulikā; (5) a piece of land, measuring one Drōṣṭāpā according to the measurement current in the
locality, near a pārāvata tree at Kāśasthalikā-grāma in Drumati; (6) a piece of land, measuring one
Drōṣṭāpā according to the measurement of the locality and belonging to Dhanakā, at Randhavak-
grāma in Yōśi.

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

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474 he says that the grant of Dēsaṭādeva recorded the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyana-
varman in favour of Vijayāśvara.
measuring one \textit{Drśamapya} each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandāka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarīnātha or Badari-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the \textit{palliōs}, the \textit{vṛtta} and the \textit{karmāṇa} 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 \textit{Bhaṭṭa} Dhanāra. 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 Lalitasūra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of \textit{Kārttikāśapura} and Badarikāśrama has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitasūra. Yōs is no doubt the modern Jōshimāth or Jyōtridham (lat. 36° 38° 24° N., long. 79° 36° 24° E.), famous for one of Śiva’s Jyōtir-līlagās in the Painkhanda Pargana of the Garhwal District. I have not been able to identify the district named \textit{Taṅgaṇāpura} and the sub-division named \textit{Drumati}, although Taṅgaṇāpura seems to be the district round modern Jōshimāth and Drumati a region not far from it. Taṅgaṇāpura is mentioned along with another visāya called Antarānga in the inscription of Padmāta’s son Subhiksharāja, edited below. In \textit{The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India}, Vol. II, p. 357, Akkinson suggested that the district of Taṅgaṇāpura lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of Antarānga in the Doab between the Bhāgṛathī and the Alakandā. The people of this region may be identical with the Taṅgaṇas or Taṅgaṇas of early Indian literature.\textsuperscript{1} The villages of Kākasthalikā and Raudhavaka cannot be identified; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jōshimāth. 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 Dīśaṭa, father of Padmāta, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. Prāchya or the eastern, Udchāya or the northwestern, Pratichya or the western and Dākshināya or the southern. The non-mention of Madhyadīśa, between the Himalayas and the Vindhayas 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 Vindhyand 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 for the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

\textbf{TEXT}\textsuperscript{2}

1 Siddham\textsuperscript{1} svasti [][*] Śrīmat-Kārttikāśapurāt-samastā-sur-āsura-pati-makuṭa-kōṭi-saṃnihita-viśvita-māṇikya-kīrāṇa-viobhuhūri-charana-nakha-mayukh-ōtkhāta-timira-panala-prabhāvadh[ā].


\textsuperscript{1} Cf. \textit{IHQ}, Vol. XXI, p. 304.
\textsuperscript{2} From impressions.
\textsuperscript{3} Expressed by symbol.
\textsuperscript{4} Read saṃvrāhita.
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5 ras-tai(trai)loke-ānanda-jananō [Na]ndēvī-charanā(m)kamala-lakshmi(kahi)taḥ sama-
dhigat-ābhimata-vara-prasāda[*]-dyōtita-nikhilā-bhuvan-ādityah śri-Salōṇādītyaḥ-tasya
puttras-tat-pād-ānūnā
dhātyō rājī mahādevī śri-Siṅghūvalīdevī tasyām-utpannḥ paramamahēśvaraḥ paramavra-
(braḥ)manvahṛṣṭāraḥ mahārajāджhīra-paramēśvara-śremad-Dēṣṭhataḍēvasa

7 puttras-tat-pād-ānūadyārī rājī mā(ḥ)hādevī śri-Siṅghūvalīdevī tasyām-utpannḥ paramamahēś-
śvaraḥ paramavraḥ(braḥ)manvō doānātha-kripaṇ-ātra(tu)ra-saranāgata-vasalalā Prāchya-
Odēcyah

8 Pratīchya-Dākshinaṭyā-dvijavāra-mukhyāṇām-anavara-hēma-dān-āṃrit-ādīkirti-karaṣ́-
samast-ārūti-chakra-pramardhannāḥ Kali-kalusha-mātāga-sūdanāḥ Kṛitayuga-dharmam-
āvātāraḥ paramahāṭāra

9 ka-mahārajāḍhīrāja-paramēśvara-śremad-Dēṣṭhataḍēvasa tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānūdyārī
rājī mahādevī śri-Praduḷḷādevī tasyām-utpannḥ paramamahēśvaraḥ paramavraḥ(braḥ)-
manvō parama

10 bhaṭṭāraka-mā(m)aḥrajāḍhīrāja-paramēśvara-śremad-Padmaṭhadēvaḥ kuśalā | Taṇḍaṇāpura-
visahyāḥ samupagatāṁ(tān) sarvāvē niyogasthāṁ(ṣṭaḥ) rāja-ṛajanaka-rājaputra-
rājāmātṛyā-sā

11 maṇa-mahāśamantakaḥ-mahākah(k)ṛttākṛitikakahābhādanāyaḥaka mahāpratihāra mahāma-
satādhipati-mahārajaprāma(m)āt[ra]ḥ sarabhāṅga-kumārāmātṛ-ōpāra-dusṣābhyāṇa

12 daḥ[da]nika-daṭāpārādhika-chauṁḍharaṇī-saṅkika-gaulmika-tadāyukta-laṣātva-kamāyukta-
[ā]tākāpachārīk(kā)śiḍhabhābhdhīṛikta-hastasyavē ōtṛavav(ba)lavāyātikau-dūta-prāṇhyān

13 ka-dāṇḍika-da[da]ndāpāŚka-vaṭiṣavāyātikagamāgamaṃkakāḥdgikā-ābhītivaramāṃaka-ra-
jasthāṇīya-vaṇya-vaṇyapati-bhūgopa-kāṇḍapati-tarapati-asva(ava)pati-ḥākiḥkaṇḍa

14 rukṣhā-sthānābhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭāpala-gaṭṭapala-kaṭṭapala-prāntapāla-ḥakurra-
mahāmanṣaḥ-saṅgalīla-kandiḥ[ca]ravatāvāṃgāmahābhikṛita-bhāṣṭra-kṛityāḥ saṅkalīla-

16 din-anyāśeṣa(nyāṁḥ-sc) kirttik-ākṛttitān samast-pādā-पदो-पदविनान-ḥ pratiśvañās-cha

17 sūchita-visāya-pratīva(ba)ddha-Drumatt-pratīva(ba)ddha[na[na]] Dirghāditya-Vu(Bu)ddhava-
(ba)-Śāditya[na] Gāndhāyānī parbhujyāmayī-paṃkā-chatvāram tathā tasminyāvā

18 ṛchādaśa-bhāgāṣ-thaṭha Yōśi[sa] pratīva(ba)ddha-Tōgal-vṛttri-aparitam-apam[ap] karmanā-
thalikā-ṣaṃay evā Yōśi-pratīva(ba)ddha Gāṅgā-pachhi(m)ch(i)kalē saṃkrama sam(sam)-
ta

19 chchhinn-apar[ā] cha tasminna[na]v Yōśi-pratīva(ba)ddha-Raṇhathaka-gaṇmē Ṛṣṭi[sa]vata-vṛkha-
talāma-bhāgī bhūmi tadīya-deśāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpa-aparā cha Yōśi-pratīva(ba)-

20 satka-bhūmi tadāyā-deśāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpa [*] Eti(ṣa) drōṇ-ḍvaya-vāpā bhūr[Na]ndōkuṇā mūlaṇa gra[ṣṣ]hīvā Va(Bo)darikṣrama-bhaṭṭārakāya pratīpādītā

[*] Mayā cha sa[na]*v-sv-ret[ai(ṣ)](a)hā pāllikā-vaṛt[ti]

1 Read pāraḥkūtak.
2 The intended name may be Śivāditya.
3 Read tasāṃcēnaḥ or aṣṭ婆mēsahna.
4 Read aparitam-apamā.
21 karmãnt-ädiva-bhûmi-sahitã Útтарãyana(na)-sainkrántã(ya)(ntau) màtã-pitto-rãtmanas-cha 
punya-yasa(bhã)-bhuvãyãyã pavana-vighãsthit-äseva(sva)thã-patra-chânhoccha(bhã)la- 
tarañãjã(m)jvalokam-svalokyã jala-vu(bu)dvã(dhû)d-àkãra- 
22 m-saarãn ch-ayur-drãhita(v)jâ gaja-kalabha-kurañãgra-chapalatañ-cha lakshmyã jhãtva 
paraloka-nirãjã-ärthâna sãnsãr-arçava-tarãñ-ärthãña eva va(ba)li-charu-satra-nai-vãyã- 
pradã-panda-dhû-pushpa[gãya]- 
23 vãdyã-nribya-pujã-pravartanãya khañã-sphuñita-puna(h)marã-sãryãa eva bhagavãtã(tã) 
ãri-Va(Ba)darikãrama-bhañãrãkãya pratipaditañ(tã) pushpa-pañã-nãvañãh kriitã pra- 
kriti-parihãra-yuktã a-chãã-chañã-pra- 
24 veñyã-ã-kãchit-pragãrãya(hyã) anãchabhãdyã-ã-chandr-ãrka-kahiti-shtiti-samã(m)kãlikã 
vãhãyã-uddhrita-pipã deva(sva)sãm-goñbara-paryantã sas(sas)-vrikã-ãram-ãbdrã- 
prasarvyã(y)-o-petã rãj-ãbbhãva-sakalã(la)-pra- 
25 dãya-samãtã devã-Vã(Ba)hmana-bhukta-bhujãyãma-vajjitã [([*]) yata-sukhañ paribhãjat- 
opari-nirudyã(n)air-[anyair-[*])rvã [sv]apam-spyã dharana-viãrãna-paripanãn-ãdik- 
ãpãdravã(y)ãnã kãchit-karañya-sa- 
26 nyãhãyãjãt-vyãtrikramã(mõ) mahã-drãha[ã] sãyã-diti [([*) pravardhãmãna-vijya-rãja- 
samyãna(samva)sañã-panãchita[ã]vinta[ã]tiva Samsã(Samva)25 Mâgã-va-dã 
43\* dutsaktã-trã mahããnãskhañapañãdãkikrãtã-ãri-Bhañã-Dhanã[ã][ã]([*]) 
27 likhitam-vidã(mõ) mahããsãndhivraghãkhañapañãdãkikrãtã-ãri-Nãrãyãñadãtã-sãyã-utkírmanãm- 
idañã-ãri-Nandãbhadrãna[ã][ã][ã] Bhã rãjãnañ prãrthhayaty-ãha Rãmõ bhãyã bhãyã prãrtha 
nãya nãrendrã [([*) sãmãñãyã]- 
28 tyãñã dharmma-sãtu([*])-nipãarnã kãlã kãlã pãlãnyõ bhãvadbhi hî [\*]

TRANSLATION

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

(Lines 1-5) (there were) the illustrious Sãloñãditya 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 Chandrasékha 
(Siva) who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre 
resulting from the extinguition 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 oroes of crowns of all 
the lords of gods and demons; whose body was purified by great penance and stood above all 
stoains of the Kali age; (the force of) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacy 
of the three powers (via 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 Sãgara, Dîlpa, Mândhàtri, Dhundhumàra, Bhara, Bhagratìha, Dañçâthà and 
other kings of the Golden Age; who caused delight in the three worlds; who was distinguished by 
the lotus-feet of Nandañãvi; (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);
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(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious Mahādevī Siṅghālīdevī, was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Ichchhāśāntādevī 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 Mahādevī Siṅghālīdevī, was Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Dēṣṭaṭādevī, 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, Udchīya, Pratīchya and Dākhañjāya 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 Mahādevī Padmālīdevī, is Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, the illustrious Padmaṭādevī 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 officials in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of Taṅgaṇapura, headed by the Rājarṣis, Rājārajas, Rājputs, Rājamātis, Sāmans, Mahāśāmans, Mahākārtikīkās, Mahāśaṃdiyaśakas, Mahāprātiśākhas, Mahāśāmanādhikīpatis, Mahārāja-pramātikas, Śarabhāṅgas, Kumārāṅgas, Uparikas, Dvāsādhyāsādhanikas, Dvāsparīṣṭikas, Chāsāvatārānāsikas, Śāulkikas, Gauṅakikas, Tāḍāyaṅkikas, Vinīyuktakas, Paṭṭikapochārīkhas, Aṣṭhaḥkāra-gāndhikīrīs, Hastyaṅkikas, Vibhakatārakas, Dvāsaṅkikas, Dvāsparīṣṭikas, Gauṅāṅkikas, Khaṅgikas, Abhuravamāṇakas, Rājārṣikās, Vishavasāvikas, Bhṛṣṭapāīs, Kāṇḍapāīs, Tarapāīs, Atirasīs, Khaṅjarakas, Sthānaṅkikīrīs, Vartmapāīs, Ghaṭapāīs, Khaṅgāpāīs, Prāṇapāīs, Thakkaras, Mahāmāṇikāys, Kāṁśṭhāvatārānāsikāṅkikārīs, Bhāṭīs, Mahāṅkikās, Aṅkikās, Vaiśikās and Śrīmāṇkikās; to all habitations (and) to all the people down to the Khaṇḍas, Kīṭas, Dravīḍas, Kāṅgas, Gauḍas, Huṇas, Udras, Mātas, Andhās 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 paliṅkās in the possession of Dirghādifiya, Budhāhabala, Śrī Śālīṭiya (Śvādīṭiya) and Gaṇāḍīṭiya attached to Drumati which is attached to the above-mentioned district; and also fifteen allotments of Paṅgara in Drumati in the same (district) and also the vṛtṛi of Tōgalā attached to Yōṭī; also a Karmūnta-sthaliṅkā (i.e. Karmūntasthaliṅkā) in the same (district), attached to Yōṭī, on the western bank of the Gaṅgā, near the bridge (and) demarcated by Khaṇḍāṅgara and Uliṅkā; another (piece of) land in the region of the pavement under the Pārvatī tree at Kākṣṭhalikā-grāma in Drumati in the same (district) measuring one Drōṇaṭāpa according to the customary standard of its locality; and another (piece of) land belonging to Dhanākā at Randhāvaka-grāma attached to Yōṭī, measuring one Drōṇaṭāpa according to the customary standard of its locality. (Of all the above pieces of land), the land measuring two Drōṇaṭāpas have been obtained at a price by Nandulika and have been dedicated (by him) to Bādārukārama-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 *pallišā*, the *śrīti*, the *karmāṇa*, 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-bhāṭāraka 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 ren 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 of is in the possession of the gods and Brahmāyas. Wherefore (the donee) may enjoy (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 *Diśaka* in this case is the illustrious Bh. *ṛṣa* Dhanasara who is the Mahādāna-ākṣaptal-ādiḥkirta. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyaṇādatta who is the Mahāsandhiyagāth-ākṣaptal-ādiḥkirta; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhādra.

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

III.—Plate of Subhikeśvarājiḍēva, Rāṣṭra 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, they lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practical the same size as those discussed above, it contains no less than fortytwo lines of writing.

The size of the aksharas (about 3"x 3") is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitaśāra and Padmaśa.

The characters closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmaśa 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), i (line 40), I (lines 26-27 29, 39), u (line 39) and e (line 33) and the final form of t (lines 38, 40). The language of the record is Pāṇīkṣī. 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 Padmaśa. Both the viṣarga and the upadahāniya have been applied in “tannadha-parama” in line 11. The anuvāra has been wrongly used for the final n in niyogasthā in line 13 and has been further modified to n in “niyōṇa-khaśa” in line 17. It is substituted by ni in “niyōṇa-khaśa in the same line and by n in “niyōṇa-khaśa” in line 17. It is substituted by ni in “niyōṇa-khaśa” in the same line and by n in “niyōṇa-khaśa” in line 37. In śrīpaṇ (line 42) ri has been used for ri. The word upadadāsava has been used in the neuter (line 37) and ākṛt (Prakrit sataka) is employed in the sense of ‘belonging to’. We may note also the use of traya for tri and dya for dvi. Interesting is the use of rājānais in place of rājābhiśa (line 39). Although the rules of sandhi have not been observed in the prose portion in some cases (cf. khaṇḍāna ashta 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 Subhiksharaja-deva. 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 Subhiksharajadeva. 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. Subhiksharaja is said to have been the son of king Padmata and Mahadevi Iśānavēti. The description of Padmata's ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padmata himself. The description of Padmata is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaikarta, Dāchichi and Chandaрагupta. This Chandaрагupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated Rāja Vikramādiya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramādiya appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramādiya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandaрагupta 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 Chandaрагupta to the more popular titles Vikramādiya and Sāhasāka. The liberality of Chandaрагupta-Vikramādiya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjar inscription of Amōghavarsa. Unlike his predecessors who were Śaivas, king Subhiksha was a devout worshipper of Vishnu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the visaya or districts of Paṇḍapura (already known from Padmata's record) and Antaraṇga made by king Subhiksha in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durgābhaṭṭārīkā 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 Nāmbarāṭa-grāma: (1) land styled Vidiṃalāka belonging to Vakheṭṭāika lying within the jurisdiction of Nāmbarāṭa-grāma and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (2) land of (or, at) Hidhūśāi measuring eight Nālikāvāpas; (3) land at Vāḍipālaka measuring four Drōṇavāpas; (4) land styled Vāṇolaka, belonging to Bhogarur and measuring three Nālikāvāpas; (5) house-site belonging to Subhaṭṭāika, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Klōnu as well as another plot called Kaṇḍalīkā; (6) land called Śāṭēka, measuring two Drōṇavāpas and belonging to Prastara and others; (7) land styled Yaksahasthāna, belonging to Gōvit and Naṅgāka and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (8) land called Talaṣāṭaka, belonging to Viṅgāka and measuring ten Nālikāvāpas; (9) land called Kahrakau, belonging to Vannuvāka and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (10) land called Gangēraka, belonging to the Śrīthīthin Jivaka and measuring eight Drōṇavāpas; (11) land called Pāvittra, belonging to Jivaka, Sīhātiya and Ichchhabala and measuring three Drōṇavāpas; (12) land called Kaṭāśāla measuring two Drōṇavāpas; (13) land called Nyāyapatṭaka, belonging to the people of Nāmbarāṭa 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 Padmata's charter; (15) land called Vāndilaka, belonging to Vachollection of others and measuring six Drōṇavāpas; (16) land called Kāhrakōṭṭṭānka, belonging to Śīlātiya and measuring six Nālikāvāpas; (17) a pāllakā (habitation) in the possession of Tuṅgaka that measured six Nālikāvāpas and was attached to the Kāmanti (barn) of Śrīharashapura (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 Visnua-gaṅga. This group contained the following pieces: (1) land called Anūpa lying within the jurisdiction of Varbhikā-grāma, belonging to Nāhällāka and others and measuring nine Drōṇavāpas; (2) four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attaka and measuring one Kharīvāpas; (3) land called Jāṭipālaka

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1 Atkinson suggested that Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Kārttikēyapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 403).

together with Ijara; (4) two pieces of land at Samijjā measuring nine Drōṇāvīṇas; (5) land called Gōvaraka lying within the jurisdiction of Pairī-grāma, belonging to the sons of Atta and measuring twenty Drōṇāvīṇas; (6) land called Ghasēruka, belonging to the inhabitants of Yōyika-grāma and measuring two Drōṇāvīṇas; (7) land called Śiīra measuring one Drōṇāvīṇa; (8) land called Valivaruddasila measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (9) land called Iu̇ngā measuring five Drōṇāvīṇas; (10) land called Rūlaṇī measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (11) land called Trīṇga measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (12) land called Kuṭṭānasiila measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (13) land called Gaunōḍārikā measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (14) land called Yngā measuring one Drōṇāvīṇa; (15) land called Karkaṭayūla measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (16) two hastas (the same as hastaka discussed above) of Paṅgara; (17) land called Dālimulaka, belonging to Dhanāka and measuring two Drōṇāvīṇas; (18) land at Grāmīdāraka, belonging to Sirabala and measuring two Drōṇāvīṇas; (19) land called Śūṣṭavāmā, belonging to Ichebhavardhana and Śiṣṭāyya and measuring five Drōṇāvīṇas; (20) land called Karkarītaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the vishaya and measuring four Drōṇāvīṇas; (21) land called Chidārikā, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three Drōṇāvīṇas; (22) land called Pannakor dłīkā, belonging to the villagers of Chaḍavaka and measuring twelve Drōṇāvīṇas; (23) land called Lōhārasamēna, belonging to Tuṅgādātāya and measuring six Nālikāvīṇas; (24) land called Grāmīyāraṇaka attached to the Karmika at Yōsī and measuring fifteen Drōṇāvīṇas. 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 Brahmeśvara-bhaṭṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land: (1) Rāvyapalikā attached to Śāvyikā lying to the west of Sisinakata, to the east of Anvārīgantika, to the north of the Gaṅghī and to the south of Samīhakagrāma; (2) Gṛ̇̃haṇḍapakapātikā belonging to Vantaka of Śāvyikā and measuring seven Nālikāvīṇas.

All these lands including two palkās were dedicated by the king in favor of the three gods, viz. Durgādevī, 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 Drōṇāvīṇa has already been discussed in connection with Padmaśa’s record. The measurement of a Nālikāvīṇa cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word nālikā is not recognised by them like drōṇa in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Children’s Pali Dictionary, s.v. nālli, nāli (i.e. nālikā), it is said, “According to the Ākhidhānaṃpadapājīka, 484, the nāli measure is the same as the paṭika (Sanskrit praṣṭha); but from the Pratītimoksha Sūtra, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil nāli is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Maḍhadheśe (Prät., 81).” It seems therefore, that the nālikā was originally regarded as the same as praṣṭha which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as the one-sixteenth part of the drōṇa. A Nālikāvīṇa of land thus appears to have been 1/16 of a Drōṇāvīṇa originally. A khāri or khāri was usually regarded as equal to sixteen drōṇas. A Khārivīṇa of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a Drōṇāvīṇa. 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 Kamalaśīla. The charter was written by Iśvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandabhūdra who is also known from Padmaśa’s grant. Iśvaradatta 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 Padmaśa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōsī and Taṅgaṇapūra has already been discussed in connection with Padmaśa’s record. Yōsī is modern Jōshimāth and
TAṆGAṆĀṆAṆA was probably the district round it. The identification of the viṣṇuṇāy of Antaraṅga and the localities called Harṣapura, Nāmburaṅga-grāma, Varāṇāśi-grāma, Pari-grāma, Yośika-grāma, Chāḍavaksa, Ravvapallikā, Sisākata, Anvāriṃanta, Samēhaka-grāma, etc., is uncertain. The Ganga or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of land as in the case of Paṇḍmaṭa’s charter. The bank of the Viṣṇu-gaṅgā has also been mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to Viṣṇuprayāg which is a halting place on the bank of the Alaknānda in Pargana Pānkhand. “The name Viṣṇuganga”, says the Garhạl District Gazetteer, 1921, p. 204, “is also given to the river (Alaknānda) for some distance of its course above this Chatti (halting place) owing probably to the existence of the Viṣṇukund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of rock between the Dhauli and Alaknānda rivers, one and a half miles from Joshimath.”

TEXT

1 Siddhāṃ Svasti [(*) Śrīmat-Subhikṣhapurāt-samasta-sur-śūra-pati-makuta-koti-sannim-viṣṇi-kaṇa-kara-viṣnu-hita-timira-pañala-[prabh-avādā]-


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1 From impressions.
2 Expressed by symbol.
3 Paṇḍmaṭa’s record reads here *aṭīkaḷa-kama-bakti*.
4 The sign for viṣṇuṇāy here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of anuvṛta.
9 to rājī hi mahādevī arīmat-Padmālladevi tasyām-utpannah paramamāhāvaraḥ paramaḥvra(bah)mānyah svayam-utkhāta-hāsavad-asi-prabhā-vitāna-sava(bah)likrītā-vā (bahu)va(bah)la-vivarjīt-āśēha-dig-dē[ā-ā].


13 khaṇḍita-prachanda-dōrāndā-darppa-prasaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāsvāra-sṛimati-Subhikṣharaśraddhāvah kuśali | Tengapaḫura-vishaye Antaraṅga-vishaye cha samupagatan(r)in sarvāṇe eva niyoga[sthān[sthān] rājē]-


15 rādhika-chaurāḍhdharānike-śailikka-gaulmīka-tadāyuktaka-(vvi)nyuktaka-paṭṭakabapachārīkāśē (s)hābhānike(ṅgā)hikrīta-hastasyaḥsīta(s)hāva(bah)layyānātaka-duṭa-prēṣa(cha)-nike-dāndika-dadā[n]pāsīka-ga-māgamī-khaṅḍikābhātiva-

16 ramānaka-rājāsthāṇyak-vishayapati-bhūgapati-kūṇḍapati-tarapati-savapati-khaṇḍarakṣa-sahāṇādikrīta-vartmāpāla-kōṭapāla-ghāṭapāla-kēśētpāla-prāntpāla-ṭhakura-mahāmānushya-kīsau(ṅ)gṛavāvagāṃmahīṣhadyakrīta-haṭṭa-ma-


19 Viṣṇulākā-nāmā bhūmiḥ shanāṇā nālikānāṃ vāpas[*] [*] tathā Hīḍuṣārya(m)bhūkhaṇḍjan(ud)āṃ ashta-nālikā(kā)-vāpa[m[*] tathā Vādūpākē bhūkhaṇḍjan cha-turaṇāṃ draṅāṇāṃ vāpa[*] [*] tathā Bhogaru-satka-Vanīlak-abhidhāna-bhūkhaṇḍa-[n[*] ]


22 ka-nāma bhūmi[h*] ashta-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā | ) tathā Jivāka-Śhāditya-Icchhavaha(bala)nl[i*] satka-Paivittra-nāma bhūmi[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ [*] tathā Kaciṣāla-nāma bhūmi[h*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā | ) tathā Nāma(ubha)-raṅgiya-samasta-jāv[j]napadāna(nāni)

23 satka-Nyāyapatta-nāma bhūmi[h*] duṣa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ [*] tathā Paṅgara-hastakam-ekam tathā [Vachchhaya(bala)Vav[a]-Mama-Durjyāka-Prathama-Aīityanaṁ satka-Vadjāva(bala)-abhidhāna-bhūmi[h*] -ḥatiṛ̤ḍha-ṛ̤ḍha-vāpaṁ [*] tathā Śīlāditya-satka

24 Khūra-khōṭṭānika-nāma bhūmi[h*] shaṇḍaṁ nālikā(kā,nāni vāpaṁ 2 tathā Śriharsha-praṇa-karmānta-pratīva(bala)dha-pūrva-yuṣmiṁa-Tuṅgaka-pariṇava-yamāna-pallika(kā |) etā bhūmayaṁ paṭikā chha(chha) Śriharṣapuri(śri)-Śīr-Durgā-bhāṭāriki-kā


27 ka-grāma-nivasinānāṁ satka-Ghassērukā-nāma bhūmi[h*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Śhāra-nāma bhūḥ drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Valīvārdaka(sīla)nāma bhū[h*] tr(r)aya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Ihaṅga-nāma bhū[h*] paṇcha-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Rullathī-nāma bhū[h*] [trra]~

28 ya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Tirīṅga-nāma bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Kuṭṭiṣa-sīla-nāma bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Gauṇālika(nāma bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Yuga-nāma bhū[h] drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Karkatāyulā-nāma bhū[h*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-

29 vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Paṅgara-hast(e)sta-dvayaṁ tathā Dhanāka-satka-Dālinālaka-nāma bhūḥ dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Śirava(bala)-satka-Grāmiḍarākābhū-khaṇḍa[i*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ (pam |) tathā Ichhavairhana-Śīlāṣṭrīyvīś-satka-Śūṣṭavimābhūḥ paṇcha-drōṇa-

1 The intended reading may also have been Bhūnām or trayaṁḥū
2 Read ṣāṭeko vāpa |
3 Read nhōli-bhāva |
4 The rules of Sandhi have been ignored here.
5 Read nōli-bhāva |
6 Read nōli-bhāva |
30 vāpaḥ(प) tathā viśhayānāṁ
dakṣa-karkaraṅa-bhūḥ
dhutramāṇāṁ
vāpaḥ
dakṣa-karkaraṅa-bhūḥ
dhutramāṇāṁ
vāpaḥ

31 tuṅgaṭi-vās-taka-lohārasamēna-bhūḥ
dhatu-nāmanā
vāpaḥ

dakṣa-karkaraṅa-bhūḥ
dhutramāṇāṁ
vāpaḥ

32 Sīva-vyāk-pratisa-bhūda
ana-jeṣu-ṣaḥṣatāni
likhyante

33 asattalikā-vāpa
bhagavata śri-vra(bha)meś
ra-bhūṭāraka

34 valōkya jala-vu(bh)va(vu)bha
śākarasmāna
vāsa
vāsata
vāțaka

35 nārāyaṇa-bhāṭāraka
śri-vra(bha)meś
vardhita-bhūṭāraka

36 paditaḥ prakṛti-parihā-yuktā
nā(cha)ṭa-bhata-pravēṣyā
mā(s)kṣīṣhit-praghrēṣyā

37 dbhā-prasaraṇa-vopēta
ndē(đe)va-vra(bha)mano-bhūta
bhujamana-vajrītā

38 vyam-atō-nyathā-aśāya-yuktikramē
mahā-dūrah
śyād-itī

1 Read viśhayānāṁ.
2 Read chatur-dōra-vāpa.
3 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Lōhārasamē-nāmar.
4 Read ekā-kālikā-vāpa.
5 It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest Graṁipadraṇa-nāmar.
6 The intended word may be sammēkṣayā, 'a sacred locality', or samkhēdu, 'a confluence'.
7 Read 'ēmāno or śīmāyā.
8 Better read Gaṁpāya uttarāṇa. 
9 Read sva-vyā. 
10 Read dravē na. 
11 Read kartavyād-dōyanā.