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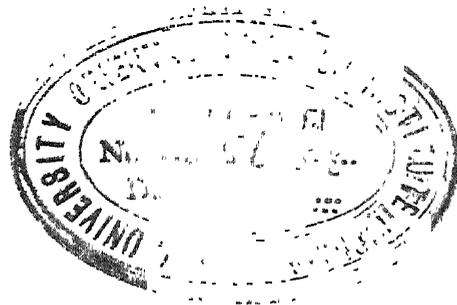
RECORD OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

Vol. XX. 1929-30.

EDITED BY

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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- ♦—
- Page 7, l. 26.—*For Kasmira read Kasmira.*
- „ 15, l. 7 of G.—*For Bhaṭṭidēvā read Bhaṭṭidevā.*
- „ 22, l. 26.—*For mahāvi[hā*]re read Mahāvi[hā*]re.*
- „ 23, l. 11.—*For Tāmbapaṃṇa read Tāmbapaṃṇi.*
- „ 32, l. 38.—*For (G. l. 12) read (H. l. 12).*
- „ 35, l. 17.—*For Aśoka read Aśōka.*
- „ „ penultimate line.—*For China read Chīna.*
- „ 36, l. 17.—*For Naharāḷḷabōḍu read Nāharāḷḷabōḍu.*
- „ 39, l. 8.—*For he read the.*
- „ 44, f.n. 3.—*For hould read should.*
- „ 45, penultimate line in translation of Verse 1.—*For fishes (engraved) read makaras (wrough)*
(suggested by Dr. A. Coomaraswamy.—ed.).
- „ „ l. 2. in translation of Vv. 4-6.—*For asif read as if.*
- „ „ l. 3 „ „ V. 9.—*For coplous read copious.*
- „ 47, l. 35.—*For Parāntak ṇ read Parāntakaṇ.*
- „ 48, l. 25.—*For latter read later.*
- „ „ l. 36.—*For Vēlūrapāḷaiyam read Vēlūrpāḷaiyam.*
- „ „ l. 2 of f. n. 5.—*Insert (before Stambha).*
- „ 49, l. 6.—*Insert ⁴ after Aparājita.*
- „ „ f. n. 5.—*For Tillasthānam read Tillaisthānam.*
- „ 50, col. 4 in the table.—*For Prithvīpati I read Pṛithvīpati I*
- „ „ l. 1 of f. n. 3.—*For Varaguna read Varaguna.*
- „ 51, penultimate line of the letterpress.—*For ḷamperuṅgāy- read ḷamṇeruṅkāy-.*
- „ 53, l. 5 of translation.—*For th esun read the sun,*
- „ „ l. 5 of text of C.—*For 1-ppon read i-ppon.*
- „ 56, l. 29.—*For writer read writers.*
- „ 58, l. 30.—*For karamisra read karamisra.*
- „ 61, l. 2 of f. n. 5.—*For Nātha-śarmma read Nāthaśarmma.*
- „ 63, f. n. 7.—*For mahīmatām read mahimatām. **
- „ 65, l. 10.—*For Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa read Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa.*
- „ 66, l. 20.—*Omit be.*
- „ „ f. n. 1.—*For Hebbal read Hebbāḷ.*
- „ „ f. n. 6.—*For elonged read belonged.*
- „ 67, text l. 24.—*For bhaṭṭa- read bhaṭṭa-.*
- „ 68, text l. 43.—*For mukkyarggaṃ read mukhyarggaṃ.*
- „ 69, f. n. 4.—*For साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रियः read साधयेद्विजितेन्द्रियः*
- „ 70, l. 2 of translation of Ll. 46-48.—*For Vāraṇāsi read Vāraṇāṣī.*
- „ 79, text line 6.—*For Rāja=s[u]ya[m] read Rājas[ū]ya[m].*
- „ 83, l. 2.—*For Kaliṅgapatanam read Kaliṅgapaṭanam.*
- „ 86, f. n. 5 l. 3.—*For Bhaṭṭoji read Bhaṭṭōji.*
- „ 87, f. n. 11.—*For Fori nstance read For instance.*

-
- Page 88, f. n. 6.—For D. P. J. read K. P. J.
- „ 89, l. 5 of translation of l. 15.—For **Sindhulā** read **Sindhulā**.
- „ 90, f. n. 2.—For **Vīramitrōdaya** read **Vīramitrōdaya**.
- „ 91, l. 6.—For **Yasōdharachariyā** read **Yasōdharachariya**.
- „ 92, l. 16.—For **Girnar** read **Girnār**.
- „ 95, translation of Ll. 19 ff.—For **Paramēśvara** read **Rājaparamēśvara**.
- „ 96, „ 28 ff.—For **Kāṇūr**- read **Kāṇūr**-.
- „ 97, l. 2.—Insert a comma after **Saṁkara-setṭi**.
- „ 99, text l. 7.—For **अष्टादशवे°** read **अष्टादशवे(वे)°**.
- „ „ text l. 11.—For **देवुवके** read **देवुवक**
- „ 102, text l. 25.—For **Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li-** read **Dakhi(kshi)ṇapa(pā)li-**.
- „ 103, text l. 41.—For **Bhu(Bhū)mi** -read **bhu(bhū)mi-**.
- „ „ text l. 42.—For **-saṁkā** read **-śaṁkā**.
- „ 104, text l. 45.—For **Hara[n*]=** read **hara[n*]=**.
- „ „ f. n. 13.—For **utkirṇaṅ°** read **utkirṇaṅ°**.
- „ 110, l. 5.—For **Yogēśvara-** read **Yōgēśvara-**.
- „ 112, l. 32.—For **Vira-Pāṇḍya** read **Vira-Pāṇḍya**.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XX.

1.—PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS FROM A BUDDHIST SITE AT NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY PROFESSOR J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D., LEIDEN.

In March 1926 Mr. A. R. Sarasvati, Telugu Assistant in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras, made a discovery of great interest at the hill of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which belongs to the Palnāḍ *taluk* of the Guṇṭūr district of the Madras Presidency.¹ The hill, which is described as a big flat-topped hill some 200 acres in extent, overhangs the right bank of the river Kistna or Kṛishṇā, the Kaṇṇapennā or Kaṇṇavaṇṇā (Skt. *Krishnavarnā*) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Mācherla and on the border of the Nizam's Dominions. The top of the hill shows traces of fortifications, now in ruins. The find of a Buddhist sculpture led to the discovery of three vast mounds of large bricks in different parts of the valley, each, apparently, marking the site of a *stūpa*. In the vicinity of these mounds marble pillars were found, some of them standing erect in rows. Several more were reported to lie scattered in the neighbouring villages and on the other side of the river. Among the pillars left on the site there were three, one on each mound, bearing inscriptions in Prakrit and in Brāhmī characters.

At the request of Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī, Government Epigraphist, I undertook to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. A set of excellent estampages prepared under instructions from that officer, reached me in September 1926; but it was not until the end of that year that I could find the necessary leisure to decipher and study them. Early in March 1927, Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī informed me that trial excavations carried out on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa by Mr. Hamid Kuraishi, then officiating as Superintendent of Archæology in the Southern Circle, had yielded no less than eighteen more inscriptions and that their estampages would be sent to my address, in case I should be willing to edit them. I gladly consented to undertake this laborious but attractive task. As, however, there was a likelihood of the recently discovered inscriptions being of some help in elucidating doubtful points in those found previously, I suggested that the epigraphical finds of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa might be best dealt with in one article. Dr. Hīrānanda Śāstrī accepted this proposal and in October 1927 supplied me with a complete set of estampages admirably executed.

During the cold season of 1927-28 the excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa were continued under the supervision of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Southern Circle. These explorations have resulted in the discovery of a number of very remarkable Buddhist sculptures, some of them bearing inscriptions. The style which they exhibit is clearly that of

¹ A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1926*, Madras, pp. 4 and 92 f. Cf. also *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1926*, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14-16.

Amarāvati, although perhaps they cannot boast of the high artistic merit which we admire in the best work from that place. Among the sculptural decoration of the two pillars discovered by Mr. Longhurst there are figures which clearly betray Roman influence. The full report of his excavations will be received with the greatest interest. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Nāgārjunikoṇḍa represents, next to Amarāvati, the most important Buddhist site hitherto found in Southern India. The results which Amarāvati might have yielded have, for a large part, been irreparably lost owing to the deplorable vandalism perpetrated on that monument more than a century ago. It is all the more gratifying that the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa is now being systematically explored so that no piece of evidence is likely to be overlooked. Mr. Longhurst estimates that the complete excavation of the site will require three years more.

When in February 1882 Dr. Burgess excavated the site of the Jaggayyapeta *stūpa*, on the Pālēr river, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā and about four miles north of their junction, he chanced upon three inscribed pillars, bearing each an identical dedicatory inscription in Prakrit.¹ These epigraphs record the gift of five *āyaka-khaṁbhas* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya or Great Chaitya by a certain artisan (*āvesani*) Siddhattha in the twentieth year of King Mādharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the Ikhāku dynasty. The corresponding form in Sanskrit would be Mādharīputra Śrī-Virapurushadatta. Dr. Burgess expressed the opinion that the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions "belong to about the third or fourth century A.D., but are possibly earlier." Dr. Bühler², while editing them, placed the reign of King Purisadata in the third century of our era, and "before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Veṅgi."

The position of such *āyaka*-pillars on the monument to which they once have belonged becomes perfectly clear from the *chaitya*-slabs which have been found in such remarkable numbers on the site of Amarāvati. These *chaitya*-slabs exhibit the effigy in relief of a *chaitya* or *stūpa* in all its details, in other words, they represent the great monument which they once adorned. Now, one of the most prominent features of the main edifice—a feature not met with, as far as we are aware, in other parts of India—is a row of five columns surmounting a kind of projecting balcony which seems to form part of the procession-path running around the body of the monument. These pillars invariably occupy a position right opposite the entrances to the sacred enclosure, and as the stone railing surrounding the sanctuary has an entrance on each of the four cardinal points, it follows that the monument, when entire, must have had four sets of such pillars. They do not appear to have had any structural function as supporting members, but, besides carrying well-known Buddhist emblems, they were utilised for dedicatory inscriptions, as have been noticed at Jaggayyapeta. The word *āyaka-khaṁbha* mentioned in these epigraphs is evidently the technical term by which they were known³.

There can be little doubt that the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati, when entire, was decorated with such pillars, but only a few fragments have been recovered.⁴ In the case of the monument of

¹ J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*; London, 1887, pp. 110 f., plates LXII and LXIII. Cf. H. Lüders, *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1202-1204 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, app., pp. 139 f.); G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 44.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1882), pp. 256 ff.

³ The word *āyaka* occurs also in the compounds *dakṣiṇ-āyaka* (Burgess, *Amaravati, etc.*, p. 86, pl. LX, no. 47) and *utār-āyaka* (*ibidem*, p. 93), which have been rendered "the south entrance" and "the northern gate". It is questionable whether this translation is correct. The word "gate" is rendered by *dāra* (Skt. *dvāra*). Most probably the word *āyaka* indicates that part of the monument where the *āyaka-khaṁbhas* were placed.

⁴ Burgess, *op. cit.*, pl. XLV, 1-4. The finest specimen is the square lower end of a pillar decorated on the four sides with as many Buddhist symbols—a *stūpa*, a *bōdhi*-tree, a *chaitya*-hall, and a wheel. There is an inscription in four lines beneath the figure of the *stūpa* (pl. LX, no. 47) in which the pillar is called *chētiya-kha* [ni]-*bho* *śadhāduko*.

Jaggayyapēṭa three inscribed specimens were found, only one of them being complete. These, as we have seen, must have belonged to a set of five such pillars which were placed on the east side. Dr. Burgess noticed large pillars or stelæ at three of the sides of the *stūpa*, but it would seem that those found on the other sides were uninscribed.

The explorations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa have brought to light no less than seventeen specimens of *āyaka*-pillars, all inscribed. In thirteen cases the inscription is complete or nearly so. The technical execution of these epigraphs is as remarkable as the state of their preservation. Evidently, these pillars once served the purpose of adorning the main monument of the site, mentioned in the inscriptions under the name of Mahāchētiya (Skt. *Mahāchaitya*), i.e., the Great Chaitya. It is clear that here, too, there must have stood a row of five such pillars at each of the four cardinal points, their total number being twenty. The original position which each of the seventeen columns so far recovered once occupied, could still be ascertained. A complete list of the inscriptions will be given below.

The mound which covered the ruins of the Mahāchētiya is nowadays known by the name of Nibagūṭṭa. Close to the east side of the great monument the excavations revealed the remains of an apsidal temple containing a small *chaitya* as an object of worship. The floor of this shrine retains the record of its foundation in an inscription (E) of two very long lines, remarkably well preserved.

At a distance of about a furlong to the east of the Great Chaitya there is another mound called Nāharāḷlabōḍu. According to Mr. Longhurst, this site contains the most important group of monastic buildings, including a large monastery built of brick and plaster, and the remains of two *stūpas*. At the side of the former building were found the remnants of another apsidal shrine or *chaitya*-hall. Here, too, a long inscription (F), incised on the floor of the temple, was found to be the record of its foundation.

There is a third mound known by the name of Iṭikarāḷlabōḍu to the north-west of the Great Chaitya and at a distance of about two furlongs from it. Here a number of stone pillars, apparently still occupying their original position, indicate the existence of another ancient building. From the inscription (G) found on one of these pillars (this inscription is one of the three recovered in March 1926), it appears that the edifice in question was a *vihāra* somewhat later in date than the buildings previously noticed. If this conclusion is correct, the stone pillars may have formed part of the verandah enclosing the central court-yard of the convent.

A third *vihāra* must have stood in a locality now known as Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Here, too, the record of its foundation is inscribed on a stone pillar. The inscription (H), which is one of the three copied in March 1926, is probably the latest in date, the writing being smaller and less distinct than in the case of the earlier inscriptions.

The Jaggayyapēṭa inscriptions, as we have noted above, are dated in the twentieth year of the reign of a king who calls himself Māḍharīputa Ikhākunaṃ Siri-Virapurisadata. The epigraphical records now recovered on the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa refer to the same Ikhāku dynasty of Southern India. They mention not only Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata,¹ in whose reign the principal sanctuaries of this locality were founded, but also his father, Vāsīthiputa Siri-Chāntamūla, and his son and successor Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chāntamūla.² In a passage which occurs in several of the inscriptions, the former is eulogized as a performer of the

¹ This is the usual spelling of the name. The more correct form Siri-Virapurisadata occurs in inser. G.

² It is somewhat difficult to decide whether Chāntamūla or Chātamūla is the correct form of these two names. In some cases there appears to be the sign of the *anusvāra* over the ā. We may, therefore, assume, that elsewhere it has been omitted by mistake.

Vedic sacrifices Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Aśvamēdha. It follows that Siri-Chāntamūla was a devotee of Brahmanism. His son, Siri-Virapurisadata, though partaking in the religious merit, does not seem to have had an active part in the foundation of the religious monuments of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. They owed their existence to the piety of certain queens and princesses belonging to the royal house of Ikhāku and evidently devotees of the Buddhist faith.

The principal founder was a lady called Chāntisiri¹ (°siriṇikā in inscr. B 3) who is praised for her munificence in a passage which recurs in not less than nine of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions. In these inscriptions she is called the uterine sister of Siri-Chāntamūla and the paternal aunt of Siri-Virapurisadata. She was married to the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsithīputa Kāṁdasiri of the Pūkiya² family, and, in consequence, she herself bears the title of *Mahātalavarī*. Moreover, she is called the mother of Kāṁdasāgaraṁnaka. In one of the pillar inscriptions (B 5) it is distinctly stated that it was she who erected the Great Chaitya of the Great *Vihāra* or Monastery. It is curious that here the instrumental plural (*mahātalavarīhi*.....*Chāntisiriṇikāhi*) is employed, but it will be noted that several ladies of that name took part in the donation. Or, can it be a *pluralis majestatis*? The date regularly found at the end of the pillar inscriptions—the sixth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season, the tenth day—marks, no doubt, the time when the great monument was consecrated. Chāntisiri was, moreover, the foundress of the apsidal shrine (No. I), built opposite the eastern or principal side of the Great Chaitya.³ This is distinctly stated in the long inscription (E) cut on the floor of that building. In this document the edifice founded by Chāntisiri is designated first as a *chetiya-ghara*, and subsequently as a stone *maṇḍapa* surrounded by a cloister (*chatusāla-parigrahitam sela-maṇḍavam*).⁴ The building was dedicated to the *āchāryas* of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. The time of the dedication is expressed by the date found at the end of the inscription—the eighteenth year of Siri-Virapurisadata, the sixth fortnight of winter, the fifth day. The date is given both in words and in figures.

It deserves notice that in the earlier inscriptions Chāntisiri is called the paternal aunt (*pituchhā*)⁵ of the reigning king, whereas in the later inscription (E), noted above, she refers to the king as her son-in-law. It would seem that Siri-Virapurisadata between the 6th and the 18th years of his reign had married the daughter of his aunt and consequently his cousin.

Two of the pillar inscriptions (C 2 and 4) mention another sister (*sōdarā bhaginī*) of King Siri-Chāntamūla, whose name was Haṁmasiri or Haṁmasiriṇikā, and two of her daughters named Bapisiriṇikā and Chhaṭhisiri. Both these princesses were married to the reigning king, their cousin, and consequently bear the title of *Mahādēvī*.

The same title of *Mahādēvī* is borne by a lady, Rudradharabhaṭārikā, whose name occurs in the inscription on the fifth pillar of the southern row (B 5). It may be concluded that she, too, was a consort of the reigning king, though in the inscription she is not expressly designated as such. She appears to have been a princess from Ujjain (Skt. Ujjayinī), the well known town in Central India, if at least we are justified in correcting the reading *Ujanikā mahārabalikā* of the text into *Ujenikā mahārāja-bālikā*. Among the rulers of the house of Chashṭana, the so-called Western Kshatrapas, whose capital was Ujjain, we find a certain preference for personal names containing the name of the god Rudra, such as Rudradāman, Rudrasēna and Rudrasimha. This renders it

¹ Here, too, there prevails some uncertainty whether the name is Chāntisiri or Chāntisiri.

² Inscr. E has *Pūgiya*.

³ The eastern side being the principal side of the Great Chaitya, it is significant that the three *āyaka*-pillars recovered on that side of the monument were all dedicated by Chāntisiri.

⁴ In Sanskrit: *chatusāla-parigrahitam sela-maṇḍapam*.

⁵ Pali *pituchhā*.

all the more plausible to assume that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā mentioned in the inscription belonged to that illustrious house.

The pillar inscriptions acquaint us with three more noble ladies who were associated with Chāmtisiri in her pious foundation. The one mentioned on the second pillar of the south side (B 2) is called Aḍavi (?)—Chā[m]tisiri. The inscription calls her the daughter of King Siri-Chāmtamūla, the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, and the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamnaka (= Skt. Skandavisākha) of the house of the Dhanakas. She herself is distinguished by the title of *Mahātalavarī*.

The other lady, who was the donor of the fourth pillar of the southern row (B 4), is called Chula-Chā[m]tisiriṇikā, i.e., Chā[m]tisiriṇikā the Less or the Younger, the adjective *chula* evidently being added to distinguish her from her namesake, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya. The junior Chā[m]tisiriṇikā, as stated in the inscription, was a daughter of the Kulahakas and the spouse of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara Vāsiṭhīputa* Khamdachalikiremmaṇaka of the Hiramnākas. She herself bears the title of *Mahāsēnāpatini*.

The fifth pillar of the western side (C 5) was dedicated by a lady whose personal name is not mentioned, but who is called the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Vāsiṭhīputa Mahākaṁdasiri of the Pūkīyas and the mother of the *Mahāsēnāpati Mahātalavara* Viṅhusiri (=Skt. Vishṇusri). She is, moreover, distinguished by the title *Mahātalavarī*. If we may assume that Mahākaṁdasiri and Kaṁdasiri are one and the same person, it would follow that the anonymous lady of the pillar-inscription C 5 was a co-wife (*sapatnī*) of Chāmtisiri.

We must now consider the two separate pillar-inscriptions G and H which, as we have noted above, must belong to a somewhat later date. The inscription G is found on one among a number of pillars, decorated with lotus-rosettes, which were found standing about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. Mr. Longhurst informs me that the tops of these pillars are each provided with a mortice evidently meant to receive the beams of a wooden roof. This would well agree with our supposition that these stone columns once belonged to the verandah enclosing the central court of the *vihāra*. The inscribed stone shows several cracks running through the inscribed surface and the letters are worn owing to exposure.

The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭidevā who is called the daughter-in-law of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the wife (?) of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the mother of a *Mahārāja*, whose name appears to be Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātamūla. The three syllables which we read—*huvuḷa*—are uncertain. The same is the case with the one or two initial syllables of the word following the name Siri-Virapurisadata, so that it is doubtful what relation existed between that king and the lady Bhaṭidevā. The word in question, however, can be hardly anything but *bhayāya*. Thus it would follow that Bhaṭidevā was the consort of the king. The last two lines of the document seem to have contained a date, but unfortunately this part of the inscription has been obliterated to such an extent that our reading must be regarded as conjectural. Evidently the *vihāra* was founded during the reign of Bhaṭidevā's son, the *Mahārāja* whose name is mentioned in the inscription.

The inscribed pillar of Koṭṭampalugu is also the foundation record of a *vihāra*. The foundress was a *Mahādēvī* who was the granddaughter of Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the daughter of Siri-Virapurisadata, and the sister of *Mahārāja* Vāsoṭhīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chā[m]tamūla. It is, moreover, stated in the inscription that she was the consort of the *Mahārāja* of Vanavāsa. Her personal name is somewhat indistinct but may be read as Kodabalisiri. It will be noted in the sequel that Vanavāsa, the ancient name of North Kanara, occurs also among the countries which in the *chaitya*-inscription F are stated to have been converted to Buddhism by the Ceylonese monks.

The pillar inscription of Koṭṭampalugu is dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chā[m]tamūla.

The historical information furnished by these inscriptions regarding the three rulers of the Southern Ikhāku dynasty, whom they mention, is very meagre. Siri-Chāmtamūla is extolled in a passage which recurs in several of the inscriptions but which appears to be entirely conventional. It has been pointed out above that the king must have been an adept of Brahmanism. From the expression *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahāta*, which is applied to Chāmtamūla, it may perhaps be concluded that he was a votary of the god Mahāsena or Skanda, "the lord of the Virūpakhas". The term Virūpakha (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*) seems to be used here to indicate the hosts of which Skanda is the lord and leader.¹ Dr. Bühler's assumption, based on palaeographical evidence, that Siri-Virapurisadata flourished in the third century of our era, may be accepted as probably correct.

Although the inscriptions tell us nothing about the *faits et gestes* of these kings, it is interesting to meet with a line of rulers, settled in the Telugu country, which claimed descent from Ikhāku, *i.e.*, Ikkhāku (=Skt. *Ikshvāku*), the mythical progenitor of the famous Solar dynasty of Ayōdhyā. It is well known that not only Rāma belonged to that illustrious house, but the Buddha, too, is called a scion of the race of Ikshvāku (Pali *Okkāka*). It is clear, in any case, that these Southern Ikhākus were rulers of some importance, as they formed matrimonial alliances not only with the *Mahārājas* of Vanavāsa, but also with the kings, presumably the descendants of the Satrap Chashṭana, who resided at Ujjayinī in Central India. The nomenclature of these Southern Ikhāku kings, coupling their personal names with metonymics like Māḍharīputa and Vāsīṭhīputa seems to be a practice borrowed from the earlier rulers of the Āndhra dynasty. It will hardly be necessary to quote the instance of Vāsīṭhīputa Siri-Puḷumāyi and Gotamīputa Sātakanni. On the other hand, there are in these inscriptions certain expressions which are also found in the Prakrit copper-plate grants of the early Pallavas, as will be pointed out in our glossary.

There are two more points to be noted in connection with these kings. We see that the name Chāmtamūla, borne by the father of Siri-Virapurisadata, re-occurs in the name of the latter's son. This seems to point to the custom of naming a child after its grandfather, which, as far as we are aware, is not an indigenous practice in India.² It further deserves notice that among the consorts of king Siri-Virapurisadata we meet with two of his cousins.

Chāmtisiri, the sister of king Chāmtamūla, was married to a personage who bore the titles of *Mahāsēnāpati* and *Mahātālavara*. The same is stated with reference to other princesses of the ruling house. The title *Mahāsēnāpati* (lit. "great chief of the army" or general) denoted feudatory chieftains in charge of *rāshṭras* or districts under the Āndhras, and the same meaning may perhaps be assumed here. The word is, therefore, to be taken as a title of nobility. We may compare the Anglo-Saxon *heretoga* (Dutch *hertog*, German *herzog*), which etymologically means an army-leader, but has become a title of nobility. The word *mahāsēnāpati* could, therefore, be best rendered by "duke."

The curious term *mahātālavara* which is also met with in other inscriptions of Southern India, must likewise denote a high dignitary whose exact function, however, is not clear. The second member of the compound is not a Sanskrit word, but seems to be a term borrowed from some

¹ The word *Virūpakha* (=Skt. *Virūpāksha*), indicating a class of snakes, occurs in an ancient snake-charm. *Vinaya Pīṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, p. 110; *S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, p. 76.

² [This custom was known to several ruling families of ancient India, such as the Guptas, the Vākātakas, the Chālukyas and the Pallavas. (Cf. V. Smith, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 125). Besides, as shown by the *Mahābhā. sūta. I. i. l.* ... निपुत्रपादकं... गान कृतं सुव्याप्तं and *Kaṣyapa* on it °दितां तस्य ये वधः पुत्रपादानुकायत्वभिचने°, it had a *śāstraic* sanction behind it.—Ed.]

Dravidian language.¹ Evidently it penetrated also into Northern India, for there can be little doubt that it is identical with the mysterious word *taravara* which, coupled with *mahāpratīhāra* (=“a great chamberlain”) is found in the legend of one of the clay sealings excavated by the late Dr. Bloch at Basārḥ, the site of ancient Vaiśālī. This document belongs to the Gupta period. It was suggested by Dr. Bloch that the word *tarika*, which occurs in lists of officials in mediæval copper-plate charters, may quite well be a corrupted form of *taravara*.²

In the inscriptions of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa not only frequent mention is made of persons bearing the title of *mahātalavara*, but they also contain the feminine form *mahātalavari* (more correctly °*talavari*) indicating the wife of a *mahātalavara*. In the same way the consort of a *mahāsēnāpati* bears herself the title of *mahāsēnāpatini* (Skt. °*sēnāpatnī*). It is found in B 4 (1.5).

A third official title, which occurs in B 2 (1.4), is the well-known term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. The early use of this expression is also attested by a fragmentary inscription, found at the village of Māt in the Mathurā district, which contains the name of King Huvishka.

The first apsidal shrine (No. I), as we have seen, was dedicated by Chāntisiri, the foundress of the Mahāchetiya, at the foot of which it is built. The other building of this type, on the contrary, as stated in the inscription F on the floor, was raised by a simple *upāsikā*, Bodhisiri by name, who does not appear to have been related to the royal family of the Ikhākus. Her relatives, who were to share in the merit of her pious enterprise, are enumerated at great length. They include a *Koṣṭh[ā]kārīka* (Skt. *Kōshṭhāgārīka*), either a treasurer or, perhaps, a superintendent of a royal store-house.³

The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha who is extolled in a long string of laudatory epithets. Next comes the date which unfortunately is incomplete. This much is certain that the inscription is dated in the fourteenth regnal year of a king Mādharīputa, who in all likelihood is identical with the Mādharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions of Jaggayyapeṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. The shrine is further stated to have been dedicated to the fraternities of Ceylonese monks who had converted Kasmīra (Kashmir), Gandhāra, Chīna, Chīlāta (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaramta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga (*i.e.*, Bengal), Vanavāsi (*i.e.*, North Kanara), Yavana (?), Damila (?), . . . lūra and the Isle of Tambapaṁṇi (*i.e.*, Ceylon). Some of the countries are mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* among the territories which had been converted to Buddhism after the Third Council, namely, Kasmīra and Gandhāra, Vanavāsa, Aparantaka and Yona.⁴ We may also compare two passages in the *Milindapañha* mentioning a number of

¹At the end of the Koṇḍamuḍi copper-plate grant (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff.) the late Dr. Hultsch read *Mahātagi-varena mahādaṇḍanāyakena Bhāpāhānavamīna kaṭati*. There can be little doubt that *mahātagivarena* is a mistake, due either to the scribe or to the engraver, for *mahātalavarena*. This term occurs also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription found at the village of Allūru, in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna district. Cf. *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 97 and *A. S. R.* for 1923-24, p. 93.

We must leave this question to the decision of students of South-Indian languages. Can the word have any connection with Tamil *taḷavāy* (=a general), Tamil *talaiyāri* (=a village watchman), or Canarese *taḷavara*, *taḷavāra* (=a watchman, a beadle)? [The Mahātalavaras are mentioned in early Jaina literature along with 18 Gaṇarājas. So Mahātalavara must be taken as a title of nobility. Cf. *Kalpasūtra* (ed. Jacobi, Leipzig 1879) 61, ll. 21-25. The *Subdhikā*, a Sanskrit commentary on it by Vinayavijaya (Nirṇaya-sāgara Press, Bombay, leaf 60, ll. 6-7) explains the term *talavara* thus: *talavarāḥ tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-pattabamānda-vibhūshitū Rājasthāmyāḥ*. In the Punjab there is a sub-division of high class Khatri (=Sanskrit *Kshatriyas*) which goes by the name of Tālwār.—Ed.]

²*A. S. R.* for 1903-04, p. 108, No. 16; plate XL, 6.

³Cf. *koṣṭhāyala* in Sohaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 237) and *bhāmākarīka* in Nāsik inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 1141).

⁴*Mahāvamsa*, Ch. xii. Cf. *Dīpavamsa*, Ch. viii

regions which used to be visited for purposes of trade.¹ In these two passages the first countries mentioned are Saka-Yavana and Chīna-Chilāta. The printed text has Vilāta, but, as has been pointed out by Professor Sylvain Lévi,² this is an error for Chilāta. The Chilātas are the same un-Aryan tribe often met with in Sanskrit literature under the name of Kirāta. In a well-known verse of the *Pañchatantra* they are characterized as dishonest traders. We find them, moreover, referred to both in the *Periplus* and by Ptolemy. The former says: "Beyond this [Dōsarēnē], the course trending towards the north there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadæ, a race of men with flattened noses, very savage." Ptolemy locates them along the Gulf of Bengal, "beyond the Ganges mouth called Antibolei." Their country is said to produce the best *malabathron* (*tamālapattram*). In his chapter on Trans-Gangetic India (VII, 2; 15) the same author describes the Tilādai (V. I. Pilādai), also called the Saesādai, as hairy dwarfs, with a flat face and a white skin. Evidently this passage too refers to the Kirātas, the name Tilādai (Γιλάδαί) being an attempt to render in Greek the alternative form Chilāda.³

It is very interesting to meet here with the name Tosali. It will be remembered that Aśōka's two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhauli are addressed to the Governor and the magistrates (*Mahā-mātras*) of Tosali. "This enables us to locate Tosali in Kalinga. James Prinsep identified it with the "Tosalei metropolis" of Ptolemy, although this place is located in the regions beyond the Ganges. We may, perhaps, connect the name Tosali with the Dōsara of Ptolemy and with Dōsarēnē, the name of a country beyond Masalia mentioned in the *Periplus*. The name Dōsarēnē is usually explained to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit Daśārṇa,⁴ but there are serious difficulties in the way of this identification. First of all, a Prakrit form of Daśārṇa, from which the Greek form must be derived, would certainly not have retained the *r* which we find in Dōsara and Dōsarēnē. The long *ō*-vowel of the Greek would also be difficult to account for. Besides, the tribe of the Daśārṇa, as far as we can make out from Indian sources, appears to have been settled in Central India and not along the coast.⁵ On the other hand, Dōsara may have been a dialectic form of Tosala. The *Periplus* states that Dōsarēnē yielded the ivory known as Dōsarēnic. Hiuen Tsiang in his account of Kalinga says that it produced the great tawny wild elephant which was much prized by neighbouring provinces.

Avaranta (Skt. Aparānta) is the designation of the tract of the country lying along the western coast of the Peninsula, the capital of which was Sopārā. According to the Ceylonese Chronicles, it was converted to Buddhism by Dhammarakkhita. Aśōka mentions it in his Fifth Rock-Edict in connection with the appointment of Dhamma-mahāmātas.

Vaṅga is the ancient name of Bengal. Vanavāsi, also mentioned as Vanavāsaka in inscription H, is North Kanara, the name being still preserved in Banavāsi, a village or small town in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5'. The *Mahāvamsa* mentions Rakkhita as the apostle of Vanavāsa.

The three words following Vanavāsi are uncertain. The first one can be hardly anything but Yavana, the *aksharas ya* and *va* being still legible. Next comes a name which I read tentatively as Damila, meaning the Tamil country. The third word seems to consist of three *aksharas*, the second and third of which are clearly *lu* and *ra*. It is tempting to restore the name as Palura, the town mentioned by Ptolemy and identified by Professor Sylvain Lévi with Dantapura, "the Town of the Tooth" on the coast of Orissa.⁶

¹ *Milindapañha* (ed. Trenckner), pp. 327 and 331.

² *Études Asiatiques*, Vol. II, p. 24.

³ Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24. Cf. *Bijdragen*, sixth series, Vol. VI, p. 7, no. 2.

⁴ *Periplus*, transl. by W. H. Schoff, p. 253, and N. L. Dey, *Geogr. Dict.*, 2nd ed., 1927, p. 54, s. v. *Daśārṇa*.

⁵ Kātyāyana in his *Mēghadūta* locates the Daśārṇas between the Vindhya and Vidyā.

⁶ *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCVI (1925), pp. 46ff.; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV (1926), pp. 94ff.

The latter part of inscription F enumerates the various pious foundations—several of them evidently additions to existing buildings—dedicated by Bodhisiri, and mentions, moreover, the localities at which each of them was found. It is a point of considerable importance that this list includes “a stone *maṇḍapa* at the eastern gate of the Mahāchetiya at Kaṇṭakasela.” Evidently this locality Kaṇṭakasela (Skt. *Kaṇṭakaśaila*, lit. “Thorn-hill”) must be identical with “the emporium Kantikossúla” which Ptolemy mentions (VII, l. 15) immediately after “the mouths of the Maisōlos.” It follows that the river known to the Greeks under the name Maisōlos has been rightly supposed to be the Kistna.¹ The country watered by the lower Kistna is consequently called Maisōlia by Ptolemy. The *Periplus* speaks (§62) of “the region of Masalia stretching a great way along the coast before the inland country,” and adds that “a great quantity of muslins is made here.” The ancient name by which this part of Southern India was known to the Greeks is preserved in that of the town Masulipatam.

We are perhaps justified in identifying it with the country which Hiuen Tsiang describes under the name of T'o-na-kie-tse-kia.² This seems to correspond to Dhaññakaṭaka, Dhana-kaṭaka (Skt. Dhānyakaṭaka), found in two inscriptions from Amarāvati.³ The country in question the Chinese pilgrim locates between the Āndhra country and that of the Chōlas, the latter being situated at a distance of some 1,000 *li* to the south-west. In the course of his description he says: “The convents are numerous, but are mostly deserted and ruined; of those preserved there are about twenty with 1,000 or so priests. They all study the law of the Great Vehicle.”⁴

Hiuen Tsiang further relates that to the east of the capital on a mountain there stood a convent called Pūrvaśilā and on a mountain to the west was another, called Avaraśilā. Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvaśaila and Avaraśaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means “stone.” Now, it is worthy of note that among the localities mentioned in inscription F, we meet with the name Puvaseḷa, which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvaśaila. A name, meaning “Eastern Mountain or Hill,” may, of course, have been used at different places of India. But it is a point worth considering whether the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhaññakaṭaka, which archæologists have sought both at Dharanikōṭa near Amarāvati and at Bezwādā.

Another point of interest is the mention of Siripavata (*i.e.*, Siripavvata) in inscription F. The Prakrit word corresponds to Sanskrit Śrīparvata. Now, there is a tradition preserved in Tibet that Nāgārjuna spent the concluding part of his life in a monastery of that name in Southern India.⁴ If this convent is the same as the “*vihāra* on the Siripavata to the east of Vijayapuri” of our inscription, it would follow that the association of the great divine of the Mahāyāna with this locality has been preserved up to the present day in the name Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. We may confidently hope that these and other questions of great import will be finally settled by further systematic excavations.

Among the religious foundations enumerated in F, we wish to draw attention to the two monasteries, called Kulaha-*vihāra* and Sihaḷa-*vihāra*. The former appears to have owed its existence to the same noble family which is mentioned in one of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions (B 4)

¹ E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge 1928, p. 116.

² *Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.; Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.

³ Prof. Lüders' *List*, Nos. 1225 and 1271. The form *Dhaññakaṭaka* occurs in the Mayidavōlu copper-plate grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman.

⁴ W. Wassiljew, *Der Buddhismus*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.

under the name of Kulahaka. The other, if we may judge from its appellation, must have been a convent founded either by a Singhalese or, more probably, for the accommodation of Singhalese monks. This "Ceylonese Convent" appears to have contained a shrine with a Bodhi-tree (Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda = Skt. Bōdhi-vriksha-prāsāda) which is, indeed, a necessary adjunct of the Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon up to the present day. Not only the mention of a Sihaḷa-*vihāra*, but also the dedication of a *cheṭiya-ghara* to the *theriyas* or "fraternities" of Tambapaṇṇi point to relations which must have existed between the Buddhist community of Dhañṇakaṭaka and their co-religionists in the Isle of Ceylon. The existence of such relations can be easily accounted for from the sea-borne trade which was carried on between the ports of the Island and Kaṇṭaka-sela, the great emporium on the right bank of the Kistna river.

This trade was, no doubt, also largely responsible for the flourishing state of Buddhism in this part of India. The devotees of the Good Law were largely recruited from the commercial classes and it was their wealth which enabled not only the merchants themselves, but also their royal masters, to raise monuments of such magnificence as the great *stūpa* of Amarāvati. Both Amarāvati and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa are situated on the right bank of the Kistna, the former being situated at a distance of some 60 miles from the mouth of the river. Nāgārjunikoṇḍa lies considerably higher up the river, the distance between this place and Amarāvati being another 60 miles as the crow flies, but considerably longer by river. On the opposite side of the river we have Jaggayyapeṭa, containing another monument of the reign of the Ikshākus. The village of Allūru in the Nandigāma *taluk* of the Kistna district has yielded a fragmentary Prakrit inscription, referred to above, which appears to record a donation to a Buddhist monastery. At the village of Gummaḍiduru in the Kistna district the remains of a large *stūpa*, adorned with marble reliefs in the Amarāvati style, have recently come to light together with the remnants of monastic buildings. All these monuments attest to the piety and the wealth of the Buddhist community in these parts during the second and third centuries of our era. In the days of Hiuen Tsiang the monasteries were mostly deserted and ruined. The collapse of Buddhism on the lower Kistna may have had various causes; besides the general wane of that religion all over India, there may have been economic agents at work, like the decline of the sea-borne trade with the West, which had caused vast quantities of Roman gold to pour into the Peninsula. There was also the conquest of Southern India by the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta and the rise of powerful dynasties devoted to Brahmanism like the Pallava in the South and the Chālukya in the West.

In connection with Buddhism attention must be drawn to the mention of sect-names in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions. In Nos. C 1, line 10 and E, line 2, the dedication is stated to be made for the benefit or acceptance of the Aparamahāvīnaseliyas. In both cases the sign for *i* over the fifth *akshara* is quite distinct so that we are not allowed to read *-mahāvāna-*, as was done by Drs. Burgess and Hultzsch in the case of an Amarāvati inscription.¹ The latter was inclined to associate the name with the Mahāvānaśālā at Vaiśālī, well-known from the Buddha legend. The Amarāvati inscription in question, however, has certainly *Mahāvīnaseliyānam*. At the end of the fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūru we read: *ayirāna[m] Puvaseli-y[ā]na[m] niḡyasa* (Skt. *āryānām Pūrvaśālīyānām nikāyasya*).

The Pāli chronicles of Ceylon make mention of the Pubba- and the Aparaseliyas, the two sub-divisions of the Mahāsaṅghikas.² The latter of those two expressions is perhaps an abbreviated form of the Avaramahāvīnaseliyas in our inscriptions. Can it be that the two sects,

¹ Burgess, *Amarāvati*, p. 105, No. 49; and Hultzsch, *Z. D. M. G.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 550 f., and XL, p. 314.

² *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12, and *Dīpavamsa*, V, 54.

known as Pubba- and Aparaselikas, originated from the two Buddhist convents of Pubbasela and Aparasela which, according to Hiuen Tsiang, existed on the hills to the east and the west of the capital of Dhaññakataka ?

The inscription G, line 8, contains the name of another Buddhist sect—Bahusutīya—which corresponds to Pali Bahusuttīya (Skt. Bahusrutīya). Besides, we have Ayira-haṅgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) in C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 10, and Mahi[sā]saka (Skt. Mahīśāsaka) in H, line 12.

Language and Script.

A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. Considering that these inscriptions were meant to be perpetual records of pious donations made by ladies of royal blood, the careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables but whole words have been omitted. We find, moreover, that only in one instance it has been considered necessary to correct such an omission, *i.e.*, in the word *Mahāchetiya* (E, line 1) where the *akshara hā* has been placed under the line. In other instances syllables have been repeated (C 2, lines 1 and 3), or interchanged (*e.g.*, *bhaṁkham* for *khaṁbham* in C 4, line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Siri-Virapurisadata, is written with *vi* instead of *vī* except in a very few cases where we find the correct spelling with *ī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one, *e.g.*, in *Mahāchetiya*. Considering the frequency of the omission of the *ā*-stroke, we have ventured to assume that this omission has twice taken place in the long compound *samaṇa-baṁhaṇa-kavaṇa-vaṇija-dīn-ā-nugaha-velāmika-dāna-paṭibhāga-vochhina-dhāra-padāyini*, which re-occurs several times in the passage relating to the principal donor, Chāntisiri. This compound, as far as we can see, does not yield an intelligible sense, unless we read *-dīn-āpaṭibhāga-āvochhina*, thus assuming that the two adjectives required here are *apaṭibhāga* and *āvochhina*. With regard to the latter word we may compare the use of the Sanskrit equivalent *avyavachchhinna* in the following line from the *Harivaṁśa* (verse 3580) where we read : *avyavachchhinna-dhār-aughaiḥ samudr-auḅha-samair-dhanaiḥ*.

The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for that of *tha*, whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between *tha* and *tha*. The looped characters *ta* and *na* are very similar and are not always clearly distinguishable. The same is the case with the *aksharas*, the initial *a* and *su*.

The sign for *anusvāra* too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the *akshara* may not be a depression in the surface of the stone merely due to accident. In consequence, there prevails a certain amount of uncertainty with regard to the correct form of the personal names Chāntamūla and Chāntisiri. In several cases where these names occur, there is no trace of an *anusvāra*, but as in a few instances such a sign can be made out, we are perhaps justified in assuming that its non-occurrence is due to the inadvertence so noticeable throughout these records.

This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a stele by the chief donor, the lady Chāntisiri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes. We may refer the reader to the text of C 3 given below with the various readings found in the corresponding inscriptions.

It is difficult to say who is to be held responsible for the negligent treatment which we have noticed in these epigraphs. The additional passage found in two of the pillar inscriptions of Chāntisiri, namely C 1 and 2, mentions a “ Bhadanta Ānanda, carrier of the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjima-nikāya* ” who acted as the *navakammīla* of the Mahāchetiya. In the case of the apsidal temple

and other religious works founded by the *upāsikā* Bodhisiri there were even three *navakammikas*, the *theras* Chāṁdamukha, Dharmmanandi and Nāga (F, lines 3 & 4). As the *navakammika* was the monk commissioned by the *Saṅgha* to superintend the foundation (*navakamma*) dedicated by some lay-member, his responsibility may be supposed to have extended also over the inscriptional records of the *deyadharmma*. It is, however, quite possible that the author of the inscriptions was some other learned member of the *Saṅgha*. We may perhaps assume that, the text of the inscriptions having been fixed, some copyist, either a *bhikkhu* or a professional writer, was employed to prepare one or more copies in the very ornamental writing of the period for the use of the stone-mason. At the end of inscription F we find the name of the stone-mason (*sela-vadhāki*) Vidhika recorded immediately after those of the three *navakammikas*. It must be admitted that, as regards its technical execution, not only this epigraph but also the sixteen *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions leave nothing to be desired. It is noteworthy that inscription H which, as we saw, must belong to a somewhat later period, shows at once a marked deterioration in technical skill.

With regard to the style of writing used in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions it will suffice to refer to the observations made by Dr. Bühler with regard to the inscriptions from Jaggayya-peta.¹ Here we wish only to draw attention to the use of *la* in *Sihala*-, *talākam*-, and *alamdā* in F, line 3, and to the occurrence of the following ligatures: *dra* in *Rudradhara*^o (B 5, line 4), *nhā* in *suṁhānam* (F, line 3), *ṅhu* in *Vinhusirisa*, *mha* in *bamhaṇa* (A 3, line 6 etc.), *mhi* in *imamhi* (A 3, line 2) and *mahāchetiyamhi* (C 4, line 2 and X, line 8), and *tti* in *nattiya* (H, line 8).

The inscriptions contain the numerical symbols for one, three (F, line 1), four (F, line 1), five (E, line 2), six (*passim*), seven (F, line 3 and H, line 4), eight (E, line 2), ten (*passim*), seventy (B 5, line 6), and hundred (B 5, line 6).

As regards the language, the following peculiarities may be noted:—

The *ṛi* vowel is represented by *a* in *kavaṇa* (Skt. *kripaṇa*) and *vasabha* (Skt. *vrishabha*), but elsewhere, by *u*. Examples: *bhatuno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhartri*-; *pituno* (F, line 2) from Skt. *pitrī*-; *bhātuno* (F, line 3), *bhātunam* (F, line 2) and *bhātuputānam* (F, line 2) from Skt. *bhrātri*-; *mātuya* (F, line 2 and G, line 7) from Skt. *mātri*-; *mahāmātukāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *mahāmātri*-; *dhūtuya* (F, line 3; H, line 9) from Skt. *duhtri*-; *jām[ā]tukasa* (E, line 1) from Skt. *jāmātri*-; *mātuk[ā]* (C 1, line 11 and C 2, line 9) from Skt. *mātrikā*.

We notice *Svarabhakti* in *bhariyā* (*passim*) from Skt. *bhāryā*; *mahāchetiya* (*passim*) from Skt. *°chaitya*; *achariya* (*passim*) from Skt. *āchārya*; *harisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *harsha*; *tarisa* (F, line 1) from Skt. *tarsha*; *darisana* (F, line 1) from Skt. *daršana*; and *mahāsenāpatinī* (*passim*) from Skt. *°patnī*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, §135.

The *p* between vowels becomes *v*. Examples: *Avaranta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Aparānta*; *kavaṇa* (*passim*) from Skt. *kripaṇa*; *uvāsikāya* (F, line 2) from Skt. *upāsikā*; *uvarivamni[tam]* (F, line 3) from Skt. *upari*^o; *th[ā]vitam* (F, line 3) from Skt. *sthāpitam*; *Govagāma* (F, line 2) from Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?); *maṁṭava* (E, line 2) and *maṁḍava* (F, line 3) from Skt. *maṅḍapa*.

The *media* is changed into the *tenuis*, in *koṭh[ā]kārīka*^o (F, line 2) from Skt. *kōshṭhāgārīka*-; and *maṁṭava* (E, line 2) from Skt. *maṅḍapa*. But elsewhere *maṅḍava* (thrice in F). Cf. also *deyadhama-parichāko* from Skt. *°parityāga*-, in the Allūru fragmentary inscription, line 14.

The *tenuis* has been changed into the *media* in *Pugiyāna[m]* (E, line 1), but elsewhere *Pūkiyānam* or *Pūkiyānam*, and *sughāya* (G, line 10) from Skt. *sukha*-. Cf. *niḡāyasa* from Skt. *nikāya*- in the Allūru inscription. As regards *Pūkiya* and *Pūḡiya*, it is, of course, possible that the latter is the more correct and original form. May it be connected with Skt. *pūya* = "betel-palm" ?

¹ G. Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p 44.

The initial *h* in some personal names appears to have been developed from *s*. Examples : *Hammasiri* (C 4, line 5) ; *Hammasiripikā* (C 2, lines 5-6 and 7 ; C 4, line 7) ; *Hagharina* (F, line 2). Also, *Ayira-hamghāna* (C 1, line 11 ; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *Ārya-saṅghānām*. But *saṅgham* (H, line 13) and *mahābhikṣu-sa[m]ghasa* (E, line 2).

We wish also to draw attention to the following forms : *ayira*- (C 1, line 11 ; C 2, line 10) from Skt. *ārya* ; *bhayā* for the more usual *bhāriyā* from Skt. *bhāryā* ; and *Chilāta* (F, line 1) from Skt. *Kirāta*.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS.

a. Inscriptions on the *āyaka*-pillars of the Mahāchetiya.¹

A. 2. East side, second pillar. One large and two small fragments. The large piece contains lines 1—7 (*sidham* to =*vachhalā ma*-), line 7 being incomplete. Besides, there is a gap on the right hand side by which several *aksharas* at the end of lines 2—4 and 6 are lost. One of the smaller fragments supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 6—10, and the other, a few *aksharas* of lines 7—8. The inscription, when entire, must have consisted of 10 lines, 24½ inches long. It records the gift of a pillar by the *Mahātalavarī* Chāmtisiri (name lost), the sister of King Chāmtamūla and the paternal aunt of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata. Date lost.

A. 3. East side, third pillar. Inscription in two pieces. One large piece contains the inscription almost complete except the middle portion of lines 1—2. This missing portion is supplied by the smaller fragment containing 17 *aksharas* of the first line. The inscription consists partly of 10 lines, 25 inches long. It records the donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date, the 6th year of King Siri-Vīrapurisadata in last short line.

A. 4. East side, fourth pillar. Two large and one smaller fragment. The one large piece contains ll. 1—5, incomplete and partly obliterated. The other contains lines 5—11, *viz.*, the latter half of the inscription, almost complete, although partly indistinct. The small fragment supplies the initial *aksharas* of lines 1 to 3. The inscription must have consisted of 11 lines, measuring from 21—22½ inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above sub A. 3 in last short line.

B. 1. South side, first pillar. One fragment, containing lines 1—6 in their full length, but with central portion completely obliterated. Length of lines 16 inches. Name of donor and date lost.

B. 2. South side, second pillar. Inscription complete in 7 lines, measuring 20 to 22 inches in length. Gift of a pillar by the *Mahātalavarī* Aḍavi-Chātisiri, the daughter of King Chāmtamūla. Date as above.

B. 3. South side, third pillar. Complete in 10 lines, measuring 21 to 23½ inches in length. A few *aksharas* at the end of lines 5—9 missing. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiripikā, evidently the same person as Chāmtisiri (*cf.* sub A. 2). Date as above in last short line.

B. 4. South side, fourth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 17½ to 22 inches. Gift of a stone pillar by the *Mahāsenāpatini* Chula-Chā[m]tisiripikā. Date as above in 6th and short 7th line.

B. 5. South side, fifth pillar. Complete in 7 lines, 20 to 22 inches. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvi* Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā. Date as above in last short line.

¹ Besides the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions enumerated here, twenty-three small fragments have been found which must have belonged to this class of inscriptions.

C. 1. West side, first pillar. Two pieces : the smaller piece, containing lines 1 to 6 (l. 1 complete, l. 2 with the first *akshara* missing, ll. 3—6 incomplete), fits wedge-like into the larger one, which consists of ll. 3 to 13, ll. 3 to 6 supplying the missing portions of the upper piece. The inscription, when complete, consisted of 13 lines, 21 to 23 inches long. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri. Date as above.

C. 2. West side, second pillar. Two pieces. The larger piece contains ll. 1—6 complete, besides the initial and concluding portions of ll. 7—9. The smaller piece supplies the middle portions of these three lines and the remainder of the inscription, *viz.*, ll. 10—12 entire. Twelve lines, 19½ to 22 inches long. Gift of a stone pillar by *Mahādēvi* Bapisiriṇikā, the daughter of Haṃmasiriṇikā and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in ll. 11—12, the concluding line being a short one.

C. 3. West side, third pillar. Two pieces. The smaller fragment has 6 lines, *viz.*, l. 1 complete, whereas considerable portions of ll. 2—5 are missing and only a few *aksharas* at the beginning of l. 6 remain. The larger fragment contains the missing parts of ll. 2—6 and, besides, ll. 7—13 entire. Thirteen lines, 20 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

C. 4. West side, fourth pillar. Complete in eight lines, 19 to 22 inches long. Gift of a pillar by *Mahādēvi* Chhathisiri, the daughter of Haṃmasiri[ṇikā] and wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata. Date as above in concluding line.

C. 5. West side, fifth pillar. Complete in five lines, 19½ to 20½ inches in length. Gift of a stone pillar by the wife of Mahākāṃdasiri. Date as above.

D. 2. North side, second pillar. One piece containing ll. 1—5 complete, the initial and concluding portions of ll. 6—7, the first six *aksharas* of line 8 and only one *akshara* opening line 9. The inscription must have recorded the gift of a pillar by Chāmtisiri. Date lost.

D. 3. North side, third pillar. Only a fragment containing ll. 1—2 almost complete, and besides, a few *aksharas* of line 3. Date lost.

D. 4. North side, fourth pillar. Complete in ten lines, 19½ to 21½ inches long. Gift of a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri. Date as above in last short line.

X. Original position unknown. Complete in nine lines, 24 to 25 inches in length. Donation of a pillar by Chāmtisiri. Date as above.

b. *Chetiya-ghara* inscriptions.

E. Inscription on floor of apsidal shrine, No. I, immediately to the east of the Mahāchetiya. Inscription complete in two lines, measuring 14 feet 5 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ½ to ⅔ inch. Inscription well preserved except first portion of the second line. It records the dedication of a *chetiya-ghara* or stone *maṃṭava* (Skt. *maṇḍapa*) provided with a cloister (*chatusāla*) at the foot of the Mahāchetiya by the *Mahātālavari* Chāmtisiri, mentioned in several of the *āyaka*-pillar inscriptions, who here refers to King Siri-Virapurisadata as her son-in-law, for the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvinaseliya sect. Date, the eighteenth year of King Siri-Virapurisadata.

F. Inscription on floor of the apsidal shrine, No. II, on the mound Nāharāḷḷabōḍu, consisting of three long lines, 18 feet 4 inches to 19 feet in length, and of a fourth short line of 1 foot 9 inches. Average size of *aksharas* ⅔ to ¾ inch. The inscription is fairly well preserved; here and there some *aksharas* have been lost. After a lengthy invocation of the Buddha it records the foundation of a *chetiya-ghara* and of various other religious edifices by an *uvāsikā* (Skt. *upāsikā*), named, Bodhisiri, together with her relatives, for the benefit of the fraternities (*theriya*) of the Ceylonese monks who had converted a number of countries which are enumerated at great length. Date, the fourteenth year of King Māthariputa (=Siri-Virapurisadata?).

c. Detached pillar inscriptions.

G. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele decorated with carvings, at a distance of about two furlongs to the north-west of the Mahāchetiya. It consists of ten lines of writing. The inscribed surface shows three cracks and the right hand portion damaged. Some three or four *akṣharas* at the end of ll. 1—5 are lost. Lines 9 and 10 are partly obliterated. The lines, when complete, must have been 15 inches in length. The average size of the *akṣharas* is $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch. The lettering has become worn owing to exposure to the weather. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Bhaṭṭidēvā, who was the wife (?) of King Siri-Virapurisadata and the mother of King Ehuvuḷa(?)—Chā[m]tamūla. The date in ll. 9—10 is no longer legible.

H. Inscription on a stone pillar or stele found at Koṭṭampalugu to the north of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. It consists of fourteen lines of writing, measuring about 12 inches in length. The inscription is fairly well preserved, but here and there some *akṣharas* have become indistinct. The execution is fair, but less ornamented than in the earlier inscriptions. The size of the *akṣharas* is from $\frac{3}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ inch; they miss the long-drawn strokes of the earlier inscriptions and the lines are placed close together. The inscription records the foundation of a *vihāra* by *Mahādēvī* Koda[ba]ḷisiri, who was the daughter of King Siri-Virapurisadata, sister of King Ehuvuḷa—Chā[m]tamūla, and wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsa. It is dated in the 11th year of King Ehuvuḷa—Chā[m]tamūla.

d. Inscriptions on sculptures.

J. Inscription along the lower edge of a frieze showing the adoration of the Wheel of the Law (first sermon at Benares) in the centre and an amatory couple or *mīthuna* on both sides. These three scenes are separated and flanked by railings. The frieze is supported by a row of crouching lions. The inscription consists of two lines, measuring 38 and 16 inches in length. The execution is fair and the preservation, satisfactory. The average size of the *akṣharas* is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. The inscription opens with an invocation of the Buddha and records the donation of a slab and of a coping stone at the Mahāchetiya by an individual of the name of Chhadakapavaticha and by his housewife Padumavāni together with their sons and daughters. No date.

K. Inscription along the lower edge of a long sculptured beam found on the mound Polugubōḍu. It consists of one line of writing, the beginning and concluding portions of which are almost entirely obliterated. The inscription, as far as preserved, measures nearly five feet in length. It records the donation of a slab (?) by a person whose name is lost, together with his sons, daughters, sons-in-law, grandsons, granddaughters, relatives and friends. The preserved portions contain no date.

TRANSCRIPTS AND TRANSLATIONS.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 3.

The text of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription recording the donation of such a pillar by Chā[m]tisiri occurs in nine redactions, namely, A 2, 3 and 4, B 3, C 1 and 3, D 2 and 4, and X, seven of which are complete and two (A 2 and D 2) are incomplete. In C 1 there is an addition at the end, whereas in X the invocation of the Buddha opening the document has been omitted. It will be sufficient to reproduce the text only once, as given in C 3, noting such *variae lectiones* as are found in the other redactions: The additional passage of C 1 will be given separately.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo¹ bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino² savamūno
 (l. 2) sava-sat-ānukampakasa jita-rāga-dosa-mcha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha- (l. 3) [gaṃ]dha-
 hathisa samma-saṃ[budh]asa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mah[ā]cheteiye³ mahārajasa (l. 4) Virūpa-
 khapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa⁴ hiraṇa-koṭi⁵-go-satasahasā-hala-sa- (l. 5) tasaha[sa-]dāyisa
 savathesu apatihata-saṃkapasa Vāsiṭhiputasa⁶ Ikhākusa (l. 6) Siri-Chātamūlasa⁷ sodarā
 bhagini raṃṇo Mādharīputasa⁸ Siri-Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) pituchhā mahāsenāpatisa⁹
 mahātalavarasa Vāsīdhīputasa¹⁰ Pūkiyānam¹¹ Kāmdasiri[sa]¹² (l. 8) bhariyā samaṇa-
 bam[h*]aṇa-kavaṇa-vañijaka¹³-dīn-ānugaha-velāmika¹⁴-dāna-paṭibhaga¹⁵-vo- (l. 9) chhīṃna¹⁶-
 dhāra-padāyini sava-sādhu-vachhalā mahādānapatini¹⁷ mahātalavari Khamdasāgarāṃnaka¹⁸-
 mātā (l. 10) Ch[ā]tisiri¹⁹ apano ubhaya-kulasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānakānam²⁰
 parināmetunam²¹ (l. 11) ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya²² atano cha nivāṇa-
 saṃpati-saṃpādake (l. 12) sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya²⁴ cha imam khambham
 patithapitaṃ ti (l. 13) Raṃṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava 6 vā pa 6²⁴
 diva 10

¹ Invocation of Buddha omitted in X.

² *supabudha-bodhino* up to *samma-sambudhāsa* omitted in B 3, l. 1; C 1, l. 1; D 2, l. 1; D 4, l. 1.

³ *imamhi mahācheteiye* in A 4, l. 3; D 4, l. 1 (*mahācheteiye*); *imamhi mahācheteiye* in A 3, ll. 2-3; D 2, l. 1; *mahācheteiye* in A 2, l. 3.

⁴ *Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa-* omitted in D 2, l. 2. *Agīhot-Āgīthoma-Vājapey-Asamedha-yājisa* after *-parigahitasa* in A 2, ll. 3-4; A 3, ll. 3-4; A 4, l. 4; *-parigahitasa* in B 3, l. 2; D 4, l. 2.

⁵ *hiraṇa-koṭi-* in A 2, l. 4; A 3, l. 4; B 3, l. 3; D 4, l. 3.

⁶ *Vāsiṭhiputasa* in A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; B 3, l. 4; X, l. 3; *Vāseṭhiputasa* in C 1, l. 4; *Vāseṭhi-* in D 2, l. 3; *Vāsīdhī* in D 4, l. 4.

⁷ *Chāntamūlasa* in A 2, l. 5; A 3, l. 5; A 4, l. 5; C 1, l. 5; D 4, l. 4; X, l. 3.

⁸ *Mādharīputasa* omitted in A 3, l. 5; D 4, l. 5; *Mādharīputasa* in A 4, l. 6; X, l. 3.

⁹ *senāpatisa* omitted in X, l. 4.

¹⁰ Read: *Vāsiṭhiputasa* with A 4, l. 6; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 6; X, l. 4. The reading is *Vāsiṭhiputasa* in A 2, l. 6; *Vāseṭhi-* in D 2, l. 5; *Vāsīdhī-* in D 4, l. 5.

¹¹ *Pūkiyānam* in B 3, l. 6; X, l. 4.

¹² *Kāmdasirisa* in A 4, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 4. Omitted in A 3, l. 6.

¹³ *-vañija-* in A 3, l. 6; *-vañijaka-* in A 4, l. 7; B 3, l. 6; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 5; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

¹⁴ *velāmika* in A 4, l. 7; *-velāmi-* in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6.

¹⁵ Read: *paṭibhāga*, the reading of A 2, l. 7; A 4, ll. 7-8; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

¹⁶ *vachhina* in A 2, l. 7; A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; B 3, l. 7; C 1, l. 7; D 4, l. 6; X, l. 5.

¹⁷ *mahādānapatini* omitted in B 3, l. 7; D 2, l. 6; D 4, l. 7.

¹⁸ *Khamdasāgarāṃnaka-* in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 8; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. *Khāda-* in D 2, l. 7; D 4, l. 7.

¹⁹ *Chāntisiri* in A 3, l. 7; A 4, l. 9; C 1, l. 8; X, l. 6. *Chāntisiriṇikā* in B 3, l. 8.

²⁰ *-vaṭamānake* in B 3, l. 8; D 4, l. 8; X, l. 7.

²¹ *parināmetuna* in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9; *parināmetuna* in D 4, l. 8; *parināmetūna* (?) in X, l. 7; *apano ubhaya-kula-parināmetūna* in C 1, l. 8.

²² *ubhaya-loka-sukha-nivāṇathanāya* in A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 10; X, l. 7. Omitted in B 3, l. 9; C 1, l. 9; D 4, l. 8.

X, l. 8 has after *-saṃpādake* the following: *bhagavato samma-sambudhāsa dhātu- (dhātu)vara-parigahitasa mahācheteiyamhi*.

²³ *-sukha-nivāṇathanāya* in A 3, l. 9; A 4, l. 10 (?); D 4, l. 9. *Sava-loka-* omitted in B 3, l. 9.

²⁴ *vā pa 6* written under the line. In A 3, l. 10 and A 4, l. 11 these *aksharas* have been omitted.

C-3.

0

The image shows a dark, rectangular fragment of an inscription, likely a leaf from a palm-leaf manuscript. The fragment is heavily stained and has irregular edges. It contains 12 lines of text, numbered 2 through 12 on both the left and right sides. The text is written in an ancient script, identified as Prakrit in the header. The characters are small and closely spaced, with some vertical lines or strokes extending downwards from the main text. The overall appearance is that of an ancient, weathered document.

2 2

4 4

6 6

8 8

10 10

12 12

B-1.



1. ...
 2. ...
 3. ...
 4. ...
 5. ...
 6. ...
 ...

TRANSLATION.

Success. Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion which have been conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among great spiritual leaders, the perfectly Enlightened One, who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, by Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiya, the *Mahātālavari* Chā[m]tisiri (*who is*) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīthīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chā[m]tamūla---absorbed by Mahāsena the lord of Virūpakhas, the giver of crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*), unimpeded of purpose in all (*his*) aims,—(*she who is*) the paternal aunt of King Mādharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata, (*she who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsēnāpati*, the *Mahātālavara*, Vāsīthīputa Kamdasiri of (*the family of*) the Pūkiyas; and the mother of Khamdasāgarāmnaka, she who, out of compassion for Śramaṇas, Brahmīns, and those that are miserable, poor and destitute, is wont to bestow on them a matchless and ceaseless flow¹ of Velāmic gifts, she, the great mistress of munificence, devoted to all the virtuous, having due regard for the past, future and present (*members*) of both the houses to which she belongs, for the attainment of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and in order to attain herself the bliss of Nirvāṇa and for the attainment of welfare and happiness by all the world, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

*Additional Passage in C 1.*²

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 10) āchariyānaṃ Aparamahāvīnas[e]llyāna[m] supariḡahitaṃ imaṃ mahāchetiya-
navakama[m] (l. 11) Paṃṇagāma-vathavānaṃ Dīgha-Majjhima-pa[m]cha-mātuka-osaka³-
vāchakānaṃ āchariyānaṃ Ayira-haṃghāna[m] (l. 12) a[m]tevāsikena Dīgha-Majjhima-
nikāya-dharena bhajant-Ānadena⁴ nithapitaṃ imaṃ navakamaṃ mahāchetiyaṃ (l. 13) khambhā
cha ṭhāpitā ti raṃṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasā sava 6 va pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha*- and the *Majjhima-nikāyas* by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-haṃgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are resident in Paṃṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima-nikāya* and of the five *Mātukas*. This pious work, the Mahāchetiya, was completed and the pillars were erected. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 1.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidhaṃ mahārājasa....sena-pariḡahitasa Agiho-(l. 2) t-Āḡiṭhoma-Vāja.....[hi]
rana koṭi-go-sata- (l. 3) sahāsa-hala....savathesu apati- (l. 4) hata-sa[m]kṛpasā V[ā]se.....

¹ My translation is based on the assumption that we must read *-dān-āpaṭibhāḡ-āvochāna-*.

² Cf. the corresponding passage in line 8 of the *āyaka*-pillar inscription C 2, *infra*.

³ Read : *-desaka-* (C 2, l. 9).

⁴ Read : *bhadrant-Ānadena* (C 2, l. 10).

Chātamūlasa bhagini- (l. 5) ya mahātalava[rasa]...[si]risa bha[riyā]ya ma- (l. 6) |
variya...mah[ā]r[ā]jasa

[The inscription is too fragmentary to admit of translation. It, evidently, opens with a string of epithets eulogizing King Siri-Chā[m]tamūla. The donor, whose name is lost, is perhaps, a daughter of Chā[m]tisiri.]

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 2.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham mahārajasa Asamedha-yājisa aneka-hiramṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hal-
(l. 2) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṅkapasa Vāsīthīputasa Ikhākusa
Siri-Chā[m]tamūlasa duhutā raṁṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhagini mahāsenāpatisa mahā-
talavarasa mahādaṇḍanāyakasa Dhanakānam Khamdavisākhamṇakasa bhayā mahā-
(l. 5) Aḍavi-Chātīsiri apano ubhaya-kulam parināme[tū]na atano cha ubhaya-loka-hita-suk-
hathanāya (l. 6) bhagavato saṁma-sabudhasa² dhātuvara-parigahitasa Mahāchetiye
khambham patidhapaṁta¹ ti (l. 7) raṁṇo Siri-Virapurisadatasa saṁva 6 vā
diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success. The *Mahātalavari* Aḍavi-Chātīsiri (*who is*) the daughter of the Mahārāja Vāsīthī Ikhāku Siri-Chā[m]tamūla, the offerer of Aśvamēdha, the giver of many crores of hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*), of unimpeded path in all (*his*) aims ; (*who is*) the sister of King Siri-Virapurisadata, (*and who is*) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Khamdavisākhamṇaka (*of the family*) of the Dhanakas, having due regard for both the houses to which she belongs and for the benefit by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds, has erected this pillar at the Mahātiya of the Lord, the supreme Buddha who is absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.* Nirvāṇa). In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bo[dhino*] sava-
sava-sa[t-ā-](l. 2)nukāmpakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-va-
gaṁdha-ha[thisa] (l. 3) saṁma-saṁbugasa² dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahācheti[ye] Kulah-
[m] bālikā (l. 4) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsīthīputasa Hiramṇakānam |
dachalikiremmaṇaka[sa] (l. 5) bhayā mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chātīsiriṇikā apano ubhaya-
hita-sukha-ni- (l. 6) vānathanāya imam sela-khambham patidhapatam ti raṁṇo
Virapurisadatasa (l. 7) saṁva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success ! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the enlightened with perfect enlightenment, omniscient, compassionate towards all sentient beings, freed from lust, hatred and delusion conquered by him, the bull and musk-elephant among spiritual leaders, absorbed by the best of elements (*i.e.*, Nirvāṇa). At the Mahāchetiye

¹Read : *patidhapatam*.

²Read : *sambudhasa*.

1. ԱՐՄԱՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 2. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 3. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 4. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 5. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 6. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 7. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ
 8. ԿԵՆՏՐՈՆԱԿԱՆ ԵՐԵՄԻԱՆ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ ԵՄԵՆԻ

Mahāsenāpatini Chula-Chāntisiriṇikā, (*who is*) a daughter of (*the family of*) the Kulahakas, and the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara*, Vāsīṭhīputa Khamdachalikiremmaṇaka of (*the family of*) the Hiramaṇakas, for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription B 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham̄ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa supabudha-bodhino savam̄nuno sava-sat-
[ānu-*] (l. 2) kām̄pakasa jita-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamutasa mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṃdha-hadhisa¹
(l. 3) sam̄ma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigahitasa mahāchetiye Ujanikā² mahārabalikā³ (l. 4)
mahādevi Rudradharabhaṭ[ā]rikā imam̄ sela-kham̄bham̄ apano hita-sukha-nivāṇadhanāya⁴
patih̄[ā]pitam̄ (l. 5) mahātalavarihi cha Pūkiyānam̄ Chāntisiriṇikāhi imasa mahāvihārasa
mahāchetiyam̄⁵ (l. 6) samuthapiyamāne mahātalavariā ubhayitā dināri-māsakā satari-satam̄
100[+*]70⁶ kham̄bho cha (l. 7) ram̄ño Siri-Virapurisadatasa sam̄va 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

✓ Success! Adoration to the Lord, etc. (see above, sub B 4). At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevī Rudradharabhaṭārikā, a Mahārāja's daughter from Ujjenī (Skt. Ujjayinī) has erected this stone pillar for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness and Nirvāṇa. And while the Mahāchetiya of this Great Vihāra was being raised by the ladies, the *Mahātalavaris*, Chāntisiriṇikā of (*the family of*) the Pūkiyas, one hundred and seventy (100+70) *dināri-māsakas* and a pillar have been raised by the *Mahātalavari*.⁶ In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 2.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham̄ namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa sam̄ma-sam̄ma-sambudhasa⁷ dhātuvara-
(l. 2) parigahitasa⁸ Mahāchetiye mahārājasā Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa (l. 3) Agihot-
Āgiṭhogiṭhoma⁹ Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hiraṇa-koṭi-go-sata- (l. 4) sahāsa-hala-sahasaha-
padāyisa savathesu apatihata-sam̄kapasa (l. 5) Vāsīṭhīputasa Ikhākusa Siri-Chātamūlāsa
sodarāya bhaginiya Ham̄ma- (l. 6) sirim̄nikāya bālikā ram̄ño Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā
mahādevi Bapisiriṇikā (l. 7) apano mātaram̄ Ham̄masiriṇikam̄ parinamatuna¹⁰ atane¹¹ cha
nivāṇa-sampati-sampādake (l. 8) imam̄ sela-tham̄bham̄ patih̄apitam̄ achari[yā]nam̄ Aparā-
mahāvinaseliyānam̄ suparigahita[m̄*] (l. 9) imam̄ Mahāchetiya-navakamam̄ Pam̄nagāma-
vathavānam̄ Digha-Majhima-pam̄da¹². m[ā]tuka-desa[ka-vā*][chakānam̄] (l. 10) arayāna[m̄]¹³

¹ Read : *hathisa*.

² Read : *Ujenikā*.

³ Read : *mahārāja-bālikā*.

⁴ Read : *nivāṇāthanāya*.

⁵ Read : *mahāchetiye*.

⁶ The meaning probably is that the Queen Rudradharabhaṭārikā, besides dedicating a pillar, contributed a sum of 170 *dināri-māsakas* towards the expenses incurred by Chāntisiri for the building of the *stūpa*.

⁷ *sam̄ma*- has been written twice by mistake.

⁸ Perhaps *parigam̄hitasa*.

⁹ The two *aksaras gi ṭho* have been written twice by mistake.

¹⁰ Read : *parinūmetūna(m̄)*.

¹¹ Read : *atano*.

¹² Read : *pam̄cha* (cf. above, C 1, l. 11).

¹³ Read : *āchariyānam̄*.

Ayira-haghāna[m] amtevasikena Digha-Manigaya¹-dharena bhadarit-Ānandena (l. 11) niṭhapita[m] ima[m] navakama[m] mahāchetiya[m] khambhā cha ṭhapitā ti ramño Sari-Viripurisadatasa² (l. 12) samva. 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the supreme Buddha, honoured by the Lord of the gods, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the Mahādevi Bapasirīnikā (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasirīnikā, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chātāmūla, etc., (see sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of King Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasirīnikā, and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. For the benefit of the Masters of the Aparamahāvīnaseliya sect has this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya been accepted. This pious foundation, consisting of the Mahāchetiya, has been completed and the pillars have been set up by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Digha-* and the *Majjhima-(nikāyas)* (?) by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ārya-saṅgha who are resident in Paṇṇagāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Digha-* and the *Majjhima-(nikāyas)*, and of the five *Mātukas*. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 4.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato devarāja-sakatasa³ samma-sambudhasa dhātuvara-parigamhitasa (l. 2) mahādetiyamhi⁴ mahārājasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihāta⁴ (l. 3) Agiṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa hiraṃṇa-koṭi-go-satasahasa-hala-sata- (l. 4) sahasa-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-samkapasa Vāsīṭhīputasa Ikhākusa (l. 5) Siri-Chāntāmūlasa sodarā-bhaginiya Hammasariya⁵ bālikā mahārājasa (l. 6) Māḍharīputasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa bhayā mahādevi Chhaṭhisiri apano (l. 7) mātaram Hammasirīnikam parināmetuna atanam⁶ cha nivāṇa-sampati-sampādake imam bhāmkham⁷ (l. 8) patīṭhapitam mahārājasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa sava. 6 vā pa 6 dāva⁸ 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, etc., (see above, sub C 2) the Mahādevī Chhaṭhisiri (Skt. Shash-ṭhīrī), (*who is*) the daughter of Hammasiri, the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsīṭhīputa Ikhāku Siri-Chāntāmūla, etc., (see above, sub C 3) and (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Māḍharīputa Siri-Virapurisadata, with due regard for her mother Hammasirīnikā and for the sake of attainment by herself of the bliss of Nirvāṇa, has erected this pillar. In the 6th year of (*the reign of*) King Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

Āyaka-pillar inscription C 5.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato samma-sambu[dha*]sa dhātuvara-parigahitasa Mahāchetiye (l. 2) mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Vāsīṭhīputasa Pūkiyānam Mahākathdasirisa (l. 3)

¹ Read *Digha-Majjhima-nikāya-dharena* (cf. above, C 1, l. 12).

² Read: *Siri-Vira*

³ Read: *mahāchetiyamhi*.

⁴ Read: *Agihot-Ā°*.

⁵ Read: *sirya*.

⁶ Read: *atano*.

⁷ Read: *khamkhama*.

⁸ Read: *dāva*.

bhaya mahāsenāpatisa mahātalavarasa Viṅhusirisa mātā mahātalavari apano (l. 4) ubhaya-kulam parināmetu[na*] atano ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathaya cha imam (l. 5) sela-khambham patīṭhapitam mahārajasa Siri-Virapurisadatasa samva 6 vā pa 6 diva 10

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha, absorbed by the best of elements. At the Mahāchetiya the *Mahātalavari* (who is) the wife of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Vāsethiputa Mahākāṁdasiri of (the family of) the Pūkiyas and (who is) the mother of the *Mahāsenāpati*, the *Mahātalavara* Viṅhusiri (Śkt. Vishṇusrī), with due regard to both the families to which she belongs, and for the sake of her own welfare and happiness in both the worlds and Nirvāṇa, has erected this stone pillar. In the 6th year of (the reign of) Mahārāja Siri-Virapurisadata, the 6th fortnight of the rainy season, the 10th day.

First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Budhasa chetiya-ghara mahārajasa Virūpakhapati-Mahāsenā-parigahitasa Agihot-[Ā]giṭhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa aneka-hirana-koṭi-gosatasahasa-hala-satasa[hasa*]-padāyisa savathesu apatihata-saṁkapasa Vāsethiputasa Ikhākulasa¹ Siri-Chātamūlasa sahodar[ā] - bhagini mahātalavarasa Vāsethiputasa Pugiyāna[m*] Khamdasirisa bhariy[ā] mahātalavari Khamdasāgarāmnaga-m[ā]tā Chātisiri apano jām[ā]tukasa raṅo M[ā]ṭhariputasa Ikh[ā]kunam Siri-Virapurisadatasa ayu-vadhanike vejayike (l. 2) apano cha ubhaya-[loka-]hita-sukha-[nivāṇathanāya samma-sambudhasa dhā-]² tu-parigahitasa mahāchetiya-pādamūle³ pavajitānam nānā-desā-samanāgatānam sava-sādhūnam mahābhikhu-sa[m]ghasa apa[no] cha u-]bhaya-kulasa atichhita[m]-janāgata-vaṭamānake nikapanike cha parināmetunam Aparamahāvinaseliy[ā]nam parigahe savaniyuta[m] chātusala-parigahitam⁴ sela-maṭṭava[m] patīṭh[ā]pitam raṁṅo Siri-Virapurisadatasa samvachharam aṭhāra sam 10[+*]⁵ hemaṁta-pakham chhaṭham 6 divasam paṁchamam 5 sava-satānam hit[ā]ya sukhāya hotu ti

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha. A *chetiya-ghara* (*chaitya-hall*). Chātisiri (who is) the uterine sister of Mahārāja Vāsethiputa Siri-Chātamūla of the house of Ikhāku, who is favoured (absorbed ?) by Mahāsena, the lord of Virūpakhas, the offerer of Agnihōtra, Agnishtōma, Vājapēya and Āsvamēdha, the giver of many crores of gold, hundred thousands of kine, and hundred thousands of ploughs (*of land*) and who is of unimpeded purpose in all (*his*) aims, (who is) the wife of Vāsethiputa Khamdasiri of (the family of) the Pugiyas and (who is) the mother of Khamdasāgarāmnaga, for the longevity and for the victory of her son-in-law, King Māṭbariputa, Siri-Virapurisadata of the house of Ikhāku and for the attainment by herself of welfare and happiness in both the worlds and of Nirvāṇa, having due regard to the past, future and present bliss (?) of the great community of Buddhist monks consisting of all the holy men who have renounced the world and who have penetrated (?) into various countries, and of both the houses to which she herself belongs, has erected a stone shrine surrounded by a cloister and provided

¹ Probably *Ikhāku-kulasa*.

² The *aksharas* placed between square brackets are still partly traceable.

³ The *akshara hā* is written under the line.

⁴ Read : *chātusāla*.

with everything at the foot of the Mahāchetiya for the benefit of the Masters belonging to the sect of the Aparamahāvinaseliyas. In the eighteenth year, *anno* 18, of King Siri-Virapurisadata, in the sixth—6th—fortnight of winter, on the fifth—5th—day. May it be for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato Ikhāku-rāja-pavara-risi-sata-pabhava-vaṃsa-sambhava-
deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desikasa jita-kāma-kodha-bhaya-harisa-tarisa-moha-
dosa-sada(ā)pita¹-Māra-bala-dapa-māna-pasamana-karasa dasa-bala-maha(ā)balasa aṭha[m*]-
ga-maga-dhamachaka-pavatakasa chaka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇasa taruṇa-divasa-
kara-pabhava sarada-sasi-soma-darisanasa sava-loka-chita-mahitasa Budhasa raṇṇo
M[āṭha]riputasa². . . 10[+*]4 hemaṃta-pakham chhaṭham 6 divasaṃ teraṃ 10[+*]3 . . . ta [rā]-
jāchariyānam³ Kasmira-Gaṃdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avamaṃta-Vaṃga-Vanavāsi-Yava[na-]
Da[mila-Pa]lura⁴ Tāmbapaṃṇi-dīpa-pas[ā]dukānam theriyānam Tāmbapa[m]nakānam
suparigahe (l. 2) Siripavate Vijayapuriya-puva-disā-bhāge vihāre Chula-Dhammagiriyaṃ
chetiya-gharaṃ sapāṭa-saṃtharaṃ sachetiyaṃ sava-niyutaṃ kāritaṃ uvāsikāya Bodhisiriya
apano bhatuno Budhi[m]nakasa pituno cha se Govagāma-vathavasa Revata-gahapatisa
mātuya cha sa Budhamnikāya bhātunam cha se Chamdamukhanasa Karumbudhinasa
Haghānasa bhaginiya cha Revatirnikāya bhātu-putānam cha Mahā-Chamdamukha-Chula-
Chamdamukhānam bhāgineyānam cha Mahā-Mūla-Chula-Mūlānam apano cha ayakasa
Mūlavāniya ayikāya Budhavānikā[nāya] mātulaka⁵[sa cha] koṭh[ā]kārīkasa Bhadasa
Bodhisāmmasa Chamdasa Bodhikasa mahāmātukāya Bhadi[lā]ya Bodhiya cha apano
pituno Budhi[vā]niya m[ātuya]. . . (l. 3) bhātuno Mūlasa bhaginīnam Budhamnikāya
Mūlamnikāya Nāgabodhinikāya cha dhūtuya Virāmnikāya putānam Nāgānasa Virāma-a
cha suṃhānam cha Bhadasiri-Misīnam evam-eva cha Kulaha-vihāre chetiya-gharaṃ Sīha-
vihāre bodhi-rukha-pāśādo Mahā-Dhammagiriyaṃ ovarako 1 mahāvi[hā*]re maṇḍava-
khambho Devagiriyaṃ padhāna-sālā Puvasele taḷakam a[lam]dā⁶ ma[m*]ḍavo cha Kaṇṭakasele
mahāchetiyasa puva-dāre sela-maṇḍavo Hirumuthuve ovarakā timṇi 3 Papiḷayaṃ ovarakā
sata 7 Puphagiriya[m] sela-maṇḍavo Dham⁷. . . . vihāre sela-ma[m]ḍavo etaṃ cha savam
uvarivaṃṇi⁸[tam. . . sā]dhu-vagasa⁹ ahamāta¹⁰ hita-sukhāya thavitaṃ sava[sa] cha
lokasa imam navakarūmam timhi navaka[m]mikehi kāritaṃ Chamdamukha-therena cha
(l. 4) Dhammanāṃdi-therena cha Nāga-therena cha sela-vaḥhākisa Vidhikasa kaṇṇam ti

¹ [I would read °moha-dosasa dapita-Māra°—Ed.]

² The akshara ṭha of Māṭhariputasa is partly preserved. After this word some five or six aksharas are lost. In the absence of any traces of i strokes, the missing word cannot have been *Siri-Purisadatasā*. In all probability it was *saṃvachharam*, followed by a word expressing "fourteenth" (*chodam*?).

³ Perhaps *bhadanta-rāj-āchariyānam*?

⁴ The words which I read *Yavana-Damila-Palura* are not quite certain. The *Da* of *Damila* is still legible and the long-drawn top strokes of the remaining two aksharas have led me to the conjectural reading *mila*, the body of the akshara *m* being partly preserved. The *Pa* of *Palura* is conjectural.

⁵ The akshara *sa* of *mātulakasa* is conjectural. As the word is followed by several personal names in the genitive case, one would expect *mātulakānam*, but the akshara *ka* shows no trace of an ā-stroke.

⁶ Perhaps *sela-maṇḍa*?

⁷ Some ten aksharas are lost after *dham*.

⁸ The akshara *am* is conjectural. Perhaps *tasa*.

⁹ The first akshara *sā* has been restored tentatively. The *u*-stroke of *dhu* is still faintly visible.

¹⁰ The aksharas which I read *ahamāta*-(Skt. *atyanta*) are indistinct.

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord Buddha, born of a race (*which is*) sprung from hundreds of sages and excellent kings of Ikhāku's lineage; who has shown the road to welfare and happiness to gods and men and all beings, who has conquered and put down the pride and arrogance of Māra's hosts called lust, anger, fear, desire, thirst, delusion, and hatred; who, great of power, is possessed of the ten powers, who has set in motion the Wheel-of-the-Law (*pertaining to*) the Eight-fold Path, whose graceful and well-formed feet (*are marked with*) the sign of the Wheel, whose splendour is that of the newly risen sun, whose sight is lovely as that of the autumnal moon, and who is magnified by the thoughts of all the world. In the fourteenth—14th—(*year*) of King Māṭharīputa, in the sixth—5th—fortnight of winter, on the thirteenth—13th—day. For the benefit of the masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Taṃbapaṃṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmīr, Gandhāra, China, Chilāta (=Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaramita (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana(?), Damila (?), Palura (?) and the Isle of Taṃbapaṃṇi (Ceylon). At Siripavata (=Skt. Śrīparvata) on the east side of Vijayapurī at the Convent on the Lesser Dharmmagiri a *chaitya*-hall with a flooring of slabs, with a *chaitya* and provided with all the necessaries, was caused to be made by the female lay-member Bodhisiri (Skt. Bōdhisīrī) for the sake of her own husband Budhimnaka, and of his father, the householder Revata residing at Govagāma and of his mother Budhamnikā and of his brothers Chaṃdamukhana, Karumbudhina (*and*) Haghama and of (*his*) sister Revatimnikā and of (*his*) brother's sons Mahā-Chaṃdamukha (=Skt. Mahā-Chandramukha) and Chula-Chaṃdamukha (=Skt. Kshudra-Chandramukha) and of (*his*) sister's sons Mahā-Mūla and Chula-Mūla, and (*for the sake*) of her own grandfather Mūlavāniya and of her grandmother Budhavānikinā and of her maternal uncle(s) (?), the treasurer¹ Bhada (=Skt. Bhadra), Bodhisamma (=Skt. Bōdhisarman), Chaṃda (=Skt. Chandra) (*and*) Bodhika, and of her maternal grandmother Bodhi and of her own father Budhivāniya and of her mother (?). of her brother Mūla, of her sisters Budhamnikā, Mūlamnikā, and Nāgabodhinikā, of her daughter Viramnikā, of her sons Nāgaṃna and Viramaṃna and of her daughters-in-law Bhadasiri (=Skt. Bhadrāsīrī) and Misi (=Skt. Mīsīrī). And even thuswise a *chaitya*-hall at the Kulaha-*vihāra*, a shrine for the Bodhi-tree at the Sīhaja-*vihāra* one—1—cell at the Great Dharmmagiri, a *maṇḍava*-pillar at the Mahāvihāra, a hall for religious practice at the Devagiri, a tank, verandah² and *maṇḍava* at Puvasela (=Skt. Pūrvaśāila), a stone *maṇḍava* at the eastern gate of the Great Chaitya at Kaṇṭakasela³ (=Skt. Kaṇṭakaśāila), three—3—cells at Hirumuṭhuva, seven—7—cells at Papilā, a stone *maṇḍava* at Puphagiri (=Skt. Pushpagiri), a stone *maṇḍava* at the *vihāra*. And all this above described has been dedicated for the endless welfare and happiness of the assembly of saints and for that of the whole world. This work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, the *thera* Chaṃdamukha, and the *thera* Dharmmanarī and the *thera* Nāga. (*It is*) the work of the stone mason Vidhika.

Detached Pillar inscription G.

TRANSCRIPT.⁴

(1. 1) [Si]dham namo bhagavato teloka-dhamma-dhurā-vahasa mahārāṇe[sa Virū-]
(1. 2) [pa]kṣapati-Mahāsena-parigahitasa Agihot-Āgiṭhoma-[Vājape-] (1. 3) y-Āsamedha-y-

¹ *Koṣṭhārikā* = Skt. *kōshihārikā*.

² If *alavādā* is the correct reading, it may perhaps be taken for another form of Pali *ālindā* "a verandah terrace".

³ The vowel-mark of the fourth *alshara* has the appearance of an *o*-stroke, but this I believe is due to an error not unfrequent in these inscriptions.

⁴ The first half of the inscription has been restored with the aid of the corresponding passage in other inscriptions.

[ā]yi(ji)sa hiraṃṇa-koṭi-go-satasaha[sa-hala-sata-] (l. 4) sahāsa-padāi(yi)sa savathesu apatihata-samka[pasa]..(l. 5) [Vā]sethīputasa Ikhākunaṃ Siri-Chātāmūlasa sun[hā]ya [mahārāja-] (l. 6) sa Mādha[ri]putasa¹ Ikhākunaṃ Sir-Vīrapurisadāsa bhayaya² ma-(l. 7)hārājasa Siri-E[huvu]la-]Chātāmūlasa³ mātuya mahād[e]viya Bhaṭidevāya (l. 8).....[i]maṃ vihāro sava-jāta-niyuto⁴ achariy[ā]naṃ Bahusutīyānaṃ (l. 9) patīthū[pito]....i ra pu naṃ budhīṇa⁵....[saṃvachharaṃ]..[bitiyāṃ] (l. 10) [gimha-pakhaṃ].....sughāya ti⁶

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Leader of the Law of the Three Worlds.—Mahādevī Bhaṭidevā(*who is*) the daughter-in-law of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Chātāmūla, of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, sub C 3); (*who is*) the wife of Mahārāja Mādharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadāsa of the house of the Ikhākus; (*and who is*) the mother of Mahārāja Siri-Ehuvuḷa (?)-Chātāmūla, has erected.....this monastery provided with all essentials (?) for the Masters of the Bahusutīya sect.⁷

Detached Pillar inscription H.

TRANSCRIPT.

1 (l. 1) Sidhaṃ namo bhagavato samā-saṃ- (l. 2) budhasa mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa (l. 3) Ikhākunaṃ Siri-Ehuvuḷa-[Chāta]mūlasa sava 10[+*]1 (l. 4)....1 diva 7 mahārājasa Agihot-Āgidhema- Vājaveja⁸ (l. 5) Asamedha-yāyi(ji)sa [aneka-]hiraṇa-koṭi-go-satasahāsa- (l. 6) hala-satasahāsa-pad[ā]y[i]sa savathesu apatihata- (l. 7) saṃkapasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākuna-[m] Siri-Ch[ā]tamūla[sa] (l. 8) nattiya mahārājasa Mādharīputasa Siri-Vīrapurisa- (l. 9) datasa dhūtuya mahārājasa Vāsethīputasa Ikhākunaṃ (l. 10) Siri-Ehuvuḷa-[h[ā]tamūla-]sa] bhaginiyā Vānavāsaka-mahārāja- (l. 11) mahādeviyya [Ko]da[ba]lisiriya imaṃ khaniyam vihāro cha (l. 12) achariyānaṃ Mahi[sā]sakānaṃ⁹ suparigahe chātudisari (l. 13) sa[m]ghaṃ udisāya sava-satānaṃ hita-sukh[ā]thaṃ thāpitaṃ achariye- (l. 14) na mahādhamma-kāthik[e]na Dhātuma[gho]sa-¹⁰therena anuthitaṃ ti

TRANSLATION.

Success! Adoration to the Lord, the Supreme Buddha. In the 11th year of (*the reign of*) Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-[Chāta]mūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, the 1st (*fort-night of*...?), the 7th day. Mahādevī [Ko]da[ba]lisiri, (*who is*) the grand-daughter of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa, Siri-Chātāmūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus, etc., (see above, C. 3); (*who is*) the daughter of Mahārāja Mādharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadāsa of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; (*who is*) the sister of Mahārāja Vāsethīputa Siri-Ehuvuḷa-Chātāmūla of (*the house of*) the Ikhākus; and (*who is*) the wife of the Mahārāja of Vanavāsaka has erected this pillar and monastery

¹ The second *akshara* may be either *da* or *dha*.

² This mutilated word can hardly be anything but *bhayāya*.

³ The *aksharas* -huvuḷa are damaged owing to a crack, but *hu* is still legible.

⁴ Or should we read *sava-jīna-niyuto*? The *akshara* following *sava-* is certainly *jā*. In the other inscriptions we find *savanīyuto*,

⁵ [..... Vīrapunāmbudhīṇa . (proper name?) *raño*.°—Ed.]

⁶ The date appears to have been followed by a benedictory formula such as *sava-loka-hita-sukhāya*.

⁷ Lines 9-10 seem to have contained a date, but are too much obliterated to allow of being deciphered.

⁸ Read *Aginoi-Āgīthoma-Vājaveya*.

⁹ The third syllable *sa* is still traceable.

¹⁰ The third *akshara* has become very faint. At first I felt inclined to read *Dharmayasa*, but the long horizontal base-stroke which is still clear rather suggests the letter *gha*.

for the benefit of the Masters of the Mahi[sā]saka sect, on behalf of the community of the Four Quarters, and for the sake of the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings. (*It has been*) carried out by the Master, the great preacher of the Law, the *thera* Dhamma[gho]sa.

*Sculpture inscription J.*¹

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1) Sidham namo bhagavato aga-pogalasa Budhasa Chhadakapavatich[e]na Paduma-
[vā]-niya gharaniya sagaya saputakānaṃ Hagas[i]r[i]sa sagasa Nagatarasa cha sabhaja[sa]
(l. 2) saputikāna[m] cha deydham[o] paṭo unisa cha mahāchētiye patiḥ[ā]vito

TRANSLATION.

Success. Adoration to the Lord Buddha, the best of beings.

A meritorious gift (*consisting of*) a slab and a coping stone, has been dedicated at the Great Chaitya by Chhadakapavaticha, Padumavānī his house-wife, together with their sons Hagasiri and Nagatara with his wife and together with their daughters.

Fragmentary Sculpture inscription K.

TRANSCRIPT.

(l. 1).....saputak[ā]na[m] cha Dhamasa Padumasa cha [Bha]dasa Hughasa saput-
[i]k[ā]na[m] cha.....had[ā]ya Budh[ā]ya Padumāya M[isā]ya Chula-Budh-
[ā]ya N[ā]k[ā]ya cha sa[m]m[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] san[ā]tuk[ā]na[m] sanat[i]na[m] cha sanādi-
m[i]ta-ba[m]dhavāna[m] cha deydham[o] paṭa niba sapadaka.²....

TRANSLATION.

.....together with his³ sons Dhama and Paduma, [Bha]da, Hughha and together with his daughters.....hadā, Budhā, Padumā, Misā, Chula-Budhā, and Nākā, together with his sons-in-law, together with his grandsons and granddaughters and together with his relatives, friends, and kinsmen, a meritorious gift [consisting of] a slab

Postscript.

Extract from a letter dated Oslo, 2nd October, 1928, from Prof. Sten Konow, Ph.D.

“ In the first place I should like to draw your attention—perhaps unnecessarily—to the suffix *anaka* in *Viśākhanaka*, *Sāgarānaka*, formed from *Viśākha*, *Sāgara*, respectively. This same suffix is frequent in names from the Bombay Presidency; *cf.* Lüders, Nos. 985, 993, 1000, 1018, 1020, 1033 (Kaṇheri), 1063, 1064, 1065 (Kuḍā), 1088, 1091, 1097 (Kārli), 1109, 1111, (Bedsa), 1141 (Nāsik), 1171 (Junnar). It evidently belongs to a dialect with a Dravidian, perhaps Kanarese, substratum. The *h* for *s* also points to Kanarese. Moreover, some of the names seem to find their explanation in Kanarese. Thus *kanda* means ‘child’ in Kanarese, and *chali* ‘cold.’ *Chalikireṃmanaka* probably is *Chalikiranaka*—‘Moon.’ It also strikes me that Kanarese *karṇambu* means ‘envy.’ I have not access to a Telugu dictionary. But it seems to me that Kanarese is more likely. The other characteristics which can be gleaned from your quotations do not help us. They show that we have to do with a Standard Prakrit, related to Pāli, which was, as you know, used over a large territory. The change of *-p-* to *-v-* is

¹ The transcript and translation of inscriptions J and K should be regarded as provisional.

² Perhaps *sapāduka-paṭa*. [Perhaps the reading is ‘*paṭāni* be *sapādūkāni*’, meaning two slabs with foot-prints.—Ed.]

³ His, her, or their, as the case may be.

general in most Prakrits and cannot be used for localizing the dialect. A similar language is also used in the Khāravēla inscriptions. I would therefore be inclined to define the dialect of your inscriptions as follows : We are faced with a normalized semi-literary Prakrit, used by people whose home tongue was Dravidian, and probably Kanarese. If I am right, we should *a priori* be inclined to infer that the Ikkhākus had come to the Kistna country from the West. But all such conclusions are bound to be uncertain. *Khamda* is, as you say, probably = *Skanda*, and *Chānta* might be *Kshānta*, but might also have something to do with *Chāndaka*, the designation of some actors from Mathurā (Lüders, No. 85)."

Glossary.

- aga-pogala* (J, l. 1), Pali *agga-puggala* = Skt. *agrya-pudgala*, an epithet of Buddha.
- Ajihot-Āgīhoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājisa* (passim), an epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *Aggīthoma-Vājapey-Āsamedha-yājī* in the Hirahadagalli copper-plate grant of the Palava king Śivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I, pp. 2 f. Also, *dvir-Āsvamedha-yājinaḥ* in the Śuṅga inscription from Ayōdhryā. *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. X, pp. 202 f.
- a[chānta]* (F, l. 3), i.e., *achokanta* = Skt. *atyanta*.
- aṭhaṅga-maga-dhamachaka-pavataka* (F, l. 1), i.e., *aṭṭhaṅga-magga-dhammachakka-pavattaka* = Skt. *aṣṭāṅga-mārga-dharmachakra-pravartaka*, an epithet of Buddha.
- aṭhāra* (D, l. 2), "eighteenth."
- atichhita*, i.e., *atichchhita* (A 3, l. 8; A 4, l. 9, etc.) always followed by *anāgata-vaṭa-mānake* or **mānakānam*. Cf. Pali *atichchhāti* (Skt. *atī-richchhāti*) which is only preserved in the expression *atichchhātha bhante* "Please go on, Sir." The past participle *atichchhita*, therefore, stands for the usual *atīta*.
- Āḍavi-Chāntisiri* (B, 2, l. 5), a personal name. The second *akshara* is possibly *ḍa*.
- anuthūam* (H, l. 14). Cf. Pali *anuthūta* (= Skt. *anushūta*), past participle of *anuthūhāti*, meaning "carried out, effected."
- aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-satasā[hasa]-hala-satasahasā-pādāyi* (E, l. 1), i.e., *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-satasahasā-hala-satasahasā-ppādāyi*, epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *aneka-hiraṇya-koṭi-go-hala-satasahasā-ppādāyino* in the Hirahadagalli grant, ll. 10-11, and *aneka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānāḥ pravṛddha-dharma-saṅghayasya*..... in the Pīkara grant of Śiṃhavarman, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 161 ll. 5-6. Cf. also *tri-go-satasahasādēna* in Kārlī inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VII, p. 57, and *tri-go-satasahasādēna* in Nāsik inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* Vol. VIII, p. 78.
- antevāsika* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), Pali *antevāsi*, *antevāsika* "a disciple."
- avathesu apratīhata-saṅkapa* = Skt. *sarvārtheshu apratīhata-saṅkalpa*, epithet of Siri-Chāntamūla. Cf. *appatīhata-sāsarasa* in the Hirahadagalli grant, l. 10.
- Aparamahāvīnaseliya* (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8; E, l. 2), name of a Buddhist sect. See above, p. 10. The name presumably is identical with Pali *Aparaseliya*, Skt. *Aparasāliya*, a subdivision of the Theravāda. Cf. M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus* p. 7; but cf. p. 21.
- ayaka* (F, l. 2), i.e., *ayyaka* = Skt. *āryaka*.
- ayikā* (F, l. 2), i.e., *ayyikā* = Skt. *āryikā*.
- ayira-kamgha* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10) = Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*. Cf. *ayira-āira* in *Amarāvati* inscriptions, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1276 and 1280.
- ayu-vādhanike vejayike* (E, l. 1). Cf. *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vādhanike vija-ya-vejayike* "while he made (the gift) a means of the increase of the merits"

longevity, power and fame of (his) own family and race." (Bühler) in the Hira-
hadagalli grant of the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman, l. 9, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I,
p. 6; *amha-vejayike* [*dhama-āyu-bala-vaddhanike*] "for conferring on ourselves
victory (in war) and for increasing (our) merit, length of life, and power".
(Hultzsch) in the Mayidavōlu plates of Sivaskandavarman, *Ep. Ind.*; Vol. VI, p. 87;
amham āyu-bala-vaddhanīyam-kātūna "making (it) a means for increasing our
length of life and power." (Hultzsch) in the British Museum plate of Chārudēvi,
Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 146. The Sanskrit equivalent of the term is found
in the Chammak and Siwanī grants of Pravarasena II (*Gupta Inscriptions*,
pp. 238 and 246) and in the Uruvapalli grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 52). Cf.
also *chhatrapasa saputra-darasa ayu-bala-varāhie* in the Taxila plate of Patika (*Ep.*
Ind., Vol. IV, p. 56) and *J. R. A. S.* for 1924, p. 402.

ālindā (F, l. 3), perhaps Skt. *ālinda* m. "a terrace in front of the house-door," Pali
ālinda "a terrace or verandah outside a house." *Mahāvagga*, VI, 36, 4=
Vinaya Piṭakam (ed. Oldenberg) Vol. I, pp. 247 f.; *Chullavagga*, VI, 3, 5 and
14, 1=*Vin. Piṭ.*, Vol. II, pp. 153 and 169. The *ālinda* is not necessarily a
terrace or verandah outside a building, as is proved by *Mahāvamsa* XXXV,
3, *Tatheva Lohapāsāde Thūpārāmūposathavhaye kucchhī-ājāraṃ kāresi kucchhī*
ālindam eva cha "He made an inner courtyard and an inner verandah in the
Lohapāsāda." Cf. P. K. Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 54 ff.,
and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 252.

āchariya (C 1, ll. 10 and 11), written with short initial *a* in line 8 of inscription C 2
=Skt. *āchārya*, Pali *āchariya*, "a teacher."

Ananda (C. 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 10), i.e., *Ananda*, a personal name.

Ikhāku, i.e., *Ikkhāku*=Skt. *Ikhvāku*, Pali *Okkāka*, the legendary progenitor of the Solar
race.

Ikhāku-rāja-pravara-rishi-satu-prabhava-vamsa-sambhava (F, l. 1)=Skt. *Ikhvāku-rāja-pravara-rishi-*
sata-prabhava-vamśa-sambhava, an epithet of the Buddha.

udisāya (H, l. 13). Cf. Skt. *uddīśya*, Pali *uddissa* (absol. of *ud-ḍisati*) "to point out",
"on behalf of, on account of."

unisa (J, l. 2)=Skt. *uskhīśha*, "a coping-stone." Frequently met with in Amarāvati
inscriptions. The word appears to designate not only the coping-stone which
forms the crowning member of the railing enclosing the *stūpa*, but also the
frieze running along the top of the sculptured facing of such a monument.
Cf. Acharya, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.

ubhaya-loka-hita-sukha-nivāṇathanāya (A 3, l. 8, etc., passim) and *ubhaya-loka-hita-sukh-ā-*
vahethanāya (B 2, l. 5). Cf. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 229.

ubhaya (B 5, l. 6), i.e., *ubhaya*=Skt. **urdhwayita* from *ubbha*=Skt. *urdhva*. Cf. Pischel,
Grammatik, § 300.

uvarivamni[tam] (F, l. 3)=Skt. *uparivarnitam*.

uvāsikā (F, l. 2)=Skt. *upāsikā*.

ovaraka (F, l. 3) "a cell"=Skt. **apavaraka*. Cf. Lüders, *List, Index an. apavaraka*,
uyaraka, *uvararaka*, *ovaraka*.

Kandaviri (A 2, l. 6, etc., passim), a personal name.

Karumbudhina (F, l. 9), a personal name.

ksvaya (A 3, l. 6; etc.)=Skt. *kṛpaya*, Pali *kappa*, "poor, miserable, wretched, a
beggar."

- Kulāhaka* (B 4, l. 3), name of a clan.
- Kāśhā-vihāra* (F, l. 3), name of a monastery.
- Kośh[ā]kārika* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *kōshhāgārika*, "a treasurer, a superintendent of a royal store house." Cf. *kośhagala* in Sohagaura copper-plate inscription (Lüders, *List*, No. 937).
- [*Ko*]da[*ba*]siri (H, l. 11), a personal name.
- khaniya* (H, l. 12) "a pillar" (?). Cf. Pali *khāṇu*. Childers, *Pali Dictionary*, sub *Corrigenda*, p. 622, under *khāṇu*.
- Khanda*, i.e., *Khanda* (in personal names)=Skt. *Skanda*.
- Khāndachalikiremanaka* (B 4, l. 4), a personal name. Dr. Sten Konow suggests Kanarese *chalihirana*=moon, from Kanarese *chali*=cold.
- Khāndavisūkhana* (B 2, l. 4)=Skt. *Skanda-viśākha*, a personal name.
- Khāndasāgara[n]aka* (A 3, l. 7, etc.) and *Khāndasāgarānaga* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *Skanda-sāgara*, a personal name.
- khambha*, i.e., *khambha* (passim), "a pillar," from Vedic *skambha*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 306. Also in *sela-khambha* (q.v.).
- gāhapati* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *grihapati*.
- gharani* (J, l. 1)=Skt. *grihīṇi*.
- chaka-lakhaṇa-sukumāra-sujāta-charaṇa* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *chakra-lakṣhaṇa*^o, an epithet of the Buddha.
- Chāndamukha* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.
- Chāndamukhana* (F, l. 2); cf. Skt. *Chandramukha*, a personal name.
- Chāntamūla*; see, *Siri-Chāntamūla*.
- Chāntisiri* (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim) or *Chāntisiriṇikā* (B 5, l. 5), a personal name.
- chātudisa saṅgha* (H, ll. 12-13)=Skt. *chāturdśaḥ saṅghaḥ*.
- chātusala* (E, l. 2), i.e., *chatussāla*, Skt. *chaturśāla*, Pali *chatussāla*, "a quadrangular building built round an inner courtyard, a cloister or quadrangle." Cf. *Mrichchhakatikā* (ed. Stenzler) p. 46. l. 20; *vihāram sachaturśālam*; *Rājat.* III. 13; *Mahāvamsa* XV, 47 and 50; XXXV, 88; Nāsik Cave (No. 10) Inscription, L. 2, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78. Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
- Chula-Chāndamukha* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Chandramukha*, a personal name.
- Chula-Chāntisiriṇikā* (B 4, l. 5), a personal name.
- Chula-Budhā* (K)=Skt. *Kshudra-Buddhā*, a personal name.
- Chula-Mūla* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Kshudra-Mūla*, a personal name.
- chetiya-ghara* (E, l. 1 and F. ll. 2 and 3)=Skt. *chaitya-grīha*, "an apsidal temple or Chaitya-hall." The term seems to be employed synonymously with *sela-maṇḍava*. The word *chetiya-ghara* is frequently met with in inscriptions and applies equally to structural and rock-cut shrines. Cf. Lüders, *List, Index and Mahāvamsa* XXXI, 52.
- chhaṭṭha* (E, l. 2; F, l. 2), i.e., *chhaṭṭha* "sixth"=Skt. *śaṣṭha*.
- chhaṭṭhi*, i.e., *chhaṭṭhi*, in the personal name *Chhaṭṭhisiri* (C 4, l. 6).
- Chhadakapavaticha* (J, l. 1), a personal name (?) Cf. below under "Geographical Terms."
- jām[ā]kukasa* (E, l. 1)=Skt. *jāmātrikasya*.
- jāma-kāṭhā bhaya-harsha-tarsha-mōha-drēsha-sabdūpita-Māra-bala-darpa-prasamana-kara* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *jāma-kāṭhā bhaya-harsha-tarsha-mōha-drēsha-sabdūpita-Māra-bala-darpa-prasamana-kara*, an epithet of the Buddha.

¹ [See footnote 1 on page 22, above.—Ed.]

jīta-rāga-dosa-moha-vipamuta (A 2, l. 2, etc.)=Skt. *jīta-rāga-dvēsha-mōha-vipramukta*, epithet of the Buddha. Rāga, dosa, moha, "lust, hatred, and delusion" are the three Aggis, Kiñchanas, or Akusala-mūlas symbolised in the centre of the "Wheel of Existence" by three animals: a dove or cock, a snake, and a hog.

tarisa (E, l. 1)=Skt. *tarsha* "thirst."

taruṇa-divasakara-pabha (F, l. 1)=Skt. °*prabha*, an epithet of the Buddha.

talāka (F, l. 3)=Skt. *taḍāga*, "a tank or cistern."

tiṇi (F, l. 3), instr. *tiṇhi*, (F, l. 3) "three."

tera (F, l. 1) "thirteenth."

teloka-dhamma-dhurū-vaha (G, l. 1)=Skt. *trailōkyā-dharma-dhurā-vaha*, an epithet of the Buddha.

thambha in *sela-thambha* (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *stambha*, Pali *thambha* "a pillar, a column, a stele."

thera, combined with personal names (F, ll. 3-4; H, l. 14)=Skt. *sthavira*, Pali *thera*, "a senior monk, an elder."

theriya (F, l. 1), derived from *thera*, adj. "belonging to *theras*," subst. "fraternity, community."

darisana (F, l. 1)=Skt. *darśana*, Pali *dassana*. Cf. Pischel, *Grammatic*, §135.

dasabala-mahābala (F, l. 1)=Skt. *daśabala-mahābala*, an epithet of the Buddha.

dināri-māsaka (B 5, l. 6); Skt. *dīnāra*, from Latin *denarius*, "an Indian coin struck in imitation of and called after the Roman Denarius" and Skt. *māsha(ka)*, "a certain weight and monetary value." *Manu* VIII, 135, 298, 392.

divasa (E, l. 2)=Skt. *divasa*. Elsewhere (C 2, l. 11) abbreviated as *diva*.

Dīgha-Majhima-pa[n]cha-mātuka-desaka-vāchaka, and *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dhara* (C 1, ll. 11-12 and C 2, ll. 9-10); corrected reading. Cf. *Vinaya-dhara* and *Mahāvīnaya-dhara* in Amarāvati inscriptions. Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 37, No. VIII, and p. 102, No. 25. The word *-dhara* in these compounds must have the same meaning as Arabic *ḥāfiẓ* "one who has the whole Qur'ān by heart."

duhutā (B, l. 3)=Skt. *duhitā* "a daughter", gen., instr. sing., *dhūtuya*, (F, l. 3; H, l. 9).

deva-manusa-sava-sata-hita-sukha-maga-desika (F, l. 1)=Skt. *dēva-manushya-sarva-sattva-hita-sukha-mārga-dēśika*, an epithet of the Buddha.

devarāja-sakata (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim)=Skt. *dēvarāja-sakrīta*, an epithet of the Buddha. *-desaka* (C 1, l. 11 "osaka"; C 2, l. 9 "desa") "a preacher".

Dhanaka (B 2, l. 4), a clan name.

Dhamma (K, l. 1)=Skt. *Dharma*, a personal name.

Dhamma[ghosa] (H, l. 14)=Skt. *Dharmaghōsha*, a personal name.

Dhammanandī (F, l. 4), i.e., *Dhammanandī*, a personal name.

dhātuvara-parigahita (B 4, l. 3, etc., passim)=Skt. *dhātuvara-parigrahita* "absorbed by the best of elements (*dhātu*), i.e., by Nirvāṇa".¹

natu (K) in *sanatuka*, i.e., *sanattuka*=Skt. *sanaptrika*.

nattī (H, l. 8)=Skt. *naptṛī*, "a grand-daughter".

¹ The above interpretation I owe to the courtesy of M. L. de la Vallée Poussin, who adds: "If the inscriptions belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas, a conjectural explanation of *dhātuvara* as *Dharmadhātu* would not be excluded. The *Dharmadhātu* was sometimes a kind of Buddhist Brahman for the followers of the Mahāyāna."

[To me it does not appear to be impossible that the *Mahāchetiya* has been specified in these inscriptions as 'protected by the corporeal remains of the Buddha' and that the genitive case is used here to discriminate this *stūpa* from others not similarly consecrated. Inscription E gives *dhātu-pari* only.—Ed.]

navakama and *navakamma* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11; F, l. 3)=Skt. *navakarma*, Pali *navakamma*, "a religious building dedicated by some lay-member to the Saṅgha". The procedure by which a superintendent of works (*navakammika*) is appointed by the chapter of *Bhikkhus* in order to supervise the construction of a *navakamma* is described in *Chullavagga* VI, 5=*Vinaya Piṭakam* (ed. Oldenberg), Vol. II, pp. 159 f. (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XX, pp. 189 ff.). "If the buildings were for the *Bhikkhus*, then a *Bhikkhu*, if for the *Bhikkhunīs*, then a *Bhikkhunī*, was appointed to superintend the works in order to ensure the buildings being in accordance with the rules of the Order as to size, form, and object of the various apartments". Cf. also *Sutta-vibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhuni-vibhaṅga* I, 1=*Vinaya Piṭakam*, Vol. IV, p. 211. The word *navakamma* frequently occurs in dedicatory inscriptions.

navakammika (F, l. 3) "a *Bhikkhu* or *Bhikkhunī* appointed by the Chapter as a superintendent of the building operations of a *navakamma*, (see preceding article). Cf. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 154, 773, 987 and 1250. A synonymous term is *kamm-ādhiṭṭhāyaka*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXX, 98.

Nākā (K)=Skt. *Nāgā*, a personal name.

Nāga (F, l. 4)=Skt. *Nāga*, a personal name.

Nāgotara (J, l. 1), a personal name.

Nāgamna (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Nyābodhinikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

nāga-śeṣa-samanāgata (E, l. 2) "assembled (?) from various countries".

nīkapanika (E, l. 2); a word of uncertain meaning.

nīhapita or *nīthapita* (C 1, l. 12; C 2, l. 11), Pali *nīthāpita*, past participle of *nīthāpeti*, "to complete", *Mahāvamsa*, XXXI, 1, 2. Cf. Pali *nīthita* completed, *ihūpe anīthite yeva*, *Mahāvamsa*, XXIX, 53; *ihūpe anīthitān kammaṃ nīthāpeti* *ibid.*, XXXII, 2.

nivāṇa-sampatti-sampādake (A 3, l. 9, etc., passim)=Skt. *nivāṇa-sampatti-sampādakē*. *pañchama* (E, l. 2) "fifth".

paṭā (J, l. 2 and K) "a slab." Frequently in *Amarāvati* inscriptions; see Lüders, *List*, *Index*. Also in compound *sapaṭa-samhara* (F, l. 2), "with a floor of (stone) slabs".

paṭibhāga (A 2, ll. 6-7, etc., passim) in compound *samaṇa-bumhāṇa*. The word corresponds with Skt. *pratibhāga*,¹ Pali *paṭibhāga*=counterpart, likeness. But the word wanted here is *apaṭibhāga*, Pali *appaṭibhāga* "unequaled, unparalleled, matchless."

paṭihāpita (A 3, l. 9), i.e., *paṭihāpita*, Skt. *pratishāpita* "erected, set up, dedicated".

Paduma (K)=Skt. *Padma*, a personal name.

Padumavāni (J, l. 1), a personal name.

Padamā (K)=Skt. *Padmā*, a personal name.

padhāna-sālā (F, l. 3)=Skt. *pradhāna-sālā*, "a hall for practising religious exercises", from Pali *padhāna* "exertion, energetic effort, striving, concentration of mind". Cf. *padhāna-ma[mā]vo* in *Amarāvati* inscriptions. Burgess, *Amarāvati Stūpa*, p. 105, No. 49; Lüders, *List*, No. 1230 and correction, p. 179.

parigaha (E, l. 2)=Skt. *parigraha*, Pali *pariggaha*, "grace, favour."

parigaha or *parigaha* in *dhātuvāra-parigaha* (q.v.) and *Vīriyapāṭhāpāṭi Mahāsena-parigaha* (q.v.). The meaning of *parigaha* in these two compounds appears to be "absorbed by".

¹ [But Skt. *pratibhāga* means 'gift' or 'share' also.—Ed.]

² ["protected by"—Ed.]

parināmetuna[n] passim, *absolutivum* of *parināmeti*=Skt. *pariṇāmayati*, Pali *pariṇāmeṣi* (caus. of *pariṇamati*) "to bend to, to change into, to turn to use for somebody, to apportion, to destine." *Mahādevi Bapisirīṇikā apāno mātaraṃ Haṃmasirīṇikāṃ parināmetuna* (C 2, l. 7) and *Mahādevi Chhaṭhisirī apāno mātaraṃ Haṃmasirīṇikāṃ parināmetuna* (C 4, l. 7). It is clear that *parināmetuna* is used here in the same sense as *purato katūnaṃ* in the Jaggayyapeta inscriptions: *apāno mātaraṃ Nāgalinīṃ purato katūnaṃ* "having associated [with him] his mother Nāgalini" (Bühler). In the expression *apāno ubhaya-kūlaṃ parināmetuna* (B 2, l. 5; C 1, l. 8; C 5, l. 4) it is also used with the object in the accusative. Elsewhere we find *apāno ubhaya-kūḷasa atichhitam-anāgata-vaṭamānake* or *vaṭamānakānaṃ* in which the connection with the *absolutivum parināmetuna* is not clear. Cf. Buddhist Skt. *pariṇāmayati* (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, pp. 81 and 309).

pavajita (E, l. 1), *i.e.*, *pavajita*,=Skt. *pravajita*, Pali *pabbajita*.

pas[ā]daka (E, l. 1)=Skt. *prasādaka*, Pali *pasādaka* "converting to the Buddhist faith".
pāsāda in *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda* (F, l. 3) *q.v.*

pituchhā (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, passim)=Pali *pituchhā*: "a father's sister, a paternal aunt".
(Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 148.)

pituno (F, l. 2) gen. sing.=Skt. *pituh*.

puva-dāra (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *puva-dāra*=Skt. *pūrva-dvāra* "the eastern gate or entrance". The word *dāra* is frequently met with in Amarāvati inscriptions. Cf. Lüders, *List*, *Index*, under *dvāra*.

puva-dīpī-bhōga (F, l. 2)=Skt. *pūrva-dīpī-bhōga*.

Pūkiya, *Pukiya* (A 2, l. 6; C 3, l. 7; C 5, l. 2), *Pugiya* (E, l. 1), a clan name.
Bapisirīṇikā (C 2, l. 6), a personal name. Cf. Bapisiri in Lüders, *List*, No. 1213 (Amarāvati inscription) and names like Bappuka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 282), Bappārya (*Gupta Insors.*, p. 243), Bappasvāmin (*ibidem*, p. 105) and Bāppadēva (*ibidem*, p. 249), Bappikā (*Rājat.* VII, 1128).

Bahusūtiya (G, l. 8)=Skt. *Bahusrutīya*, Pali *Bahussūtiya*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Gōkulika sect which belonged to the Mahāsāṅghikas.
Cf. M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 6 and 21.

bālikā (B 4, l. 3; B 5, l. 3 *ex conjectura*; C 2, l. 6; C 4, l. 5).

Budhaṇṇikā (F, l. 3), a personal name.

Budhaṇṇikī[nā] (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Budhā (K), a personal name.

Budhinaka (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Budhi[vā]siya (F, l. 2), a personal name.

Bodhi (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhi*, a personal name.

Bodhika (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhika*, a personal name.

Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda (F, l. 3)=Skt. *Bōdhi-ṛukṣa-prāsāda*, Pali *Bodhi-rukha-pāsāda*, "a shrine of the Bodhi-tree." G. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 212.

Bodhisamna (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhisamaṇa*, a personal name. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1200.

Bodhisiri (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Bōdhisirī*, a personal name.

Bhaginī (A 3, l. 5, *etc.*, passim), instr. sing. *Bhaginīyā* (H, l. 10)=Skt. *Bhaginī* "sister".
Bhagamānānandena (C 1, l. 12) and *Bhagamānānandena* (C 2, l. 10)=Skt. *Bhagamānānandena* "by the Reverend Ananda".

Bhāṭidevā (G, l. 7), a personal name.

- bhatuno*, gen. sing. (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhartuḥ*.
- Bhada* (F, l. 2), *i.e.*, *Bhadu*=Skt. *Bhadra*, a personal name.
- Bhadasiri* (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Bhaddasiri*=Skt. *Bhadrasri*, a personal name.
- bhariyā* (A 2, l. 6, *etc.*, *passim*) and *bhayā* (B 2, l. 4; B 4, l. 5)=Skt. *bhāryā*, Pali *bhariyā*.
- bhāginēya* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhāginēya*, "a sister's son".
- bhātuno* (F, l. 3) gen. sing.=Skt. *bhrātūḥ*; *bhātunam*, gen. plur.=Skt. *bhrātṛiṇām*.
- bhātu-puta* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *bhrātṛi-putra*, "a brother's son".
- Majhima-nikāya*, see *Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya*.
- mañṭava*, *mañḍava* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *mañḍapa*.
- Mahākāṁdasiri* (C 5, l. 2), a personal name. Cf. *Kāṁdasiri*.
- mahāgaṇi-vasabha-gaṁdha-hathi* (A 2, l. 2, *etc.*, *passim*)=Skt. *mahāgaṇi-vrishulha-gaṁdha-hastin*, an epithet of the Buddha. For *mahāgaṇi* cf. *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 30.
- Mahā-Chaṁdamukha* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Chandramukha*, a personal name.
- Mahāchetiya* and *Mahāchetiā* (A 2, l. 3, *etc.*, *passim*)=Skt. *Mahāchaitya*, "Great Chaitya," loc. sing. *Mahāchetiyāṁhi* (C 4, l. 2, *ex conjectura*).
- mahātavalara* (A 2, l. 6, *etc.*, *passim*), a title of uncertain meaning, evidently denoting "a high dignitary or a feudal lord". See above, p. 6.
- mahātavalari* (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, *passim*), "the wife of a *mahātavalara*".
- mahādāṁḍanāyaka* (B 2, l. 4)=Skt. *mahādāṁḍanāyaka* "a high, probably judicial, official". Cf. *J. R. A. S.*, 1924, p. 402.
- mahādānapatini* (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, *passim*)=Skt. **mahādānapatnī* "a mistress of munificence" an epithet of Chāṁtisiri. Cf. *mahādānapati* in Taxila plate inscription. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 56.
- mahādevī* (B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 6; G, l. 7; H, l. 11), a title borne by the consort of a ruling chief.
- mahādhammakāthika* (H, l. 14)=Skt. *mahādharma-kāthika* "a great preacher of the Law." Cf. Burgess, *Amaravati Stupa*, p. 94.
- mahābhikkhu-saṅgha* (E, l. 1), *i.e.*, *mahābhikkhu-saṅgha*.
- mahāmātukā* (F, l. 2). Cf. Pali *mahāmātā* "a grandmother".
- Mahā-Mūla* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *Mahā-Mūla*, a personal name.
- mahāvihāra* (B 5, l. 5; F, l. 3).
- mahāsenāpati* (A 3, l. 7, *etc.*, *passim*)=Skt. *mahāsenāpati*, lit. "Commander-in-Chief" but here used as a title designating a feudal lord. According to the late Dr. Fleet it "denotes equal rank with Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta." (*Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 15, n.). See above, p. 6.
- mahāsenāpatini* (B 4, l. 5), Skt. **mahāsenāpatnī* "the wife of a *mahāsenāpati*".
- Mah[sā]saka* (G, l. 12), Skt. *Mahisāsaka*, Pali *Mahisāsaka*, name of a Buddhist sect. It was a subdivision of the Theravādins and appears to have flourished in the Āndhra country. Cf. M. Walleser, *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, pp. 7 and 22.
- Māḍharīputa* (A 2, l. 5, *etc.*, *passim*) and *Māḍharīputa* (E, l. 1; F, l. 1; H, l. 8)=Skt. *Māḍharīputra*, metronymic of Sīri-Vīrapurisadāta.
- mātū* (A 5, l. 7, *etc.*, *passim*) "mother", acc. sing. *mātaram* (C 2, l. 7; C 4, l. 7) instr. and gen. sing. *mātūya* (F, l. 2; G, l. 7).
- mātuka*, see *pañcha-mātuka*.
- Misi* (F, l. 3), *i.e.*, *Missi*=Skt. *Misri*, a personal name.

- Mūla* (F, l. 3), a personal name.
- Mūlanīkū* (F, l. 3), a personal name.
- Mūlavānīya* (F, l. 2), a personal name.
- Rudradharabhāt[ā]rikā* (B 5, l. 3)=Skt. *Rudradharabhāttārikā*, a personal name of a queen, probably belonging to the ruling house of Ujjayinī. See above, p. 4.
- Revata* (F, l. 2), a personal name.
- Revatinīkū* (F, l. 2), a personal name.
- vaḍhāki* (F, l. 4)=Skt. *vardhaki*, Pali *vaḍḍhaki*, Hindi *barhāi*, "a carpenter, builder, architect, mason." Cf. *vaḍhaki* in Karle inscription, Lüders, *List*, No. 1092 and *vaḍakin* in Sānchi inscription, *ibidem*, No. 495. In inscr. F, l. 4 the word occurs in the compound *sela-vaḍhāki*=Skt. *śāla-wardhaki*, "a stone-mason." Cf. Pali *ipphakā-vaḍḍhaki* "a brick-mason," *Mahāvamsa* XXIX, 5, 30 and A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 272.
- vaṇija(ka)* (A 3, l. 6, etc., passim)=Buddhist Sanskrit *vanīyaka*, *vanīpaka* "a beggar, a mendicant." Examples: *Dēva na hy-ēsha Kunālō=ndhaka ēsha vanīpakaḥ patnyā saha dēvasya yānasūlāyām=avashitah*, *Divyāvadāna*, p. 414, l. 18; *Mahākūśyapō dīn-ānūtha-kripana-vanīyak-ānukampī*, *Divy.*, p. 83, l. 19; *brāhmaṇam vā śramaṇam vā anyam v-āpi, vanīyakam*, *Mahāvastu*, Vol. I, p. 188, l. 14.
- vathava* (C 1, l. 11; F, l. 2), i.e. *vathavva*=Skt. *vāstavya* "residing at".
- vāchaka* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 9, restored), "a preacher".
- Vāsīḥiputa* (A 2, l. 3, etc., passim) and *Vāseḥiputa* (G, l. 5; H, ll. 7 and 9), i.e., *Vāsīḥiputta*=Skt. *Vāsīḥīputra*, metronymic of Siri-Chāmtamūla, Kamdasiri, *Kharidachalikiremaṇaka* (?) (B 4, l. 4) and Siri-Ehuvala-Chāmtamūla (H, l. 9).
- Vīṇhusiri* (C 5, l. 3)=Skt. *Vishṇusrī*, a personal name. Cf. *Vīnhukā* in Sānchi inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 95.
- Vīdhika* (F, l. 4), a personal name.
- Virūpakshaputi-Mahāsena-parigahita* (A 2, l. 3, etc., passim)=Skt. *Virūpākshaputi-Mahāsēna-parigrihita*, an epithet of Siri-Chāmtamūla. In the *Milindapañha*, pp. 6 ff., Mahāsēna figures as a *devaputta* who becomes incarnate in the sage Nāgasēna.
- vihāra* (F, l. 2; G, l. 8; H, l. 11), "a monastery".
- Viramna* (F, l. 3), a personal name.
- Vira[n]nikū* (F, l. 3), a personal name.
- velāmi(ka)* (B 3, l. 7, etc., passim; once *vailāmika* A 4, l. 7) in compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-°*. The word appears to be an adjective meaning, "belonging to Velāma." Buddha (*Jātaka*, Vol. I, p. 228; Cambridge translation, Vol. I, p. 101) refers to the time of Velāma when he (Buddha) "stirred up all India by giving the seven things of price, and in [his] largesse poured them forth as though [he] had made into one mighty stream the five great rivers." He then preached the *Velāmaka-Sutta* (*Velāmaka-Suttam kathesi*) which is also mentioned in *Suman-gala-Vilāsini*, Vol. I, p. 234, l. 11. It would seem, that Velāma was a legendary personage renowned in Buddhist tradition for his munificence like Vessantara with whom his name is combined in *Vibhaṅgaṭṭha-kathā*, p. 414, l. 6. Mr. Helmer Smith has drawn my attention to a passage in *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, Vol. IV, pp. 394-396 where the Buddha praises the liberality of a Brahmin Velāma with whom he identifies himself in a previous birth.
- vochhina*, i.e., *vochchhinna* (A 2, l. 7, etc., passim) in compound *samaṇa-bamhaṇa-°*=Skt. *vyavachchhinna*, past participle of *vyavachchhinatti*, passive *vyavachchhidīyatē*, Pali

- vochhijate* "to be cut off". The word wanted here evidently is *avochhina*, Pali *abbochchhinna*, *abbhochchhinna* "not cut off, uninterrupted, continuous".
- samvachhara* (E, l. 2)=Skt. *samvatsara*, "a year". Elsewhere (A 3, l. 9, etc., passim) abbreviated as *samva*, or *sam* (E, l. 2).
- sata* (F, l. 3), i.e., *satta*,=Skt. *sapta*, "seven".
- satari-satam* (B 5, l. 6), i.e., *sattari-satam* "one hundred and seventy." Cf. Pischel, *Grammatik*, § 60.
- samihara* in *sapaṭa-samiharam* (F, l. 2)=Skt. *sanstara*, Pali *santhara*, *santhāra* "a layer, stratum, couch, flooring". Cf. *Mahāvamsa* XXX, 70.
- samaṇa-bamaṇa-kavaṇa-varijja[ka]-dān-ānugaha-velāmi[ka]-dāna-paṭibhāga-vochhina-dhāra-padāyini* (A 3, ll. 6-7, etc., passim)=Skt. *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-kriṣaṇa-vanijyaka-dān-ānugriha-vailāmika-dān-āpratibhāg-avyavachhinna-dhāra-pradāyini*, an epithet of Chāṁtisiri. Cf. above, under *kavaṇa*, *varijja(ka)*, *velāmi(ka)*, *paṭibhāga*, and *vochhina*.
- samma-sambudha* (A 2, l. 1)=Skt. *samyak-sambuddha*, Pali *sammā-sambuddha* "perfectly enlightened, a universal Buddha".
- samuthapīyamāna* (B 5, l. 6)=Skt. *samutthāpyamāna*, present participle passive of *samutthāpayati*, Pali *samutthāpeti* "to found, originate".
- sarada-sasi-soma-darisana* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *śārada-śasi-saumya-darsana*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- savamānu*, gen. *savamānuno* (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim)=Skt. *sarvajña*, Pali *sabbamānu* "omniscient", an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-niyuta* (E, l. 2; F, l. 2; cf. *sava-jāta(?)*-*niyuta* G, l. 8), i.e., *savva-niyutta*=Skt. *sarva-niyukta*.
- sava-loka-chita-mahita* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-lōka-chitta-mahita*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-loka-hita-sukh-āvahathanāya* (C 1, l. 9; C 3, l. 12), cf. *ubhaya-loka-hita*.
- sava-sat-ānukampaka* (A 2, l. 1, etc., passim), i.e., *savva-satt-ānukampaka*=Skt. *sarva-sattv-ānukampaka*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- sava-sādhu-vachhalā* (A 3, l. 7, etc., passim)=Skt. *sarva-sādhu-vatsalā*, an epithet of Chāṁtisiri.
- [*sā*]dhu-vaga (F, l. 3), i.e., *sādhu-vagga*=Skt. *sādhu-varga*.
- Siri-Ehuvala-(Ehuvuḷa)-Chātamūla* (G, l. 7, H, ll. 3 and 10), a personal name.
- Siri-Chāntamūla* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim), a personal name. Sometimes *Chātumūla*.
- Siri-Virapurisadatta* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) -*Vīra-* (E, l. 2 and G, l. 6)=Skt. *Śrī-Vīra-purushadatta*, a personal name.
- sumhā* (F, l. 3, G, l. 5)=Skt. *snushā*, Pali *sunisā*, *sunhā* "a daughter-in-law."
- supabudha-bodhi* (B 5, l. 1)=Skt. *suprabuddha-bōdhi*, an epithet of the Buddha.
- suparigaha* (F, l. 1; H, l. 11)=Skt. *suparigraha*, "grace, acceptance".
- suparigahita* (C 1, l. 10; C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *suparigrihita*, Pali *supariggahita*, "well favoured, graced, i.e., accepted by."
- sela-khambha* (B 4, l. 6; B 5, l. 4; C 2, l. 8; C 5, l. 5)=Skt. *śaila-skambha* "a stone pillar." Cf. above, under *khambha*.
- sela-thambha* (C 2, l. 8)=Skt. *śaila-stambha*, "a stone pillar." Cf. above, under *thambha*.
- sela-mamḍava* (E, l. 2) and *sela-mamḍava* (F, l. 3)=Skt. *śaila-maṇḍapa*, "a stone shrine".
- sela-vaḍhāki* (F, l. 4); see above, under *vaḍhāki*.
- sōdarā-bhagini* (A 2, l. 5, etc., passim) and once *sahodar[ā]-bhagini* (E, l. 2) "a sister born from the same womb"; gen. sing. *sodarāya bhaginiya* (C 2, l. 5).
- soṃma* (F, l. 1)=Skt. *saumya*, Pali *somma*.

Hagasiri (J, l. 1), a personal name. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1284.

Haghamna (F, l. 2), from Skt. *saṅgha* (?), a personal name.

Haṅgha, i.e., *Haṅgha*, =Skt. *Saṅgha*, in personal names. Cf. Lüders, *List*, Nos. 1240, 1262, 1271, 1272, 1274, 1281.

Hammasirīnikā (C 2, ll. 5 and 7; C 4, ll. 5 and 7) or *Hammasiri* (C 4, l. 5), a personal name.

harisa (F, l. 1) =Skt. *harsha*.

Hiraññaka, i.e., *Hiraññaka* (B 4, l. 4), a clan name.

hirañña-koti-go-satasahasa-hala-satasahasa-padāyī (A 2, l. 4, etc., passim); see *aneka-hirañña-koti*^o.

Hugha (K, l. 1) =Skt. *Sukha* (?), a personal name.

hemanta-pakha (E, l. 2; F, l. 1) =Skt. *hēmanta-paksha*.

Geographical names.

Avarānta (F, l. 1), i.e., *Avaranta*, Skt. *Aparānta(ka)*, Pali *Aparanta(ka)*, a country of the Western coast of the Peninsula, corresponding to the Northern Konkan, the capital of which was *Sōpārā*, the ancient *Śūrparāka*.¹ Aparanta is mentioned in Rock-Edict V of Aśoka in connection with the appointment of *dhammamahāmātas*, in Nāsik Cave III inscr. among the dominions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 60) and in the Junāgaḍh rock-inscription of Rudradāman. It was converted by Yonaka-Dhammarakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 7. *Mahāvamsa* XII, 4 and 34. Cf. also *Milinda*. p. 331, Lüders, *List*, Nos. 965, 1013 A[pa]rāntikā (?), 1123. Skt. *Aparāntaka*. Cf. *Raghu*. IV, 53.

¹ *Ujenikā* (B 5, l. 3, ex conjectura for "Ujanikā"), i.e., *Ujjenikā*, adj. from *Ujjeni*, Skt. *Ujjayinī*, Pali *Ujjenī*, Gr. Ὀζήνη (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 63), modern Ujjain, a famous town in Central India.

Kaṁṭakasela (F, l. 3, ex conjectura for "Kaṁṭakasola"), i.e., *Kaṁṭakasela*, Skt. *Kaṁṭakaśaila*, Gr. Καντακοςούλα ἐμπόριον (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 15) a town in Maisolia. See above, p. 8.

Kasmira (F, l. 1) Skt. *Kāsmīra*, Pali *Kasmira*, modern Kashmir, a country in the Western Himālaya. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

Gandhāra (F, l. 1), i.e., *Gandhāra*, Skt. Pali *Gandhāra*, the Trans-Indus country and the district of Taxila. Converted by Majjhantika, *Dīpav.* VIII, *Mahāv.* XII.

Govagāma (F, l. 2), Skt. *Gōpagrāma* (?). The ancient name of the town Goa on the West Coast is Govapurī, Skt. *Gōpakapurī*. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 117. *Jour. Bombay Hist. Soc.*, Vol. I, pp. 220 f.), but here some other locality appears to be meant.

Chilāta (F, l. 1), Skt. *Kirāta*, Mahārāshṭrī *Chilāda*, *Chilāa*, Ardhamāgadhī *Chilāya*, Gr. Κιρράδα (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 2), Κιρραδία (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 16) and Τιλάδα (Ptolemy, VII, 2, 15), an un-Aryan tribe frequently mentioned in Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Milinda*. pp. 327 and 331. (Read *Chilāta* instead of *Vilāta*).

Chinda (F, l. 1, coupled with *Chilāta*), name of a country and its inhabitants.

Chula-Dhammagiri (F, l. 2), see *Dhammagiri*.

¹ Cf. Jarl Charpentier *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, pp. 111 sq. and *ibid.*, 1928, p. 410.

- Chhadakapavat[ī]cha* (J, l. 1), perhaps an adjective from *Chhadakapavata*. Cf. [*Chhada*]-*kicha* "an inhabitant of Chhadaka" (?) Lüders, *List*, No. 1220 (Amarāvati).
- Tambapam̄hi-dīpa*, i.e., *Tambapam̄hi-dīpa* and adj. *Tambapam̄haka* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Tāmapararna-dvīpa*, Gr. *Ταπροβάνη* (Ptolemy, VII, 4, 1), the Island of Ceylon.
- Tosali* (F, l. 1), a country and town on the coast of Kaliṅga, mentioned in the two separate Rock-Edicts of Dhaulī and two copper-plate inscriptions from the Cuttack district (*Ep. Ind.*, Vols. IX, p. 286 and XV, p. 1); *Τωσάλη μητρόπολις* erroneously located by Ptolemy (VII, 2, 23) in Trans-Gangetic India. Perhaps identical with *Δωσάρα* (Ptolemy, VII, i, 77) and *Δωσαρηνή* (*Periplus*, 47). Cf. above, p. 7.
- Damila* (F, l. 1, reading uncertain), Skt. *Draviḍa*, Pali *Damiḷa*, the Tamil country and people on the coast of Coromandel.
- Devagiri* (F, l. 3), a hill (?), site of a *padhāna-sālā* founded by Bodhisiri.
- Dhammagiri* (*Mahā-* and *Chula-* in F, ll. 2 and 3), i.e., *Dhammagiri* Skt. *Dharmagiri*, a hill. The Chula-Dhammagiri was the site of a monastery, where Bodhisiri founded the *chetiya-ghara* or apsidal shrine mentioned in inscr. F. It appears, therefore, to be the ancient name of the hill now known as Naharā]labōḍu.
- Parṇagāma* (C 1, l. 11; C 2, l. 10), i.e., *Parṇagāma*, Skt. *Parṇagrāma* (?), a village.
- Papilā* (F, l. 3), a locality.
- [*Pa*]tura (F, l. 1, first syllable restored), a town in Kaliṅga, identified with Dantapura (S. Lévi, *J. A.*, Vol. CCVI, 1925, pp. 46 ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, pp. 94 ff.). Ptolemy mentions *Παλούρα πόλις ἐν Γαγγητικῷ κόλπῳ* (I, 5, 16) and *Πάλουρα πόλις* at the western-most mouth of the Ganges.
- Pupphagiri* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Pupphagiri*, Skt. *Pushpagiri* ("Flower Mountain"), a hill (?), site of a *sela-manḍava* or stone shrine founded by Bodhisiri.
- Puvaseḷa* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Puvaseḷa*, Skt. *Pūrvaśaḷa* ("Eastern Mountain"), a hill.
- Mahā-Dhammagiri* (F, l. 3), see *Dhammagiri*.
- Yava[na]* (F, l. 1), Skt. *Yavana*, Pali *Yona*, designation originally of the Greeks (Ionians), subsequently of other foreign nations. Converted by Mahārakkhita, *Dīpav.* VIII, 9, *Mahāv.* XII, 5 and 39-40. Cf. *Saka-Yavane* in *Milinda*. pp. 327 and 331.
- Vaṅga* (F, l. 3), i.e., *Vaṅga*, Skt. and Pali *Vaṅga*, modern Bengal.
- Vanavāsi* (F, l. 1) and *Vānavāsaka* (H, l. 10), Skt. and Pali *Vanavāsa*, Gr. *Βαναβάσι* (Ptolemy, VII, 1, 83), a country corresponding to North Kanara. The village of Banavāsi is situated in latitude 14° 33', longitude 75° 5' in the Shimoga district of the Mysore State. It lies close to the border of Mysore territory and North Kanara. Vanavāsa was converted to Buddhism by Rakkhita. *Mahāv.* XII, 4. Cf. also *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 117. *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* V, 23 (ed. Bühler), p. 34; *Mahāvamsa* XII, 31, XXIX, 42.
- Vijayapurī* (F, l. 2), a town (?) to the east of which the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri was situated. Cf. Lüders, *List*, No. 1285.
- Siripavata* (F, l. 2), i.e., *Siripavata*, Skt. *Śrīparvata*, a mountain, apparently the site of a *vihāra* or monastery mentioned in connection with the apsidal temple founded by Bodhisiri. See above, p. 9.
- Sihāḷa* in *Sihāḷa-vihāru* (F, l. 3), the Singhalese or Ceylonese Monastery, where Bodhisiri had founded a *Bodhi-rukka-pāsāda* or "Shrine of the Bodhi-tree."
- Hirumuḷhuvā* (F, l. 3), a locality.

TWO ADDITIONAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA.

BY J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

After the above paper had been completed, Mr. Longhurst sent me estampages of two more inscriptions discovered by him in the course of his excavations at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Both are found incised on sculptures.

One of these inscriptions occurs on a 'footprint slab.' It consists of one line of writing and comprises twenty-three *aksharas*, the concluding letter being written below the line owing to want of space. The *aksharas* measure from $\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. The lettering is distinct, except some of the vowel-marks. It will be observed that the inscription is crossed by a series of nine vertical lines which possibly have some connection with the footprint carved on the slab.

The inscription records the donation of a *patipadā*. It would follow that this word, corresponding to Sanskrit *pratipadā*, ought to indicate the object on which the inscription is engraved. The technical term, however, by which a footprint slab is indicated in the Amarāvati inscriptions, is *paduka-paṭṭa* (i.e., *pāduka-paṭṭa*), or *pātuka*¹, *patuka* (i.e., *pāduka*).

The donor was Budhi (i.e., Buddhi), the sister of Moda, the Saka. If this interpretation is correct, the mention of a Saka or Scythian is a point of special interest. In this connection it should be noted that among the sculptures excavated by Mr. Longhurst at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two showing a warrior in Scythian dress.

In the word *bukiniya* corresponding to Sanskrit *bhaginyāḥ* we note a disaspiration of the initial consonant and a hardening of the *media ga* into *ka*.

TRANSCRIPT.

Sid[dhamā] Sakasa Modasa bak[i]n[i]ya Budh[i]ya pat[i]padā deyadhama

TRANSLATION.

Success! A *patipadā*, the pious gift of Budhi, the sister of Moda, the Scythian.

The second inscription occurs on a carved stone slab. It consists of only three *aksharas* which I read:

Dhamasa

meaning "Of Dhama". Whether this is the name of the donor or the mason, it is impossible to decide.

No. 2.—NALANDA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF YASOVARMADEVA.

BY HIRANANDA SASTRI.

The inscription which forms the subject of this paper was excavated at Nālandā, the well-known ancient site of Magadha, by Mr. J. A. Page in the official year 1925-26.¹ It was found buried in the debris of the southern verandah of the old *vihāra*—now called Monastery I—which has yielded not only a large number of bronze or copper images of various kinds and the very valuable copper-plate inscription of Dēvapāladēva that has been published above,² but also the earliest remains so far discovered at Nālandā.

This interesting document is engraved on the top bed of a stone capital-bracket and covers a space of $17\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 11 inches. It consists of twenty-one lines of writing and, excepting

¹ See *A. S. R.*, 1925-26, pp. 131 & 158.² Vol. XVII, plate between pp. 320 and 321.

for a crack at the middle, is fairly well-preserved. The execution is neat and calligraphic. The record is a *praśasti* drawn in florid Sanskrit and, but for the initial symbol and the words *apī cha* coming between the sixth and the seventh stanzas, is entirely in verse. The characters, in which it is written, belong to the northern class of alphabets and present a very marked development in contrast with those of the contemporary and even somewhat later inscriptions which have been found in Northern and Eastern India. They largely resemble the characters of the Aphaś stone inscription of Ādityasēna¹ and would, thereby, indicate that the development, we notice in them, must have taken place not later than the first half of the sixth century of the Christian era, *i.e.*, the time to which this inscription belongs. Till now, the Gayā inscription of A.D. 588-89 was considered to be the earliest inscription to illustrate such forms. But the epigraph under publication is decidedly anterior to that record and, therefore, becomes the earliest known inscription to represent that development. The alphabet to which these characters belong may well be called acute-angled (Bühler)² or *Siddhamātrikā* (Berūnī)³ in preference to the term 'nail-headed' or '*kuṭīla*'. Dēvanāgarī is an outgrowth of this *lipi*. The present record uses the bipartite form of *ya* throughout, as does the Bōdh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman.⁴ Nālandā is not far off from Bōdh-Gayā. This epigraph, therefore, will not countenance the supposition that the use of the bipartite *ya* in the Mahānāman inscription was "premature." The tripartite form of *ya* is found even in the Udaypur inscription of Aparājita,⁵ which belongs to the *Samvat* year 718 (=A.D. 661). It is to be met with not only in the inscriptional records named above, but also in the Horiuzi palm-leaf manuscripts of Japan which are believed to have existed in the second half of the 6th century (A.D.). To regard an inscription as late or early merely on the ground that it uses the bipartite or the tripartite form of *ya* would not, consequently, be quite accurate. The alphabet used in this inscription is, to a large extent, identical with the modern Dēvanāgarī or Nāgarī. The chief points of difference which it presents are these: The *ā-mātrā* is generally indicated by a sort of small wedge attached to the right of the top line, whereas in Nāgarī it is expressed by a full perpendicular stroke. In the case of *ṛā*, however, a somewhat different mode is adopted by slightly bending the right end and extending it upwards beyond the top towards the right side. The *ū-mātrā* is slightly different in shape, as, *e.g.*, in *bhūri*⁶, l. 2. The *ē-mātrā* is marked in two different ways, sometimes in an elongated form of the Nāgarī symbol with a bend at about the middle, as in *dēhinām*, l. 1, and sometimes by a short curve appended to the left of the top line of the *akshara* to which it belongs, as in *°ārthinē*, l. 1, or in *karēṇa*, l. 21. Similarly, the *ai-mātrā* is expressed in two ways. In *°ś=ch=aiśha*, occurring in the penultimate line, it is practically similar to the Nāgarī symbol, whereas in the majority of cases it is expressed by the hook-like mark attached to the left of the top line and the slanting *ē-mātrā*, as, *e.g.*, in *°uchchaiḥ*, l. 21. The *ō-mātrā* is shown by the symbols of the *ā* and the *ē-mātrās* combined, see, for instance, *°mōkshāya* and *yō* in l. 1. The *au-mātrā* is also different, *e.g.*, see *°gaura*⁷ in l. 6, or *Sauddhōdanēr*⁸ in l. 9.

As to the initial vowels, only the *ā* and the *i* retain their comparatively earlier forms. The former keeps the hook attached to its leg as in *ādēsāt*⁹, l. 12, and the latter, the two small circles placed above the reversed créscent, as in *ity*¹⁰, l. 20.

In the case of consonants, the omission of the top line of the *sa*, the *ma* and the *ya* symbols is noteworthy. So, also, are the forms of the letters *bha*, *ha*, *gha* and *ja*. The symbol for *dha* is also dissimilar and still preserves the old form, as does the letter *tha*. The form of *r* in conjunction with a following consonant is also antique and noteworthy; *e.g.*, see *sĒndrair-yaḥ* in l. 1 or *°padārtha*¹¹ in l. 2.

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 42, plate XXVIII.

² *Indian Palaeography (Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII), p. 49.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, plate XLI A.

⁵ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 30.

In respect of **orthography**, the points which call for remark are (1) the use throughout of *v* for *b*, e.g., in *vōdhi*, ll. 15 and 17, or in *Vālāditya*, l. 19, and (2) the use of the *v*-like symbol for the conjunct *ñ*, as in *sarevāshñ=ṣanna*, l. 17.

The inscription contains two words of special lexical interest. One is *śāstā* which occurs in v. 14 and seems to be used in the sense of sword personified or command.¹ The other is *Tikina* which comes in the third stanza and must be a foreign title, as is shown below.

The inscription, as I have stated above, is a *prasaṣti* and its **object** is to record that **Mālāda, the son of the minister (mantrin) of Yaśōvarmmadēva**, made certain gifts, specified herein, to the temple which **king Bālāditya** had erected at **Nālandā** in honour of the 'Son of Śuddhōdana', i.e., the Buddha. It consists of fifteen beautiful stanzas written in three different metres, namely, Śāradūlavikrīḍitam, Vasantatilakā and Sragdharā and is a **Buddhist record**. Commencing with an invocation of the Buddha, it extols the great king Yaśōvarmmadēva as the *Lōkapāla* i.e., guardian of the world, who had risen like the sun after dispelling the darkness in the form of the enemies and after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings though, unfortunately, it does not mention the dynasty to which he belonged or the country over which he ruled. It, then, introduces the donor Mālāda and describes him as the wise, magnanimous, benevolent and victorious son of Yaśōvarmmadēva's minister, whom it calls the *Mārgapati* as well as *Udīchēpati* and *pradīta Tikina*, though it does not give his name or any other particulars about him. Mālāda is mentioned here as the brother of **Nirmmalā** (v. 11), son (*nandana*) of **Bandhumatī** and scion of a noble family, whose name is not stated. Giving a vivid description of the magnificent temple which king Bālāditya had built at Nālandā like a column of victory constructed after conquering the world (vv. 4-10), the inscription specifies the benefactions which the donor made for that sanctuary, as well as, for the *bhikṣus* or Buddhist monks. The gifts consisted of *ghṛa*, curds, a brilliant lamp, pure water mixed with fourfold fragrant objects (*chatur-jātaka*)² and refreshing like nectar, and a permanent endowment (*akshaya-nivē*), the nature of which has not been made quite clear. We are further informed that Mālāda distributed delicious food and scented water to the *bhikṣus* and, purchasing a *tuṅava* and other things from the 'revered *Saṅgha*' gave them back to the monks, herein called *Śākyāmaṅgas* ('the (*spiritual*) sons of the Buddha), excepting a *chivarikā* (monk's robe) and *śradhā*³ up to and beyond Narddarikā. The afore-mentioned gifts Mālāda brought himself out of his great devotion for the Buddha when he was 'awakened' or enlightened by the illustrious monk **Pūrṇpēndrasōna** and gave them to the monks for the welfare of his parents as well as of other relations. At the close of the inscription we are told that the *kīrti* should be respected not only because of the fear of committing the five sins (*pañcānuntarya*), which accrue from the infringement of such pious deeds, but, also, because of the fear of the sword¹ of king Bālāditya, the subduer of the enemy.

¹ See *Amarakōṣa*, *Śabdakalpadruma* and also Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary under Śāstri*. Or, does this word refer to an image of the Buddha (*Śāstā*) which might have been set up by Bālāditya in the temple he had built at Nālandā (see v. 6 of the text) ?

² The four fragrant articles are: (1) *Tvak*, i.e., *Bamboo manna*, (2) *Ēlā*, i.e., *Cardamom*, (3) *Patraka*, i.e., *Laurus Cassia* and (4) *Nāgakēsara*, or *Mesua Roxburghii*. Cf. *Rājanirghaṭṭa* and *Bhāvaprakāśa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* :—

Tvag-ēlā-patrakais=tulyais=tri-sugandhi tri-jātakam |
Nāgakēsara-samyuktam chatur-jātakam=uchyatē ||

³ The exact significance of this term is not clear. Possibly it meant some place for himself, if not his own country.

The last stanza tells us that the *prasasti* was composed by Śīlachandra and the celebrated *Karaṇika Svāmidatta* under the inviolable command of the *Saṅgha*.

The inscription is **not dated** but supplies sufficient data to fix the time to which it belongs. It was written when Bālāditya was ruling and when king Yaśōvarmmadēva was holding the reins of sovereignty. That the Bālāditya of this record must be identified with the homonymous chief whom Hiuen Tsiang eulogises as the subduer of Mihirakula and the founder of the grand temple at Nālandā need not be dilated upon. The inscription itself mentions him as the builder of a magnificent sanctuary at Nālandā. That it is silent about his subjugation of the well-known Hūṇa king of Sākala (the modern Siālkoṭ in the Panjāb) is either due to his having had very little to do in the matter, as has already been suggested by Vincent Smith,¹ or, perhaps, to the fact that this inscription came into existence before that event.² Bālāditya flourished *cir.* 530 after Christ. Accordingly, Yaśōvarmmadēva, his suzerain, must have ruled about the same age. So the question arises : Who was that suzerain ? He cannot be the homonymous ruler of Kanauj,³ who was routed by Mukṭāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir and is better known to history as the patron of Bhavabhūti, the eminent playwright, because he came a couple of centuries after this period. The Chandēl chief of the same name is also out of the question, for he belongs to a still later epoch, *i.e.*, the 10th century of the Christian era. I know of no other ruler of this name who could be identified with the overlord mentioned in this inscription. But a powerful ruler of the name of Yaśōdharma is known to have flourished at the time when Bālāditya reigned, *i.e.*, the period to which this document is assignable. According to the Mandasōr stone inscriptions,⁴ he was ruling in the Mālava year 589 (= A.D. 533-34), and was a mighty conqueror who governed the whole of Northern India from the Brahmaputra to the Western Ocean and erected two columns of victory with inscriptions commemorating his triumph over the foreign invaders. In view of the facts stated in all these records I am of the opinion that the Yaśōvarmmadēva of the Nālandā and the Yaśōdharma of the Mandasōr inscriptions are identical and that the late Dr. Fleet was perfectly right when he thought that the name of Yaśōdharma should be corrected into Yaśōvarma.⁵ It is true that names ending in *dharma* are not unknown, but the appellation as given in the document under publication looks more reasonable and more appropriate than the one which was read in the other epigraphs. Accordingly, I would suggest that we should call the sovereign ruler who was chiefly responsible for the breakdown of the power of the Hūṇas in India early in the 6th century of the Christian era by the name of Yaśōvarmmadēva as given in the present record. From the way this inscription introduces him and Bālāditya it is evident that he was the overlord of the latter. The suzerainty of Yaśōdharma is proven by the above-mentioned inscriptions. Bālāditya, in any case, could not have had two different overlords living side by side and having practically identical names.⁶ The chief interest of this inscription, therefore, lies in its enabling us to determine

¹ *Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 386.

² It is not impossible, however, that Bālāditya fought Mihirakula—though under the supreme command of Yaśōvarmmadēva—and got the credit for ousting him (*i.e.*, Mihirakula).

³ The guess made in *A. S. R.* 1925-26, p. 131 was wrong.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 34 & 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, foot-note 2 on page 145.

⁶ *Janēdra* in the Mandasōr inscription (l. 4) does not necessarily mean a tribal ruler as Fleet seems to have imagined. The word should be taken as a synonym of *narēdra* in the general sense, *i.e.*, the king of 'men.' Besides, his mention before Vishṇuwardhana clearly shows his suzerainty. Prof. Dr. Vogel has kindly drawn my attention to the Yaśōvarmapura of the Ghōsrāwā Buddhist inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, pp. 307 ff.) which might have been designated after this monarch. The whereabouts of this place are not known. Sir Alexander Cunningham took it to be the town of Bihār which is not far off from Nālandā.

the real name of the subduer of the Hūnas in Northern India, as stated above, though, unfortunately, it does not add anything to our knowledge of his ancestry or of his successors, whoever they were. That it lends an additional support to his claim for fame and that it proves for certain that what is stated about him in the above-mentioned epigraphs is not a mere 'oriental hyperbole' but rests on facts need not be emphasized.¹

Now comes the difficult problem of identifying the minister or *mantrin* who is spoken of as *Mārgapati*, *Udīchīpati* and *pratīta-Tikina* in this inscription. But for the reticence of the composers of the *prasasti* on the nationality and other particulars including the name of this personage, one could have known something definite about him. *Mārgapati* literally means the guardian of road or roads, but from the similar expressions occurring in the chronicles of Kashmir one could take it to mean the guardian of the passes or the frontier. The *Mārgēśas* figure very prominently in the narratives of the later chronicles of the 'Happy Valley' as Sir Aurel Stein² has already pointed out. They were also known by other names like *Mārgapas*, *Adhvapas*, *Adhrēśas*, etc., and were generally referred to in the plural and in connection with some particular routes or passes across the mountains, like the *Maliks* of the Muhammadan times. Besides, they were the feudal chiefs who held hereditary charge of specific passes and were bound to furnish garrisons for the frontier posts on these passes in return for the revenue of certain lands assigned to them. In the inscription under notice, on the other hand, only one such 'guardian' is mentioned. He is spoken of in the singular number and is called the 'Lord of the North' and minister of Yaśovarmmadēva, the protector of the world. Apparently, he was the Chief of such Guardians of Passes whose official status must have been higher than that of the *Drāṅgēśas* or *Mārgēśas* of the Kashmir chronicles. What the *udīchī* or north of this record connotes cannot be stated definitely but, possibly, it may not be wrong to take it in the sense of the North-West Frontier of India. This *Udīchīpati* or the Lord of the North was, it would seem, the Chief of the Guardians of Passes in that region. This personage is further described as *pratīta-Tikina* and the meaning of this epithet is to be determined. That *pratīta* (*prati + ita*) is a Sanskrit word signifying 'distinguished' or 'well-known' requires no proof. *Tikina* is not a Sanskrit word at all. Dr. Sten Konow very kindly tells me that it "is evidently Turki *tigin*, *tegin*, *tāgin*. It means 'a prince of the blood', and is especially used about the son or the brother of the *Khān*. The Chinese render it as *l'o-k'in*. It was one of the words first recognised by Thomsen in the Orkhon Inscriptions" and we "find several instances of its use in Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Tures) Occidentaux*". The authors of the *prasasti*, it would appear, were not aware of other particulars about this 'stranger' and therefore mentioned him by his rank or office only. The name of his son, the actual donor, was known and could not have been omitted. The inscription gives it as *Mālāda* which is also not Sanskrit—though a forced Sanskrit derivation may not be impossible.³ The other details given about the donor are that he was a scion of a stainless family and the delight, i.e., son, of *Bandhumatī* and brother of *Nirmmalā*. *Bandhumatī* and *Nirmmalā* might have been the proper names of the two ladies, his mother and his sister, or their epithets only. The former is known to be the name of several women. Both are undoubtedly Sanskrit and could have been applied to ladies of foreign descent also. *Mālāda* was, as is evidenced by this inscription, a devout Buddhist and might have been a proselyte. The offerings of a lamp, *ghee*, scented water, etc., which he brought to Nālandā out of his *bhakti* or devotion to 'the great son of Śuddhōdana', i.e., the Buddha, are like those which the Buddhists from Tibet and other Central

¹ Cf. J. J. Modi, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXIV (1914-17), p. 595.

² Notes on the *Rājats raṅgini*, Vol. I, p. 214; Vol. II, pp. 291 & 392.

³ However, it reminds me of *Malāda* of the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā° XXXI, 9) and of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Gaek. Or. Series No. I, p. 93).

Asian countries are seen bringing to the images of the Buddha at Kasiā in the Gōrakhpur district or at Bōdh-Gayā and other sacred places even now.

The remaining persons spoken of in the *prasasti* are the monk **Pūrṇpēndrasēna** and the two poets who composed it. Whether the former belonged to Nālandā itself or to some other locality is not definitely stated in the record but it does not look improbable that he was one of the great teachers of Nālandā itself. Of the two authors of the composition **Svāmidatta** is described as a *prahita-karaṇika*, i.e., a celebrated officer in charge of documents. No particulars are given about the joint author, namely, **Śilachandra**.

As to the identity of Nālandā no remarks are needed, for it is too well-known to require any. A few points about this locality, however, seem to be worth mentioning here. The first is its designation which is certainly Nālandā (ending in long vowel, i.e., ā) and not Nālanda (ending in short vowel, i.e., a) as is sometimes erroneously supposed to be.¹ The name ending in the long vowel not only occurs in this and other inscriptions but in literature also, both Buddhist as well as Jaina. I am not aware if the locality figures in Brahmanical literature at all. It goes back to the time of Mahāvira, the twenty-fourth Jina, and of Gautama Buddha, i.e., at least five centuries before the birth of Christ. The Jaina accounts² would show that it was a very prosperous and sacred *bāhrikā* or suburb of Rājagṛiha where Mahāvira spent fourteen *chāturmāsya*s. Early Buddhist literature³ also testifies to its pristine glory: But it looks curious that in neither of them it figures as a university or centre of learning. Possibly it grew as such later, i.e., about the period when the great pilgrim of China, namely, Hiuen Tsiang, came to study there. The description of the *chātayas* or *vihāras*, the *prāsādas* or *dēvālayas*, etc., as given in this interesting document, however, would show that the pilgrim's description of its splendour must have been based on facts.

¹ The name ending in the short vowel, i.e., a, is given in *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 210, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 167, etc., and *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* by M. Walleser (Reprint from *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, Leipzig, pp. 15, etc.).

² (1) See *Sūtrakṛitāṅga*, 7th Lecture (Chapter on Nālandā), of the Second Book.

Teṇaṃ kāleṇaṃ teṇaṃ samaṇaṃ Rāyagihe nāmaṃ nayare hotthā riddhipphita samiddhe vaṇṇa jāva paḍirūve tassaṇaṃ Rāyagihassa nayarassa bahiyā uttara-puratthime disibāe etthāṇaṃ Nālandānāmaṃ bahiriyaṃ hotthā apogabhavaṇassa yasannivittā jāva paḍirivā || 1 ||

(2) *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu (ed. H. Jacobi), Leipzig, 1879, p. 64, para. 122.

Rāyagihaṃ nagaraṃ Nālandaṃ oṃ bāhriyaṃ.

(3) The *Pūrvadēsachātayaparipāṭi* which was composed by Paṇḍita Hāthasōma in V. S. 1565 and has lately been published in the *Yasāvijaya-Jainagranthamālā*, Bhāvanagara (Kathiawad) says :—

Nālandai pāḍai chanda-chaumāsa suṇijai
Hauḍā lokaprasiddha te Baḍagāma kaṭṭjai
Solaprasādātihāṃ achchhai Jīnabimbanamijai.

(4) The *Sammēlakikharatṛithamālā* is more explicit. It records :—

Bāhiri Nālanda pāḍo
Suṇayo tassa puṇyapavāḍo
Vira chaudarahā chaumāsa
Hauḍā Baḍagāmma nivāsa

Bīnhudehare ekaso pratimā navilahi ī Bodhani gaṇimā.

* References to Buddhist works are several and I have dealt with them in the paper which I read before the All-India Oriental Conference at Lahore in 1928. (*Proceedings, Fifth Indian Oriental Conference*, Vol. I, pp. 386 ff.). Here I may allude to *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 377.

"Tāṃ kiṃ maṇṇasi gaḥapati : Ayaṃ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."
"Evam bhante, ayaṃ Nālandā iddhā ch'eva phitā cha bahujanā ākinna-manussā ti."

As to the name *Narddarikā* occurring in this record, it might have been an ancient streamlet or a lake at Nālanda.

TEXT.¹

- Line 1 संमार्गस्थव(व)न्धनात्कृतमतिर्मोक्षाय यो देहिनां कारुण्यसंभं
 शनोरमपि यो दत्त्वा तुतोषार्थिने [1*] सेन्द्रैर्यः स्वशिरःकिरोटमकरी-
 च्छटाङ्गि-
- „ 2 पद्मः सुरेस्तम्भं सर्व्वपदार्थतत्त्वविदुषे वु(वु)ञ्जाय नित्यं नमः ॥ [१^३ ॥*]
 सर्व्वेषां मूर्ध्नि दत्त्वा पदप्रवनिभृतासुहृती भूरिधामा किस्त्रिंशंशुप्रतानप्रद-
 नितनिर्व्विलारातिघो-
- „ 3 रान्यकारः [1⁺] ख्यातो यो लोकपालः सकलवसुमतोपद्भिनीचो(बो)ध-
 हृतुः श्रीमात्स्वानिवोच्चैस्तपति दिशिदिशि श्रीयशोवर्म्भदेवः ॥ [२^४ ॥*]
 तस्यासी परमप्रसादम-
- „ 4 हितः श्रीमात्तदारशयः पुत्रो मार्गपतेः प्रतोततिकिनोदोचीपतेर्मन्त्रिणः [1*]
 मालादो भुवि मन्दनोरिदमनो यो व(व)न्धुमत्यास्वधीर्दीनाशापरिपूरणै-
- „ 5 क्तवुरो धीरो विश्वज्ञान्वयः ॥ [३^३ ॥*] यासावूर्जितवैरिभूप्रविगलहानाम्बु(म्बु)-
 पानात्रयस्यादृष्टकरोन्कृश्रदलनप्राप्तश्रियासूभुजाम् । नालन्दा ह-
- „ 6 मतीव सर्व्वनगरीः शम्भ्राश्वगौरभ्फुरच्चैत्यांशुप्रकथौसदागमकलाविख्यातविद्व-
 ज्जनान् ॥ [४^३ ॥*] यस्यामम्बु(म्बु)धरावलेहिशिखरश्रेणी वि-
- „ 7 हाराशनी मालोधीध्वविराजिनी विरचिता धात्रा मनोज्ञा भुवः [1*]
 नानारक्षमयुक्त्वा जालवचितप्रामाददेवालय सद्दिव्याधरमङ्ग-
- „ 8 रस्ययमतिर्धत्ते सुर्मरोः श्रयम् ॥ [५^३ ॥*] अत्रास[ञ्च]पराक्रमप्रणयिना जित्वा-
 खिलान्त्रिदियो वा(वा)क्त्रादित्यमहान्तपेण सकलभुक्त्वा च भूमण्डलम् [1*]
- „ 9 प्रामादः सुमहानयन्मगवतः शीघ्रादनैरङ्गतः कैलासाभिभवेच्छयिव धवलो
 मन्ये समन्यापितः ॥ [६^३ ॥*] अपि च ॥ न्यङ्कुर्व्वन्निन्दुकान्तिन्नुहिनगि-
- „ 10 रिशिरःश्रिपिगाभात्रिरस्यन् शुभ्रामाकाशगङ्गान्तदनु मलिनयन्मूकयन्वादि-
 सिन्धुम् । मन्ये जितव्यशून्ये भुवन इह हया भ्रान्तिरित्याक-
- „ 11 लय्य भ्रान्त्वा शौणीमशेषाञ्जितविपुलयशस्तम्भ उच्चैस्त्रिस्थितो वा ॥ [७^४ ॥*]
 अवादायि निवेद्यमाव्यदधिमहीपस्तथा भासुरश्चातुर्जातकरेणुमिश्रममल-

¹ From the excellent impressions supplied by Mr. J. A. Pogo.

² Symbol for *Om* or *Sakthiam*.

³ Metro: Sārdhulavikrīḍitam.

Metro: Sārdhbarā.

- Line 12 न्तोयं सुधाशीतलं । साध्वी चाक्षयनीविका भगवते वु(बु)द्धाय शुद्धात्मने
मालादेन यथोक्तवंशयशसा तेनातिभक्त्या स्वयं ॥[८^१॥*] आदेशात्स्फीतशील-
श्रुतधवलधि-
- „ 13 यो भिक्षुसङ्घस्य भूयो दत्तन्तेनैव सम्यग्ब(ब)हुष्टदधिभिव्यञ्जनैर्युक्तर्म-
(म)न्नं । भिक्षुभ्यस्तच्चतुर्भ्यो [ब]हुसुरभि चतुर्जातकामोदि नित्यं तोयं स[त्ते]
विभक्तं पुनरपि
- „ 14 विमलं भिक्षुसङ्घाय दत्तम् ॥[९^२॥*] तेनैवाद्भुतकर्मणा निजमिह क्रीत्वा-
[र्य]सङ्घान्तिकान्मुक्त्वा चीवरिकां प्रदाय विधिना सामान्यमेकन्तथा ।
कालम्योरयितुं सुखे-
- „ 15 न लयनन्दत्तं स्वदेशम्विना तेभ्यो नर्हरिकावधेश्च परतः शाक्यात्मजेभ्यः
पुनः ॥[१०^२॥*] दानं यदेतदमलङ्कुणशालिभिक्षुपूर्णैन्द्रसेनवचनप्रतिवो(बो)-
धितेन । तेन प्रतीत-
- „ 16 यशसा भुवि निर्मलाया भ्रात्रा व्यधाय शरदिन्दुनिभाननायाः ॥[११^१॥*]
पित्रोर्भ्रातुः कलत्रस्वसुतसुहृदान्तस्य धर्मैकधात्रो दत्तं दानं यदेतत्सकल-
मतिरसेनायुरा-
- „ 17 रोग्यहेतोः । सर्वेषाञ्चन्मभाजां भवभयजलधिः पारसंतारणार्थं श्रीमत्सवो-
(बो)धिकल्पदुग्धविपुलफलप्राप्तये चानुमोद्यम् ॥[१२^२॥*] चन्द्रो यावच्चकास्ति
स्फुरदुरुहिकरणो लो-
- „ 18 कदीपञ्च भाखान् एषा यावच्च धात्रो सजलधिवलयया द्यौश्च दत्ताव-
काशा । यावच्चैते महान्तो भुवनभरधुरान्धारयन्तो महीध्रास्तावच्चन्द्राव-
दाता धवलयतु दिशाम्-
- „ 19 ण्डलं कोर्त्तिरेषा ॥[१३^२॥*] यो दानस्यास्य कश्चित्कतजगदवधेरन्तरायं विद-
ध्यात्साक्षाद्भ्रासनस्यो जिन इह भगवानन्तरस्यः सदास्ते । वा(बा)लादित्येन
राज्ञा प्रदलितरि-
- „ 20 पुणा स्थापितश्चैष शास्ता पञ्चानन्त[र्य]कर्तुर्गतिमतिविप्रमान्धर्महीनः स
यायात् ॥[१४^२॥*] इत्येवं शीलचन्द्रप्रथितकरणिकस्वामिदत्तावलङ्घ्यां संघात्रां
मूर्ध्नि कृत्वा श्रुतलव-
- „ 21 विभवावप्यनालोच्य भारं । हृद्यामितामुदारां त्वरितमकुरुतामप्रपञ्चां
प्रशस्तिं वाञ्छेतां किन्न पंगू शिखरितरुफलावासिमुच्चैः करेण ॥[१५^२॥*]

^१ Metre : Sārdhālavikrīditam.

^२ Metre : Svagharā.

^३ Metre : Vasa^२tatīlākā.—The last akshara of the first pāda should be treated as gu u.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.) Continual salutation to the Buddha who made up his mind to emancipate living beings from the strong tangles of the world and who felt exceedingly delighted after giving (*his own*) body to the supplicant, whose foot-lotus is rubbed by the gods, including Indra, with the fishes (*engraved*) in the diadems on their heads and who is conversant with the real nature of all the categories.

(V. 2.) The illustrious, prosperous and highly glorious *Yaśovarmmadēva* has risen after placing his foot on the heads of all the kings and has completely removed the terrific darkness in the form of all of his foes by the diffusion of the rays of his sword. He is the celebrated protector of the world and the cause of the excitement of all the *Padmīnī* women of the earth. He shines above all in every quarter like the resplendent Sun, who has risen after spreading his rays on the tops of all the mountains and has torn asunder by the diffusion of severe rays the foe in the form of terrible darkness, who is the well-known protector of the world and cause of the blooming of all the lotuses of the earth.

(V. 3.) *Mālāda* was the illustrious and magnanimous son of the well-known *Tikina* (*i.e.*, *Tegin*), who was his (*Yaśovarmmadēva*'s) minister, the Guardian of the Frontier and Ruler of the North. He (*Mālāda*), the unrivalled and quick subduer of the enemies, fulfiller of the desires of the supplicants on the earth, resolute, of stainless family and the son (literally, gladdener) of *Bandhumatī*, was honoured by his (*Yaśovarmmadēva*'s) great favour.

(Vv. 4—6.) *Bālāditya*, the great king of irresistible valour, after having vanquished all the foes and enjoyed the entire earth, erected, as if with a view to see the *Kajjāsa* mountain surpassed, a great and extraordinary temple (*prāsāda*) of the illustrious son of *Śuddhōdana* (*i.e.*, the Buddha) here at *Nālandā*. *Nālandā* had scholars, well-known for their (*knowledge of the*) sacred texts and arts, and (*was full of the*) heaps of the rays of the *chaityas* shining and bright like white clouds. She was (*consequently*) mocking, as it were, at all the cities of the kings who had acquired wealth by tearing asunder the temples of the great elephants surrounded by the shining black bees which were maddened by drinking the rut in the hostile lands. She had a row of *vihāras*, the line of whose tops touched the clouds. That (*row of vihāras*) was, so to say, the beautiful festoon of the earth, made by the Creator, which looked resplendent in going upwards. *Nālandā* had temples which were brilliant on account of the net-work of the rays of the various jewels set in them and was the pleasant abode of the learned and the virtuous *Saṅgha* and resembled *Sumēru*, the charming residence of the noble *Vidyādharas*.

And—

(V. 7.) (*The prāsāda*), after having gone round the earth and on finding, as it were, that it was a useless wandering when this world had no other structure to be conquered (surpassed), stands aloft, as if it were a column of the great fame it had won, scoffing at the lustre of the moon, disregarding the beauty of the rows of the summits of the Snow-mountain (*Himālaya*), soiling (*i.e.*, throwing into the shade) the white Ganges of the sky, and then turning dumb the streams of disputants.

(V. 8.) Here, *Mālāda* of the above-mentioned family and fame himself brought with great devotion for the pure Lord Buddha the pious permanent grant, pure water as cool as nectar and mixed with the powder of four fragrant objects, as well as, the shining lamp, the offerings of clarified butter and curds.

(V. 9.) Under the order of the community of friars of bright intellect, great piety and learning, he again distributed daily, in a fitting manner, rice with (*various*) preparations, curds and copious *ghee*, to the four monks¹. He again gave to the assembly of monks the pure and highly fragrant water, perfumed with the four² objects (scents) and distributed daily at the *sātra*.

¹ Does it mean "monks from the four quarters"?

(V. 10.) He (Mālāda), whose deeds were wondrous, purchased (*everything of*) his own here (*at Nālandā*) from the revered *Saṅgha* and gave it back (*to the bhikshus*) according to rites, barring the monk's robe. He also gave away to the sons of the Śākya, *i.e.*, Buddhist monks, a common dwelling place (*wherein*) to spend time happily, up to and beyond Narddarikā, excepting a place for himself.¹

(V. 11.) This stainless gift has been made by him who is the brother of Nirmalā² whose face resembled the autumnal moon. His fame is spread over the world and he has been awakened by the words of the monk Pūrṇēndrasēna, who shines by his excellence.

(V. 12.) All this gift has been given with great devotion for the sake of the welfare and longevity of the parents, brother, wife, sister, son and friends of him (*i.e.*, Mālāda) who is the sole repository of virtue. May it be approved so that the living beings might cross the fearful ocean of the world and attain the great fruit of the Wishing Tree in the form of the sacred Enlightenment (*Bōdhi*).

(V. 13.) As long as the Moon shines and the Sun, the lamp of the world, with his lustrous and extensive rays (*sheds light*), as long as this earth together with the encompassing ocean endures and the sky, which gives space, lasts, and as long as these great mountains, bearing the yoke of the world, remain, so long let this *kirtti*, which is pure like the Moon, whiten the circle of (*all*) the quarters.

(V. 14.) Whoever interferes with this gift, which has to last as long as the world endures, will, void of virtue as he is, have the dire fate of one who commits the five sins—(*let him know*) that the Lord Jina (the Buddha) is here ever present within, occupying the adamant seat and that the great king Bālāditya has established this command (or the image of the Buddha).³

(V. 15.) Thus, Śilachandra and the well-known *Karaṇika* Svāmidatta, having placed the order of the *Saṅgha* on their head, without considering the weight (*of responsibility*), composed at once this beautiful and sublime, though simple, *praśasti*, although the wealth of their knowledge is small, for, will not even the cripples⁴ wish to get the fruits from the tree on the mountain by raising (*their*) hand ?

No. 3.—THREE TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS OF LALGUDI.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., M.R.A.S., OOTACAMUND.

The three inscriptions which form the subject of this article are incised on the north wall of the Saptariśhvara temple at Lalgudi in the Trichinopoly district. For the sake of convenience, I call them A, B and C. Inscription A is dated in the year opposite to the fourth (*i.e.*, the fifth year) of some king whose name is not given in it. It registers a gift of money made by the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar who fought the battle of Tellāru and gained victory in it, for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturāi in Iḍaiyārru-nāḍu. The amount was received by the members of the assembly of Nallimaṅ-galam who bound themselves to bring to the temple and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḷi* of ghee.

¹ Does all this mean that Mālāda became a Buddhist monk for some time and again became a *grihastha* as the Burmese do even now-a-days ?

² See above, page 41.

³ See foot-note 1 on page 39 above. The construction of this verse is not quite clear. Dr. Vogel thinks that the stanza might be referring to two images of the Buddha—the Buddha of the Vajrasana, being the Bōdhi image enshrined in the principal temple, and second, of the Teacher, perhaps an image of the Buddha shown in the act of teaching, which had been consecrated by Bālāditya.

⁴ The word *paṅḡ* is put in the dual number because the *praśasti* was composed by two authors.

Inscription B is dated on the day of Śadaiyam (Śatabhishaj) corresponding to a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus falling in the ninth year opposite to the fourth (i.e. the thirteenth year) of the reign of king Mīrañjaḍaiyaṅ. In the body of the record the king is called Paṅḍyakulapati Varaguṇa-Mahārāya. The inscription states that the king gave 120 *kāṇ* to a certain Anḍaḍiṭṭu-Vēḷāṅ. This amount was finally received by the members of the assembly of Iḷamperuṅkūy-irukkai in Iḍaiyāṅṅu-nāḍu who bound themselves to supply towards interest, the capital remaining intact, one *nāḷi* of ghee daily for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. In case of default the assembly further agreed to pay a fine of 500 *kūṇam* (of gold). Inscription C is dated in the thirteenth year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman. It states that the king's uterine sister Naṅgai-Varaguṇa-Perumāṅār gave 30 *kaḷāṅḷu* of gold for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple with one *uri* of ghee daily. The assembly of Maṅkaikāl, a *brahmadēja* of Kalāra-kūṅṅam which was a subdivision of Vaḍagarai-Maḷa-nāḍu, received the amount given and sold a piece of land in exchange to the temple.

Before taking up the question of the date of these three inscriptions, I may point out straight-way that they are written in the same hand and script and must consequently have been inscribed simultaneously. I may here add that there is another inscription in this very temple which is coeval with these records and is, apparently, written by the same hand though it refers itself to the Pallava king Nripatūṅavarman. It has already been published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions (Texts)*, Volume IV.¹ Inscriptions of the three kings mentioned in these records are also found in several other places. But they are all written in varying types of the Tamil script not resembling the one in which the three inscriptions under notice are incised. As these kings flourished at different periods, the records belonging to their respective reigns could not have been written in the same hand. Consequently, the Lalgudi inscriptions under examination, written as they are in the same hand, must be treated as later copies of older records made probably at the time when the temple where they are found was renovated or repaired. Palaeographically they can be assigned to the 10th century of the Christian era.

The inscription which I call C purports to belong to a ruler who is the latest among the kings mentioned in these three inscriptions. The princess referred to in it figures as the queen of Parāntaka Iṅṅōvēḷār² in another inscription of Rājakēsarivarman which was found at Tillaisthānam in the district of Tanjore. She is also mentioned in a somewhat later record belonging to the third year of Parakēsarivarman.³ The Tillaisthānam inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, unlike the Lalgudi inscription, marks the *pulli* or *virāma* as do the Takkōlam and other inscriptions of Rājakēsarivarman, i.e., Āditya I, and ought to be assigned to the same ruler. Two other epigraphs found at Tiruppalātturai⁴ refer to Teṅṅavaṅ Iṅṅōvēḷār which is another name for Parāntaka Iṅṅōvēḷār. They tell us that he was also called Maṅavaṅ Pūdiyār. One of them mentions his queen Kaṅṅaḷippirāṭṭiyār also. The name Pūdiyār given to Iṅṅōvēḷār and the mention of his queen would show that he is identical with the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Bhūti-Vikramakēsari who is reported in the Mūvarkōvil inscription to have married Kaṅṅaḷi and Varaguṇā.⁵ From a Tiruchendurai inscription we learn that he had a daughter named Pūdi-Ādichchapiḍāriyār who was the queen of Arikulakēsari, i.e., Ariṅjaya⁶ the son of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I. I have shown

¹ See plate (VII) opposite to p. 173.

² *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, No. 113.

³ *Ibid.* No. 127.

⁴ Nos. 258 and 273 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1903-04*, and para. 90 of part II of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1907-08*.

⁵ *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1907-08*, para. 90 of Part II.

⁶ Nos. 316, 317 and 319 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1903-04*.

elsewhere¹ that Āditya I must have ascended the throne in A.D. 871. Accordingly, the Lalgudi inscription, which also belongs to him, must be assigned to A.D. 883-4, for it is dated in the 13th year of his reign.

To settle the dates of the inscriptions A and B we have to consider the way in which they are dated. We find that they give some year opposite to the fourth. This mode of dating was adopted by the Pāṇḍya king Mārañjadaiyaṅ *alias* Varaguṇa-Mahārāja, as is evidenced by several inscriptions of his reign which have already been brought to light.² Consequently, these two records also should be ascribed to the same ruler.

We have now to establish the date of the accession of Teḷḷarperinda-Nandippōttavarman and of his contemporary Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, who was the grandfather of Varaguṇavarman II and father of Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha Parachakrakōlāhala, the conqueror of Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* tells us that there was a Pāṇḍya invasion of Ceylon during the reign of Silāmēgha Sēna I (A.D. 846 to 866), in which the Pāṇḍya king came off completely victorious and took possession of the capital and carried away a large amount of booty, though he eventually restored the Sinhalese kingdom to its rightful king. The only early Pāṇḍya king who is known from the Siṅga-manūr plates to have invaded and conquered Ceylon is Śrīmāra. From the facts recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* it can be gathered that his reign covered the last 3 years of the rule of Dappula and probably commenced in the year 840 and ended in 862 A.D. when his eldest son Varaguṇavarman II succeeded him. Śrīmāra's predecessor, namely, Varaguṇa-Mahārāja I, must have reigned prior to 840 A.D. His latest regnal year so far known from inscriptions is the seventeenth and we can reasonably state that his rule over the Pāṇḍya country may have extended from 823 to 840 A.D. though it is not impossible that it might have commenced a few years earlier. The date of Varaguṇa I can approximately be ascertained from the chronology of the Pallava kings from Nandivarman Pallavamalla to Aparājita. The Vēlūrpaḷaiyam plates give us the genealogy of the latter Pallavas for three generations commencing from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla.³ They state that Pallavamalla's son was Dantivarman and that the latter's son was Nandivarman III. This information is supplemented by the Bāhūr plates which tell us that Dantivarman's son was Nandivarman III, who had for his queen the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Śaṅkhā, and that the latter's son was Nṛipatuṅga.⁴ It is to be noted that in these plates no mention is made of Kampavarman and the name Kampavarman was not borne by any one of the above mentioned kings. If Kampavarman was a lineal descendant of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, we might tentatively assume that he was another, and, perhaps, the younger son of Nandivarman III. The name Nandi-Kampēśvara given to the temple at Śōḷapuram may have been called after Kampavarman, the son of Nandivarman.⁵ It may be pointed out here that both the palaeographical peculiarities of Kampavarman's epigraphs and the genealogy furnished by the Vēlūrpaḷaiyam as well as the Bāhūr plates do not admit of any place for him before Nṛipatuṅga. It will be shown presently that he cannot be made the immediate successor of Nṛipatuṅga. Therefore the only inference that could be drawn regarding Kampavarman is that he must have been a joint ruler with either Nṛipatuṅga or Aparājita

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 81 ff.

² See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 84 ff., and No. 13 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08, Nos. 90 and 137 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1908-09, Nos. 358 and 364 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907-08 and No. 84 of Appendix C of the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1909-10.

³ *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 501 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 196. The name Kampavarman, just like Nṛipatuṅga, also suggests that he might have been so called after Kambha (Stambha), the eldest son of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Dhāravarsha Dhruva. In that case Nandivarman might have married a daughter of Kambha (or Stambha).

or with both.¹ Therefore, it is needless to take his reign into consideration to determine the period when the later Pallavas ruled. From the Āmbūr inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign of Nṛipatuṅga, we learn that the Gaṅga king Pṛithvīpati I was a subordinate of that Pallava king.² And since it is recorded in the Udayēndiram plates that this very Gaṅga king was an ally of the Pallava king Aparājita and fought under his standard and secured victory for him in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam against Varaguṇa (II),³ it might be said that Aparājita⁴ was the immediate successor of Nṛipatuṅga. That he was the last Pallava ruler of Kāñchī is known from the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates which report that the Chōḷa king Āditya I killed him and took possession of his kingdom.⁵ This event, we have reasons to believe, must have taken place before A.D. 891, for it is stated in an inscription at Tirumālpuram near Conjeeveram that the village of Śirriyārrūr in Maṇaiyil-nāḍu was granted as a *dēvadāna* and as a *brahmadēya* in the 21st year of Toṇḍaimāṇ-Ārrūr-tuṅḷaiya-udaiyār i.e., Āditya I⁶. If we allow at least two years for his settlement in the newly conquered country, it may be said that Āditya I killed Aparājita in about A.D. 888. The latest dates furnished by the stone inscriptions for Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Dantivarman, Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāru, i.e., Nandivarman III, Nṛipatuṅga and Aparājita are 65, 52, 22, 26 and 18, respectively. With the help of these, supplemented to a certain extent by the light of contemporary history, we shall try to settle the chronology of the later Pallava sovereigns. Keeping A.D. 888 as the last year of Aparājita and deducting from it 18, which is the highest regnal year known for him,⁷ we get A.D. 870 for his accession. This date must, therefore, be the year when his predecessor Nṛipatuṅga ceased to rule. Since the latest regnal year so far found for him is 26,⁸ we get A.D. 844 for his accession. It may be noted here that the initial year of Nṛipatuṅga's reign cannot be earlier than this date because in a record of his 18th year the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa-Mahārāja (II) figures as donor⁹ and we know for certain that that king's accession took place in A.D. 862.¹⁰ We have to take A.D. 844 as the last year of Nṛipatuṅga's father Nandivarman III, the victor of Teḷḷāru. The latest regnal year found for him in the inscriptions mentioning the victory of Teḷḷāru is 22.¹¹ But there is a possibility of his having reigned longer.¹² If he had a reign of 22 years, his accession would have to be placed in A.D. 822. This cannot be the case for, we learn from the Western-Gaṅga grants that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III and the Pallava king Nandivarman—both crowned kings themselves—fastened the fillet of royalty on the forehead of Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.¹³ The last year of Gōvinda

¹ In a Tamil inscription of Uttaramallūr of the time of Kampavarman dated in his 15th year whose text (No. 325) is published in the *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, the donor is Śeyya-Aparājita, and he is called Perumānadigaḷ-aḍiyāṇ.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 384.

⁴ It is learnt from No. 350 of Vol. VI of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, that Aparājita bore the title Rājamārttāṇḍa.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 49. This statement is confirmed by a stone inscription found at Tillasthānam which styles Aditya I as "Rājakēsarivarman who extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu" (*Ibid.*, p. 221, No. 89).

⁶ *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1907, Part II, paras. 29 and 30.

⁷ No. 435 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1905.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 182.

⁹ No. 360 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

¹⁰ No. 705 of the same collection for 1905.

¹¹ No. 180 of the same collection for 1907.

¹² In the numerous epigraphs dated simply in the reign of Nandivarman without the distinguishing epithets 'Pallavamalla' or 'Teḷḷārrerinda' there must be some belonging to Nandivarman III, while the others may be of Pallavamalla.

¹³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 158 and 161.

III being A.D. 814¹ this event should have occurred before that date, say about A.D. 812. Accordingly, we have to take back the year of accession of Nandivarman III by ten years. Looking at the fact that Nandivarman Pallavamalla and his son Dantivarman had unusually long reigns, extending to 65 and 51 years,² it seems improbable that Nandivarman III, who succeeded Dantivarman, could have ruled long and, since the last year of his reign cannot be taken earlier than A.D. 844, it will be safe to assume that his rule lasted from A.D. 812 to 844. Deducting 51 from 812 and 65 from the balance we get the initial dates of Dantivarman and Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Their reigns should, therefore, have extended from A.D. 761 to 812 and A.D. 696 to 761. The chronology as worked out from these facts and others noted later on is shown below :—

Pāṇḍya kings.	Pallava kings.	Rāshtrakūṭas.	Western Gaṅgas.	Chōlas.
Māraṅgarman	Nandivarman II Pallavamalla			
Neduñjaḍaiyaṅ				
Rājasimha	Dantivarman	Gōvinda III	Śivamūra II	
Varaṅga I	Nandivarman III			
Śrīmāra	Nripatūṅga	Amōghavarsha I	Prithvīpati I	
Varaṅga II	Aparājita			
				Āditya I

Since Nandivarman, the victor of Teḷḷāru, figures as donor in the Laḡudi inscription A dated in the 5th year, evidently of the reign of Mārañjaḍaiyaṅ *alias* Varaṅga-Mahārāja I, that record cannot be placed earlier than A.D. 812 or later than A.D. 844 which are the initial and closing years of Nandivarman III. From this, it is clear that the date of accession of Varaṅga I cannot be taken to an earlier date than A.D. 807. We have already shown that it cannot be later than A.D. 823. In order to arrive at the actual year of accession of Varaṅga I, the astronomical details furnished in two inscriptions, which are both dated in 4+9th (*i.e.*, the 13th) year of Mārañjaḍaiyaṅ (*i.e.*, Varaṅga-Mahārāja I), may be considered here. One of them is the inscription B edited below and the other is from Tiruveḷḷarai.³ While the former gives the astronomical combination (a) **Dhanus, Tuesday and the nakshatra Śatabhishaj**, the latter furnishes another set of combinations, *viz.*, (b) **Vṛiśchika, Monday and the the nakshatra Aśvini** in the same year, *i.e.*, 13th. Between A.D. 800 and 852, though there are several years in which each set of combinations occurred separately, the following table gives such of those years only as con-

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p 54.

² No. 666 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1922 and No. 262 of the same collection for 1924.

³ The details of date furnished in this record have been calculated by the late Mr. R. Sewell for Varaṅga II in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 233. But as it is dated in the 9th year opposite to the fourth it is clearly a record of Varaṅga I.

tained both sets of details, the days corresponding to the combinations (a) and (b), the initial and fifth years of the king :—

No.	Year.	Equivalents of (a) and (b).	Initial year.	5th year.
1	814	(a) Tuesday, 19th Dec. (b) Monday, 30th Novr.	801 A.D. .	806 A.D.
2	817	(a) Tuesday, 15th Dec. (b) Monday, 26th Octr.	804 . . .	809
3	824	(a) Tuesday, 29th Novr. (b) Monday, 7th Novr. f.d.n. 71	811 . . .	816
4	831	(a) Tuesday, 12th Dec. f.d.n. 38 (b) Monday, 20th Novr. f.d.n. 01	818 . . .	823
5	834	(a) Tuesday, 8th Dec. f.d.n. 56 (b) Monday, 16th Novr. f.d.n. 70	821 . . .	826
6	841	(a) Tuesday, 22nd Novr. f.d.n. 23 (b) Monday, 31st Octr. f.d.n. 94	828 . . .	833
7	851	(a) Tuesday, 1st Dec. (b) Monday, 9th Novr.	838 . . .	843

Since the first two give the fifth year equivalents A.D. 806 and 809 they have to be rejected for the reason that *Tellārreṇḍa Nandivarman* cannot figure in them. Similarly, Nos. 6 and 7 have to be abandoned because, according to them, the 17th year would work out to be A.D. 845 and 855, both of which are later than the lower limit fixed for *Varaṅga I*. The only three that could be adopted are Nos. 3, 4 and 5 which would give us, for the king's succession, the years A.D. 811, 818 and 821. Even out of these, Nos. 4 and 5 may be given up as their adoption would narrow the possible longer range of reigns of both *Varaṅga I* and *Śrīmāra*. It seems that the only probable date for *Varaṅga's* accession is A.D. 811. This conclusion is not entirely without grounds. The internal evidence furnished in the *Āṇamalai* inscription, *Madras Museum Plates* and the *Vēlvikuḍi* grant shows that A.D. 770 must fall somewhere between the 3rd and 17th years of the reign of *Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ* to whose time they all belong¹. After *Parāntaka* and before *Varaṅga I*, only a single king intervened, i.e., *Rājasimha* and his reign, as at present known, was an eventless one. Therefore, the period of forty-one years from A.D. 770 to A.D. 811 is more than sufficient to cover the rest of the reign of *Parāntaka Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṅ* from the time of the *Āṇamalai* record and the eventless rule of *Rājasimha*. For these reasons, therefore, adopting A.D. 811 as the date of accession of *Varaṅga I*, we may assign A.D. 816 to inscription A and A.D. 824 to B.

Of the places mentioned in these inscriptions, many can be easily identified. *Tirut-tavatturai*² must be *Lalgudi* itself because, the inscriptions are found there. *Maṇakkāl*³ is the homonymous village in the *Trichinopoly* district and *Eḍayattimaṅalam*, not far from *Lalgudi*, might have been the principal place in *Idaiyārṅu-nāḍu* in which *Tiruttavatturai* is said to have been situated. I am not able to trace *Nallimaṅalam* and *Ilamperuṅḡy-irukkai*. *Tellārṅu*, where *Nandivarman* gained a victory, is in the *Wandiwash taluq* of the *North Arcot* district.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff., and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff.

² There is also a village, called *Tiruttavatturakattalai* in the *Trichinopoly* District.

³ A village of this name is in *Udaiyārpālayam taluk*, but this cannot be the one referred to in these inscriptions.

TEXT OF A.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edirām-āṇḍu Idaiyāṅṟu-nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturai-Māhādēvark ku¹ Teḷḷāṅṟu-erinduvera Nandippōtta[r]ai-
 2 yar kuḍutta paḷaṅ-kāsu 60-du [||*] ivv-aṅṟupadu kāsum i-ññāṭṭu Nallimaṅgalattu
 sabhaiyōm ivv-aṅṟupadu kāsu(m) Tiruttavatturai-Mahādēvar-
 3 idai koṇḍu nārāya-nāḷiyāl niśadi nāḷi ney oru nondā-viḷakku śandir-ādittaval
 irav[um] pagalum eriya=kkoṇḍu-ṣeṅṟu aḷappōmā[nō]-
 4 m[||*] Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm Tiruttavatturai-Mahē(hā)dēvarkku aḷavōmāyil
 muṭṭil muṭṭ=iraṭṭiyum mūlappaṭṭa paṅ-mahēśvara[rē]
 5 sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum nilaikkalam-uḷḷiṭṭa tāṅ vēṇḍu kōviṇukku pukka
 2 iru-ṅūṟṟu-ppadiṇ-āṅṟu kāṇam daṇḍam-iḍa [v]e-
 6 ṭṭiṇōm Nallimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [||*] idu paṅ-māhēśvarar nāṟṟpatt-eṅṅāyiravarum
 i(i)rakshai ||.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year opposite to 4, Nandippōttaraiyar, who fought the battle of Teḷḷāṅṟu and gained victory (*in it*), gave 60 old *kāsu* to (*the temple of*) Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturai in Idaiyāṅṟu-nāḍu. Having received from the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai these sixty *kāsu*,² we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam in this *nāḍu*, bound ourselves to take (*to the temple*) and measure out daily (*one*) *nāḷi* of ghee by the measure called *nārāya-nāḷi*, for burning one perpetual lamp as long as the sun and moon last. If we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, fail (*in our undertaking*) and do not measure out (*the ghee*) to the temple of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturai, all the Māhēśvaras attached to the central shrine⁴ shall levy on (*us, the members of*) the assembly, as a body or individually, a fine of two hundred and sixteen *kāṇam* and this shall be paid to the royal officers⁵ inclusive of the *nilaikkalam*⁶ whichever they desire. Thus we, (*the members of*) the assembly of Nallimaṅgalam, had this (*edict*) incised. This (*charity*) shall be under the protection of all the Forty-Eight Thousand Māhēśvaras.

TEXT OF B.

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kō-Mārañjaḍaiyarkku yāṇḍu 4-vadiṇ edir 9-ām-āṇḍu Dhanu-nāyirru Śevvā[y*]-kkaḷamai peṟṟa Śadaiya(m)ttu [nāḷ I]-
 2 ḍaiyāṅṟu-nāṭṭu Tiruttavatturai-Māhādēvarkku¹ iravum pagalum śandir-ādittaval
 iraṇḍu no[nḍā-ttiru-viḷakku]
 3 erippadāga kō-Mārañjaḍaiyaṅ(a)yiṅa Pāṇḍya-kulapati Varaguna-Māhāṟṟayar⁷
 Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṅ [k]aiy[il]=kkuḍutta paḷa[ṅ]-

¹ Read *Mahādēvarkku*.

² The symbols can be read as *vūḷa* (mistake for *vūḷa*) which with the preceding *pukka* becomes *pukkav-vūḷa*.

³ The words 'ivv-aṅṟupadu kāsum' are repeated twice in the record.

⁴ The words 'mūlappaṭṭa paṅmāhēśvara' here used stand in the place of 'mūlappaṭṭuḍai paṅch-āchārva ḍēvakaṅṁi' occurring in other inscriptions. The body meant by the term appears to have been constituted into an assembly for managing the affairs of the temple and was called 'uṇṇāḷigai-vāriya' or 'uṇṇāḷigai-salḷai'.

⁵ 'Kō' literally means 'a king'.

⁶ *Nilai*=stationary and *kaḷam*=field or body. As such, the expression may mean 'a standing committee'.

⁷ Read *Māhāṟṟayar*.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 18

[The text in this image is highly degraded and illegible due to extreme contrast and noise. It appears to be a vertical column of approximately 18 lines of script, possibly a form or a list, with numbers 2 through 18 on the left margin. The characters are mostly black on a white background, with some white noise on a black background.]

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The text is dense and appears to be a form of legal or administrative record. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher without specialized knowledge.

2

4

6

8

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12

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16

18

- 4 kāsū 120 [*]nūṛṛ-irupaḍu kāsūn(m) muda[l] ke[dā]m[ai]y poli[y-ū]ṭṭināl nisadi
nā¹
- 5 aḷappōm-āyinōm ippaḍi oṭ[ṭ]i i-kkāsū koṇḍō[m] Iḍaiyāṛru-nāṭṭu ḷamperunkāy-
iruk[k]ai [sabhaiyō]-
- 6 m [*] i-nūney nisadi iru-nāḷiyum muṭṭil muṭṭ-irattiyum mūlap[pa]ṭṭa pan-
māhēsvararē sabhaiy-āgavum tanitt-āgavum ni²
- 7 ḷiṭṭa tāṇ vēṇḍu kōviṇukku pukka 𑌕𑌗³ aṅṅūru kāṇam daṇḍam-iḍa oṭṭi-
kkuḍuttōm Tiruttavatturāi-Mahādēvarkku [!]*

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 9th year opposite to the 4th year of (the reign of) king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ corresponding to the day of Śadaiyam, i.e., Śatabhishaj (falling) on a Tuesday in the month of Dhanus, king Mārañjaḍaiyaṇ alias Pāṇḍyakulapati Varaguna-Mahārāya gave into the hands of Aṇḍa-nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṇ 120 old kāsū for burning day and night, till the sun and the moon last, two perpetual lamps in the temple of the Mahādēva at Tiruttavatturāi in Iḍaiyāṛru-nāḍu. As interest on these one hundred and twenty kāsū—the capital remaining un-affected—we bound ourselves to measure out daily [two nāḷi of ghee by the nārāya-nāḷi measure]. Thus agreeing, we, (the members of) the assembly of ḷamperunkāy-irukkai in Iḍaiyāṛru-nāḍu, received these kāsū. If (any) default occurs in (giving) these two nāḷi of ghee daily, we agreed on behalf of the Mahādēva of Tiruttavatturāi to pay, either in a body or individually, double the (quantity at) default and a fine of five hundred kāṇam (of gold) to the royal (officers) inclusive of [nilaikkaḷam] as the Māhēsvaras attached to the central shrine desire.

TEXT OF C.

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Kō-Rājakēsaripanma[r*]kku yāṇḍu 13-āvadu Iḍaiyāṛru-
nāṭṭu-tTiruttavatturāi I-
- 2 śvara-baṭṭāra[k]arkku Śōḷapperumāṇ-aḍigaḷ tiru-uḍappuraṇḍār Naṅgai-
Varaguna-perumāṇār śandir-ā-
- 3 dittavaṅ iravum pagalum oru nonḍā-viḷakku nisadi uriy ne[y]yāl⁴ erivadaṅk-
ku kuḍutta po[ṇ]
- 4 30 muppadiṇ kaḷaṅju poṇṇum Vaḍakarai-Māḷa-nāṭṭu Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛrattu
mēl-kūṛru pirama-
- 5 dēyam Maṇalkāl sabhaiyōm koṇḍu i-ppoṇ 30 kaḷaṅju-kōṇḍu Tiru[ta]-
vatturāi Perumāṇ-aḍigaḷukku tiruviḷakkiṇukku viṛru-kkuḍutta nilammāvadu⁵ Mē[r]-
- 6 ppulattu Maṇamuṭṭi-ttiḍaliṇ-kīlai eṅgaḷ nāṅgu-mā-kkāṇiyum pōyum viṛkkiṇ[ra]
- 7 nilattukku ellai Śiṛugavūr veṭṭappēṛriṇ vaḍavāy mūṇru mā-kkāṇiyum pō-
[yu]-
- 9 m viṛkkiṇṛa nilattukku ellai Śiṛugavūr ellai va[y*]kkāliṇ-kkīlai⁶ iraṇḍu-
māvum
- 10 pōyum viṛkkiṇṛa nilattukk-ellai nāṅgaḷē Talaivāyaṇukku kuḍutta ve-
ṭṭa[p]pēṛriṇ-kīlai arai-māvum āga-ttaḍi nāṅgiṇāl nilam araiyum u-
- 12 ṇṇilam oḷiviṇṇi i-ppoṇ 30 [ka*]laṅju-kōṇḍu i-ūilam pattu-chcheyum iraiy-
iliyāga viṛru vilaiy-āvāṇā-chheyidu⁷ śō.

¹ This gap may be filled up with the words " rāya nāḷiyāl iru-nāḷi ney ".

² The letters laikkaḷam-u are damaged.

³ The first y in neyyāl is corrected from yi.

⁴ Read 'kīlai.

⁵ See note 2 on p. 52.

⁶ Read nilammāvadu.

⁷ Read 'chheydu.

- 13 nnir vet̄ṭi ut̄pada maṛṛum epp̄rppaṭṭa vet̄ṭiyum inaiyum eechchōriam vedī-
naiyum epp̄rppaṭṭadum-iṛādadaḡa vir̄ṛu vi-
14 lai-āvaṇaṅ-che[y*]du kuḍuttōm Tiruttavattur̄ai-Mahādēvarkku Maṇarkai sabhai-
yōm i-ñilattukku pugunda
15 kuttukkāl tirttu-kuḍuppōmānōm tirttu-[kkuḍōmāgil kuṭtukkāl puzunḍa(pugunda)-
pōdu muṛpaṭṭa panm[ā]-
16 hēsvararē nilaikkaḷam-uḷḷiṭṭa t̄ān [v̄ēṇḍu] kōṭṭiṇuḷkku kkaṇam
sabhaiyai-āgavum tanitt-āgavum jaṇ-
17 ḍam-iḍa oṭṭi i-ñilam pattu-checheyum vir̄ṛu vilaiy-āvaṇam śeydu kuḍuttōm
Tiruttavattur̄ai-[Ma]hādēvarkku Maṇa-
18 r̄kkāl sabhaiyōm [||*] idu pan-Māhēsvarar nāṛppatt-ēṇṇāyiravarum rakshai || : || : || :

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 13th year of (the reign of) king Rājakesarivarman, Naṅgai-Varaḡa-perumāṇār, the illustrious uterine sister of the Chōḷa king (Sōḷapp̄erumāṇ-āḍiḡal), gave 30 (*kaḷaṅḡu* of) gold for burning a perpetual lamp daily with (one) *uri* of ghee as long as the sun and the moon last, in the temple of *Īsvara-bhaṭṭāraka* at Tiruttavattur̄ai. The (members of the) assembly of Maṇarkāl, a *brahmadēya* on the western portion of Kalāra-kku(kū)ṛram which was a sub-division of Vaḍakarai-Maḷa-nāḍu received these thirty *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold. The following are the lands which they sold for the 30 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold to the temple of Perumāṇaḍiḡal at Tiruttavattur̄ai for (burning) a sacred lamp :—

Four *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* of our land, situated to the east of the mound called Maṇamutt̄ittid̄al; three *mā* and (one) *kāṇi* (of land) to the north of the *vet̄ṭapp̄ēru* in Śiṛuḡavūr; two *mā* of land to the east of the canal at the boundary of Śiṛuḡavūr; and half a *mā* (of land) to the east of the *vet̄ṭapp̄ēru* which we ourselves presented to Talaivāyaṅ¹—in all, half a *vēḷi* comprised in four *taḍi*. Having received the 30 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold, we, (the members of) Maṇarkāl, sold these ten *śey* of land, free from taxes, and drew up the sale-deed expressing therein that all kinds of *vet̄ṭi*, *iṛai*, *eechchōru*, *vedinai* and other (taxes) inclusive of *śannirvet̄ṭi*, shall not be paid (on these lands), and conveyed the same to (the temple of) the Mahādēva at Tiruttavattur̄ai. If there arises any trouble in respect of these lands, we bind ourselves to rectify the same. In case of our failure to rectify, we agree to pay, either as a body or individually, a fine of *kāṇam* of gold to the royal officers inclusive of the *nilaikkaḷam* as may be desired by the several Māhēsvaras existing at the time of default. Thus (agreeing), we, (the members of) the assembly of Maṇarkāl, sold the said ten *śey* of land, drew up the sale-deed and handed over (possession) to (the temple of) the Mahādēva at Tiruttavattur̄ai. This (charity) shall be under the protection of all the Māhēsvaras (viz.,) the Forty-Eight Thousand.

No. 4.—A SUNGA INSCRIPTION FROM AYODHYA.

By RAI BAHADUR DAYA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

This inscription was first brought to the notice of scholars by Babu Jagannath Das Ratnakara of Ayōdhyā. It is inscribed on a flat stone slab at the foot of the eastern entrance of the *Samādhi* of Bābā Sangat Bakhsh, which is reputed to have been built in the time of Nawāb Shujā'ud-ḍaula. This shrine with the connected buildings is situated in the western portion of a large walled enclosure known as Rānopāli, about a mile distant from the town of Ayōdhyā on the road leading to Fyzābād.

¹ May also mean 'for the head-slucice'.

The inscription consists of two lines. The first line appears to be complete, though it is difficult to say that the portion of the slab hidden under the sill of the doorframe does not contain one or more lines. Of the second line, the left hand portion is completely effaced, though some slight traces that have survived make it certain that the whole of this portion was originally inscribed. The characters are Brāhmī which show considerable resemblance with the inscriptions of the Northern Kshatrapas and some archaic votive inscriptions from Mathurā. The characteristics of this type are discussed in Bühler's *Indian Palaeography*¹ and these are the equalization of all the upper verticals except in *la*, the constant use of the *serif* and of the angular forms of *gha*, *ja*, *pa*, *pha*, *ma*, *la*, *sha* and *ha*. Another peculiarity of the Brāhmī script of this period is the slightly bent base line of the letter *na*. The inscription under discussion exhibits all these peculiarities in a marked degree and should be classed with those mentioned above. The document is written in correct Sanskrit and is thus one of the few early inscriptions recorded in that language. The only grammatical mistake noticed in it is the use of *Dharmarājñā* in place of *Dharmarājēna*.

The document has already been dealt with by several scholars, the first of whom was the discoverer, Babu Jagannath Das Ratnākara² himself. This article is written in Hindī and is accompanied by an inked impression of the inscription together with an improved hand-copy prepared by Mr. Ratnākara himself. Mahāmahōpādhyāya Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmēr, dealt with the document in the same volume of the *Nāgarī-Prachārīṇī Patrikā*,³ as well as in his report of that Museum for the year ending 31st March 1924, pp. 1-2. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal has devoted three articles to the subject.⁴ Other scholars, who have dealt with this inscription, are Mr. N. K. Bhattasali,⁵ Dr. A. Bannerji-Śāstri⁶ and Mr. N. G. Majumdar.⁷ The inscription has, however, not yet been dealt with in any of the official publications of the Archaeological Department and my object in editing it in this journal is to bring together the various views expressed by scholars on this important inscription and to record my own impressions of the same.

The inscription records the erection of a shrine or other memorial in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of the Dharmarāja Dhana(°dēva, °bhūti, etc.), Lord of Kōsala, son of Kauśikī, the sixth of the *Sēnāpati* Pushyamitra, who had performed the *Āsvamēdha* twice.

The inscription is important for more reasons than one. It is the first inscription on stone or metal yet discovered which mentions the name of Pushyamitra, the celebrated founder of the Śunga dynasty. Hitherto he was only known from literary sources, e.g., the *Divyāvadāna* (XXIX), Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya* (III-2-123), where reference is made to a sacrifice performed by him, some of the *Purānas*, Kālidāsa's drama, the *Mālavikāgnimitra*, etc. The passages referring to the Śunga dynasty in the *Vishṇu* and the *Bhāgavata Purānas* are quoted in parallel columns in Pargiter's *The Purāna Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 30-33. From the extract from the former we learn that the dynasty was founded by the General Pushyamitra after he had slain the last Maurya king Brīhadratha. His son was Agnimitra, who was succeeded by Vasujyēshṭha. The latter's son was Vasumitra and his son Andhraka. He was succeeded by Pulindaka and the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, 1904, Appendix, p. 40.

² *Nāgarī-Prachārīṇī-Patrikā*, Vol. V, pt. 1, pp. 99-104.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, seq.

⁴ *Modern Review*, October 1924, pp. 430-32, *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 1924, Vol. X, pp. 202-208, and *ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49. [Here Mr. Jayaswal has given good facsimiles of this inscription.—Ed.]

⁵ *Modern Review*, February 1925, p. 202.

⁶ *Ibid.*, January 1925, pp. 59-60.

⁷ *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Vol. VII, pts. I and II, pp. 160-163.

latter by Yōmēgha. He was followed by Vajramitra. He was followed by Samābhāga. The latter's son was Dēvabhūmi.

Kālidāsa's drama mentions three of these kings, *i.e.*, the founder, his son Agnimitra and the latter's son Vasumitra and further informs us that Pushyamitra instituted a *Rājasūya* sacrifice and appointed Vasumitra as the guardian of the sacrificial horse, which in accordance with religious custom was to wander at will for a year and that the horse was seized by the cavalry of the Yavanas, whom Vasumitra successfully defeated and brought the horse back to his grandfather's sacrifice. The *Rājasūya* sacrifice was performed by universal monarchs and the sacrifice of this name mentioned in the drama of Kālidāsa may have been the one performed by Pushyamitra on the occasion of his coronation. The Ayōdhyā inscription, however, records the performance of two *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices by Pushyamitra. It is at present not known what necessitated the institution of the second sacrifice by him. It is to the credit of Pushyamitra that he revived this sacrifice which had long been in abeyance owing to Aśōka's commandments prohibiting the immolation of animals even for sacrifices. Mr. Jayaswal¹ thinks that the *Aśvamēdha* sacrifice mentioned in an inscription discovered at Nagari also referred to Pushyamitra. It is true that such an inscription was found by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar when he was engaged in his excavations at Nagari.² It has, however, been found by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha³ to be only a fragment of the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription and to supply the missing portion of the first line of that record. Thus restored, the epigraph shows that the son of Gajāyana and Pārāśari mentioned in it was one Sarvatāta, who had performed a horse-sacrifice, but makes no mention of Pushyamitra.

The Ayōdhyā inscription is also interesting as it establishes the fact that the correct name of the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty was Pushyamitra, not Pushpamitra as found in some of the Sanskrit works. Dr. Bühler had already been led to this conclusion⁴ by the form Pūsamitta which he found in certain Jaina Prakrit *gāthās*, but epigraphical evidence was wanting.

The interpretation of this short record is rendered difficult by the uncertainty about the exact significance of the words *Pushyamitrasya shashṭhēna* and I am afraid the difficulty will not be solved until another inscription of the Śuṅga dynasty containing the genealogy of these kings comes to light. I propose here to recapitulate what has been said by the previous writers before I record my views on the point. Pandit Ratnakara rendered these words as the sixth descendant, brother or son of Pushyamitra and as with the last alternative, Phalgudēva would become identical with Pushyamitra, he thought he could overcome the difficulty by supplying a word like *pūjyasya* between the words *pituh* and *Phalgudēvasya* and interpret the expression as "in honour of Phalgudēva, a teacher or deity of his father." Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha favoured the meaning "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra," while Mr. Jayaswal preferred to interpret the expression as the sixth brother of Pushyamitra, making Phalgudēva the father of Pushyamitra. This view was endorsed by Dr. A. Banerji-Śāstrī, who rejected "the descent theory" for the reason that if Dhana[dēva] was sixth in descent from Pushyamitra and evidently proud of it, his name would have ended with the word *mitra*. This, as Mr. N. K. Bhattasali⁵ has shown, is no real obstacle as the names of several of the kings of the Śuṅga dynasty as given in the *Purāṇas* and found on their coins have different endings. Dr. Śāstrī also emphasises the fact that in the *Smṛitis* 'descent' is signified by the termination of the 5th case, not the 6th as

¹ *Modern Review*, October 1924, p. 432.

² *The Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari* (Memoirs of the Arch. Surv. Ind. No. 4) p. 120.

³ *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India, 1926-27*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.

⁵ *Modern Review*, January to June 1925, p. 202.

is the case in the expression under discussion. Mr. N. G. Majumdar has hunted up a parallel expression in verse 88 of the 16th *Sarga* of the *Raghuvamśa*. The expression in question is *pañchamaṁ Takshakasya*, which is interpreted by three commentators as meaning "grandson of grandson of Takshaka." Mr. Majumdar therefore sees no difficulty in interpreting *Pushyamitrasya śaśh-ṭhaḥ* as "sixth in descent from Pushyamitra." In his third article¹ on this inscription, however, Mr. Jayaswal points out that the example from the *Raghuvamśa* referred to above is actually interpreted by Mallinātha as meaning the fifth son of Takshaka. 'The sixth of Pushyamitra' in the Ayōdhyā inscription should therefore mean the sixth son of Pushyamitra. As, however, this interpretation would make Phalgudēva identical with Pushyamitra, he proposes to read *Dharmarājñā* in the 2nd line as *Dharmarājñī*, and to compound it with the following word *pituh*. He thus construes the record as meaning that Dhanadēva, the sixth son of Pushyamitra, erected a house in honour of Phalgudēva, the father of his lawful queen.

It will be seen from the above that the only parallel expression found by the ingenuity of Mr. Majumdar is capable of two divergent interpretations. As has been pointed out by Dr. Banerji-Sāstrī, the inscriptions so far known fail to throw light on the question and he is right in stating that the established custom in epigraphical records is either to name the generations in succession or not at all and that it is not usual to mention a distant stage by omitting the intervening ones. One such example I have indeed secured in verse 44 of the *Vamśāvalī* of the Chambā rājās,² where we find the words "Mēruvarman was the 10th from Jayastambha" after the nine intervening ancestors of Mēruvarman have been duly referred to in direct succession. Even here, however, the *vibhakti* employed is the fifth, not the sixth or possessive case. An example of this kind with the sixth case ending occurs in the *Raghuvamśa*, *Sarga* 6, verse 29 :—

त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया

"Thou alone, fortunate lady, art fit to be their third."

Sunandā, the attendant of Indumatī, while narrating the achievements of the prince of the Aṅgas observes that the goddesses Śrī and Sarasvatī, though naturally hostile to each other, together reside in him in peace, thus indicating the propriety of her union with him. It will be observed that though the grammatical construction in this case is the same as in the doubtful expression being discussed, the sense of descent is out of the question. Whether more exact parallels both in form and sense will or will not be found in the vast field of Sanskrit literature, I am unable to say. It seems, however, exceedingly difficult to disregard clear palaeographic evidence and to group this record with the other known documents of the early Śuṅga period. I would, therefore, with Pandit Ratnakara, supply a word like *purushēna* after *śaśhṭhēna* and translate "by the sixth descendant of Pushyamitra". It will be seen from the facsimile that only the first portion of the name of the chief who had this inscription engraved is preserved. Previous writers have restored it as Dhanadēva and Mr. N. G. Majumdar identifies him with a chief of that name whose coins have been found round about Ayōdhyā. Be the name, however, what it may, the inscription has established beyond doubt the fact that Ayōdhyā formed part of the Śuṅga Empire as late as the date of the inscription, which, on palaeographic grounds must be assigned to about the 1st century A.D.

TEXT.

Line 1. *Kōsal-ādhipēna dvir-āsvamēdha-yājīnaḥ sēnāpatēḥ Pushyamitrasya śaśhṭhēna*
Kauśīkī-putrēṇa Dhana
 Line 2. *Dharmarājñā pituh Phalgudēvasya kētanam kārtaṁ*

¹ *J. B. & O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247-49.

² Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, p. 85 :—

मेरुवर्मा अथसम्भाह्वयनोऽभूत्.

[The chief point of interest in the inscription is the use of the genitive case in the expression *Pushyamitrasya shashthēna*. According to Pāṇini (तस्य पूरणे ङट्, नाम्नादसंख्यादेर्मट् and षट्कृतिकतिपयचतुरां युक्त्वा, *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48, 49 and 51), the suffix *ḍat* (with the augments *ma* and *thuk*) is used in the sense of *pūraṇa*, i.e., येन संख्या संख्यानं पूर्यते संपद्यते स तस्याः पूरणः (*Kāśikā* on the *Ashṭādhyāyī*, V. ii. 48), 'that with which a number is completed'. So षष्ठः means षष्ठां पूरणः and पञ्चमः, पञ्चानां पूरणः, and so on. In other words, this suffix does not signify any order of descent or kinship and षष्ठेन of the inscription, taken by itself, would simply mean 'by the sixth.' The genitive case, however, would show the *sambandha* or relationship which this person had with Pushyamitra, for that is one of the chief functions of this *vibhakti*. To express 'order of descent' the ablative case should be employed, as a reference to the comments on अन्यारादितरते दिक्शब्दाच्चत्तरपदाजाड्वयुक्ते (*Ashṭādhyāyī*, II. iii. 29) would show. We generally say अयमस्मात् पूर्वः, अयमस्मादुत्तरः. This will be made clearer by the following quotation given in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word *sapiṇḍa* :—

“पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतः क्रमात् ।

सपिण्डता निवर्त्तते सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥” इत्युद्वाहृतचष्टतनारदवचनम् ॥

That *pañchamī* and not *shashthī* is generally used in such cases is further shown by the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (*Aṃśa* III, *Adhyāya* X) and the *Garuḍa-Purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* LXV) as quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma* under the word *vivāha*.

“पञ्चमीं मातृपक्षाच्च पितृपक्षाच्च सप्तमीं” and

“पञ्चमात् सप्तमादूर्ध्वं मातृतः पितृतस्तथा”

The *Yājñavalkya-Smṛiti*, *Āchār-ādhyāya*, (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) would also support the said statement for it says :—

परोगिणीं भ्रातृमतीमसमानविगोत्रजाम् ।

पञ्चमीं सप्तमीं चैव मातृतः पितृतस्तथा ॥ ५३॥

Therefore, if it was the order of descent which the author of the inscription had in view, he would have said *puṣyamitraat* and not *puṣyamitrasya*. Consequently, it becomes evident that if any word is to be supplied, it should be *putreṇa* and not *putreṣu*. In consideration of these points, *Mallinātha* seems to be quite correct in taking *पञ्चमं तक्षकस्य* (*Raghu.*, XVI, 88) in the sense of 'the fifth son of Takshaka.' To get the meaning attributed to this passage by Chāritravardhana or by Dinakaramitra, we should expect the ablative case or the form *takṣakāt* instead. We say *tasya* but not *takṣaat* *putr:*, *putr:*, *putrāḥ* वा. Here, we should remember that the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* gives the reading *Pushyamitra-sūtās=ch=āshṭau* which strongly supports the interpretation of *षष्ठेन* as 'by the sixth son'. Besides, there is no inherent impossibility in the version given in this *Purāṇa* which would necessitate a summary rejection of it. Nor does it imply a sense which is wrong or impossible. Accordingly, the meaning 'by the sixth son of Pushyamitra' seems to be preferable.

As to the two new references given in this article one (*त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया*) has no bearing whatsoever on the point under consideration. The other, which is a quotation from the *Vamśāvalī* of the rulers of Chambā, would only support the *prati-pakṣa* or the opposite view in that it uses *pañchamī* and not *shashthī* to express the order of descent of Mēruvarman.—Ed.]

No. 5.—PAHARPUR COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE [GUPTA] YEAR 159.

By K. N. DIKSHIT, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This copper-plate was found by me during the excavation of the great temple at Pāharpur in the Badalgachi Thana of the Rājshāhi District in Bengal on the 29th November, 1927. It was recovered from the debris that had accumulated on the north-east side of the circumambulatory passage on the second terrace. From the circumstances of the discovery it was apparent that it could not have been originally buried or deposited under the floor of the passage, but was probably brought down from a higher level along with the bricks and mud. It is to be regretted that owing to the inadvertence of the labourer a hole has been made in the upper right hand corner of it and some letters in the three lines at the end of the first side and the first few lines of the second side have become obscure. The left hand margin has also been damaged at places, owing to which circumstance some of the letters written there have disappeared. The plate when dug out was covered with a thick coating of rust and verdigris but has subsequently been cleaned by chemical treatment and proves to have been fairly well preserved. It is rectangular¹ in shape, measures 7½" × 4½" and weighs 29 *tālās*.

The characters in which the inscription under notice is written belong to the northern class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and closely resemble those of the grants 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur² copper-plates of the time of Budhagupta. The formation of the medial *ā* by the addition of a stroke at the right lower end of the letters *ga*, *ṇa*, *dha*, *ba*, *ra* and *śa* may be noted. The terminal *m* is written slightly below the top line as will be seen in *-ādḥikaraṇam* (l. 1), *°chaturshṭayam* (l. 8), *Sam* (l. 20), and *phalam* (l. 24). The rare letter *ḍha* occurs in *ādḥavāpa* (l. 15). The forms of the conjunct letters *ksha* (as in *Dakshinā*³ l. 1), *hma* (as in *Brāhma*⁴ ll. 3, 12 and 17) and *ñchchhya* (as in *apavñchchhya* l. 20) are noteworthy. The numerical signs for 100, 50, 9, 7, 4 and 1 are to be found in ll. 19 to 21. The unusual form of 9 in l. 20, seems to be the prototype of the modern Bengali sign for that digit.

As regards orthography, the doubling of *k* before *ya* in *°dīnārikhya*⁵ (ll. 4 and 11), and before *r* in *°vikṛāyā*⁶ (ll. 5 and 12), and *°kkramēṇ=ā*⁷ (ll. 5 and 17) requires notice. The consonants *k*, *ṇ*, *d*, *m* and *y* are doubled after *r*, as in *°ārkkā*⁸ (l. 20), *°anuvārṇny=ā*⁹ (l. 3), *°nirddishṭr*¹⁰ (l. 18), *śarmamā* (ll. 4 and 12), *°śarmmata* (l. 17), *āryya*¹¹ (l. 1), *°bhāryyā*¹² (ll. 4, 12 and 17), *°āchāryya*¹³ (ll. 6 and 13) and in *dharmma*¹⁴ and *°dharmmēṇa* in lines 16 and 19. The *v* symbol is used for *b* in *°samudaya-vāhy-ā*¹⁵ (ll. 4 and 11) and *°vavahubhir*¹⁶ (l. 23).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the five imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The rules of *sandhi* have been very often violated, specially in respect of a *visarga* at the end of a word, as in *°āyuktakaḥ āryya*¹⁷ (l. 1), *°Gōhālītaḥ arddha*¹⁸ (l. 9), *°virādhaḥ guṇas*¹⁹ (l. 16), *kulyavāpa adhyarddhō*²⁰ (l. 19). *°Nātha-śarmamā śtad*²¹ in ll. 4 and 12 is also wrong grammatically.

The document under examination registers the purchase of a fallow state land by a private individual for charitable purposes. The Dhānāidaha,²² the Dāmōdarpur,²³ the Farid-

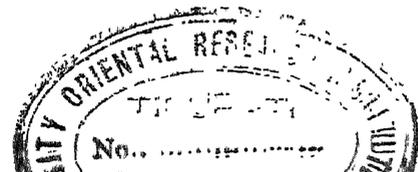
¹ The left hand margin presents a broken appearance in the central portion. It is probable that, as in No. 3 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, there was a semi-circular projection at this place for attaching the seal.

² Above, Vol. XV, pp. 116 ff.

³ [See fn. 5 on p. 61 below.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 113 ff.



pur¹ and the Ghugrāhāti² copper-plates also record similar transactions, the difference being that in the present case the rate at which one *kulyavāpa* of land was sold was 2 *dināras* whereas it was 3 in the case of the Dāmōdarpur grants and 4 in the case of the Faridpur ones. As Nos. 3 and 4 of the Dāmōdarpur plates are almost co-eval with the present plate, the difference in the rates mentioned in the two cases must be due to local causes. Probably the quality of the land available was inferior or there was an abundance of fallow land in the locality around Pāhārpur. It was, apparently, owing to such considerations that the 5 *drōṇavāpas* (= $\frac{5}{3}$ of a *kulyavāpa* approximately) were, as stated in No. 2 of the Dāmōdarpur plates, granted in lieu of a deposit of 2 *dināras*, when the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*³.

The grant under notice records that a Brāhmaṇa and his wife deposited 3 *dināras* or gold coins with the city council (*adhishṭhān-ādhiparāṇa*) to secure 1 *kulyavāpa* and 4 *drōṇavāpas* of land situated at 4 different villages all lying in the Dakṣiṇāmāsaka-*viḥā* and Nāgiraṭṭa-*maṇḍala* for the maintenance of worship with sandal, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., of the divine arhats at the *viḥāra* of Vaṭa-Gōhālī which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (*Śramaṇ-āchārya*) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañcha-stūpa section (*nikāya*) of Benares. The donation of a Brāhmaṇa couple for the worship of Jinās, as recorded here, is noteworthy for it bespeaks of the religious toleration of the people of the period.

The Jaina *viḥāra* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī mentioned in this inscription, it would appear, must have stood at the original site of the present temple at Pāhārpur. The boundaries of the site are partly situated within the limits of the village of Gōālbiṭṭā to the north-west and the mound where the temple has been unearthed was pointed out to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton in 1807 as 'Gōālbiṭṭār Pāhār' (the eminence of Gōālbiṭṭā). The identification of Gōālbiṭṭā with the ancient Vaṭa-Gōhālī easily suggests itself as the stem Gōhālī is substantially identical with Gōāl. Few relics of the Jaina faith⁴ have come to light during the excavations at Pāhārpur, but numerous Brahmanical and Buddhist bas-reliefs and terra-cotta plaques, dating from the late Gupta times, have been discovered. In the ninth and the succeeding centuries of the Christian era, the Pāhārpur temple was known as the great Buddhist *viḥāra* of king Dharmapāla at Sōmapura, the latter place being recognised in the modern village of Ōmpur, a mile to the south of the mound.

Regarding the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal, the Chinese traveller Hsüen Tsiang, who visited the country of Puṇḍravardhana in the second quarter of the seventh century, records that⁵ "there are some 100 Dēva temples, where sectaries of different schools congregate. The naked Nirgranthas are the most numerous." This statement can now be corroborated by the evidence of the present document which speaks of a *viḥāra* presided over by a succession of Nigrantha monks, at least 150 years previous to the Chinese pilgrim's visit to the locality. In connection with the name Guhanandin it is worthy of note that the names of the Digambara Āchāryas of the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era, such as Yaśōnandin, Jayanandin, Kumāranandin, etc., as is shown by the lists, generally end in *nandin*. Puṇḍravardhana is mentioned as one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs, beginning with Gupti-Gupta or Viśākh-āchāryya, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II and Guhanandin must have been one of them.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 193 and *J.A.S.B.*, *N.S.*, Vol. VII, p. 475.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 74.

³ [If the rate was 3 *dināras* to a *kulyavāpa*, the price of 5 *drōṇavāpas*, i.e., $\frac{5}{3}$ of a *kulyavāpa* must be 2 *dināras*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Does this fact support the author's view regarding the situation of the Jaina *viḥāra* at the site or suggest that the document under notice was brought from outside? Cf. his remark about the find in para. 1, p. 59, above.—Ed.]

⁵ *Bal, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 195.

The procedure followed in ancient Bengal¹ in respect of applications for the purchase and donation of land, as elaborated in the present case, is interesting. The intending donors approached the District Officer (*Āyuktaka*²) and the City Council (*Adhishṭhān-ādhiparāna*) headed by the venerable Mayor (*Nagara-srēshṭhin*) and requested them for sale of land for charitable purposes at the prescribed rate. The Officer and the Council referred the case, in the first instance, to the committee of record-keepers consisting of one chief record-keeper and at least five other record-keepers.³ The latter after making necessary enquiries submitted their report with recommendation in favour of the transaction. The authorities thereupon realised the necessary amount from the applicants and intimated the elders and other householders belonging to the villages concerned to measure out the land and make it over to the applicants for the purpose in view.

The land measure adopted in this grant was based on the measures of grain as is the case in the Dāmōdarpur and other grants. The *kulyavāpa* denoted as much land as could be sown with a *kulya* measure of grain. A *kulya*, according to various ancient authorities, was equivalent to 8 *drōṇas*=32 *ādḥakas*=128 *prasthas*. Other land measures found in the present record are *drōṇavāpa* and *ādḥavāpa*.

The date of the grant as given in the inscription is Sam 159 Māgha di 7 and, apparently, refers to the Gupta era, which was in use in Bengal when the charter was issued. As such, it would fall in January 479, A.D. The mention of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* in l. 16 can only be taken to refer to the reigning sovereign whose name is not mentioned. The Dāmōdarpur plates show that the kingdom of Budhagupta included the *bhukti* of Puṇḍravardhana at this period and it is not improbable that the unspecified reigning sovereign at the time of the issue of the copper-plate was Budhagupta.

Regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the plate, Puṇḍravardhana has been identified by General Cunningham⁴ with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthān-gaṇh,' 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. *Vata-Gōhālī*, as stated above, may be the modern Gōālbiṭṭā. I am unable to identify the other localities.

TEXT.⁴

Obverse.

- 1 Svasti [||*] Puṇḍra[varddha]nād-Āyuktakaḥ⁵ Āryya-nagara-srēshṭhi-purōgañ-ch-ādhishtān-ādhiparānam Dakṣiṇāmsaka-vithēya-Nāgiraṭṭa-
- 2 māṇḍalika-Palāsūṭṭa-pārsvika-Vaṭa-Gōhālī-Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Priṣṭhima-pōttaka-Gōshāṭapuñjaka-Māla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-
- 3 Nitva-Gōhālīshu Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān-Mahattar-ādi-kutumbinaḥ kuśalam-anuvarṇay-
ānubōdhayanti [] *] Vijñāpayaty=asmān-Brāhmaṇa-Nātha-

¹ [It would be safer to say 'in this part of ancient Bengal' till it is proved by documentary evidence that this procedure was followed in the whole of ancient Bengal.—Ed.]

² [The Faridpur and the Dāmōdarpur grants mention more than one but less than five record-keepers. Faridpur grant No. 1 mentions only one record-keeper. Will it not be better to say 'the Committee which consisted of one chief record-keeper and very often other subordinate record-keepers'?—Ed.]

³ A. S. R., Vol. XV, pp. 104-117.

⁴ From the original plate.

⁵ [The plate correctly gives 'yuktakā āryya'. This reading would show that there were more *Āyuktakas* than two and that Nātha-sārmā and his wife Rāmī approached these *Āyuktakas* with their request for the land.—Ed.]

- 4 śarmmā ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha yushmākam=ih-ādhishtān-ādhipikaraṇē
dvi-dīnārikkyā-kulyavāpēna śāsvat-kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samudaya-vāhy¹-ā-
- 5 pratikara-khila-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad-arhatth-ānēn-aiva kkrāmōṇ āvayōs=
sakāsād-dīnāra-trayam=upasaṅgrīhy=āvayō[s*]=sva-puṇy-āpyā-
- 6 yanāya Vāṭa-Gōhālyām=av²=āsyān=Kāsika³-pañcha-stūpa-nikāyika⁴-nigrantha-Śramaṇ-
āchāryya-Guhanandi-śishya-praśishy-ādhishtāta-vihārē
- 7 Bhagavatām=Arhatām gandha-dhūpa-sumanō-dīp-ādy-arthan-tala-vāṭaka-nimittañ=cha
a[ta*] ēva Vāṭa-Gōhālītō vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhyarddhañ=Ja-
- 8 mbudēva-prāvēśya-Prishthima-pōttakē⁵ kshētraṁ drōṇavāpa-chatuṣṭayam Gōshā-
ṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatuṣṭayam Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-
- 9 prāvēśyā-Nitva-Gōhālītaḥ arddha-trika-drōṇavāpān-ity-ēvam=adhyarddham kshētra-
kulyavāpam⁶=akshaya-nivyā dātum=i[ty=atra] yataḥ prathama-
- 10 Pustapāla-Divākaranandi-Pustapāla-Dhṛitivishṇu-Virōchana-Rāmadāsa-Haridāsa-Sāsīnandi-
shu prathamānu⁷ [nā]m=avadhāraṇa "
- 11 y=āvadhṛitam asty=asmad-adhishtān-ādhipikaraṇē dvi-dīnārikkyā-kulyavāpēna śāsvat-
kāl-ōpabhōgy-ākshaya-nivī-samu[daya-vā]hy⁸-āpratikara-
- 12 [khila*]-kshētra-vāstu-vikkrayō=nuvittas=tad-yad-yushmām¹⁰-Brāhmaṇa-Nūtha-śarmmā
ētaḍ-bhāryyā Rāmī cha Palāsātṭa-pārsvika-Vāṭa-Gōhālīstha¹¹ (?) -ya

Reverse.

- 13 ka-pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika-āchāryya-nigrantha-Guhanandi-śishya-
praśishy-ādhishtāta-sad-vihārē Arhatām¹² gandha-[dhūp]-ādy-upayōgīya
- 14 [tala-v*]āṭaka-nimittañ=cha tatr=aiva Vāṭa-Gōhālyām vāstu-drōṇavāpam=adhya-
arddham kshētrañ=Jambudēva-prāvēśya-Prishthima-pōttakē drōṇavāpa-chatuṣṭayam
- 15 Gōshāṭapuñjād=drōṇavāpa-chatuṣṭayam Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa-prāvēśya-Nitva-Gōhālītō drō-
ṇavāpa-dvayam=ādhavā[pa-dva]y-ādhipikam=ity-ēvam=a-

¹ Read °bāhy-ā°.² Read °ēv°.³ [Cf. *Navy-Āvakāśīkāyām* of the Faridpur grants 2 and 3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 200 and 204.—Ed.]⁴ This expression is further characterised as *pañcha-stūpa-kula-nikāyika* in l. 13 of the text. The word *pañcha-nikāyika* is familiar to the students of Buddhism in the sense of 'one who knows the five Nikāyas'. In the present case, however, the word *stūpa* or *stūpa-kula* occurring between *pañcha* and *nikāyika* and its connection with a Jaina preceptor would seem to show that *Nikāya* must be taken here in the sense of a branch (*sikhā*) of the Jaina Āchāryas. *Pañcha-stūpa* may, in that case, be a place name from which a particular branch of the Jaina Āchāryas may have been known.⁵ † is redundant here.⁶ The engraver first wrote *drōṇavāpam*, but finding his mistake later, appears to have made an attempt at correction. The erased letters *drōṇa* are clearly visible below *kulya*.⁷ Some letters after this are lost.⁸ [The text of the Dāmōdarpur plates would suggest that *avadhāraṇayā* was preceded by the names of the record-keepers which were put in the genitive plural.—Ed.]⁹ Read °bāhy°.¹⁰ Read °yushmām°.¹¹ [Compare the reading in l. 6 above.—Ed.]¹² Read *Arhatām*.

FIRST SIDE.

2
4
6
8
10
12

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

SECOND SIDE.

14
16
18
20
22
24

14
16
18
20
22
24

- 16 dhyarddham kshētra-kulyavāpam=prārthayatē¹=tra na kaschid=virōdhaḥ guṇas-
tu yut=parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānām=arth-ōpachayō dharṃma-shaḍ-bhāg-āpyāya-
- 17 mañ-cha bhavati tad ēvañ-kriyatām=ity-anēn=āvadhāraṇā-kkramēṇ-āsmād-Brā-
hmaṇa-Nātha-sarṃmata ētad-bhāryyā-Rāmiyās=cha dīnāra-tra-
- 18 yam āyikṛity-aitābhyām vijñāpitaka-kram-ōpayōgāy-ōpari-nirddishṭa-grāma-Gōhālī-
kēshu tala-vāṭaka-vāstunā saha kshētram
- 19 kulyavāpa adhyarddhō=kshaya-nīvi-dharṃmēṇa dattaḥ ku 1 drō 4 [*]
Tad-yushmābhiḥ sva-karṃmaṇ-āvīrōdhi-sthānē shaṭka-naḍair²-apa-
- 20 viñcheḥhya³ dātavyō-kshaya-nīvi-dharṃmēṇa cha śasvad=āchandr-ārka-tāra-
kālam anu-pālayitavya iti [*] Sam 100 50 9
- 21 Māgha di 7 [*] Uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vyāsēna [*] Sva-dattām para-
dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*]
- 22 sa viśṭhūyām krimir⁴=bhūtva piṭṭibhis-saha pachyatē [*] Shasṭi-varsha-
sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ [*]
- 23 ākshēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [*] Rājabhir=vvahu-
bhir⁵=dattā dīyatē cha punaḥ punaḥ [*] yasya yasya
- 24 yadā bhūmi⁶ tasya tasya tadā phalam [*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō
yatnād-raksha Yudhishṭhira [*] mahīm=mahimatām⁷ śrēṣṭha
- 25 dānāch-chhrōyō nupālanam [*] Vindhy-ātavishv=anambunshu⁸ śushka-kōṭara-
vāsina [*] kṛishn-āhinō⁹ hi jāyantē dēva-dāyam haranti yē [*]

Abstract of Contents.

Nātha-sarṃmā, a Brāhmaṇa and Rāmī, his wife, approach the District Officer¹⁰ and the City-Council headed by the Mayor (*Nagara-Śrēṣṭhī*) at Puṇḍravardhana with the request that in accordance with the procedure prevalent in the locality, they may be allowed to deposit three *dīnāras* in return for $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavāpas* of land distributed among 4 different villages to be endowed in perpetuity for the maintenance of requisites of the worship of Arhats such as sandal, incense, flower,¹¹ lamps, etc., and for the construction of a resting place at the *vikāra* of the Jaina preceptor Guhanandī at Vaṭa-Gōhālī. The details of the lands required were:—Fields measuring 4, 4 and $2\frac{1}{2}$ *drōṇavāpas*, respectively, at the villages of Prishṭhima-pōttaka, Gōshāṭapuñjaka and Nitva-Gōhālī; home-stead land measuring $1\frac{1}{2}$ *drōṇavāpas* at Vaṭa-Gōhālī.

¹ [Read °prārthayatē (°yētē°).—Ed.]

² This expression can be compared with *ashṭakā-navaka-nalābhy m* occurring in the Dāmōdarapur Plates. The present practice in parts of Bengal and Assam is to measure out the lands by *nalas* or reeds of a definite measurement in cubits, which differ in different localities. The *shaṭka*, *ashṭaka* and *navaka* as referred to the *nalas* may therefore mean *nalas* of so many cubits (i.e., 6, 8 or 9).

³ [Dr. N. P. Chakravarti connects it with the Bengali word *bāchhā* meaning to select or choose.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *krimir*.° [But *krimir*. in is also allowed.—Ed.] ⁵ Read °bbakubhir.° ⁶ Read *bhūmis*°.

⁷ Read *matimatām*. [The reading *mahimatām* given in the plate is also correct.—Ed.]

⁸ Read *anambushu*. [The plate correctly gives *anambushu*.—Ed.] ⁹ Read =āhayā.

¹⁰ [See foot-note 5 on p. 61 above.—Ed.]

¹¹ The mention of flowers in the worship of the Arhats or Jinas indicates a point of difference between the practice of the old Nigrantha and the modern Digambara Jinas. The latter do not permit the use of flowers in as much as the insects likely to be present in the flowers may be destroyed thereby. The Svētāmbaras, however, have no objection to this practice.

The Council, in the first instance, consulted the Board of Record-Keepers presided over by Divākaranandin, who pointed out that there was no objection to the transaction, especially as, besides bringing some revenue to the treasury, it would entitle His Majesty to a sixth share of the religious merit accruing from the endowment. The Council, therefore, decided to accept the offer of the Brāhmaṇa couple and recorded the transfer of land.

The village elders of the respective villages at which the lands in question were situated, were then asked by the Council to mark out the boundaries of the lands thus granted and maintain them in perpetuity. The date was the 7th day of Māgha, in the [Gupta] year 159. The usual imprecatory verses follow.

No. 6.—KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V.

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

Kōṭavumachgi is a village about 14 miles to the north-east of Gadag, the headquarters of the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. The inscription, which is edited below, is engraved on a stone-tablet set up in front of the temple of Kalamēśvara which is standing there. The inscribed portion of the stone covers an area of 6' 2" by 1' 11" and is in a state of very good preservation. The inscription is neatly written in the **Kanarese script** of about the 11th century A.D. As regards **palaeography**, the chief points requiring notice are : (i) the lingual *ḍ* and *ḷ* are not clearly distinguished from the dental *ḍ* ; compare for example *chhandan-alamkāra* (l. 25), *pamneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34), etc. ; (ii) the *u*-sign is indicated in three different ways, viz., (1) by a short hook at the bottom of the letter as in *Puligere* (l. 7), *pamneraḍu* (ll. 17, 29), *vondu* (l. 36), etc., (2) by a mark with a downward bend by the side of the letter, as in *kuḍise kuḍe* (l. 13), *mattar-aydu* (ll. 18, 20), *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), etc., and (3) by a long right side stroke shooting from the bottom of the letter as in *Pushya sūddha* (l. 10), *nivēsamanṅalu* (l. 46) ; (iii) the *e*-sign is given, sometimes, below the letter and resembles the *u*-sign, as in *Puligere* (l. 7) or in *beḷgoḍe* (l. 13). In one case it is represented by a horizontal stroke at the bottom of the letter, as in *Beḷvola* (l. 7) ; (iv) the final *m* is used in two places, i.e., in ll. 52 and 54 and is shaped like the secondary *ma*. Excepting the three imprecatory verses in Sanskrit, which come at the end, the record is written in **Kanarese prose** of the mediæval period. The words *ghaḷige* (l. 13) (which is a *tadbhava* of *ghaṭikā*) and *chhaṭṭa* (l. 24) (which is the *tadbhava* of *chhātra*) are of lexical interest ; so also, *kuruva-gey* (l. 28), *kūṇḍe* (l. 33), *paḍiyale* (l. 34) and *pārikkāya* (l. 41). In **orthography** the only point which requires mention here is the use of *r* and *l* in place of *ṛ* and *ḷ* as in *mūru* (l. 33) and *eḷu-kōḷi* (l. 48) respectively.

After *svasti*, the inscription opens with the usual prelude announcing that **Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva (V)** was reigning at the time and that **Beḷvola-Three Hundred** and **Puligere-Three Hundred** were administered by his subordinate *Danḍanāyaka Kēśavayya* whom it describes as ' the obtainer of the five great *śabdās*, the *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, the great and fierce commander-in-chief of armies and a favourite hero of his master ' (ll. 1-8). After giving the date (ll. 9-11) it records that *Danḍanāyaka Kēśavayya* granted, with the king's permission, the village **Ummachige** situated in **Nareyanṅal-Twelve** to **Maunara Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa** of **Rōṇa** (ll. 9-13). The latter, in his turn, entrusted it to the 104 *Mahājanas* of the place specifying certain conditions to be observed by them. Lines 14-32 mention the income of certain estates under

different headings, namely, the maintenance of the temples and temple servants, the emoluments of *Bhatta* and *Akkariga*,¹ the stipends of students and the feeding of the *elkōṭi* ascetics.² Then follow the specifications of land and taxes levied on festive occasions such as *upanayana*, marriage, vedic sacrifices, *Bādube*,³ *Kārapuṇṇime* and *Dīpālige*, with a remark that they should be enjoyed by the *Uroḍeya* (ll. 33-36). It further states (ll. 36-43) that fines on certain crimes it has specified, incomes derived from spoils, *daśavandha* (*daśabandha*) of escheat property of persons dying intestate and taxes on musical instruments such as *kale* and *maddale* are to be utilised for repairs, etc., of the tank called *Dēyirigere* at Ummachige. Lines 43-46 contain the stipulation that the *Mahājanas* should protect the estates and maintain the gift even in adverse circumstances. The record was written by *Gōvinda-Bhaṭṭa* and engraved by *Chāvōja* (l. 54).

The inscription is dated the Śaka year 934, the 8th day of the bright half of the month Pushya, Paridhāvin *saṁvatsara*, Sunday and the Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti. These details do not appear to be quite regular. Except for the week day, the date corresponds, according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris*, to Tuesday, 23rd December A.D. 1012.⁴

The inscription is important as it reveals the name of a new subordinate of Vikramāditya, viz., the *Mahāsāmantādhipati Kēśavayya* who was administering the two Six-Hundreds at the time of the grant. A record⁵ secured from Hosūr in the Gadag Taluk dated in A.D. 1029 refers to the *Mahāsāmantādhipati Kēśavarasa* in the passage " *Mahāsāmantādhipati mahāprachanḍa-daṇḍa-nāyakaṁ śrīmat-Kēśavarasara tadagra-tanūjam* [||*] *Svasti samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāsabda mahā-sandhi-vigrah-ādhipati mahāprachanḍa-daṇḍanāyakaṁ śrī-Vāvaṇarasar=eradarunūrumaṁ..... nūḷuttam=ire.....* " as the father of *Vāvaṇarasa* who was then governing the two Six-Hundreds under Jayasīnha, the younger brother and successor of Vikramāditya V. It is this *Vāvaṇarasa* who figures as a subordinate of Jayasīnha II in the Hoṭṭūr inscription of Śaka 959 (A.D. 1037) and the Hulgūr inscription of Śaka 960 (A.D. 1038)⁶ *Kēśavarasa* appears to have succeeded *Śōbhanarasa*⁷ in the administration of the two districts, sometime after A.D. 1004 when, according to a record⁸ of Yeliśīrūr, the latter was still the governor. We know from the Nilgund inscription⁹ of Taila II dated in Śaka 904 that *Kannapa* was appointed as the governor of Bejvola-300 and Purigere-300 by Taila II and that he was succeeded by his brother

¹ *Akkariga* is made up of *Akkara* (Skt. *Akshara*) and *iga*, a *taddhita* termination indicating knowledge, according to the *Sūtra* तद्वैयर्थ्ये वा || 167 || of the *Karṇāṭaka-Bhāṣābhūṣhaṇa* of Nāgavarma, p. 62 (Mysore Government edition). The word, therefore, means 'one who is well versed in (the science of) words.'

² *Elkōṭi* ascetics are probably the devotees of Śiva in the form of Mallāri who with an army of 'seven crores' destroyed the demons Malla and his brother. See for the story *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31.

³ *Bādube* is a Kanarese name for the new-moon day of Vaiśākha, *Kārapuṇṇime* for the full-moon day of Jyēṣṭha and *Dīpālige* for the new-moon day of Āśvina. For Kanarese names of all the full-moon days and new moon days of a year, see Dr. Fleet's note in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 11 ff.

⁴ An inscription of Vikramāditya V bearing the Śaka date 93[5] is noticed in Appendix B (No. 722) of the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923. But the reading of the last figure is doubtful. (See *ibid* p. 101). A record from Karaḍihalli in the Mysore State (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 287) belonging to the same king is dated clearly Śaka 933, Paridhāvin, Pushya, Śu. 13, Monday (=Monday, the 29th December A.D. 1012) which may be regarded as his latest date known so far. The present inscription is thus six days earlier than the latest epigraph of Vikramāditya V.

⁵ No. 110 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

⁶ See above Vol. XVI, pp. 75 ff. and pp. 332 ff. In the published text of the former record, the name appears to have been wrongly read as Chāvāṇarasa.

⁷ The relationship between *Śōbhanarasa* and *Kēśavarasa* is not disclosed by inscriptions.

⁸ No. 62 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1926-27.

⁹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff.

Śōbhanarasa in the government of those provinces in about A.D. 982. It is likely that Taila II, after overthrowing the Gaṅga chief Pañchaladēva shortly after A.D. 975, invested Kannapa¹ with the governorship of the two districts as stated in the above record. Thus we get, after the downfall of the Gaṅgas, a succession of rulers of the Belvola and Purigere provinces in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, namely Kannapa, Śōbhanarasa, Kōśavarasa and Vāvaṅgarasa.

From this inscription it can be gathered that Ummachige was a great educational centre in the beginning of the 11th century A.D. and maintained a college, with a free hostel attached to it, where instruction was imparted in several sciences. It allots a share of fifty *mattar* with one house-site to the *Bhaṭṭa* who could expound *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara* and twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils studying those subjects, while twenty-five *mattar* and one house-site only are given to the *Akkariga* (man of letters) named Nāgadēsiga who could teach and compose works on mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics, etc., and was well versed in grammar. It is enjoined that this Nāgadēsiga should teach his pupils feeding them once a day and supplying them with a cloth every year. These two *vr̥ttis* are respectively called *bhaṭṭa-vr̥tti* and *akkariga-vr̥tti* in the record. It is interesting to note that the *Bhaṭṭa* and his pupils are the recipients of separate shares in the village whereas the *Akkariga*, who enjoys a lesser income, has also to feed and clothe his pupils. From this distinction in the two *vr̥ttis*, it is apparent that the curriculum of education was divided into two sections of which one was intended for specialisation in *sāstras* and the other meant for the general needs of a student. Among the subjects taught, *Nyāsa*² was, possibly, be a work on grammar; *Prabhākara* is a work of the Mīmāṃsū school of philosophy started by Prabhākara.

The record is interesting from another point of view also. It gives us a peep into the system of village administration in ancient times in Karṇāṭaka. From the details of the grant given in ll. 14-41, it seems that the proper conduct of worship in temples, the imparting of education, the feeding of ascetics, the supply of water to the village people and the punishment of criminals were the chief items which claimed the immediate attention of the administrator. Regarding the last item, it is worthy of note that the inscription mentions a number of crimes taken cognisance of by the authorities and the penalties imposed in each case.³ They are: (1) for abusing one another (*baydaḍe*), 2 *paṇas*; (2) for assault (*baḷidaḍe*), 12 *paṇas*; (3) for drawing out the dagger (*surige-giḷtaḍe*), 3 *gadyāṇas*—a *māṇi*⁴ who ascends the processional *mandapa* with weapons is excepted, (4) for stabbing (*iridaḍe*), 12 *gadyāṇas* and (5) for a bachelor (*māṇi*) committing adultery (*māṇi sūle-gēdaḍe*), 3 *gadyāṇas*. It is stated that the fines thus realised together with the spoils (*kavarie*), one-tenth (*daśavandha*)⁵ of the escheat property (*aputrika-dravya*)⁶ and taxes on musical instruments must be utilised for the upkeep and repairs of the tank called Dāyirūgere mentioned above. The *Uroḍeya*, i.e., the village officer was authorised to change the amount

¹ Hebbal inscription of A.D. 975 mentions a certain Kannapayya as the *Perḡada* of Bhujagabbaraci, the grandmother of the Gaṅga chief Mārasiṅha II. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 ff.

² References to *Nyāsa* in Sanskrit literature show that it must be a grammatical work. See *Catalogus Catalogorum* by T. Aufrecht, p. 312 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XLIV, p. 275 and XLV, p. 25 and Māgha, II, 122.

³ See *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan* by K. V. S. Aiyer, pp. 326 ff. and *T. A. S.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff.

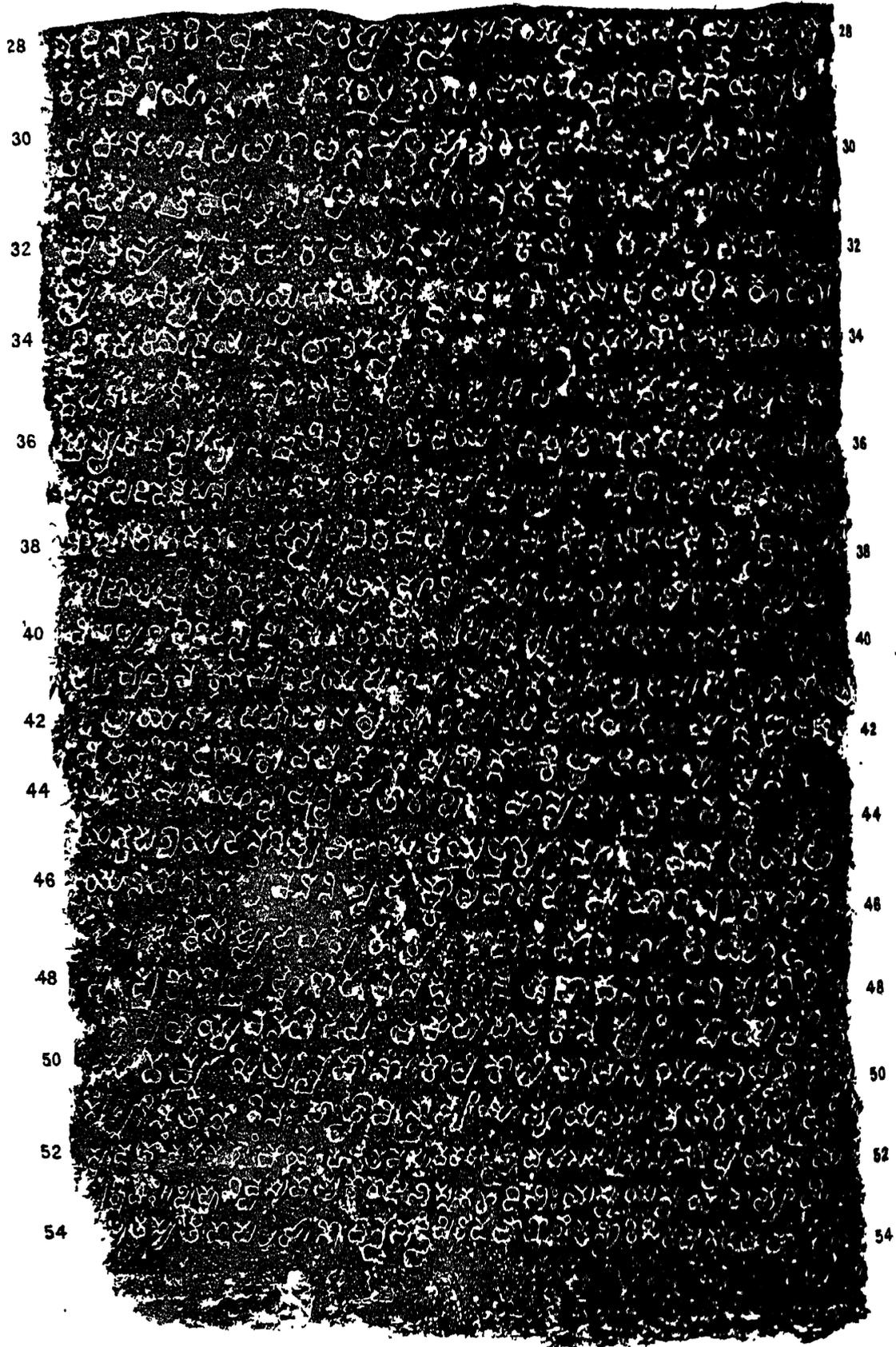
⁴ *Māṇi* is a *brahmachārin* who does service in the temple. See S. I. I., Vol. III, part iii, p. 227. In line 35, however, it is used in the sense of *upanayana*.

⁵ *Daśavandha* means a tenth part; it does not seem to have been used here in its technical sense of land or of revenue granted as a compensation for the construction, repairs, etc., of a tank, well or channel. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 107, note 12 and page 267, note 2.

⁶ According to *Manusmṛiti*, IX 189, *aputrika-dravya* was the state property. In this case, however, it belonged to Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭa who set apart one-tenth of it for the purpose specified.

KOTAVUMACHGI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA V

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24
26 26



of fines in respect of certain crimes according to the caste of the offender. This is in keeping with the laws laid down in the *Dharmasāstra*.¹

Of the places mentioned in the inscription, **Rōṇa** is the modern Ron, the headquarters of the Ron Taluk in the Dharwar District. **Nareyaṅgal** which was the chief town of **Nareyaṅgal-12**, a sub-division in the **Belvola-300** province, is the modern Naregal situated at a distance of 10 miles from Ron. **Ummachige** is evidently identical with **Kōṭavumachgi** where the record was found.

TEXT²

- 1  Svasti [*] Samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-Śrī-Pṛithvī-vallabha-mahārā-
- 2 jūlhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaṁ Satyāśraya-ku-
- 3 la-tiḷakaṁ Chūḷukyābharaṇaṁ śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-Vikra-
- 4 māḷityadēvara rājyam=uttarōttar-ābhivṛddhige salutta-
- 5 m-ire [||*] Samadhigata-paṁcha-mahāśabda mahāsāmantādhipati
- 6 mahā-prachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyakaṁ pati-mechche-gaṇḍaṁ śrīmad-Daṇḍanā-
- 7 yakaṁ Kēśavavyaṅga]-Belvola-mūnūṛaṁ Puligere-mūnūruvaṁ su-
- 8 kha-saṁkathā-vinōḍadin-āḷuttam-iḷdu [||*] Śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalla-
- 9 dēvaraṁ prū[r]tthisi Rōṇada Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭargge Śāka-varsha 934-
- neya
- 10 Paridhāvi-saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha aṣṭamī Ādityavāra vuttarā-
- 11 yaṇa saṁkrāntiyandu Nareyaṅgal-Panneraḍaṛoḷagaṇa Ummachi-
- 12 [ge]yaṁ sarvvābhyaṁtara-siddhiyāgi sarvvanamaśyav-aggrahāraṁ mā-
- 13 ḍi śāsanaṁ belgoḍe ghaḷige verasu paḍedu kuḍise kuḍe paḍed-āyū-
- 14 ran-ā Śrīdharabhaṭṭar nūṛanālvar-mmahājanake bharaṇaṁ-geydu tayagaṁ
- 15 mahājanakkaṁ prajegaṁ māḍida vyavastheyum³ dharmma-brayad-upabiyada
- 16 mānyada bhūmiya nivēśanada pramāṇamu[m=e]nt=ene Sōmēśvaradēvargge ma-
- 17 ttar āṇu Bhāgiyabbēśvarakke mattar=ppanneraḍu eḷkōṭi-tapōdhanara
- 18 sattrakke mattar=ppanneraḍu Āychagāvunḍana dēgulakke mattar=aydu maney=o-
- 19 ndu Ādityadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=ondu Beṭṭada-Bhagavatige
- 20 mattar=aydu maney=ondu Nārāyaṇadēvargge mattar=aydu maney=onda=
- 21 nt=ayvattu mattar=kkeyyuman=avaṛa nivēśanaṅgaḷuvaṁ Bendeyabhaṭṭārara
- saṁ-
- 22 tatiya brahmacharyyavulla naishṭhika-tapōdhanar-āgiy-anubhavisuvar [||*]
- 23 Māraḷakbbe-Bhaṭṭarige mattar=ppanneraḍu maney=ondu Nyāsaṁ Prābhākara-
- vuvaṁ
- 24 vakkhāṇisi guṇaśāsanaḍin=uṇba bhaṭṭa-vṛitti mattar=ayvattu⁴ maney=ondu
- chēhhaṭṭargge

¹ Compare *Manusmṛiti*, Chap. VIII, Vv. 267-268 and *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, Chapt. II, Vv. 220-224.

² From ink-impression.

³ The *u*-sign is indistinct and resembles the consonant *y* mark.

- 25 mattar-irppattaydu gaṇitam jōyisa-chohhandavaḷamkāravuvan-ābhaya . . veyuvaṁ
ba-
- 26 reyaluṁ bājisaluṁ balla śabda-saṁskāravuḷlāta Nāgadēsigarḡge nityasthitiy=0-
- 27 ndu poḷṭaḷ=āhāramuṁ varishakk=ondu kappāḍavuvan=ikkiy ōḍisi guṇasāsa-
- 28 nadin=āḷv=akkariga-vṛitti mattar=irppattaydu maney=ondu kuruva-gey mattar=
ppanne-
- 29 raḍu maney=ondu gaḷamṭige-gey=mattar-āṛu maney=ondu nāvīda-gey=mattar=
em-
- 30 ṭu maney=ondu paṛekāṛḡge mattar=ppanneraḍu maney ondu guṇasāsanadi-
- 31 n=āḷvara satrakke mattar=nnūṛu mane yeraḍ=antu dharmma-vrayakkaṁ
vupabiyakkaṁ
- 32 mattar=mūnūṛu Ūroḍeyarḡge mānyada key=mattar=innūṛu maneg=enḡa-
- 33 yyagala virppattaygay=niḷa[da] nivēsanaṁ mūru¹ [sāśva]ṭa² sunikkaṁ gāṇu-veyiligo
kūṇḍe mu-
- 34 ṭṭige paḍiyaḷe yajnadal=ondu gadyāṇaṁ³=aydu paṇaṁ madu-
veyal=era-
- 35 ḍu paṇaṁ māṇiyal=ondu paṇaṁ Bā[du]be Kāra-puṇṇami Dīpāḷige mūṛu
parvvadoḷaṁ
- 36 pratyēka vondu gadyāṇa imt=inituv=Ūroḍeyarḡge orbar=orbaraṁ baydaḍe
daṇḍav=eraḍu
- 37 paṇaṁ baḍidaḍe pannaṛaḍu paṇaṁ surige-ḡḷṭaḍe mūṛu gadyāṇav iḡidaḍe
panneraḍu gadyā-
- 38 ṇaṁ jāti-bhēḍav=aṛidu daṇḍavaṁ viśēshaṁ-māḷpa[r] māṇi sūḷe-gēḷaḍe⁴
mūṛu gadyā-
- 39 ṇaṁ prāyaschittaṁ-goḷvandu mūṛu gadyāṇaṁ māṇiy-āyudha berasu maṇḍa-
pa-
- 40 vēṛal=sallad=int=i-daṇḍadoḷaṁ kava[r]ṭteyoḷav=aputrika-draavyada daśavandhadolaṁ
puṭṭi-
- 41 da dravyamuvaṁ kaḷe maddaḷeya paṇamuṁ Dēyimḡerege [||*] Idan=
upēkshisidātaṁ
- 42 keṛeyan=oḍeda pāṭakan=akkuṁ pārikhāyaṁ modalāḡ=ella mūṛḡḡē . . ni-
- 43 vēśanaṁ koṭṭa yikkuvavargḡe gāmuṇḍarḡgaṁ kīḷjātiya mukkyarḡgaṁ pra-
- 44 tyēkaṁ maney=ond=āchandr-ārka-tāraṁbaraṁ mānyada satrada dharmma-
bra-
- 45 yad=upabiyad=ant=anitiv=eḍeya key=mattar=ainūṛuman=⁵alliy=alli-
- 46 ya nivēsanaṁgaḷuman=enitu dushkālav=ādaḍaṁ mahājanaṁ kōḷḍu-
- 47 ḍuvar=idakke tappidavar=Kuruksḡetradoḷaṁ Vāraṇāsīyoḷaṁ
- 48 eḷu-kōṭi Brāhmaṇaruvaṁ=eḷu-kōṭi tapōdhanaruvaṁ=eḷu-kōṭi

¹ The word *mūru* is written below the line.

² Read [sāśva]ṭa.

³ The writing here is completely effaced.

⁴ Read ^ogeydaḍe.

⁵ Between *rai* and *nū* a superfluous letter which looks like *u* is written and erased.

- 49 kavileyuvan=ajila pañcha-mahā-pātakan=akkum || Sāmānyō-
 50 yañ dharmma-sētuñr(sētur)=ñripañām kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ |
 51 sarvvān=ētān=bhāginaḥ pārtthivēndrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ||
 52 Śva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasum̄dharām [|*] shasṭi var-
 sha-sahasrāñi viśṭhāyām¹ jāya-
 53 tē krimiḥ || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Śagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya
 yasya yadā bhūmi-
 54 [s=ta]sya tasya tadā phalam || Gōvindabhaṭṭa[m] bareda Chāvōjam
 kañḍarisida mañgaḷa mahā-śrī [|*]

Translation.

(Ll. 1-4) Hail ! While the reign of the glorious Tribhuvanamalla Vikramādityadēva, the refuge of the whole world, the lord of Fortune and Earth, the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the *Paramēśvara*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the decoration of the race of Satyāśraya, an ornament of the Chāḷukyas, was increasing in prosperity,

(Ll. 5-8) while the chief of great feudatories, the august General who had attained the five *mahāsabdas*, a man of might causing pleasure to his master, the glorious *Danḍanāyaka* Kēśavaḥ was administering with enjoyment of pleasant conversation, the Belvola-Three Hundred and Puligere-Three Hundred (*provinces*),

(Ll. 8-13) (*Kēśavaḥ*), after requesting the glorious Tribhuvanamalladēva, made (*the village*) Ummachige situated in Nareyaṅgal-Twelve into an *agrahāra* on *sarvanamasya* tenure along with full and complete rights of enjoyment of all the properties and obtaining it (*from him*) together with the royal charter, the white umbrella and *ghaṭṭige* (*i.e.*, an assembly hall)², caused it to be granted to Maunara Śrīdharabhaṭṭa of Rōṇa, on the eighth day of the bright half of Pushya, Sunday, the Uttarāyaṇa-samkrānti, in the Śaka year 934 corresponding to the cyclic year Paridhāvi.

(Ll. 13-16) That Śrīdharabhaṭṭa, after thus getting it, entrusted the village to the hundred and four Mahājanas with the conditions of enjoyment by himself, the Mahājanas and the people (*of the village*) ; the extents of land and house-sites for meeting the expenses of charity, other auxiliary objects and for grants for services (*mānya*) are as follows :—

(Ll. 16-22) Six *mattar* to god Sōmēśvara, twelve *mattar* to (*the temple of*) Bhāgiyabbēśvara³ ; twelve *mattar* to the feeding house of *ekkōḍi* ascetics ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Āyachagāvunḍa's temple ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to Ādityadēva ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to (*the goddess*) Beṭṭada-Bhagavati ; five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to god Nārāyaṇa—these fifty *mattar* of land in all and the house-sites attached to them must be enjoyed by the bachelors of the family of Bendeyabhaṭṭāra, following the course of the *naiśṭhika*⁴ ascetics.

¹ Read *viśṭhāyām*.

² See above Vols. XIII, p. 327n and XV, p. 93.

³ The temple was perhaps named after Bhāgalabbe, the mother of Vikramāditya V.

⁴ *Naiśṭhika* is one who lives in the house of his preceptor as a *brāhmachārin* throughout his life. He is described as follows in the *Garuḍapurāṇa* :—

नैष्ठिकी ब्रह्मचारी न वधैद्राचार्यसन्नधौ । तदभावेऽस्य तनये परम्पा वैश्वानरिणि वा ॥
 वज्रम विधिना दृष्टं साधयिदिति तद्रयः । ब्रह्मलीकसवाप्नोति न चेद्वायते पुनः ॥



(Ll. 23-32) Twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) to the deity Mārakabbe Bhaṭṭāri, fifty *mattar* and one house(-*site*) towards *bhaṭṭa-vritti* to be enjoyed in return for performing the duties of expounding *Nyāsa* and *Prabhākara*, twenty-five *mattar* to the pupils, twenty-five *mattar* and one house(-*site*) as *akkariga-vritti* to Nāgadēsiga who was able to compose and expound (*the works on*) mathematics, astronomy, prosody, poetics and and who had a knowledge of sounds (*i.e.*, *Vyākaraṇa*), to be utilised for his daily requirements in virtue of his services of teaching his pupils, feeding them once a day and supplying (*them*) with a cloth every year; twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for (*the supply of*) tender cocoanuts¹; six *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for (*the supply of*) vessels² for *abhishēka*; eight *mattar* of land and one house(-*site*) for barbers; twelve *mattar* and one house(-*site*) for drummers; (*one*) hundred *mattar* and two house(-*sites*) to the feeding-house of those that manage by *guṇasāsana*.³ Thus in all three hundred *mattar* (*were set apart*) for charity and auxiliary expenses.

(Ll. 33-36) Two hundred *mattar* as *mānya* land and three house(-*sites*)—eight hands broad and twenty-five hands long each—to the *Uroḍeyz*. Moreover, the *Uroḍeya*(*shall get these following*) taxes permanently:—a *kūṇḍe* for the open space of an oil-press; the reaper of a door-frame for every set of wooden materials (*for building purposes*)⁴; one *gadyāṇa* for a vedic sacrifice; five *paṇas* for, two *paṇas* for a marriage; one *paṇa* on the occasion of *upanayana*, one *gadyāṇa* severally on the three *purvas* of *Būlube*, *Kārapuṇṇine* and *Dipṭige*.

(Ll. 36-43) The incomes accruing from the following fines, *viz.*, two *paṇas* for abusing one another, twelve *paṇas* for beating; three *gadyāṇas* for drawing out the dagger, twelve *gadyāṇas* for stabbing—(*they*) may change (*the amount of*) fine considering the distinction of caste—three *gadyāṇas*, in case a bachelor commits adultery; three *gadyāṇas* on the occasion of purification ceremony—except when a *māni* gets up a processional *maṇḍapa* with weapons⁵; that obtained as spoils (*after a raid*), one-tenth (*daśavandha*) of the escheat property of persons dying intestate and the taxes on (*musical instruments*) *kaḷe* and *maddale* (*the drum*); all these shall go to (*the tank called*) *Dēyīngeṛe*. He who neglects this shall incur the sin of breaking the tank. A house-site including *pārikkāya*, etc., (*was set apart*). Those that keep a cowpen (*koṭṭa*), the *gāmuṇḍas* and the chief men of the low caste (*must get*) one house(-*site*) each.

(Ll. 43-46) The five hundred *mattar* (*of land*) and the respective sites (*attached to them*), (*granted*) as *mānya*, and for the purposes of feeding house, charity and auxiliary gifts, the *Mahājanas* shall protect and cause to be enjoyed as long as the moon, the sun and the stars (*exist*), however adverse the times may be.

(Ll. 46-48) Those that fail (*to carry this out*) shall incur the five great sins consequent upon the killing at Kurukshētra and Vāraṇāsi, of seven crores of Brahmins, seven crores of ascetics and seven crores of tawny cows.

(Ll. 48-53) Three imprecatory verses.

(L. 54) Gōvindabhaṭṭa wrote (*this*); and Chāvōja engraved. (*May there be*) fortune and great prosperity.

¹ *Kuruva* seems to stand for *kurube* which means a tender cocoanut. (See Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 446.)

² The word used here is *gaḷantiḡe* which is a *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *galantīkā*. It means a small water-jar with a hole in the bottom from which the water drops upon a *liṅga*.

³ The exact significance of this word is not clear.

⁴ For the meaning of the word *muṭṭu*, see Kittel's *Kanarese Dictionary*, p. 1263.

⁵ This parenthetical clause evidently provides an exception to the fine stated above for drawing out the sword.

No. 7.—THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA.

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This inscription is incised partly in front and partly on the roof of the **Hāthīgumphā**, an artificial cave, on the southern face of the **Udayagiri**, a low range of hills situated about three miles from Bhuvaneśvar in the Purī district of Orissa. It was noticed for the first time by Stirling in 1825² and was published by Prinsep from an eye-copy prepared by Kittoe in 1837.³ In 1877 Cunningham published a tracing in the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*.⁴ In 1880 the late Raja Rajendra Lala Mitra published another version of this inscription.⁵ About this time a cast of this inscription was prepared and taken to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The first reliable version of the record was issued from the able pen of the late Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji in 1885.⁶ In 1895 and 1898 the late Dr. Bühler proposed certain corrections.⁷ The first inked impression was taken by the late Dr. T. Bloch in 1906 and sent to Prof. Kielhorn from whom it passed on to the late Dr. J. F. Fleet, who published two short notes proposing certain corrections in the reading of the 16th line.⁸ In the same year Prof. Lüders of Berlin published a summary of this inscription.⁹ In 1913 RDB¹⁰, examined portions of this record at the request of KPJ., and in 1917 he prepared two inked impressions at the request of the late Dr. V. A. Smith and KPJ.,¹⁰ one of which was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*,¹¹ and the second sent to Dr. F. W. Thomas, the then editor of this journal. Soon after the publication of the text, KPJ. went to the cave and prepared a revised text of his readings from the rock itself and published the same in 1918 in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.¹² Sir Edward Gait, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa, who was greatly interested in the decipherment of the inscription, arranged a deputation of RDB., the then Superintendent of the Western Circle of the Archæological Survey of India, to go with KPJ. and in 1919, we both examined the entire inscription on the spot. In the meantime a cast of the inscription was prepared at the suggestion of KPJ. by the Government of Bihār and Orissa. The order of Sir Edward Gait in this respect was executed by the late Mr. H. Panday of the Archæological Survey Department who had accompanied KPJ. formerly and had become familiar with the inscription and the problems connected with it. This cast is now preserved in the Patna Museum. It is as successful a copy as the present condition of the original allowed it to be. Two impressions on paper were also taken for the Patna Museum. With the help of these materials the study was carried on by KPJ. at Patna. In 1924 both of us again went over the corrections. In 1927 KPJ. published the results of his further studies in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* with new plates prepared

¹ [I am sorry to record here his sad and untimely death which took place at Calcutta on 23rd May 1930. Scholars of Mr. R. D. Banerji's type it is difficult to replace.—Ed.]

² *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, pp. 313 ff.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1075-91, pl. LVIII.

⁴ Pp. 27 f., 98-101, 132 ff., pl. XVII.

⁵ *Antiquities of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 16 ff.

⁶ *Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes*, pt. III, section 2, pp. 152-177.

⁷ *Indian Studies*, No. III, p. 13=Origin of Indian Brāhma Alphabet, pp. 13 f.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 242 ff. and 824.

⁹ *Ante*, Vol. X, App., pp. 160-61, No. 1345.

¹⁰ [Author's initials].

¹¹ Vol. III, p. I.

¹² Vol. IV pp. 364 ff.

from the paper impressions preserved in the Patna Museum.¹ In 1928 some further notes were published by him in the same journal.² We have again conjointly examined the cast and the impressions and effected a few important improvements in the reading and explanation as offered below. Amongst notable contributions on the problems connected with the inscription, we refer to the articles by Dr. Sten Konow³ and Dr. F. W. Thomas.⁴ We have to thank our friend Prof. Anant Sadashiv Altekar for the help he has rendered to us in preparing the notes for this edition.

The Hāthīgumphā appears to have been a natural cavern which was later on converted into a temple or residence. The roof consists of a huge boulder, and the inscription begins on the southern face but is continued up to a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on a sloping surface where it is difficult either to read or copy them. Both of us had to recline partly on our backs to read the portion from the rock. Below the inscription the walls of the natural cavern have been chiselled straight and at places are as beautifully polished as those of the Barābar caves. Near the floor there are sundry rock-cut partitions which do not appear to have been regular walls as they do not go up to the roof. In the dressed and polished portion of the side or the wall of the cave there are a number of later inscriptions (of about the 10th or the 11th century A.D.) many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest.⁵ They prove, however, that the cave was visited by pilgrims up to the 10th century and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. It seems reasonable to expect that the great Jaina king Khāravela inscribed the record of his reign at a place which was holy in his eyes. Is it impossible that this is the place where Mahāvira had preached the Jaina religion in Kaliṅga, because this inscription proves that the place was included in Kaliṅga at that time and there is a distinct reference to the preaching of Jainism in its 14th line? The bed of the cave is full of sand in front and unless it is excavated its original form cannot be determined. Three stone pillars have lately been put up in front of the cave, to protect the inscription from the effects of the weather, under the orders of Government. The Hāthīgumphā stands at right angles to the Svargapurī and Mañchapurī on its left and the Sarpa cave on its right. There are several small and large excavations on the top of the boulder which forms the roof of the cave. As a whole the entire record has been very carefully inscribed. In two places only letters have been left out. In l. 14 the letter *ya* in *arahayate* was left out and incised between ll. 14 and 15, its position in l. 14 being indicated by a *kākapada*. Two other letters *sa* and *ha* (?) are to be found in the interspaces immediately after *ya* but cannot be connected with any word in l. 14.

As regards orthography the inscription presents very few peculiarities. Ligatures are carefully avoided and the only instances where we meet with them are *Kaṅha-beṅṅā-* (l. 4), *Āmhaṅṅam* (l. 9) and *-viniśrito* (l. 17). In the majority of cases the nasals are replaced by *anusvāra* excepting the places where they are used either as initials or medials. The initial forms are to be seen in *-ñāvakehi* (l. 14) and *ñaninam* (l. 15) and the medial forms in *°rañi°* (l. 15) and in the ligature in *Kaṅha-beṅṅā-* (l. 4). The use of the cerebral nasal is erratic and in the majority of cases the dental has been used but the cerebral is rather rare and is to be met with in *sampūṇa-* (l. 2) and *guṇa-* (l. 17) only. With the exception of two cases all the sibilants are dental. These two cases are the cerebral in *-deśa-* (l. 11) and the palatal in *-viniśrito*

¹ Vol. XIII, pp. 221 ff.

² *Acta Orientalia*. Vol. I, pp. 12 ff.

³ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23*, p. 130.

⁴ Vol. XIV, pp. 150 ff.

⁵ *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 83 f.

(l. 17). The writing seems to have been done by three different hands, and it is possibly on this account that the forms of the characters sometimes differ. The first part of the inscription was written on a carefully dressed surface but after the 4th and 5th lines the surface was undressed; and towards the end of all the lines after the 5th there are numerous chisel-marks which make the decipherment extremely difficult.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. The use of *ra*, the affix *o* at the end of the nominatives of masculine stems ending in *a*, and the absence of palatal *śa* show that it is not Magadhī or any eastern dialect of it. Throughout the inscription the dental has practically replaced all other sibilants. The doubling of consonants, even when necessary, has been omitted. The cerebralisation of dentals is also to be seen, as in *-paṭṭānīkharanam* (l. 3). There is also an attempt to approach classical Sanskrit in certain cases, e.g., *Māhāmeghavāhanena* (l. 1) and *vam-dāpayati* (l. 12), etc. Throughout the record the liquifaction of consonants is absent. This would indicate that the record was composed by a man from Western India who wrote in a literary dialect. It is quite possible that the record was composed by a Jaina monk from Gujārāt or the Mahārāshṭra who might have been brought into Kalinga by King Khāravela for the purpose mentioned in l. 16. The language of the record is a very near approach to the canonical Palh. But, as in Jaina Śaurasēnī, *tha* in this dialect becomes *dha*, cf. *padhame* (l. 3), °*radha*° (l. 4), *vitadha* (l. 5), *horadhagiri-* (l. 7), *Madhuraṃ* (l. 8), *Bharadhavasa-* (l. 10), *Utarāpadha-* (l. 11), but not in all cases, cf. *Pīthumḍa-* (l. 11). The extraordinary form *chavuthe* (l. 5) is a graphic form of *chaūthe*, but Prakrit *chāi* becomes *cho* in *Choyūhi* (l. 16) which is a later Prakrit form of *chaturshashṭi*. So also Sanskrit *tvaritam* becomes *turiyam* (l. 16) instead of *turiam*. Perhaps *turitam* was the intermediate form but the change of *ta* into *ya* instead of *a* is exceptional.¹

The characters of the inscription show great variety. Among the vowels, the initial forms of *a*, *ā*, *i*, *e*, *o* are to be found in it. The medial *ā* is denoted by a perfectly horizontal line in many cases as well as by a slanting stroke, as in *paṭhāpayati* (l. 4) and *-samuthāpitāhi* (l. 15). The medial form of the long *i* shows two diverging slanting strokes, in *-sarīra-* (l. 2) and two converging curved strokes in *kīṭitū* (l. 2). Among consonants two different forms of *kha* are noticeable, *Khāravale*° (l. 1) and *lekha*° (l. 2) in which the triangle at the bottom is either present or absent. Two different forms of *ga* are present, the angular Maurya form, as in *nagarim* (l. 5), and the broad-backed Kushāṇa form, as in *Kalimḡ-ā*° (l. 1). Three forms of *gha* are clear:—(1) the Maurya form with a circular bottom, (2) the transitional form in which the only side of the curve has turned into a right angle, cf. *-oghāṭitam* (l. 6), and (3) the complete second century form in which, though the length of the left-hand side vertical is not reduced, the lower part of the letter consists of two right angles instead of a curve. Two different forms of *ta* are to be found: the Maurya, as in *hīta-*, *-ti-vasa-* (l. 6) and the later, as in °*pateye* (l. 6). In the case of *da* also we find two forms: the Maurya, as in *pamdarasa-* (l. 2) and the later, as in °*dāti* (l. 9). Three different forms can be distinguished in the case of *pa* and *ma*:—(1) the Maurya form, as in *paṭhāpayati* and *pachkima-* (l. 4); (2) the transitional form, as in *-patinā* (l. 1), *-kāṇīpanāhi* (l. 5), *maṭuka-* (l. 7), *Madhuraṃ* (l. 8), etc.; (3) the later form with angles fully developed in the place of curves as in *kapa-rukhe* (l. 9), *apayāto* (l. 8), *-samāja*° (l. 5), and *Satamaṃ* (l. 7). It should be noted that the Kushāṇa form of *ma* is altogether wanting in this inscription. So also in the case of *ha* we find the Maurya form in *-sahasehi* and *haya-* (l. 4), the transitional form in *Mahārāja*° and *Māhāmeghavāhane*° (l. 1) and the angular form in *-vavahāra-* (l. 2). The general duct of the writing shows that the Hathigumpha inscription was inscribed at a time when the length of the verticals had not begun to decrease and the curves had just begun to become angularised. Therefore, this inscription

¹ [See f. ns. 11 & 12 on page 89 below.—Ed.]

belongs to the same period as the earliest inscription from Mathurā edited by Bühler¹, and it cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. or later than that of the 1st century B.C. For *na*, *ṇa* and other letters a reference is invited to the detailed palaeographical analysis by RDB, elsewhere.²

There are two **symbols**, one over the other at the beginning, and one at the end of the record. At the beginning the first symbol looks like a crown. KPJ. identifies it with the *Vaddha-maṅgala*.³ The second is the *Svastika*. The last symbol is the Sacred Tree within a square enclosure or railing. There is an elaborate system of **spacing** in this record, the larger, corresponding to full stops. There is space before almost every proper name. The smaller spaces indicate clauses of a sentence.

It has been proved by repeated examinations of the rock that there is **no date** in a Maurya era in the 16th line of this inscription, as supposed by the late Bhagvanlal Indraji and ourselves formerly. The date will therefore depend upon synchronisms. The first of these synchronisms is with **Sātakarṇi**. It is now absolutely certain that the family name of the dynasty founded by Simuka is Sātavāhana and not Sātakarṇi.⁴ The Nānāghāṭ inscriptions supply the label *Rāyā Simuka-Sātavāhana* for the statue of Simuka. There were more kings than one of the name of Sātakarṇi, and the first king of that name is called Siri Sātakarṇi both on his coins and in the label on his statue at Nānāghāṭ. Subsequent Sātakarṇis with whose names we meet in epigraphical records added their metronymics to distinguish themselves from their predecessors, e.g., Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi, Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva-Śrī Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. It is therefore evident that this record refers to a Sātakarṇi who was a contemporary king in the Western regions. The name is not to be taken as a reference to an unidentified dynastic title. And the only king of this dynasty who can safely be ascribed to the period when Khāravela was ruling is Śrī Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyanikā, and not Gautamīputra or Śiva-Śrī or Śrī Yajña. About Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi it is to be observed that the long record in cave No. 3 in the Pāṇḍulēnā group does not mention the king or the country of Kalinga, and thereby proves that Kalinga or Orissa was not included in his conquests and, very probably also, that he did not come in close contact with Khāravela or any other king of Kalinga, though the Amarāvati and China inscriptions of Pulumāvi and Śrī Yajña prove definitely that the whole of Kalinga had passed under their dominion.⁵ The other kings of the name of Sātakarṇi are excluded as being, *inter alia*, too late to be Khāravela's contemporaries. According to the Purāṇic lists Sātakarṇi II comes 36 years after Sātakarṇi I. RDB. has proved that the dissentient view about the Hāthīgumphā inscription being later than the Nānāghāṭ records is untenable.⁶ Therefore the Sātakarṇi of the Hāthīgumphā inscription must be Sātakarṇi I. The statement in l. 6 about Khāravela's subjugation of the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** shows that up to the 4th year of the reign of Khāravela they existed as separate states, as in the time of Aśōka, but subsequently these states must have been swallowed up by the Sātavāhanas. Therefore, Khāravela's conflict with Sātakarṇi must have taken place

¹ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 198.

² *Memoirs, A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 133 ff.

³ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 429.

⁴ KPJ. put it forward in 1914 in his *Brahmin Empire*, and the view has been confirmed by the discovery of the last record of the family-name, clearly. *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 153. *Sātavāhana* as the family-name is fully borne out by literature. [See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 258 ff. on Sātavāhana history.—K. P. J.]

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. X, App. Nos. 1248 and 1340.

⁶ *Memoirs, A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 145. [See also *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, pp. 258 ff.—K. P. J.]

before the formation of the Sātavāhana empire covering the whole of Marāṭhī-speaking (e.g., Barhāṇī, Khāndeśī, Northern Marāṭhī and Koṅkaṇī) area.

The reference in the 6th line to the canal from *Tanasuliya-vāta*, which was excavated in the year 103 of King Nanda, will fix the upper limit of Khāravēla's time, like the reference to Muriya-kāla (the time of Muriya in l. 16). Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in the Yeḍarāve inscription is said to have established his Chālukya era after abolishing the eras of Vikramāditya, Nanda and Śaka. "Having said 'Why should the glory of the Kings Vikramāditya and Nanda be a hindrance any longer?', he, with a loudly uttered command, abolished that (era) which has the name of Śaka, and made that (era) which has the Chālukya counting".¹ Again, we have the definite datum that Alberuni found in use in his time an era with the initial year 458 B.C., which goes back to the time of the first Nanda king (Nanda Vardhana).² The year 103 of the Nanda era would correspond to 355 B.C. when the Tanasuliya canal, which Khāravēla extended to the capital in the 5th year of his reign, was originally excavated. If we take this Nanda to be the last Nanda, Khāravēla would be referring to (325 B.C.—103=)c. 222 B.C. and not to any later year. But we have something more definite in the next datum, namely, the contemporaneity with Bahasatimita. In line 12 Khāravēla reaches the Sugamgiya palace, i.e., the famous Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra mentioned in the *Mudrārākshasa*.³ Bahasatimita is expressly called the King of Magadha. Now we know from coins that Bahasatimitra and Agnimitra issued coins of the same type. This much we may take as certain that the time of Bahasatimitra, whosoever he may be, is the first half of the 2nd century B.C.⁴ Āshāḍhasēna, who belonged to the royal family of Adhichohhatrā, describes himself as the maternal uncle of King Bahasatimitra in the Pabhosā inscription,⁵ and Āshāḍhasēna dates his record in the 10th year of Odraka,⁶ whom K.P.J. has identified with a king of the Śuṅga dynasty. Bahasatimitra's coins have been found at Kosam (Kausāmbī)⁷ which was a state on the borders of Magadha. The characters of the coins agree with those of the Hāthīgumphā inscription.⁸ As Bahasatimitra does not occur in the list of the Mauryan kings and as his connection with the family of Odraka is indicated by the Pabhosā record, we are justified in taking him as one of the early Śuṅgas before Odraka, the fifth king of the line. In other words, Khāravēla's contemporary Bahasatimita would belong to a period between 188 B.C. and c. 125 B.C. It is true that we do not find the name of Bṛīhaspatimitra in the Śuṅga list. But we have the explanation given in the *Purāṇas* themselves. It is reported there that Pushyamitra made others rule; the *Vāyu* says that he made his 8 sons rule equally, i.e., with equal powers.⁹ We know that Agnimitra ruled at Vidiśā with a separate court of his own. Probably the 6th son was ruling in Kōsala as the Śuṅga inscription at Ayōdhya would suggest.¹⁰ It is significant that Pushyamitra is not called king in this record, but his title *Sēnāputi* is there just as it is in Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Similarly the dating on the Bhārhut gate "in the reign of the Śuṅgas" confirms the Purāṇic datum that several sons ruled at the same time (in different parts) under Pushyamitra. The *Vāyu-Purāṇa* places in the imperial list (of Magadha) the sons of Agnimitra, and not Agnimitra himself, after Pushyamitra. As

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 477.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237, 241; Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 5 to 7.

³ Act III.

⁴ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 525.

⁵ *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 242.

⁶ *Ibid.* For *Udraka* as a proper name compare *Divyāvadāna*, p. 392.

⁷ *Ante*, p. 243 n. 17.

⁸ V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 155.

⁹ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 202, Vol. XIII, pp. 247 and 248.

¹⁰ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 247, 248 and p. 57 above.

Bṛihaspatimitra is not in the royal list of Magadha between Agnimitra's sons and Odraka, we shall be justified in taking him to a period before Agnimitra's sons succeeded to the Magadha throne, *i.e.*, to the time of Pushyamitra himself.¹

The most important contribution of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is the synchronism of Khāravela with the Indo-Greek king Demetrios. This important discovery was made in November 1919,² and it was settled that after the phrase *Yavana-rāja* comes the name Dimita... Beyond this name not a single succeeding word of the sentence can be read. Demetrios, son of Euthydemus I, is generally well-known as the conqueror of India. It is mentioned in a verse of Chaucer quoted nearly half a century ago by Cunningham. Strabo refers to the fact that the kingdom of Bactria had expanded in a remarkable way beyond its original limits and that the kings responsible for its enlargement were Demetrios and Menander.³ Beyond this nothing could be said about the Indian conquests of Demetrios before the discovery of the king's name in the Hāthīgumphā record. Justin calls him the king of the Indians. He was probably driven out of Bactria by a rival king named Eukratides and had to settle down in Afghānistān and India. The surest indication of his dominion over some part of India is the use of the Kharōṣṭhī script on some of his copper coins with the use of the title *Aparajita*.⁴ Unfortunately we do not know the exact date of Demetrios except through synchronisms. He conducted negotiations between his father Euthydemus I and Antiochus III of Syria and married the latter's daughter. Therefore he must have been a young man towards the close of the third century B.C. His Indian campaigns appear to have been undertaken when he had come to the throne in mature age, and his coins show that he was between 30 and 35 when his reign began.⁵ Numismatists distinguish two Demetrioses, taking Demetrios II to be the son of Demetrios I.⁶ It would be absurd to say that the Indian conquests of the first dynasty of the Bactro-Greek kings were made by Demetrios II. The Indian campaigns of Demetrios and his advance at Pāṭaliputra are distinctly described in *Yuga-Purāna* of the *Gārgī-saṁhitā*. The historical text of the work has been recently collected from different MSS. by KPJ.⁷ Section 5 contains the account of the Greek invasion of Pāṭaliputra and a battle at that place. It is stated that after conquering Sākēta, Mathurā and Pañchāla the Greeks reached Kusumadhvaja, and at Pushpapura, *i.e.*, Pāṭaliputra, there was a great battle fought on the mud-embedded western ramparts with engines (ballistae or catapultae), and the outlying districts became full of disorder. Further on (section 7) there is a mention of Demetrios as *Dharmamīta* where it is distinctly stated that his officers would oppress the people. Finally it is stated that intoxicated with fighting the Greeks would not stay in the Middle Country and that there would be a furious civil war among themselves in their own country. This statement is corroborated by the Greek accounts of the great civil war in Bactria and Afghānistān between Demetrios and his successors and Eukratides

¹ The objection of Prof. Rapson (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 537, note) that there is an interval of 25 years between Pushyamitra and Odraka, and therefore Āshāḍhasēna, the maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra, cannot be connected with Bahasatimitra of Pabhosā has not much force in a country where people marry more than one wife at the same time and where maternal uncles are often found to be much younger than their nephews.

² It was announced by Sir Edward Guizot in his presidential address to the Bihār and Orissa Research Society in 1920 (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 5). The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri did not notice this discovery even in 1922-23. Cf. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1922-23, p. 130.

³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 444-45.

⁴ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

⁵ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Plate III. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁷ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 397-421 and Vol. XV, pp. 129-133.

and the kings of the dynasty founded by him. Therefore his mention in the Hāthīgumpha inscription proves definitely that Khāravela must have flourished in the first half of the 2nd century B.C.

The compilation (*upādayati*) of the **Aṅgas** is described in line 16 as the crowning act of glory of Khāravela. This was undertaken and completed in the 13th year. Learned Jainas from all over India were assembled in a conference (*saṃghayanam*), evidently on the Kumāri Hill of sacred associations, and they put together once more the scattered or lost sacred texts of Jainism. The Jaina tradition asserts that in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya a Jaina conference was held at Pāṭaliputra after the 12 years' famine was over but that no agreement could be reached as to the restoration of the texts. Khāravela's wide conquests from the Pāṇḍya country up to the North-Western Frontiers and from the Marīṭhā country up to Magadha and his consequent political influence made it possible for him to have the texts recompiled. That the term 'Aṅga' denotes the Jaina canonical *Aṅgas* is proved by the adjective 'consisting of 64' (*choyathī*), which is a very difficult and mysterious expression. The Jaina tradition says that 64 letters make up the Jaina sacred literature. The Jainas at present give a mystic interpretation, *vide* Mr. J. L. Jaini in his *Introduction* to the *Jiva-Khaṇḍa* of the *Gōmmaṭasāra* at p. 12. He says:—"The knowledge of Śruti, Śruta-Jñāna, may be of things which are contained in the Aṅgas (Limbs or sacred books of the Jainas) or of things outside the Aṅgas. There are 64 simple letters of the alphabet. Of these 33 are consonants, 27 vowels and 4 auxiliary (which help in the formation of compound letters). The total number of possible combinations of these 64 simple letters into compounds of 2, 3, 4, or more up to 64 letters is: $2^{64}-1=1,84,46,74,40,73,70,95,51,615$.

"These are the letters (simple and compound) of Śruta in its entirety. This number being divided by 16,348,307,888, which is the number of letters in a central foot (*madhyama-pāda*) of the Paramāgama (Sacred Jaina Literature), gives us the number of padas of the Aṅgas as 11,283, 58,005. The remainder 80,108,175 gives us the letters of that part of Śruta which is not contained in the Aṅgas. This part is divided into 14 Prakīrṇakas".

In our opinion the Jainas had an alphabet of 64 letters several of which were not actual letters but symbols.

One school of the Jainas maintains that only 11 Aṅgas were recovered after the loss. If we read "*Aṅga-satīka-turiyam*" instead of "*Aṅga satīka(m) turiyam*" we may get the meaning that the re-compiled Aṅgas were in two groups, *Satīka* = *saptīka*, group of seven texts, and *Turiya* = *turiya*, a group of four texts. In any case the Jaina tradition about the loss and the recovery of the texts stands confirmed, and here we find another instance of the faithfulness of the Jaina tradition. The monks honoured at the Kumāri Hill in the 13th year were Śvātāmbaras as they were given pieces of China-cloth (silk) (*china-vaṭāni* = *chīna-vastrāni*)¹ and white robes (*vāsa-sitāni*). Khāravela, by his religious enterprise, was emulating Chandragupta and Aśōka. But posterity has completely forgotten him.

Fortunately the majority of the names of places mentioned in this record can be identified. **Kalīṅganagari** is the ancient capital. Kalīṅga, a city which has now disappeared, lay close to Kalīṅgapaṭanam, a place on the Bay of Bengal in the Ganjām district of the Madras Presidency. **Kaṭha-berhā** is Kṛishṇa-vernā² of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period and the modern Kṛishṇā. **Musikā-nagaram** was probably a city on the river Mūsi in its upper reaches near Gōlkoṇḍa-Hyderabad³

¹ On the occurrence of *China* in the *Arthasūtra* and its connection with *Shina* the Gilgit tribe see '*Hindu Polity*, I, 212; cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pt. 4, p. 5n.

² [The *Kaṅṅapenna* or *Kaṅṅabannā* of Pali literature.—Ed.]

³ The confluence of the *Mūsi* and the *Kṛishṇā* is mentioned in a copper-plate, *ante*, Vol. VI, p. 206. [Muziris on the Malabar coast is suggested as a possible alternative—R. D. B.]

As to the peoples mentioned in the inscription the **Rāthikas** are probably the Mahārāthis or the people of northern Mahārāshtra, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the modern districts of East Khāndesh, Nāsik, Ahmadnagar, Poona and the northern *taluks* of Sholāpur; the **Bhojakas** are likely the same as Mahābhōjas, *i.e.*, the inhabitants of the Marāṭhi-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār.

The **Tanasuliya** or **Tanasuliya-vāta** cannot be identified by us. **Vajiraghara** remained under the same name till the 12th century A.D. when it is mentioned by Kulōttuṅga Chōla I or the Chālukya-Chōla Rājendra Chōla II, as **Vayirāgara** in the Tiruvogḡiyūr Ādhipuriśvara temple inscription of the second year. It states that Rājākōsarivarman *alias* Rājendra Chōla II captured elephants at this place and defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭṭa. In the Pāṇḍava-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram another Tamil inscription of the 5th year of the same king, who is called Rājākōsarivarman *alias* Kulōttuṅga Chōla I, informs us that the king's victories at Vayirāgara and Chakrakōṭṭa were gained while he was the heir-apparent, *i.e.*, before 8th October 1070 A.D. Chakrakōṭṭa has been correctly identified by Rai Bahadur Hiralal with Chakra-Koṭyā in the Bastar State of the Central Provinces. It is therefore certain that this Vayirāgara is the same as modern Wairagaḍh in the Chanda district of the same province. Kielhorn restored the name *Vayirāgara* as *Vajrākara*.¹ The form *Vajiraghara* in this record shows that the original form was *Vajra-grīha* or *Vajra-gaḍha* in Prakrit which came to be written as Vayirāgaram in Tamil. Both Chakra-Koṭyā and Wairagaḍh are on the road from Central Kāliṅga to Southern Mālwa. **Goradhagiri** is no doubt the ancient name of the Barābar Hills in the Gayā district, as proved by Mr. V. H. Jackson, I.E.S., the late principal of the Patna College who, along with Mr. Russell, discovered the inscriptions on boulders near the top, giving the name correctly as *Gōrathagiri*.² Mr. Jackson also described immense fortifications on the hill top.³ The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of Magadha, Girivraja or Rājagriha or Rājagaha. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* where the route of Bhīma and Kṛishṇa to Girivraja is described.⁴ **Rājagriha** or Rājagaha, the ancient capital of Magadha, still exists as *Rājgīr*, famous as a Jaina *Tīrtha* and for its hot springs, in the Bihār sub-division of the Patna district of Bihār and Orissa.⁵ **Madhura** is undoubtedly the northern Mathurā in the United Provinces. **Bharadhavasa** (Skt. *Bhāratavarsha*) means the plains of Northern India. **Pithundā** is Ptolemy's *Pitundra*, a city which no longer exists, but which was an important port even in the first century A.D.⁶ **Tamira** or **Tramira** is equal to *Draviḍa* or *Dramiḷa*, *i.e.*, the *Tamiḷagam* or the Tamil speaking districts of the Madras Presidency known as *Damirike* to classical writers. **Utarāpadha** is Sanskrit *Uttarāpātha* which included our North-Western Frontier Province. **Magadha** is south-western Bihār consisting of the modern districts of Patna, Gayā and the north-western Hazāribāgh, while **Aṅga** consisted of the portions of the districts of Bhāgalpur and Monghyr which lie to the south of the Ganges, adjoining Magadha. The **Paṇḍa-Rāja** of this inscription refers to the kings of the southern extremity of the Indian Peninsula from Madura to Cape Comorin.

We edit the inscription from the rock, the cast in the Patna Museum and from impressions taken by us as well as by the Curator of the Patna Museum.

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VII, App. pp. 124-25, Nos. 756, 761. See also note 4 on p. 124.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 159.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 469.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 160 and 161.

⁵ For the antiquities of Rājgīr see Marshall's account in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1905-06, Part II, pp. 86 ff.

⁶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 151.

TEXT.¹

- 1 [Two symbols] Namō Ar[i]bāntānam²[.*] Namō sava-Sidhānam[.*] Aire-za³ Māhārājena Māhāmeghavāhanena⁴ Cheti-rāja-vasa⁵-vadhanena pasatha-subha lakhanena chaturaṅta-luṭhita-guṇ-opahitena Kalīṅg-ādhipatinā⁶ siri-Khāra-velena
- 2 paṇḍarasa-vasāni siri-kaḍāra-sarīra⁷vata⁸ kiḍitā kumāra-kiḍikā[.*] Tato lekha⁹-rūpa¹⁰-gaṇanā¹⁰-vavahāra¹¹-vidhi¹²-visāradena sava-vijāvādātēna nava-vasāni Yovarāja[m]¹³ pasāsita[m][.*] Saṃpuṇa-chatu-visati-vaso tadāni vadhamāna¹⁴. sesayo Ven-ābhivijayo¹⁵ tatiye
- 3 Kalīṅga¹⁶-rāja-va[m]se purisa-yuge Māhārāj-ābhisechanam¹⁷ pāpunāti[.*] Abhisita-mato cha padhame¹⁸ vase[.*] vāta-vihita-gopura-pākāra-nivesanam paṭi-saṃkhārayati[.*] Kalīṅga¹⁹-nagari-Khibīra-isi-tāla²⁰-taḍāga-pāḍiyo²¹ cha bāndhāpayati[.*] sav-uyāna-pa[ṭi]saṃthapanam cha
- 4 kārayati panatīsāhi sata-sahasēhi Pakatiyo cha raṃjayati[.*] Dutiye cha vase achitayitā Sātakaṃnirī²² paḥhima-disam haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahularīḥ daṃḍaṃ paṭhāpayati[.*] Kaṃha-berhṇā²³-gatāya cha senāya vitāsitaṃ M[u]sika-nagaram²⁴[.*] Tatiye puṇa vase
- 5 gaṇḍhava-veda-budho dapa-nata-gīta-vādita-saṃdamaṃsāhi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kiḍāpayati nagarīm [.*] Tathā chavuthe vase Vijādhara-ādhi-vāsaraḥ ahata-puṇam Kalīṅga-puṇa²⁵-rāja-[nivesitaṃ] vitadha-ma[ku]ṭa-sabilama[ḍh]ite cha nikhita-ḥhata-
- 6 bhiriṅgāre hita-ratana-sāpateye sava-Raṭhika-Bhojake²⁶ pāde vaṃdāpayati[.*] Paṃchame cha dāni vase Naṃda-rāja²⁷-ti-vasa-sata-oghāṭitaṃ Tanasuliya-vāṭā paṇāḍim Nagaram pavasa[ya]ti [.*] So bhisito cha Rāja-s²⁸. [u]ya[m] saṃdasayaṃto sava-kara-vaṇam
- 7 anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati Poram Jānapadam[.*] Satamam cha vasam pasāsato Vajiraghara-vati-ghusita-gharini sa matuka-pada-puṇna . . [ku]ma[.*] Athame cha vase mahatā senā Goradhagirīḥ
- 8 ghātāpayitā Rājagaharī upapīḍāpayati[.*] Etinā[ā] cha kaṃmapadāna-sa[m]-nādena²⁹ samb[i]ta-sena-vāhane vipamu³⁰[m]chitu Madhuram apayāto Yavana-rāj[ā] D[i]mi[ta]³¹ yachhati palava . .
- 9 kapa-rukhe haya-gaja-radha-saha-yante sava-ghar-āvāsa-parivasane aginathiyā³² sava-gahanam cha kārayitum Bāṃhaṇam jātim pariharam dadāti[.*] Arahatō [va ?] [gi]ya[to]
- 10 . . . k.i. māna[ti]rāja-saṃnivāsam Mahāvijayam pāsadam kārayati aṭha-tisāya sata-sahasēhi[.*] Dasame cha vase daṃḍa-saṃdhi-sā[ma]-mayo Bhāradhava-sa-pāṭhānam mah[i]-jayanam kārayati p[ā]yātānam cha maṇ[i]-ratnāni upalabhate
- 11 [maṃḍam] cha Ava³³-rāja-nivesitaṃ Pithurḍam³⁴ gadabha-naṃgalena kāsāyati janasa dabhāvanam(a) cha terasa vasa-satikaṃ ābhī[m]dati T[r]amira³⁵. desha-saṃghātari[.*] Bārasame cha vase hasa ke [saha]-sehi vitāsayati Utarāpadha-rājāno

(a) [The reading seems to be jānapada-bhāvanam.—Ed.]

- 12 M[a]gadhānam cha vipulam bhayam janeto hathi Sugamgiya[m] pāya-
yati [;.*] M[āga]dha[m]³⁶ cha rājānam Baha[sa]timitam³⁷ pāde varṇdā-
payati[.*] Namda-rāja-nitam cha Kā[li]rnga-Jinam³⁸ samnive[sa]
[gaha]-rata[nā]na[m] paḍihārehi³⁹ Amga-Magadha⁴⁰-vasum cha neyāti[.*]
- 13 katu[m] jathara-[i]khila barāni siharāni nivesayati sata-
visikanam⁴¹ [pa]rihārehi[.*] Abhutam=achhariyam cha hathi-nivā[sa]-pari-
saram⁴² haya-hathī-ratanā-[mānikam] Paṇḍa⁴³-rājā [ch=edāni anekāni]
m[u]ta-maṇi-ratanāni āharāpayati idha sa t[a].
- 14 sino vasikaroti[.*] Terasame cha vase supavata-
vijaya-chaka-Kumārī-pavate arahayate pa-khina-sam[si]⁴⁴tehi kāya-nisīdiyāya
yāpa-ñāvakehi⁴⁵ rāja-bhitini china-vatāni vās[ā]-s[i]tāni⁴⁶ [;.*] pūj-ānurata-
uvās[aga-Khā]ravela⁴⁷-sirinā jiva-deha-[siri]kā parikhitā
- 15 sukat[ā]-samaṇa-suvihitānam cha sata-disānam ṇan[i]nam
tapas[i]-is[i]nam samghayanam⁴⁸[.*] Arahata-nisīdiyā samīpe pābhāre var-ā-
kāra-samuthāpitāhi aneka-yojan-āhitāhi pa si. o. silāhi Sirhha-
patha-rañi-Si[m]dhulāya⁴⁹ nisayāni
- 16 Paṭalako chaturo cha vedūriya-gabhe thambhe patihā-
payati[.*] pānatarīya sata-sahase⁵⁰[hi][;.*] Muriya-kāla-vochhinam cha
choyath[i] Amga-satika[m] turīyam upādayati[.*] Khema-rājā sa Vaḍha-
rājā sa Bhikhu-rājā Dhama-rājā pasamt[o] sunat[o] anubhavat[o] kalā-
ṇāni
- 17 guṇa-visesa-kusalo sava-pāsarmḍa-pūjako sava-de[v-āya]tana-
samkhāra-kārako [a]patihata-chaki-vāhini-balo chaka-dhura-guta-chako pavata-
chako rājasi-Vasū-kula⁵¹-vinisrito⁵² mahā-vijayo Rājā-Khāaravela-siri[.*]
[Symbol].

NOTES ON THE TEXT.

1. For facsimile plates see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vols. III, IV and XIII.
2. [The reading *Ari*^o was corrected from *Arā*^o after Mr. Banerji's death, with the help of Muni Jinavijaya.—K. P. J.]
3. *Airena* is the equivalent of *Ailena*, meaning a descendant of Iḷa or Iḷā, father or mother of Purūravas. The same title is also to be found in the Mañchapurī Cave inscription of Kūḍe-pasiri.¹ For the change of *l* into *r* see *T[r]amira* in line 11 below. [In connection with this title the description in the last line *rājasi-Vasū-kula-vinisrito* may be noted. The Purāṇic tradition of *Rājarsi* as well as of the Aiḷa dynasty was thus well-established before Khāaravela's time.—K. P. J.]
4. *Māhāmēghavāhana*.—Probably the reading in the Mañchapurī inscription is also *Māhā-mēghavāhana* and not *Mahāmēghavāhana*. The long vowel over the first syllable *Mā*^o is quite clear in this inscription. The increase in the strength of the vowel indicates that King Khāaravela was a descendant of Mahāmēghavāhana, who might have been the recent founder of the dynasty.
5. *Cheti-rāja-vasa*.—Evidently *Cheti* is the same as Chēdi.² The later Chēdis, Kaḷachuris or Haihayas of Dābhāla or Dāhala were in occupation of modern Baghelkhand and Chhattisgaḍh in the mediæval period. Before that in the 7th century the Kaḷachuris Saṅkaragaṇa and Bud-dharāja were in possession of Mālwa and the Northern Mahārāshtra until their conquest by the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. The Buddhist books mention *Chēti* as one of the sixteen great king-doms or nations of Northern India.³ In the dynastic lists given in the *Purāṇas*, the Haihayas

¹ *Ante*, Vol. XIII, p. 166.² Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 172.³ Cf. Konow, *Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 38.

are a branch of the Yādavas.¹ The origin of the Chēdis is thus stated by Pargiter: Vidarbha of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha, Kaiśika and Lōmapāda. Kaiśika's son Chidi founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chēdi.² From Chidi the name of the clan as well as that of the country became Chēdi. In the Buddhist books Chēti is placed between Malla and Varāsa indicating that the kingdom lay close to Kausāmbī in the Allahābād district, and it is very likely that modern Baghelkhand was originally called Chēdi. [Vasu, from whose line Khāravela's family descended (l. 17) was, however, not a Chaidya, but the conqueror of the Chēdi country. He was fifth in descent from Kuru who was the 72nd Aīḷa (*J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 22, 26-29). The Jaina *Harivamśa-Purāṇa* also includes Vasu in the Aīḷya list and as the son of the founder of *Chēdi-rāshṭra* in the Vindhya (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 277).—K. P. J.]

6. *Kaliṅg-ādhipatinā*.—The term Kaliṅga is usually applied to the northern part of the Telugu-speaking districts of the Madras Presidency. In the *Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with Aṅga (south-eastern Bihār), Vaṅga (eastern Bengal), Puṅḍra (northern Bengal) and Suhma (south-western Bengal). The names of these five countries were given according to the names of the five sons of Bali,³ i.e., the tradition treats the kingdoms to be early Aryan conquests and states. In the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇas*, Kaliṅga is associated with the Mahisha country⁴ (later Māhishmatī, modern Mahesor in the Indore State on the river Narmadā). This text would indicate that Utkala was included in Kaliṅga in the time of Khāravela and the later name Ōḍra had not come into existence. The Purāṇic texts further indicate that the term Utkala was applied in early times to the hilly country between Gayā and Orissa, i.e., modern Chhoṭā Nāgpur and the Garhjat States. "The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and Pauravas, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissa."⁵ The transfer of the term Utkala to the plain country along the sea-board is therefore later.

7. *Siri-kaḍāra-sarīra-vatā*.—*Kaḍāra* means reddish fair, according to *Amara*, and a slave according to the *Mēdinī*. If it is a Prakrit derivation from *kaḍāra*, then it means "nāgarah or kāmin," according to the *Śabdāmālā* (*Vāchaspatyam*). The explanation given in the *Amara-kōśha* is more suitable as meaning "of beautiful reddish body."

8. *Lekha* or Royal Correspondence, a manual of which was written in the time of the Chālukyas of Aṅghilapāṭaṇa and has been published from Baroda.⁶ This *lekha* cannot refer to the art of writing. The subject is dealt with in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭalya.⁷

9. *Rūpa* must be the equivalent of *rūpya* meaning currency. In the present inscription the position of the word *rūpa* shows that the meaning cannot be anything else.⁸ The exact meaning of the term is made clear by the explanation of Buddhaghōsha on a passage of the *Mahāvagga*. The term is explained thus: "he who learns the *rūpa-sūtra* must turn over and over many Kārshāpaṇas."⁹ Finally, the term *rūpa-darsaka* in the *Arthasāstra* translated as "Examiner of Coins" shows that the term *rūpa* was used in cases as in the present inscription with

¹ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 102. ² *Ibid.*, p. 272.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁴ Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 54.

⁵ Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 292.

⁶ *Lekha-paddhati*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 58.

⁷ Mysore edn. (1919), pp. 70-75.

⁸ It is impossible to imagine that the prince learned acting. We can compare the word *rupadaktte* in the Jōgimārā cave inscription where also it may mean a currency officer. The term is also taken to mean a City-Magistrate who could recognise offenders at a glance. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1903-04, pp. 128-30. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 131.

⁹ *S. B. E.*, Vol. XIII, p. 201 note.

reference to currency. The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also, as we find the term *tāmra-rūpa* in the *Arthasāstra*.¹

10. *Gaṇanā*.—This term occurs in the *Arthasāstra* and has been translated as Accountancy. An entire chapter has been devoted to it there and the subject is explained in detail. It is certain that this term could not have been used for elementary mathematics in this inscription as supposed by Bühler. Knowledge of *lēkha*, *rūpa*, and *gaṇanā* is here coupled with that of law and learning and refers to a post-boyhood period.

11. *Vavahāra*.—*Vyavahāra* meaning Civil Law or Municipal Law as opposed to—

12. *Vidhi* or Religious Law which is mentioned in Sanskrit legal literature as positive injunctions.

13. *Yovarajaṁ*=*Yauvarājyam*.—*Yōvarajaṁ* shows the shortening of the internal medial vowel in the second member and the graphic lightening of double consonant, as in the case of *Māhārāja*^o (l. 3), *rañi* (l. 15), etc.

14. *vaḍhamāna-sesayo*.—Though the incision of these two words is perfectly clear they cannot be satisfactorily explained by us. The equation *vaḍhamāna-saikarō* is not quite satisfactory as a change of *v* into *y* is not to be had anywhere else in this record. The meaning proposed in the translation is adopted for want of a better one. There may be a pun intended by the use of the word *vaḍhamāna* which is the early name of the last Tirthaṅkara. The verb *pāpunāti*=*prāpnōti* shows that the sentence is in the active voice and complete by itself. After this line the forms are generally causative.

15. *Ven-ābhivijayo*.—The reading is perfectly clear. The ancient monarch *Vēna*, father of *Prithu*, was an unorthodox king according to Brāhmanical literature. According to the *Padma-Purāṇa* he began his reign well but subsequently became a Jaina. He abolished the law of levirate (*niyōga*) and caused a confusion or abolition of castes, according to *Manu*.² *Vēna* was a great conqueror and therefore the term *ābhivijaya* is very appropriate in his case. Evidently the tradition recorded in the *Padma-Purāṇa* was well-established in the time of *Khāravela* and therefore the Jaina monarch is compared to *Vēna*.

16. *Kaliṅga-rāja-va[m]se*.—In the third line the details about *Khāravela*'s ancestry are made clear. He was born in the royal line of *Chēti* and was the overlord of *Kaliṅga*, but the dynasty to which he belonged was the 3rd dynasty of the kings of *Kaliṅga*. This dynasty was one of the *Aiḷa* dynasties settled in Central and Southern India. The name *Khāravela* (probably, 'one whose waves are brackish' = the Ocean) is unusual, and so is the name of the other king of the dynasty, viz., *Kūḍepa* (*Mañchapurī* inscription). *Khāravela* is described to be an *Aiḷa* or *Aiḷa*, that is, of the Lunar House as opposed to the Solar. Pargiter holds that the kings of the *Aiḷa* stock held the Ganges and the *Jumna* valleys from the *Siwālik Hills* to *Magadha*, the country between the *Rājputāna* desert and the *Beiār*, with the *Pañjāb* and *Peshāwar* in the north and *East Bihār* and *Bengal* proper in the east. The town and country of *Vidarbha* is generally recognised to be the modern *Berār*.

17. *Māhārāj-ābhisechanam*.—The regular *ābhishēka* of a *Chakravartin* Monarch (called the *Aindra-mahābhishēka* in the *Śatapatha* and *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas*).³

18. *Paḍhame*.—In this dialect *tha* becomes *dha* in the majority of cases, e.g., *Goradha*=*Goratha*, *radha*=*raitha*, *Bharadhavasa*=*Bharathavasa* and *Madhuram* for *Mathuram*. The change is well-known and probably it is an influence of *Dravidian* origin.⁴

¹ Text p. 84, Engl. trans., p. 95. (Dr. Shamasastri's edition.)

² *Mānavadharmasāstra*, Ch. IX, vv. 66-67.

³ [This peculiarity is found in *Jaina-Saurasēni*, *Śaurasēni*, *Māgadhi* and *Dhakkī*. See *Pischel, Gramma'le der Prākṛit Sprachen*, para. 203.—Ed.]

⁴ *Jayaswal, Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, p. 27.

19. *Kalīṅga-naḡari*.—The capital of the Kalīṅga country, very likely now represented by Kalīṅgapatanam in the Ganjām district. The ancient capital of Kalīṅga, according to the tradition prevalent in the Chicacole *taluk* of the Ganjām district, was swallowed up by the sea. Fragments of bas-reliefs of the Maurya period with the well-known protuberance on the head-dress have been, however, discovered by RDB. in the temples of Mukhalingēśvara and Kūrmēśvara in the locality. The coast from Chhatrapuram to Masulipatam is subject to great cyclones during the north-eastern monsoon and the majority of ancient sites on this coast are buried in drift sand.

20. *Khibīra-isi-tāla*.—We have examined these two words very carefully on the rock, estampages and casts. The reading is perfectly clear but no explanation seems to be possible unless Khibīra is taken to be a proper name of a Rishi who excavated the tank or lake or after whom it was named. In that case, the phrase will have to be taken as referring to a particular tank while *talūḡa* and *pāḡiyo* will refer to artificial excavations.

21. *Pāḡiyo*.—Śkt. *Pāḡi*.—Perhaps the same as the *Podhiya* of Western India, cf. *Pāṅḡulēṅa* cave No. 10, inscription No. 10, l. 3.¹

22. *Sātakannim*.—Evidently Śrī Sātakarṇi, the third king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, the husband of queen Nāyanikā of the Nānāghāt inscriptions in the Junnar *taluk* of the Poona district.² [As to the Sātakarṇi whose architect Vāsēthiputra Ānanda gave a *tōraṅa* to *stūpa* No. I at Sāñchi see *J. B. O. R. S.*, XVI, p. 254.—K. P. J.]

23. *Kaṅha-beṅṅā*.—the Sanskrit Kṛishṇavēṅi or the modern Kṛishṇā which rises near Dhom in the Sātārā district. The river flows through the Sātārā, Belgaum and Bijāpur districts and the Kolhāpur and Hyderābād States into the Bay of Bengal through the Kṛishṇā district of the Madras Presidency. It forms the boundary of the Nizam's State from Alampur near Karnūl to Nandigāma in the Kistna district. The rise of the Kṛishṇā and its particular sanctity are described in the *Pātāla-khaṅḡa* of the *Padmapurāṅa*.³ The earliest epigraphical reference is to be found in this inscription and the second in the Nāsik inscription in cave No. 10 of the Pāṅḡulēṅā group where it is called *Karabeṅā*.⁴ In mediæval inscriptions it is called *Kṛishṇa-Vēṅṅā*.⁵ There is no doubt about the fact that Khāravela reached the Kṛishṇā somewhere in the long and erratic course of that river. It is possible that he went westwards because the term *pachhīma-dīsam* is expressly mentioned. But it is uncertain as to where he reached the Kṛishṇā.

24. *Musika-nagara*.—The Mūshikas are a people of Southern India as in the *Mahābhārata* they are mentioned along with the Vanavāsas.⁶ In the *Nāṅya-sāstra* of Bharata they are probably coupled with the *Tōśalas* and the *Kōśalas* under the name *Mōśalas*.⁷ In the *Vishṅu-Purāṅa* the Mūsika country comes with the *Strī-rāḡya*. According to the commentary *Jaya-maṅgalā* on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, the latter was a kingdom in the western part of the Vindhya country.⁸ There is a river Mūsī which joins the Kṛishṇā about the Nalgonda and the Kṛishṇā districts. It is mentioned under the same name in the inscription of the Rāshtrakūṅa

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

² *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III, plate 3. As to the letter-form of this inscription reference may be made to the *Palaeography of the Hathigumpha and Nanaghat Inscriptions, Memoirs A. S. B.*, Vol. X, pp. 131 ff. RDB. has proved elsewhere that later and earlier forms of the character used in an inscription depend in the first place on locality.

³ Ānandāśrama edition (1894), pt. 4, VI, 113, p. 1467.

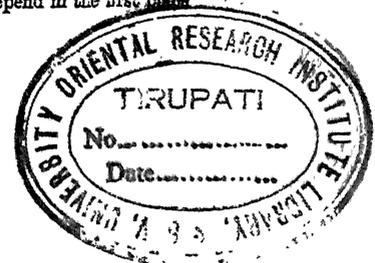
⁴ *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 211.

⁵ XIII, 27. (Kāvya-mālā edition, p. 148.)

⁶ *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

⁷ *Bhīshma-parvan*, Ch. LX.

⁸ *Sub. Kāma-sūtra*, II, 5, 27.



Gōvinda II of the Śaka year 692=769 A.D.¹ It is quite probable that the Musika city stood on this river.²

25. *Kalīṅga-pūva-rāja*.—The reading is absolutely certain and the phrase should be read with reference to *tatiye Kalīṅga-rāja-varṁse*.

26. *Raṭhika-Bhojake* stand for the Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas of Sātavāhana inscriptions and the minor inscriptions of the same period at Kānhēri, Kuḍā and Bēḷsā. The Raṭhikas are mentioned as *Ristikas* in the Girnār, *Raṭhikas* in the Shāhbāzgarhī and *Raṭhakas* in the Mānsēhrā version of the 5th edict of Aśōka. The Dhauli version supplies the analogous form in *Laṭhika*. In the 13th edict we find the *Bhojakas* mentioned with the *Pitīnakas* in Shāhbāzgarhī, Mānsēhrā and Kālsī versions. In the Kānhēri cave inscription of the time of Viṅhukaḍa (Huṅkulananda) a Mahābhōja is also called a *Mahārāja* showing that Bhoja probably was a title. Mahābhōjas or Mahābhōjis are mentioned in five votive inscriptions in the Kuḍā cave. In later periods a Bhojaka is mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman.³

27. *Nandā-rāja*.—King Nanda is mentioned in two places in this inscription, once in l. 6 and again in l. 12. The date in this line apparently refers to an era founded by King Nanda.⁴ His mention in connection with Magadha fixes his identity with the Magadhan Nanda dynasty.

28. *Rājasūyam*.—The reading is perfectly clear on the rock.

29. *samnādena*.—The form of the first letter seems to be a *sa* of the same type as that which we find in *Bahasatimitam* in l. 12.

30. *vipamuchitu*.—It seems more probable that the reading is *vipamu[ṁ?]chitu* not *vipamuchitum*.

31. *Yavana-rāja-Dimita*.—The word *Yavana-rāja* was read by KPJ. for the first time in 1919. After that the second syllable of the proper name is distinct. The first and the third can be read with great difficulty. KPJ. proposed to read the first syllable as *ḍi* but RDB. proposed that it is *Di* in which the broad back of the letter is turned towards the right and not the left. In Aśōka's inscriptions both varieties are found but in this inscription the other variety, with the broad back to the proper left, is used in all other cases. The Greek King Demetrios calls himself Dime[tra] in his Kharōshthī coin legends.⁵

32. *aginathiyā*.—The reading is certain and legible on the rock only. The decay of the stone makes good impressions impossible. Both of us have examined the place carefully and repeatedly. The meaning of the term is also uncertain. It may mean some form of Vedic sacrifice and the original form in Sanskrit might have been *Agn-īshṭi*. What had been read as *sa* before this word is uncertain.

33. *Ava-rāja* was previously read as *pūva-rāja*. It appears that that particular form of *a* in which the left lower curve is much shorter than the upper is also used in this inscription. Therefore the shorter arm of the long *u* may be taken to be the lower left curve of *a*. *Ava* as a dynasty is given by the *Bhāgavata-Purāna*, and the *Vishṇu* equates it with the Āndhras. Ptolomy

¹ *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 208-13.

² I am of opinion that Khāravēla reached the Mahārāshṭra country and touched the river Kṛishṇā near its source where it flows directly north to south instead of touching it at any other place, because to reach the Kṛishṇā at any other place he would have had to travel almost due south instead of west. Moreover, I put more reliance on the *Mahābhārata* than on any of the later texts. As the Mūsikas are coupled with the Vanavāsikas (in the western coast below Banavāsi (Sirsi taluk of the North Kanara district of Bombay). In my opinion Muziris, a famous port on the western coast, should be identified with Musikanagara of this inscription. (R. D. B.) [See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, pp. 165 ff., and *Ind. Ant.*, 1923, p. 138.—Ed.]

³ See also *Hindu Polity*, Pt. i, pp. 143, 195.

⁴ See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 237.

⁵ *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I, p. 14, No. 26.

mentions a people called *Avarni* or *Aruarni* near the Krishnā. It is quite possible that the city of Pithumūḍa mentioned by Ptolemy as Pitundra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LV, p. 145), was founded by these people (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 15 f.).

34. *Pūthumūḍa*.—According to Ptolemy, a city in the upper part of the Coromandal coast. This city has perhaps to be taken as the capital of the Ava or Avarni.

35. *Tramira* or *Tamira* is the equivalent of *Tamila* just as *Aira* represents *Aila*. It has been pointed out that *Tamiḷ* is the origin of *Draviḍa* and of *Dramila*.¹ *Tramila* would thus be a perfectly correct substitute for *Dramila*.

36. *Māgadham*.—We have examined the rock very carefully. The cast of the inscription in the Patna Museum shows that the word cannot be *Muriya* as proposed by Dr. F. W. Thomas.² The chisel-cuts of the letters are still clear though the decay of the rock surface has made impressions of this part of the inscription smudged.

37. *Bahasatimitam*.—The *sa* in the word is of the later 2nd century B.C. type in which a clear right-angle has been formed in the right limb of the letter and therefore it looks more like *pa* than *sa*. The reading is absolutely certain.

38. *Kāliṅga-Jina* perhaps means Sitalanātha who was born at Bhadalapura, which is the same as Bhadrapura³ or Bhadrāchalam in the Gōḍāvari district of the Madras Presidency.

39. *paḍihārehi* stands for *pratīhārah*.—The *da* denotes its difference from *parihāra* in l. 9.

40. *Aṅga-Magadha*.—The mention of these two provinces indicates that the campaign of the 12th year was specially directed against South Bihār which now includes the ancient provinces of Aṅga (Bhāgalpur and Monghyr districts) and Magadha (Patna, Gayā and part of Hazāribāgh districts).

41. *sata-visikanam*.—The reading is not doubtful though it was read slightly differently before. The reference seems to be to architects (*vaismikas*).

42. *hathi-nivāsa-parisaram*.—This reading of the second word of the phrase is more reliable than the previous one (*hathi-nāvana-paripuram*). *nivāsa*=*nirvāsa*.⁴ The reference seems to be to elephant preserves or some original form of *khedā* arrangement, invented by Khāravela. The elephants of Kāliṅga were very famous in ancient India. The strength of Khāravela probably lay in elephants. He took the fort of Pāṭaliputra with the help of elephants.

43. *Panḍa-rājā*.—For the form of *rañi* in l. 15. The Sanskritized version of the name of the great Dravidian clan is Pāndya and is derived from Pāṇḍu by a special rule of early grammarians. In the inscriptions of Asōka also the vowel in the first syllable is long.

44. *Pa-khiṇa-samsitehi*.—The reading seems to be tolerably certain on the rock, though it looks doubtful in the impressions. *Pa-khiṇa*=*prakshīṇa*, *samsite*=*samsṛta*.⁵

45. *Yāpa-Navakhehi*.—The first part of the compound cannot be satisfactorily explained by us though the reading is absolutely certain.⁵

46. *vāsā-sitāni*.—The medial vowels except that on the first syllable are somewhat uncertain. It may also be taken to be *-satāni*. It was previously read as *vasāsītāni*.

47. *Uvāsaga-Khāravela* previously read as *Uvāsa-Khāravela*. The *ga* and *khā* are indistinct.

48. *sarīghayanam*.—The reading is certain except of the vowel value on *gh*. Certain improvements have been effected, e.g., *naninam* which makes the purport of this term fairly certain.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLIII, p. 64.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 136.

³ [See Muni Puṅgyarājaya, 'Anekantā' (Delhi), Vol. I, p. 142, where he cites Jaina texts on 'yāpa' ('religious life') —K. P. J.]

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 84.

⁵ Cf. *Kāmandakiya-nītiśāra*, XV, 7.

49. *Simdhulāya*.—The recognition of the cerebral *la* is due to a suggestion of Prof. H. Lüders. In other cases the cerebral *la* is changed into *ra* in the dialect used in this inscription.

50. *sata-sahasehi*.—This reading was fully established by us when we examined the rock jointly in November 1919. This reading along with the reading of the passage *Aṅga*°, etc. brings to a close the long controversy about the existence of a date in the Maurya era in this inscription.

51. [The reading *Rājasi-Vasū-kula*° has been corrected by me (from *-vasa-kula*) after Mr. Banerji's death. King Vasu of Chēdi is known to the *Purāṇas* (see *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 22; *MBh.*, I. ch. 63). *Cheti-rāja*° in l. 1 refers to King Vasu. The inscription here confirms the Purāṇic genealogy. The Jaina *Harivaṃśa Purāṇa* also gives Vasu in the Chēdi list (Ch. VII) and as an Aiiēva. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, p. 277.—K. P. J.]

52. *vinisrito*.—This is the only instance of the use of the palatal *śa* in this record. The form is certain both on the rock and impressions.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Salutation to the Arhats (*Arihats*=lit. 'Conquerors of Enemies,' i.e., Jinas). Salutation to all the Siddhas. By illustrious Khāravēla, the Aira (*Aiḷa*), the Great King, the descendant of Mahāmeghavāhana, the increaser (*of the glory*) of the Cheti (Chēdi) dynasty, (*endowed*) with excellent and auspicious marks and features, possessed of virtues which have reached (*the ends of*) the four quarters, overlord¹ of Kalinga,

(L. 2) for fifteen years, with a body ruddy and handsome were played youthsomeness sports; after that (*by him who*) had mastered (*royal*) correspondence, currency, finance, civil and religious laws (*and*) who had become well-versed in all (*branches*) of learning, for nine years (*the office of*) Yuvarāja² (heir-apparent) was administered. Having completed the twenty-fourth year,³ at that time, (*he*) who had been prosperous (*vardhamāna*) since his infancy (?) and who (*was destined*) to have wide conquests as those of Vena,

(L. 3) then in the state of manhood,⁴ obtains the imperial (*māhārājya*) coronation in the dynasty of Kalinga. As soon as he is anointed, in the first (*regnal*) year (*he*) causes repairs of the gates, the walls and the buildings (*of the city*), (*which had been*) damaged by storm; in the city of Kalinga (*he*) causes the erection of the embankments of the lake (*called after*) Khibira Rishi, (*and*) of (*other*) tanks and cisterns, (*also*) the restoration of all the gardens (*he*) causes to be

(L. 4) done at (*the cost of*) thirty-five-hundred-thousands,⁵ and (*he*) gratifies the People. And in the second year (*he*), disregarding Sātakarṇi, despatches to the western regions an

¹ In *Kaling-ādhipati*, *adhipati* like *adhirāja* of the inscriptions, would literally denote an 'overlord.' The chief queen of Khāravēla in the Mañchapuri record calls her husband a Kalinga emperor (*Kalinga-chakavati*). In our record he is expressly described as belonging to the Kalinga dynasty. The expression 'overlord' would not indicate that he was the overlord of Kalinga, but an overlord or an emperor belonging to Kalinga.

² A member of the ministry (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 124, 136). According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Samprati, grandson of Aśoka, was the *yuvarāja*, while his father Kuṇāla was a viceroy at Takshasilā. *Yuvarāja* was generally, but not necessarily, the Crown Prince.

³ Evidently the throne had been vacant and Khāravēla ascended it after completing his 24th year. According to the *Bṛihaspati-sūtra*, for a prince playing and learning were enjoined up to the 25th year and after that age, politics.

⁴ *Purisa-yuge*.—This has a reference to the 25th year, see the note above.

⁵ The meaning given above is in consonance with the use of similar figures in lines 10 and 16 (*Mahāvijayam pāsādam kārayati aṭṭhisāya sata-sahasehi*, and *pānatarīya*, etc.). The instrumental case before *pakatiyo* may equally be taken to denote the number of the subjects (see *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭoji Dikshita on Pāṇini, II, 3, 23, and II, 3, 46). RDB. would connect the figure with the sentence beginning with *pakatiyo* in the sense that by the expenditure indicated by the figure the king pleased his subjects (see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 3(5)).

army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry (*nara*) and chariots (*ratha*) and by that army having reached the **Kaṁha-beṁṁā**, he throws the city of the Musikas into consternation. Again in the third year,

(L. 5) (*he*) versed in the science of the Gandharvas (*i.e.*, music), entertains the capital with the exhibition of *dapa*,¹ dancing, singing and instrumental music and by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*);² similarly in the fourth year, 'the Abode of **Vidyā-dharas**' built by the former Kaliṅga king(s), which had not been damaged before with their coronets³ rendered meaningless, with their helmets (?) (*bilma*)⁴ cut in twain (?), and with their umbrellas and

(L. 6) *bhinjāras* cast away,⁵ deprived of their jewels (*i.e.*, *ratana*, Skt. *ratna*, precious objects) all the **Raṭhikas** and **Bhojakas** (*he*) causes to bow down at his feet. Now in the fifth year he brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya⁶ the canal excavated in the year one hundred-and-three of King **Nanda**⁷ Having been (*re-*) anointed (*he while*) celebrating the Rājasūya, remits all tithes and cesses,

(L. 7) bestows many privileges⁸ (*amounting to*) hundreds of thousands or the City-Corporation⁹ and the Realm-Corporation.¹⁰ In the seventh year of his reign, his famous wife of **Vajiraghara**¹¹ obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood..... Then in the eighth year, (*he*) with a large army having sacked **Goradhagiri**

(L. 8) causes pressure¹² on **Rājagaha** (**Rājagriha**). On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the **Yavana** (Greek) **King Dimi[ta]** retreated to **Mathurā** having extricated his demoralised army and transport..... (*He*) giveswith foliage

¹ In Sinh this term is found in modern vernacular applied to a village-performance by a row of men who move on cutting antics. *Drava* in Sanskrit, meaning a dance, is connected with motion or running.

² On its meaning as a theatrical performance, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 235.

³ (*Makuta*).—Crowns or coronets according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 118). The *Raṭhikas* and *Bhojakas* were non-monarchical communities (*Hindu Polity*, Vol. I, p. 89).

⁴ *Bilma* in the *Yajur-veda*, XVI, 35, comes in the company of *kavacha* (coat-of-mail or breast-plate).

⁵ *Bhringāra* which was made of gold, formed part of a ruler's paraphernalia according to the *Nāṭya-śāstra* (XXI, 138). So did the *chhatra* or umbrella.

⁶ *Tanasuliya-vāṭā* means 'from the road of Tanasuli' or it might have been the name of the canal. *Vāṭā* also means an enclosure.

⁷ The opinion of Lüders (List No. 1345) and Konow (*Acta Orientalia*, Vol. I, p. 26) is in favour of interpreting *tivasa-sata* as 103 years and not 300 years. This is acceptable in preference to 300 on considerations of chronological and historical data of the inscription discussed elsewhere (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 237-238). Such uses of numbers are not unknown in Vedic Sanskrit. The natural explanation is 'the year one hundred and three of King Nanda'. On a Nanda era, see Yedārāve inscription of Chāṅkya Vikramāditya VI (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 43) and on an era beginning in 458 B. C. current in the time of Alberuni, the discussion on the subject in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (Vol. XIII, pp. 237-241).

⁸ *Anugaḥa*.—Consult *Hindu Polity*, II, 93; *Kaṁṁliya Artha-śāstra*, 19, XIII, 171.

⁹ *Pora* = *Paura*.—See the discussion on the subject in *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, and the next note below.

¹⁰ *Jānapada*.—The discussion in the *Hindu Polity*, II, Ch. 27, sets out the materials. The question of identification of *Jānapada* as a corporate body is now put beyond controversy by the seal discovered at Nālandā which reads *Purikā-grāma-jānapadasya* 'of the Jānapada of the Purikā village'. This seal is in Gupta characters of the 5th or 6th century. [I am publishing it in my article on 'Some Clay Seals of Nālandā'.-Ed.] Probably the central *Jānapada* was made up of the representatives of local *Jānapadas*. In the Hāthīgumpha inscription we have *Jānapada* in the singular, that is, it refers to one (general) *Jānapada*.

¹¹ It is an ancient royal mannerism to refer to different queens by the name of the country of their origin of., *Kausalyā*, *Kaikkōyī*, etc. The custom still continues in the present ruling families where *rājās* are so referred to. For instance, a princess of the Udaipur family, if married in the Jodhpur family, would be styled *Sisodhi mahal*.

¹² *Upapīḍāpayati* means presses down, inflicts pain (*Manu*, VI, 62; XII, 80). With the meaning 'devalating, laying waste', which the dictionaries give, the word may mean 'he sacks', but as it is contrasted with *ghāṭayati* ('sacked') we take it that Khāravēla only laid siege to the fortress of Rājagriha.

(L. 9) Kalpa¹ (wish-fulfilling) trees, elephants, chariots with their drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses. And to make all these acceptable (*he*) gives at a fire sacrifice (?) exemption (*from taxes*) to the caste of Brāhmaṇas. Of Arhat.....

(L. 10) (*He*) causes to be built a royal residence (*called*) the **Palace of Great Victory** (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousands. And in the tenth year (*he*), following (*the three-fold policy*) of chastisement, alliance and conciliation sends out an expedition against **Bharatavasa** (*and*) brings about the conquest of the land (*or, country*) and obtains jewels and precious things of the (*kings*) attacked.

(L. 11) And the market-town (?) **Pithumḍa**² founded by the **Ava King** he ploughs down with a plough of asses; ³ and (*he*) thoroughly breaks up the confederacy ⁴ of the T[r]amira (Dramira) countries of one hundred and thirteenth years,⁵ which has been a source of danger⁶ to (*his*) Country (Janapada). And in the twelfth year he terrifies the kings of the **Utarāpatha**⁷ with..... thousands of

(L. 12) And causing panic amongst the people of Magadha (*he*) drives (*his*) elephants into the **Sugaṅgiya**⁸ (*Palace*), and (*he*) makes the King of Magadha, **Bahasatimita**, bow at his feet. And (*he*) sets up⁹ (*the image*) 'the **Jina of Kalinga**' which had been taken away by **King Nanda**..... and causes to be brought home the riches of **Aṅga** and **Magadha** along with the keepers of the family jewels of.....

(L. 13) (*He*) builds excellent towers with carved interiors and creates a settlement of a hundred masons, giving them exemption from land revenue. And a wonderful and marvellous enclosure of stockade¹⁰ for driving in the elephants (*he*) and horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (*he*) causes to be brought here from the **Pāṇḍya King**.

(L. 14) (*he*) subjugates. In the thirteenth year, on the **Kumāri Hill** where the **Wheel of Conquest** had been well-revolved¹¹ (*i.e.*, the religion of Jina had been

¹ Giving of Kalpa trees was one of the *Mahādānas* or great gifts according to Hēmādri (*Chaturvarga-chintāmani, dāna-khaṇḍa*). The tree was made of solid gold.

² *Prithu-aṇḍa* 'the big egg', probably had its origin in the physical feature of the situation of the city.

³ In the Jaina book *Āvaśyakavṛtti*, Hāribhadri, (pp. 685-87) and Hēmachandra's *Vīracaritra* (pp. 170-71) it is stated that Koṅika ploughed Vaiśālī with ploughs drawn by asses. (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 231n.)

⁴ *saṅghāta*.—According to Pāṇini (III, 3, 76, 86; V. 1, 59; and *Hindu Polity*, I, p. 27) the form should be here *saṅgha* and not *saṅghāta*. Evidently this distinction of Sanskrit grammar is not followed by Jaina writers of the time and the regular form *saṅghāta* is used probably owing to the religious significance already attaching to the term *saṅgha* amongst them.

⁵ *Perasa-vasa-satīkam*.—We take it to mean 113 years, not 1,300 years old in conformity with the interpretation of *vi-vasa-sata* above.

⁶ [*Bhāvana* = Skt. *bhāvana* (cf. '*bhāpayate*' in the *Siddhāntakāsumudī* on Pāṇ. 1, 3, 68). I am adopting the former reading *janapada*. The other reading will also yield nearly the same meaning.—K. P. J.]

⁷ As the record distinguishes *Utarāpatha* from *Bharatavasa* it should be taken to refer to that part of the country of which Takshasilā was the capital as in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 407). Cf., *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā*, p. 94.

⁸ *Sugāṅga* Palace is mentioned in the *Mudrārākshasa* (Act III) as the palace of Chandragupta Maurya. This must have been near or on the Ganges. Khāravela's entry by means of elephants implies that it was a fortified palace.

⁹ *saṁnivesa*., probably *saṁnivesāyati*, "sets up an image". *Saṁnivesā* in the sense of an image is mentioned in the dictionaries. The image called the Kalinga Jina was set up by Khāravela. This image had been taken away by King Nanda. There is no doubt about the reading of the text and the translation of *Nanda-rāja-nītam*.

¹⁰ *nivāsa-parisaraṇa* = *nirvāsa-parisaram*. Compare the *Kāmandakiya* on *nirvāsa* of elephants (XV, 7). *parisara* is enclosure or stockade.

¹¹ *supavata-vijaya-chakra*: Skt. *supravṛtta-vijaya-chakra*, cf. *pavata-chako* in l. 17; *vijaya-chaka*, 'the wheel of conquest'. Evidently this was a term common to Buddhism and Jainism. That *Varddhamaṇa Mahāvira* preached Jainism in Kalinga is attested by the tradition contained in Jaina literature (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 223). The *Hāribhadriya-vṛtti* says that Mahāvira went to Kalinga where his father's friend was ruling.

preached), (he) offers respectfully¹ royal maintenances, China clothes² (*silks*) and white clothes³ to (*the monks*) who (*by their austerities*) have extinguished the round of lives,⁴ the preachers⁵ on the religious life and conduct at the Relic Memorial.⁶ By Khāavela, the illustrious, as a layman devoted to worship, is realised (*the nature of*) *jīva* and *dēha*⁷

(L. 15) bringing about a Council⁸ of the wise ascetics and sages, from hundred (*i.e.*, all) quarters, the monks (*samaṇas*) of good deeds and who have fully followed (*the injunctions*) near the Relic Depository of the Arhat, on the top of the hill,⁹ with stones brought from many miles (*yojanas*) quarried from excellent mines (*he builds*) shelters¹⁰ for the **Sirhapatha Queen Sindhuḷa**.

(L. 16) Paṭalaka(?) (*he*) sets up four columns inlaid with beryl.. at the cost of seventy-five hundred thousands; (*he*) causes to be compiled expeditiously the (*text*) of the seven-fold *Aṅgas*¹¹ of the sixty-four¹² (*letters*). He is the King of Peace, the King of Prosperity, the King of Monks (*bhikṣhus*), the King of Religion (*Dharma*), who has been seeing, hearing and realising blessings (*kalpāṇas*)—

(L. 17) accomplished in extraordinary virtues, respector of every sect, the repairer of all temples, one whose chariot and army are irresistible, one whose empire is protected by the chief of the empire (*himself*), descended from the family of the Royal Sage **Vasū**, the Great conqueror, the King, the illustrious **Khāavela**.

No. 8.—KAP COPPER-PLATE OF KELADI SADASIYA-NAYAKA; SAKA 1479.

BY N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, M.A.

This copper-plate was secured by the Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, from **Kāp** a village in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency in 1921 and has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as No. 8 of Appendix A.

¹ *arāhayate* = *arāhayate*.

² *Chīna-vaṭāni* = *chīrṇa-vastrāṇi* or *Chīna-vastrāṇi*. The latter gives a more reasonable meaning.

³ *vāsā-sitāni*.—This was formerly read as *vāsā-sitāni*. It would be the earliest reference to the *white* clothes later on connected with the Śvētāmbara sect.

⁴ *samsita* = Skt. *samsṛiti*.

⁵ *Nāvaka* = Skt. *Jñāpaka*.—*Yāpa* in *yāpa-nāvakehi* may be interpreted in view of its use in *Charaka* as “mitigating pain”, or as “supporting life” according to the *Mahābhārata*. [The translation given above is adopted now from the Jaina texts. See *above* p. 85, n. 5—K. P. J.]

⁶ The Jains raised symbolical graves of saints and *Nishīdī* or *Nishīdhī* was the name given to them. (*Cf. ante*, Vol. II, p. 274; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 99).

⁷ Soul and body: these relate to the Jaina philosophy wherein the topic is very prominent (Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Ch. VII).

⁸ *Samghayana* = assemblage.

⁹ *pābhāre* = *prāg-bhārē*.

¹⁰ *nīṣayāni* = Skt. *nīṣayāni*.

¹¹ *Aṅga* is a technical term meaning the sacred canon of the Jains. If we read *Aṅga-satika-turiyaṃ* instead of *Aṅgasatikam turiyaṃ* then we may translate it as “the *Aṅgas* (in collections of) 7 and 4”. According to the Jaina tradition the *Aṅgas*, eleven in number, were discovered after their loss.

¹² *turiyaṃ* = *tvaritāṃ*, “expeditiously”, or *turiyaṃ*, “four-fold”. Jaina authors maintain that the Jaina Canon is covered by 64 letters; see *Gṇṇamajāsāra, Jīva-khaṇḍa* (Sacred Books of the James, Vol. V, 1827 edition by J. L. Jaini, Introduction, p. 13).

"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16·4" long and 11·5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1·4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1·75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Kannaḍa. The first six verses are in Sanskrit and the next six in Kannaḍa, the rest being in Kannaḍa prose. The Kannaḍa verses are defective both in diction and in prosody. The record is written in Kannaḍa alphabet and is rather indifferently inscribed. The letter *va* is often written like *ra* and it is not easy to distinguish *pa* from *ru* (as in *Tirumarasa* in line 17). The aspirates are generally distinguished by means of the vertical stroke at the bottom except in the case of *dha*. The secondary form of *va* is sometimes used (*vulla* in l. 36 and *vūroḷage* in l. 37). With respect to orthography: (i) the consonants are invariably doubled when they are preceded by *rēpha*; (ii) the nasal is generally changed into an *anusvāra* before consonants of the same class; (iii) the consonants are freely used in place of vowels (e.g., *ye* for *e* in l. 21 and *vo* for *o* in l. 14); (iv) the letter *sa* is sometimes wrongly used for *sha* (ll. 8 and 42); and (v) double *na* is used for *ṇa* as in *arnava* (l. 9).

The object of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by Madda-Heggaḍe, the chief of Kāp with (the consent) of the assembly (*nāḷinavarū*)¹, communal and professional guilds (*gaṇa-pana*) and subordinate officers,² for offerings to Dharmmanātha, the 15th Jina Tirthankara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher Dēvachandradēva for the spiritual welfare of his *guru* Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinava Śvākīrttidēva.

The date of the record is Śālivāhana-Śaka 1479, the cyclic year Naḷa, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L. D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the details correspond regularly to A.D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmmanātha which is followed by a verse in praise of the *Jina-doctrine* (*śāsana*). It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvira), the 24th Jina. Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhūnu who belonged to Tintriṇī-gachchha, Kāpūr-gaṇa and Mūla-saṅgha. The Kannaḍa verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggaḍe but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the Paṅguḷa line (*baḷi*) and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp. (Vv. 7-12.) The inscription then states that Rāmarājayya, though he was the lieutenant of king Sadāśīvarāya, was ruling the (*Vijayanagara*) empire (ll. 18-21) and that Sadāśīva-Nāyaka (*of Ikkēri*) was the ruler of the districts of Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru. Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Heggaḍe in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with (the help of) the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were

¹ *nāḷinavarū* is the corrupt form of *nāḷinavarū* which comes from *nāḷu* meaning assembly.

² *gaṇa* 'is an aggregate of *kulas*' *kulānām hi samūhas* = *tu gaṇaḥ saṃprakīrtitaḥ* (Kātyāyana, *Vīramitrōdaya*, p. 426; quoted by Dr. Fran Nath in his "Economic condition of Ancient India", p. 54); and *pana* is a sectarian division. Eighteen *panas* are referred to in an inscription of the 17th century, viz., *Vyāvahārikas*, *pāṇchālas* (five sects of smiths), *kumbhālikas* (potters), *tantuvāyins* (weavers), *vastra-bhēdakas* (cloth dyers?), *tila-ghātakas* (oil-millers), *kurafakas* (*kurafakas*? : shoe-makers), *vastra-rakshakas* (tailors), *dēvāṅgas*, *parikelitī* (*parikelittē-rakas* (barbers). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. (*Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1916, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)

situated in the village of **Mallāru** and yielded an income of 80 *varāhas*.¹ This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the *hālu-dhāre* (milk-bath?) and for feeding the assembly (*of sages*) on the 17th and 25th days of every month. Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a Maṅgala(ā)-trayōdaśī. Muni Charaṇavijayajī from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work *Yasōdharachariyā*, Maṅgalā-trayōdaśī is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina.

Sadāsīva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the **Ikkēri-Keladi** family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A. D.² Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here. He was the elder of the two sons of **Chauḍappa**, the governor of **Mallādēśa**, the younger being **Bhadrappa**. Soon after Sadāsīva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājayya, who was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāṇa. Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāsīva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru, besides bestowing on him the title of *Kōṭe-kōlāhala*³ (disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour *rāya-nāyaka* to his name. Sadāsīva's next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of Chandragutti and Bidar and in recognition of his achievements he got the *biruda* of *Satru-saptāṅgaharaṇa*. He next put down the chiefs of Tuḷu and Kēraḷa and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named **Yeḍava** and **Murāri** in the country of Jālihāḷu and received as a reward the title of *Yeḍava-Murāri* from the emperor. Sometime later, he marched against Mādarasa of **Baṅkāpura** and took him prisoner. By this time Sadāsīva's younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pilgrimage came back. After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for sometime, Sadāsīva nominated him as his successor with the surname **Immaḍi Sadāsīva-Nāyaka** and retired to the forest.⁴

The date of **Sadāsīva-Nāyaka** may now be ascertained. Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556). The latest date available for him, *viz.*, Śaka 1486, Dundubhi⁵ (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Maṅgārākēri near Bārakūr. And Śaka 1473, Sādhāraṇa⁶ (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions. In śaka 1488, Kshaya⁷ (A.D. 1566) Immaḍi Sadāsīva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling. Sadāsīva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566. So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A. D. 1550-1562. The date assigned to him by Rice, *viz.*, A. D. 1513-1545 is, therefore, not correct.⁸ Here it is necessary to say a word about **Immaḍi Sadāsīva-Nāyaka's** place in the genealogy of the Keladi family. Though a number

¹ A *varāha* is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is *doḍḍa-(big) varāha*, the exact significance of which is not clear.

² For an account of this family see *A. S. R.* for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff; and Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, pp. 156 ff.

³ This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri.

⁴ This account is based on *Kallōlas* 2-5, *Taraṅga* V of the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia *Śivatatvataraṅkāra* edited by Messrs. B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvān P. Sundara Śāstrī.

⁵ No. 168 of 1901, *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy*, 1901.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 77.

⁷ *Ibid*, Nagar 1.

⁸ *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, table on p. 157.

of his inscriptions¹ has been discovered he has not been included in the table² of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work *Śivatatvarainākara* enables us to say that Immaḍi Sadāśīva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Sadāśīva.

The sage Bhānu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name who were replaced by Lalitakīrtis in about Śaka 1286.³ Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his *guru* Munichandra-dēva and his *guru* Abhinavadēvakīrttidēva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallūru in the Uḍipi Taluk; Beḷuguḷa is the well-known Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State; Kopaṇa is Kopa, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jains in the Nizām's Dominions; Parvata is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centres of Śaiva worship.⁴ Gōkarṇa is the village of that name in North Kanara; Tirumale is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. Ūjjantagiri, which appears as Ūrjayat-giri in the Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman,⁵ is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Nēminātha.

TEXT.

First Side.

- 1 Śrī-Dharmmanātha[nē] śaraṇu || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-ānōgha-lānchhanam
[1*] jiyā-
- 2 t-trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanam Jina-śāsanam || [1*] Svasti Śrī sakala-jñāna-sāmrājya
-pada-rājita[h*] | Va-
- 3 rthdha(rddha)māna-Jinādhiśa⁶-syādvāda-maṭha-bhāsurah || [2*] Tintriṇī-gachchha-
vārāsēs=sudhāmśur=jñāna-dī-
- 4 dhitih [1*]sa[d*]-dharmma-sarasī-hamsah pravādi-gaja-kēsari || [3*] Kāṇūr-gapa-nabhō-
bhāgē bābhāti muni-
- 5 kum[ja]rah | ajñāna-timir-ōddhūti [h*] Śrīmān-Bhānu-mun-ī[śva]rah || [4*] Paṇoh-āchāra-
śara-dhvasta-paṅcha-
- 6 bāṇa-[śa]ra-vrajah | akhamḍa-śrī-tapō-lakshmī-nāyakō Bhānu-saṁyamī || [5*] Śrīmad-Bhānu-
mu-
- 7 n-īśva[rō] vijayatē syādvāda-dharmm-ārṇbarē śrīmad-jñāna-vinūt[na]-dīdhiti-[śa]ta-dhvast-
ārdhakā-
- 8 ra-vrajah[1*] śrī-Mūl-āmala-saṁgha-nīraja-mahā-shaṁḍēśv⁷-akhamḍa-śrīyari vyāta[nva]-
n=muni-
- 9 kōka-chāru-nikaram saukhy-ārnn(ṇ)avē magnayan⁸ || [6*] Tuḷu-dēsav=emba bhūpana poḷeva
mahā-pa-
- 10 dakad=ante yesarg(se)gum nichkam⁹ | dharey-ojage Kāpina nagarada nelanan=ā]va bhūpa
Madda-Heggaḍey=embam || [7*]

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nagar 2, 3 and 4.

² *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 157.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 129, f. n. 2.

⁴ Nandlal Dey's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 193.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

⁶ Read *Jinādhiśab*.

⁷ Read *shayḍēshv*.

⁸ Read *mājjayan*.

⁹ Read *nichcham*.

- 11 Paṅguḷa-baḷi adhipatiyanu poṁ-gaḷasade(a) nelake tānu nṛipa-kuḷa-tilakaṁ | saṁgata-sabheyoḷu
- 12 po[ga]ḷgu]rñ Ariḅaja-jaya-Jina-pad-ābja-madhukaran=eṁbaṁ || [8*] Bhū-dēviya mukha-karṇaḅḅādi bādēṁ [hē]va-
- 13 rgge Kāpuv-enisida nagaraṁ | ādaradiṁn=adaro[ḡ=ā] mēdini-mata-Dharmmanāthan=ena(se)guriṁ Jinapaṁ || [9*] Ā-nagara-
- 14 kk=adhipatiyurñ Śrī-pati Tiru[ma]rasa-nṛipa [a]vaṁi-tilakaṁ | vōmanadali¹ ātānum vōtu karaṁ Mukti-La-
- 15 kshmiḡ-ittaiṁ manamaṁ || [10*] Yēn-ēṁbe Madda-Heggaḅḅe dāna-chatu[r]-vvidhakke tāne chiiitā-ratnaṁ sanmu(ṁnu)ta-guṇa-gaṇa-
- 16 nniḡeyarṁ² urṇnata³-āḷavanu tā]da [nṛi]pa-ripu-saṁhāraṁ || [11*] Dharmmadolaṁ [dṛiḅha]-chittanu nirmūala-
- 17 guru-bhaktiyalli Tirumarasa-nṛipaṁ Dharmma-Jina-Jaina-sāsanamaṁ voṁ-mandiṁ tānu māḅḅi kriti]ya]-
- 18 mṁ(nu)-ittaiṁ || [12*] Svasti Śrī [||*] Jayādbhūdaya⁴ Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha 1479 neya saṁida Naḷa-saṁvatsara-
- 19 da Kārttika-sūddha 1 Ādityavāradalu Śrīman=mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara satya-ratnākara
- 20 śaraṇāḡgata-vajra-paṁjara chatu[s*]samudr-ādhiśvara Kaliyuga- chakravartti śrī-vīrapratāpa Sadāśiva-
- 21 rāya-rāja-rājēndra dakṣiṇa-bhāḡa-bhāḡya-dēvatā-saṁnibharuṁ=appa Rāmarājayya-
navar[u] yē-
- 22 ka-[chha]tradiṁ rājya[va]nu pratipālisut-irdda kāladalu Bārakūru Maṁḡalūralu Sadāsi-(śi)va-Nāyakaru
- 23 rājyavaṁ ge]yi]t⁵=irdda kāladalu Tu]u[va]-dēsa-kāmiṁi-mukha-kamala-tilakāyamā[n]-
ānādi-si-
- 24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-siṁhāsan-ōday-āchal-āḷamkarana-taruṇa-[t]araṇi-prakāśaruṁ ananya-rājanya-sau]ja]-
- 25 nany⁶ [au]klāryya-vīryya-dhairyya-[mā]dhuryya-gāṁbhīryya-naya-vinaya-satya-śaucha-ādy-anarṇita-guṇa-
- 26 gaṇa-nūtna-ratn-ābharana-gaṇa-kiraṇ-ōdyōtita-Bharatādi-sakala-[pu]rāṇa-purusharuṁ=appa
- 27 Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḅḅeyaru avara nā]i]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-sāvāntaru Kāpina rājyava-
- 28 nu pratipālisut irdda kāladalu⁷ [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-maṁḡal-āchāryya mahā-
- 29 vāda-vādīśvara rāya-vādi-pitāmaha sakala-vidva[ḡ]ṇa-chakravarttigalūṁ⁸ ity-ādy-anēka-bi-
- 30 rudāvāli-virāḡamānarūṁ Kāṇḡra⁹-gaṇ-āḡra-gaṇyaruga]ḷum=appa Śrīmad-Abhinava-
- 31 dēvakīrttidēvaruga]ḷa śiṣhyaru Munichāḅḅradēvaruga]ḷu [a]varuga]ḷa śiṣhyaru Dēvacham-
dradē-

¹ Read *ommanadali*.

² Read *nilayam*.

³ Read *unnata*.

⁴ Read *Jay-ābhūdaya*.

⁵ Read *geyyuti*.

⁶ Delete *na*.

⁷ Read *kāladalu*.

⁸ These *birudas* are also borne by Bha ṭikalaṅka, the author of *Śabdānūśāna*, the Kannaḅḅa grammar in Sanskrit, and several other Jaina teachers.

⁹ Read *Kāḡra*.

68 *rvvata-Gōkarnna-modalādavaralli*¹ *kōṭi-liṅgavan=oda(e)da pāpakke hōharu*
 69 *Vaishṇavan=ādare Tirumale-modalādavaralli kōṭi-Vishṇu-mūrtiyan=oda(e).*
 70 *da pāpakke hōharu || Bhadrath bhūyāj=Jina-śāsanasya [८] Śrī [||*]*

TRANSLATION.

L. 1. Obeisance to **Dharmmanātha** !

V. 1. For the translation of this verse see above, Vol. XIII, p. 22.

V. 2. Hail ! The illustrious **Vardhamāna**, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat (*symbolic*) of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the *Syūlvādu* school.

Vv. 3 and 4. **Bhānu**, the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the **Tin-tripi-gachchha** ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (*i.e.*, Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of **Kāpūr-gaṇa**.

V. 5. The sage **Bhānu** who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices (*āchāras*²) is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance.

V. 6. The illustrious **Bhānu**, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of *Syūlvāda* religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the (*lake of*) the pure **Mūla-saṅgha** and immersing sages, the herds of lovely *kōkas*, in the ocean of happiness.

V. 7. **Madda-Heggaḍe**, the ruler of the city of **Kāp**—be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the **Tuḷu** country.

V. 8. (*This*) jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the **Paṅguḷa** lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies (*of great and learned men*).

V. 9. The city known as **Kāpu** is the mirror of the goddess Earth; therein shines the **Jinapa Dharmmanātha** honoured by the world.

V. 10. The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king **Tirumarasa**, the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (*the service of*) the Goddess of Final emancipation.

V. 11. How shall I describe (*him*) ? **Madda-Heggaḍe** is the wish-giving gem (*chintūratna*) for the four kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour.

V. 12. King **Tirumarasa** possessed of firm faith in *dharmma* granted a *Jaina-śāsana* (*endowment*) with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written (*to that effect*).

Ll. 18f. Hail ! Prosperity ! In the prosperous **Śālivāhana Śaka** year 1479 expired (*corresponding to*) the cyclic year **Naḷa**, on the 1st (*day*) of the bright half of **Kārttika**, on **Sunday**,

Ll. 19ff. when **Rāmarājayya**, who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the **Mahārājādhirāja**, the **Paramēśvara**, ocean of Truth, and adamantine cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, **Virapratāpa Sadāsivarāya**, was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while **Sadāsiva-Nāyaka** was ruling (*as viceroy*) the (*provinces of*) **Bārakūru** and **Marṅgalūru**,

¹ Read *°davugaḷalli*.

² The five *āchāras* are : 1. *Darśan-āchāra* (to induce steady faith), 2. *Jñān-āchāra* (to increase knowledge), 3. *Charitr-āchāra* (to improve one's daily life), 4. *Tapa-āchāra* (to become a great ascetic) and 5. *Viry-āchāra* (to increase the power of one's inner self). (*Śravaṇa-Belgoja Inscriptions, Translations p. 54, f. n. 2*).

Ll. 23ff. and while Madda-Heggaḍe who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the Tuḷuva country, the young sun (*emerging from*) the eastern mountain, viz., the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, (*the incarnation as it were of*) all the ancients like Bharata¹ radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, viz., friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, etc., was ruling the chiefdom of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers;

Ll. 28ff. hail! 'Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakīrtidēva, the āchārya of the circle of royal preceptors, the lord of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendant with several such *birudas*, the foremost (*follower*) of the *Kāṇūr-gaṇa*;

Ll. 31ff. his disciple Dēvachandradēva requested Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (*people*) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his *guru* Munichandradēva;

Ll. 36ff. and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of Mallāru (*situated*) within their province, in the place called Kaḷantōpatina-bālke, on the inner side of the trench, one *beṭṭu*² land requiring seed (*for sowing*) of 2 *mūḍe* of paddy calculated at 30 *baḷla*³ (*for each mūḍe*) and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadi requiring 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷla* and a *bāgila* land requiring seed of 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷla*; (*in all*) three wet lands requiring seed of 10 *mūḍe*, with the properties attached to them, viz., *kare*, *mure*, house, well, jack-trees, mango-trees, *sumbe*, *nikkil*, *urkkamrāde*, crop, water and stone; (*and Dēvachandradēva*) received 80 big *varāhas*—in words eighty—(*being the money income of the said lands*).

Ll. 44ff. From this gold (*was to be purchased*), at both crops, 24 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *baḷla* of the standard prevalent in the bazaar. The (*following are the*) details of the charities to be managed with this rice:

Ll. 46ff. 10 *mūḍe* of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one *baḷla* each day and for the *hālu-dhāre*, conducted in the name of Munichandradēva to Dharmanātha-Tirthaṅkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp; 12 *mūḍe* of rice for feeding Jain ascetics (*samudāya*) on 2 days in the month, viz., the 17th and 25th day. If either of these days happened to be a *Māṅgalā-trayōḍaṣī*, 2 *mūḍe* of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that *Māṅgalā-trayōḍaṣī*. Thus the total is 24 *mūḍe*.

Ll. 53f. In this place of charity the taxes *anāya*⁴ and *sanāya*⁵ were not to be levied by the Ballālas⁶; the Vokkalu had no *biṭṭi*⁷ and *biḷāra*⁸ and the fees *kāṇike*, *dese* and *appaṇe* could not be raised.

Ll. 55ff. (*This is*) the copper-plate inscription recording the *sarvamānya* gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their *guru*.

¹ Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommaṭa and son of Ādinātha, the first Tirthaṅkara. (Above, Vol. VII, p. 108 and *Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1913, p. 5).

² *beṭṭu* is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually.

³ *baḷla* is equal to 2 *seers* generally.

⁴ *āya* generally means income but the import of *anāya* is not clear.

⁵ *sanāya* is perhaps a mistake for *sēnāya*, i.e., tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

⁶ *Ballālas* are like the *Heggaḍes*, a sect of the Bant class (*South Canara Manual*, Vol. I, p. 159).

⁷ *biṭṭi* generally means free labour.

⁸ *biḷāra* is perhaps a mistake for *birāḍa*, a tax. (See *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 255 and 275).

Ll. 58ff. The witnesses for this (*transaction*) are : Atikāri (*Adhikāri*) Kāṁta-seṭṭi, Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi, Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi, Bagge-seṭṭi's nephew Kēsaṇa, Mūlūra Beḷile, Birumāḷa Dugga and Baṇḍāri Birusāṁṇi. With the consent of all these, Saṁkayi-Sēnahōva of Maṅgalūr wrote this. Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed !

Ll. 62ff. Imprecatory verses.

Ll. 65ff. Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummaṭanātha of **Beḷaguḷa**, Chandranātha of **Kopaṇa** and Nēmīśvara of **Ūjjan-tagiri** and other Jaina idols ; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of liṅgas at **Parvata**, **Gōkarṇa** etc. ; if a Vaishṇava, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Viṣṇu in (*holy*) places like **Tirumale**. May there be prosperity to the *Jina-sāsana* (doctrine). Fortune !

No. 9.—SAMOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA ;
[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.

BY R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This short inscription was found at Sāmōli in the district of Bhōmaṭ in Mewār and is now preserved in the Rājputāna Museum at Ajmēr. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has already noticed it.¹ It consists of twelve well-engraved lines of writing, covering a space of about $9\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10\frac{1}{2}''$. The stone being slightly broken at the lower right corner, a portion of the inscription is missing. A few letters here and there are also indistinct. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{2}{3}''$. On account of its importance as the earliest inscription of the Guhila family of Mewār, a detailed notice of it is given below.

The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets of the acute-angled type. They are almost similar to those of the Udaipur inscription of Aparājita² of V. S. 718 (A. C. 661) though the *mātrās* of the vowels *ā*, *i*, *ē*, *u* and *ū* have different forms. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is written very carelessly. As a result, the metres employed do not always stand scanning, and the meaning is also not quite clear in a few places. As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—*n* is used for *ṇ* in *ripūnām* (l. 4), and *ṇ* for *n* in *-jaṇānamndī-* (l. 5) and *-vāsinyā* (l. 9) ; the *anusvāra* is used for *m* in *-sambādham* (l. 8) and is redundant in *-jaṇānamndī-* (l. 5) and *-uṇṇādītam-āraṇya-* (l. 7) ; the *visarga* is omitted in *Harē* (l. 2), *-narapati* (l. 5) etc., while it is redundant in *-bhayāḥ* (l. 2), *-mahatarah* (l. 10) and *-janivaḥ* (l. 4) etc. ; *sandhi* is not observed in *-jīvanam āgara*^o (l. 6), *-āgata ashīdāśa-* (l. 7) and other places, while it is wrongly used in *-nivaham mavālōkya* (l. 3). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the text and the footnotes thereto.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows :—After the invocation of the goddess Chaṇḍikā (ll. 1-4), the epigraph praises Śilāditya as the conqueror of his foes (ll. 4-5). Ll. 5-7 record that a *Mahājana* (*community*) headed by Jē[nta*]ka who had migrated from **Vaṭa-nagara**, started an *āgara* (? Skt *ākara*, a mine) in Araṇyakūpagiri which became a source of livelihood for the people. In the next two lines it is said that the *Mahatara* (*Mahattara*) Jētaka, at the command of the *Mahājana*, founded at the place a temple (*dēvakula*) of Araṇyavāsini (Durgā), which was noted for its eighteen *vaitālikas* (bards), hailing from different parts of the country and was always crowded with rich and wealthy people. The sense of the last two lines

¹ PRAS., W.C., 1908-09, p. 48 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29ff.

is not very clear, the inscription being broken at the corner. It appears, however, that the *Mahatara Jēntaka*, having seen the approach of the messengers of Yama entered fire (?) or committed suicide at the holy place of Dēbuvaka. The record ends with the date 703 *Katika* (*Ārṭtika*) *di* (?). Evidently the year belongs to the Mālava-Vikrama era and corresponds to 646 A.C.

As regards the personages mentioned in the inscription it would appear that Śilāditya was a scion of the Guhila family of Mewār. This inference is supported by the documents which have already been published—*e.g.*, the Āṭapura¹ inscription of Śaktikumāra, the inscription of Chitōr,² dated V. S. 1331, the Mt. Ābū³ inscription of Samarasimha. As has been pointed out by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar,⁴ the name Śīla in the Āṭapura inscription stands for Śilāditya who was succeeded by Aparājita⁵ whose inscription, dated V. S. 718 (A. C. 661), has been alluded to above. Nothing of importance is recorded about the *Mahatara Jēntaka*.

Vaṭanagara of the inscription is evidently the same as Vaṭa⁶ (Vaṭapura) which has been identified with Vasantagaḍh⁷ in Sirōhī State and is about 16 miles from Sāmōlī, where the inscription was found.

This inscription is of special interest, as it enables us to rectify a mistake made in connection with the pedigree of Gōha. Col. Tod supposed that Gōha (Guhila, Guhadatta, Guhāditya, *etc.*), the founder of the Guhila family of Mewār, to which Śilāditya of this inscription belongs) descended from the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.⁸ The Alīnā copper-plate inscription⁹ of the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura dated in Gupta Saṁvat 447 (A. C. 766-67), would show that he was the ruler of the Valabhī kingdom at least up to the date of his inscription, *i.e.*, the latter half of the eighth century A. C.¹⁰ As the date of Śilāditya of the present inscription is Saṁvat 703 (A. C. 646), that of Gōha or Guhila, the fifth¹¹ predecessor from him, should fall in the latter half of the sixth century A. C., if an average reign of twenty years be assigned to each of the rulers preceding Śilāditya (of Mewār). Thus there is a difference of about two centuries between the reigns of Gōha (Guhila) of Mewār and the last Śilāditya of Valabhīpura. In other words, we might say that Gōha (Guhila) had established his rule in Mewār about two centuries prior to the break up of the Valabhī kingdom. Therefore Gōha could not have been the descendant of the last Śilāditya (Śilāditya VI) of Valabhīpura.¹²

¹ यस्यान्वये जगति भोजनहेन्द्रनाग-

श्रीलापराजितमहेन्द्रमठेकवीरः *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 75, v. 18.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 348, v. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 189.

⁵ Cf. note 1 above where the kings are mentioned in succession.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 12.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 191. Cf. also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187. [But Vasantagaḍh cannot be philologically derived from Vaṭanagara.—Ed.]

⁸ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, pp. 253-59.

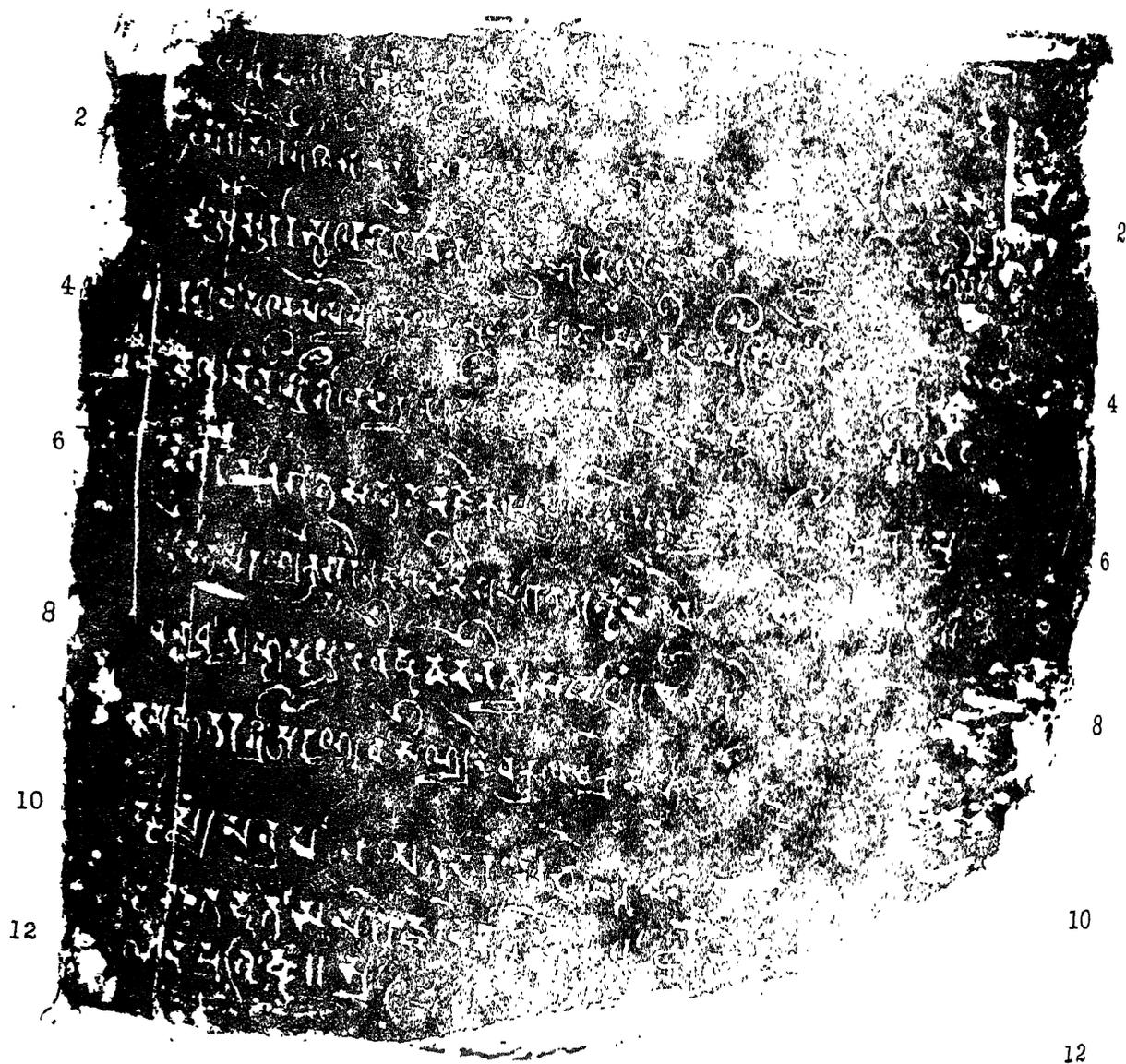
⁹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. Dr. Fleet assigns the inscription to Śilāditya VII. In fact, Śilāditya II of his book (*vide* p. 41, introduction) did not actually reign at Valabhī (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 208 and Duff's *Chronology*, p. 308). Hence Śilāditya VII ought to be Śilāditya VI. [This is a matter of opinion only; cf. Kielhorn's Northern List No. 487, footnote 5.—Ed.]

¹⁰ Duff's *Chronology of India*, p. 67. Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* (W. Crooke's Edition), Vol. I, p. 254, note 3.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188, Inscription No. IV.

¹² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVI, pp. 169-74.

SANOLI INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SILADITYA—[VIKRAMA-SAMVAT] 703.



TEXT.¹

- 1 ओ² नमः ॥ पुनातु दिनक्रम(न्म)रोचिविच्छुरितपद्मपं(प)त्रच्छवि दुरितमायु
 अ(च)ण्डिकापाद³-
- 2 यं ॥ हरे(रः)शिखिशिखाभकेसरस्थितमपास्तरज(जो) नूपुरा(र)भयाः(या)च्छुरित-
 दिविभाव(दिग्विभागं?) स-
- 3 दाः(दा) [1*] असुरोर(रः)स्थल(लं) शूलविनिर्भिन(न्न)सुहिररुधिरनिवहं ।
 [समा]लोक्य केसरि(रो) वहति ति-
- 4 रश्च चापलममप्येव⁴ भयमुद्विजनिवः⁵ ॥ जयति विजयी रिपूनां(णा) देव-
 द्विजगुरु-
- 5 जणा(ना)नन्दोः(नन्दी) [1*] श्रीश्रीलादित्यो नरपति(तिः) स्वकुलाव(म्ब)र-
 चन्द्रमा(माः) पृथ्वीः⁶ ॥ जयति वट-
- 6 नगरविनिर्गतमहाजन(नो) जे[न्त*]कप्रमुखः(खः) । येशस्य लोकजीवनं
 आ(नमा)गरमु-
- 7 सा(त्पा)दितं(त)मारण्यकूपगिरीः(री)? [1*] नानादिदेशमागत⁷ अष्टादशवेतालि-
 [क*]ले(लो)कविख्यातः(तम्) ।(।)
- 8 धनधान्यहृष्टपुष्ट[प्र*]विष्टजननित्यसंबाधं(धम्) ॥ एभिर्गुणैर्यु(र्यु)तं तत्र [जित्त]-
- 9 कामहतर(त्तरः) श्रीभरण्यवासिण्या(न्या) देवकुलं चक्रे महाजनादिष्ट(ष्टः) ।
 देवो च प्र[ति]-
- 10 ष्टाप्यमनुपालयतु⁸ [चि]रं(रं) स च जेत्तकामहतर(त्तर)ः आस
- 11 वस्त्रतद्रूता¹⁰ समवेक्ष(क्ष्य) । देवुवके सिधा(द्वा)यत[ने]
- 12 लन¹¹ प्रविष्ट(ष्टः) ॥ ७०० ३ ॥ कति[क]¹² [f] ..

¹ From the original stone.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ 'छि' is engraved above the line, while 'द' of 'पाद' is engraved just below 'पा'. The sign of चा in 'पा' is bent downwards and is different from other चा marks.

⁴ Read शिरसां चापलमप्येव ?

⁵ Read भयमुद्विजनिव.

⁶ Read पृथ्वीम्. Probably the metre should be *Udgitī*.

⁷ The 'प' of 'कूप' is written below the line under 'गि'. If we read 'निर्गत' in place of 'विनिर्गत' (in L. 6) then the metre would be *Udgitī*.

⁸ Read नानादिदेशमागताष्टादशम्.

⁹ Read प्रतिष्ठामनु.

¹⁰ Read वेश्वरतद्रूताम्.

¹¹ Probably लनम् was intended.

¹² Read कतिच.

No. 10.—PATNA MUSEUM PLATES OF RANABHANJA—THE YEAR 22.

BY R. D. BANERJI, M.A., BENARES.

These plates were sent to the late Dr. D. B. Spooner by Mr. L. E. B. Cobden-Ramsay, I.C.S., Political Agent, Orissa Feudatory States, in 1915-16.¹ A summary of the contents of the inscription they bear, as drawn by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, was published in the *Annual Progress Report of the Eastern Circle* for that year.²

The plates are three in number and are joined together by a copper ring to which is attached a seal ($1\frac{7}{8}'' \times 1\frac{5}{8}''$) which is ellipsoid in shape and bears the legend *Śrī-Raṇabhāñjadēvasya*. They are identical in size and measure $7\frac{1}{4}''$ by $4\frac{1}{2}''$ each. The first plate is inscribed on the inner side only while the remaining two bear inscription on both the faces. There are altogether fifty-seven lines of writing on these three plates, which are distributed as follows: the first plate has eleven lines, the second, eleven lines on each side; and the third, twelve lines on each side. The writing on the whole is neat and clear but each line abounds in mistakes due both to the composer and the engraver.

The record is written in incorrect Sanskrit. The first eleven lines of it are in verse. They contain four stanzas of which the first three are already known from the two Baudh plates of the same prince.³ These verses contain an invocation to Śiva and the genealogy of the donor. This grant mentions two ancestors of Raṇabhāñja, namely, Śilābhāñja and Śatrubhāñja, while the Baudh grant (B) names only one, i.e., Śatrubhāñja, his father. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Vāhiravādā which stood on the banks of the Mahānadī and was included in Dakṣiṇapali and the Kṣiṇjali-*maṇḍala*, to the god Vijaēsara (Vijayēśvara), by Mahādēvī Vijyā (Vidyā) who was the daughter of the illustrious Rāṇaka Niyānana. The god Vijaēsara is evidently a *Śiva-linga* and the donor, the wife of Raṇabhāñja himself. The document describes Raṇabhāñja as a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu, the *tilaka* of the spotless Bhañja race and master of both the Kṣiṇjalis, who had obtained the five great 'śabdas' whose feet were worshipped by the *Mahāsāmantas* and who had obtained the blessing of the goddess *Stambhēśvari*.

Mahānadī is evidently the well-known river of that name in Orissa. Kṣiṇjali is mentioned in several Bhañja grants which have already been published. I am unable to identify the village Vāhiravādā.

The date of the inscription is, apparently, regular and is given in a half chronogram as *Indu-vāk-vīsanti varisē* (= *Indu-vāk-vimśati-varshē*).⁴ Ordinarily this expression would denote the year 2011 of some era but the Baudh plates (B) which are written in the same script as this inscription would show that it stands for 22, *vāk* being taken in the sense of 1.⁴

I edit the inscription from the original plates which were kindly placed at my disposal by Sir Edward Gait, I.C.S., K.C.I.E., the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bihār and Orissa.

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1915-16*, p. 7, para. 6.

² P, 4, para. 5.

³ Above, Volume XII, pp. 323-28.

⁴ [But *vāk* (*vāc*) does not mean 'one' though it might stand for 'four' as it is supposed to have four stages, namely *Parā*, *Pasyanti*, *Madhyamā* and *Vaikharī*.—The reading, however, is not certain.—Ed.]

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1-3, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 4, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* ; vv. 5-19, *Anuṣṭubh* ; and v. 20, *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ Ōm svasti | [| *] Samhāra-kāla-huta bhug-vikarāla-ghōra-sambhrānta-kiṅka-
 2 ra-ku(kri)tānta-[nitānta *]-bhinnam [| *] bhinn-Āndhak-āsura-mahā-gahan-ātpatra² |³
 ta(-)bhē(bhai)ravarā Ha-
 3 ra-vapu[r *] bham(bha)vataḥ prapātuḥ⁴ || [1 *] Durvvāra-vāraṇa-ṇa-pratipa[ksha-
 paksha-la*]kshmi-haṭha-gra-
 4 haṇa-suprasrita-pratāpā[ḥ | *] Bhañjan(ān)-narādhipatayō⁵ va(ba)havau(vō) va
 (ba)bhu(bhū)vur=udbhūta-
 5 yō(yō)=tra bhuva(vi) bhu(bhū)ri-sahasra-sa[m *]khyā[ḥ] | [2 *] Tēshām kulē
 sakala-bhu(bhū)ta[la *]-pā-
 6 la-mauli(li)-māl-ārchchhit-ānghri-jugalō⁶ valavām⁷=nripō=bhu(bhū)t | śrī-
 7 Śilābhañjadēva[ḥ *] pravakraṭa⁸-paurusha-raśmi-chakra-nirdārit-āri-
 8 hṛidayō-sya pitā nripasya | [3 *] Gāmbhīryēṇa payōnidhi[ḥ *]⁹ thiratayā¹⁰ bhu-
 (bhū)mi[r *]-
 9 va(ba)lēn-ā[ni *]la[s *]-tējōbhir=yalanō¹¹ -ryamā samatayā ||¹² śubhrair-jjāsōbhi¹³
 śasi(śi) [| *]
 10 ātmā sarvva-jagana-mana¹⁴-sthitatayā datt-āvakāśō viyajāta¹⁴ |¹⁵ śrī-
 11 Satrubhañja¹⁵ ity=atula-dhī[ḥ *] tasy-ātmaja[ḥ *] Svayāmbhu(Śambhu)vata(t) ||
 [4 *] Anyō-nya-mada-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 12 māna-milita¹⁶-samuddhata-nripa-chakra-chaturāṅga-va(ba)la-kshōbha-chali(li)ta-dha-
 13 rā-maṇḍala-gaja-turaga-khura-nirdāraṇa-prasarad-atula-dhulī¹⁷ -vitāna-sam-
 14 chchhan[n*]a-jany-āṅgaṇa-ga[ja*]-skandha-vēdikā-svayāmbva(yamva)r-āyāt(ta-)||¹⁸ pariṇita-
 ja[ya*]-lakshmi-

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

² Read °ātpatrah.

³ Punctuation superfluous.

⁴ Read prapātu.

⁵ [Bhañjī narādhipatayō.—Ed.]

⁶ Read -ānghri-yugalō.

⁷ Read balavān-

⁸ Read prakraṭa-

⁹ Punctuation superfluous.

¹⁰ Read sthiratayā.

¹¹ Read =jvalanō-

¹² Read °jjāsōbhis°

¹³ Read °jagan-manah-

¹⁴ Read viyaj-jātaḥ.

¹⁵ Read Śatrubhañju.

¹⁶ Read °milita-

¹⁷ Read °dhulī-

- 15 samānandita-paura-jana-ma(ā)nasah śrīmad-Bhañja-bhu(bhū)patih purād=Dhṛitipura-
nā-
- 16 mna[ḥ*] || Śa(Śa)rad-amala-dhavaḥ-kara-yaśaḥ-paṭala-dhavalita-dig-va-
- 17 danō(nah) |¹ Ā(A)navarata-pravṛit[t*]a-samnārna² -dān-ā[na *]ndita-sakala-janō(nah) |³
- 18 Ā(A)ṇḍaja-vañ(m)śa-prabhavaḥ Parama-vaishṇava(vō) mātā-pitri-pāda(d-ā)nu-
- 19 dhyāta[ḥ*] Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka Ubhaya-Khiñjal-ā(ly-a)dhipati[ḥ *] sama-
dhigata-
- 20 pañcha-mahā-śavda(bdō) mā(ma)hāsāmanta-vandita-[charaṇaḥ*] Stambhēsvari-lav-
dha(bdha)-vara-prasā-
- 21 da[ḥ*] |⁴ Rāṇaka-śrī-Raṇabhañjadēva[ḥ*] kuśali [*] Ih-aiva Khiñjali-maṇḍalē
- 22 bhavishyad-rāja-rāja(ā)nak-āntataṅga⁵-kumāra(rā)mātya-mahāsāmanta-vrā(brā)hma-

Second Plate : Second Side.

- 23 ṇa-pradhānā[n *] anyā[m]ś=cha daṇḍapāsika-chūṭa-bhāṭṭa⁴ -vallabha-jātīnā⁵ ||⁶ ya-
- 24 thārhi⁷ mānayati vaidhayati⁸ samādisayati(śati) ch=ānyat ||⁶ sarvvata[ḥ *]
si(śi)vam=a-
- 25 smāka m | Vidadam⁹=astu bhavatāḥ¹⁰ Dakhi(kshi)ṇa-pa(pā)li-prativa(ba)ddha |⁶
Mā(Ma)hānadi(di)-vima-
- 26 la-jala-viji¹¹-prakshālita-taṭa-Vāhira(Bāhira)vādā-grāma[ś*] |⁶ chatu[ḥ *]si (sī)mā-paryanta-
[ḥ*] |⁶
- 27 nidhya upanidhi¹²-sahitam(taḥ) mātā-pitrō-yatma-jaśa¹³-puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē
- 28 salila-dhārāḥ¹⁴-puraḥsarēṇa vidhinā | Śrī-Vijyā-māhādēvyā¹⁵ |⁶
- 29 [Para]ma-māhēsvari(śvayā) | Rāṇaka-Śrī-Niyārnama-sutā(tayā) Vijaēsarāya¹⁶
- 30 datvā vidhi-vidhānēna¹⁷ sa-vidhēya-tāmvrā¹⁸-śāsana[ḥ] pratipāditō-yam || Pāram-ma¹⁹-

¹ Punctuation superfluous.

² Read °samnāna°.

³ Read °antarāṅga°.

⁴ Read °bhāṭṭa°.

⁵ Read °jātīyān.

⁶ Punctuation superfluous.

⁷ Read yathārham.

⁸ Read bōdhayati.

⁹ At first this was also written di, which was erased and ta written in its place.

¹⁰ Read bhavatām.

¹¹ Read °vichi°.

¹² Read °nidhy-upanidhi°.

¹³ Read mātā-pitrō-ātmanat=cha yaśaḥ

¹⁴ Read °dhārā°.

¹⁵ Read °Vidyā-mahādēvyā.

¹⁶ Read Vijayēśvarāya.

¹⁷ °na is written below the line.

¹⁸ Read tāmra°.

¹⁹ The ma is superfluous.

34 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 34
 36 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 36
 38 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 38
 40 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 40
 42 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 42
 44 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 44

46 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 46
 48 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 48
 50 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 50
 52 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 52
 54 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 54
 56 अथ कश्चिद्यथा (दधीशकं वक्रं शास्त्रेषु प्रोक्तं वृत्तं यथा 56

- 31 parya-kulāvatārēṇa ya(yā)vad-Vā¹ sarvva-vachanēna yathā dharma(mā)[h*]
prarōhamti ||² sā(yā)
- 32 sanē(tē)na pratinā(tanō)si sahasrēṇa virōhasi [l*] ēva[m*] vu(bu)ddhā(dhvā) par-
ārddhañ=cha paratō
- 33 varṣ-āvatārēṇa(ṇ=ā)py=asmad-antarōr(uparōdhād)=dharma-gauravā[ch*]=cha na kēnachi
smalp-āpi³

Third Plate : First Side.

- 34 vā(bā)dhā karaṇiyā | tathā ch=au(ch-ō)ktaṁ dharmma-śāstrēṣhu [l*] Phāla-kriṣṭā-
[m*] mahī[m*] dadyā[t*]=sa-
- 35 vija(jā)m sasya-mēdini[m*](śālinim) | yāva[t*] su(sū)ryakṛit-ālōka⁴ tāva[t*]=svargga⁵
mahīyatō | [l 5*]
- 36 Vēda-vām-asmayōji⁶ vadanti rishi⁷-dēvatāh[l*] bhu(bhū)mi-hartrā⁸ tath-ānyach-
cha ā-
- 37 hō mā hara mā hara [l6*] Yath=āpsu patitaṁ Śakra tē(tai)la-vindu[r*]-
visa[r*]ppati |
- 38 ēvaṁ bhu(bhū)mi- kṛitaṁ dānaṁ sasya(syē) sasyē prarōhati | [l 7*] Adityō
Varu-
- 39 ṇō Vishṇu[r*]=Vra(Bra)hmā Sōma(mō) Hutāsana[h*] | Śulapāṇis⁹=tu bhagavām¹⁰
a-
- 40 bhinandranti¹¹ bhu(bhū)mida[m*] | [l 8*] Āsphōtaya[m*]ti pitarah pravālgaya(ga)-
41 nti pitānaha(hāh) | Bhu(Bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(tah) sa mē trātā bhavishya-
ti | [l 9*] Rvahu-¹²
- 42 bhir-vvasudhā dat[t*]ā rājānaiḥ¹³ Sagar-ādibhi[h*]¹⁴ | [l 10*] Mā-ru(bhū)d-
aphala-saṁkā ya paradatēṣhu
- 43 pālitarā¹⁵ | yasya-yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phala[m*]
[l 11*] Sva-dat[t*]ā[m*]=para-dat[t*]ā-

¹ Read *Vēd-ārtha-*

² [Punctuation superfluous. Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 324, l. 22 & f.n.—Ed.]

³ Read *kēnachit svalp-āpi*.

⁴ Read *ālōka*^o

⁵ Read *svarggā*.

⁶ Read *vēda-vāk-smṛitayōjivā*.

⁷ Read *rishi*^o.

⁸ Read *hartrā*. [See above Vol. XII, p. 325, l. 40.—Ed.]

⁹ Read *Śulapāṇis-*

¹⁰ Read *bhagavān*.

¹¹ Read *abhinandanti*.

¹² Read *Bahubhir*^o

¹³ Read *rājābhīḥ*.

¹⁴ The second half of this verse has been omitted. [The second half has been put as the second half of

the next verse, the latter half of which (*viz.*, *svadānāi phalam* etc.) has been omitted.—Ed.]

¹⁵ Read *bhūd=aphala-saṁkā vaḥ para-datt=ēt pāṭhivāḥ*.

- 44 m-vā yō harēd=va(rēta va)sundharām | sa vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā
pitṛibhi[s*]=saha pachyatē | [1 12*] Hiranya-
- 45 m-ēkaṁ gām=ēkaṁ(kām) bhu(bhū)mim¹=apy=arddham-aṅgulaṁ | Hara[n*]=nara-
kam=āyāti yāvad=ābhuti(bhūta)-

Third Plate : Second Side.

- 46 samplavaḥ(vaṁ) | [1 13*] Bhu(Bhū)mi[m*] yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yach(ś)-cha bhu-
(bhū)mi[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇau
- 47 niyatau² s[v*]argga-gāminau | [1 14*] Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)-mi[m*]
manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā(mō)-vṛitaḥ | sa va(ba)-
- 48 ddhō vārunaiḥ pāsai[s*]=tirya[g*]-yōnī(ni)shu jāyatē [1 15*] Mā pār-
thivaḥ(va) kadāchi[d= dhi*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ mana-
- 49 sād=api(sā api) | aṁgē padham³=abhaisva(sha)jyam ētat hālāhalaṁ vishaṁ
[1 16*] Ā(Na) visha[m*] visham=ity=ā-
- 50 hu[h*] vra(bra)hmasvaṁ visha[m*] uchyatē | visham=ēkākīnō(nam) hantī
vra(bra)hmasvaṁ putra-pautri(trā)ka[m*] | [1 17*] Lauha-chu(chū)-
- 51 rṇṇ-āsva⁴-chu(chū)rṇṇaṁ=cha vishaṁ=cha jara⁵yē[n*]=naraḥ | vra(bra)hmasvaṁ tṛi-
shu lōkēshu kaḥ pumām(n)
- 52 jaramājvaramishyati⁶ | [1 18*] Vājapēya-sahasrāṇi⁶ y-Āśvamēdha-śatāni
- 53 cha | gavām-kōṭi-pradattēna⁷ bhu(bhū)mi-harttā na śyudhyati⁸ | [1 19*]
Iti kamala-dal-ā-
- 54 mvu(bu)-vi[m*]du-lōlā[m*] śriyam⁹=anuchintya shantasya¹⁰-jvitaṁ=cha sakalam=idam-
udāhṛitaṁ=cha
- 55 vudaiḥ¹¹ na hi purushaiḥ paraki(kī)tta(rtta)yō vilōpyā[h*] | [1 20*] Vijaya-
rājyē saṁmva(saṁvat)sar=ēndu-vvāg-vi.¹²
- 56 santi-varisē(varshē) uktirnaṁ¹³=cha vaṇika(k)-suvarṇpakāra-Sivaṇāga(gēna) Pāṇḍi-suta
(tēna) [*] mahā-
- 57 rājakiya-mudrēṇati¹⁴ ||

¹ Read *bhūmēr=*

² Read *niyatam.*

³ Read *param=abhai°*

⁴ Read *°āśma°*

⁵ Read *°jara⁵yishyati.*

⁶ Read *-saha: rēṇ=Āśvamēdha-śatāna.*

⁷ Read *-gradānēna.*

⁸ Read *śudāhyati.*

⁹ Read *śriyam=*

¹⁰ Read *manushya°*

¹¹ Read *buddhō.*

¹² [See note 4, p. 100 above—Ed.]

¹³ Read *uktirṇaṁ°*

¹⁴ [Possibly meant for *°mudrayā lāñchhitam=iti.—Ed.]*

No. 11.—THE KADAMBAPADRAKA GRANT OF NARAVARMAN—V.S. 1167.

By R. D. BANERJI, M.A.¹

The inscription edited below is incised on two thick plates of copper which weigh 15 lbs. 7 oz. and now belong to Mr. J. J. Gardar of Nepean Sea Road, Bombay, who purchased them at some place in Central India, and lent to me in November, 1920, for publication. There are two holes in each of these plates through which they appear to have been once tied together by means of two rings like many of the Valabhī plates which have now been published. There is no seal attached to them but a kneeling figure of Garuḍa, holding a snake in each hand, is incised at the proper right corner of the second plate, as is seen in the Dharam-puri plates² of Vākpatirāja of V.S. 1031, the Ujjain plates³ of Bhōjadēva of V.S. 1078 and the Mādhātā plates⁴ of Jayasimha I of V.S. 1112. The plates measure $12\frac{3}{8}$ " by 8" each and are incised on one side only. In all, there are twenty-nine lines of writing on them, seventeen being incised on the first plate and twelve on the second. The average height of letters is $\frac{5}{8}$ ".

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two verses at the beginning, two in the middle and five imprecatory stanzas at the end, the record is written in prose. It refers itself to the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara*, the illustrious Naravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious Bhōjadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., Sindhurājadēva.

The object of the charter is to register the grant of certain pieces of land given on different occasions to a Brāhmaṇa named Dvivēda Āsā(sā)dhara, son of Nārāyaṇa of the Kātyāyana-gōtra and Mādhyandina-sākhā. The gift-land consisted of twenty *nivartanas* given by the king Naravarmadēva himself on the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha in the year 1167 (=Thursday, the 3rd February, 1110 A.D.) when this grant was issued. The charter also refers to a previous grant of twenty *halas* of land, out of which ten *halas* were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājadēva on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārttika in the year 1154, four *halas* by his daughter-in-law,⁵ the illustrious Mahādēvī, probably on the same date, and six *halas* by the king himself, on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausa in the year 1159 on the occasion of the Bhūtaraprana (Bhūtarātri ?)-*parvan*.⁶ Thus, three different dates are mentioned in the inscription, probably, with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when the present charter was issued. The gift-land lay in the village of Kadambapadraka which was in possession of the *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Rājya(ja)dēva and was situated in the *pratijāgarāṇaka* of Mandāraka in the Upēndrapura-*maṇḍala*. The measurement was called a plough measure (*hala*) which was of ninety-six rods (*daṇḍas*). The length of the *daṇḍa* in Mālwā at this period is unknown. A town named Upēndrapura is mentioned in the Ranod inscription⁷ of the Mattamayūra ascetics which seems to

¹ [This article was taken up for publication after the sad and premature demise of the author and was revised by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy.—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 51 f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 f.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 48 ff.

⁵ [Probably *vadhā* is to be taken in the sense of 'wife' here.—N. P. C.]

⁶ [The correct reading seems to be *Udayayana-parvanī*. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephe-meris*, the *udayayana samkrānti* took place on Wednesday, the 24th December, A.D. 1102, i.e., two days before the date given in the present grant.—N. P. C.]

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 354 ff.

have given its name to the *maṇḍala*. I am unable to identify either Kadambapadraka or Mandāraka. The grant was issued under the sign manual of the *Mahārāja* Naravarmadēva and the *Dūtaka* of the charter was Ṭhakkura Kēsava.

TEXT.¹

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 2, 4 and 5, Anuṣṭubh ; Vv. 3 and 7, Vasantatilakā ; V. 6, Indravajrā ; V. 8, Śālinī ; V. 9, Pushpitāgrā.]

First Plate.

- 1 Om² svasti || Śrī[r*]=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Jayati [Vyō]makēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi
(bi)bharttri(rtti) tām aindavim śirasā lēkhām jagad-vijāṅga sa kṛitim³ || [1||*]
- 2 Tanvantu vaḥ Smar-ārātēḥ kalyāṇam=aniśam jaṣāḥ | kalp-ānta-samay-ādāta-⁴taḍid-
valaya-piṅgalāḥ || [2||*] Paramabhadvā(ṭṭā)raka-Mahārājā-
- 3 dhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Sindhurājadēva-vā(pā)dānudhyāta-Parana(ma)bhaṭṭāraka-Mahā-
rājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Bhōjadēva-pādānudhyā-
- 4 ta-Va(Pa)ramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-śrī-Udayādityadēva-padānudhy-
āta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Pa-
- 5 ramēśvara-śrī-Naravarmmadēvaḥ kuśali || Upē[*n]drapura-maṇḍalē Mandāraka-
pratijāgarapakē Mahāmamḍalika-śrī-Rājya(ja)dēva-bhuyya(jya)-
- 6 māna-Kadamva(mba)padraka-grāmē samupagatāsamasta⁵-rāja-purushān=Vrā(Brā)-
hmaṇ-āntarān⁶=[pra]tinivāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadādī[m*]ś=cha vō(bō)- | 7
- 7 dhayaty=astu vaḥ samviditaḥ || yathā śrīmad-Dhār-āvasthitair=asmābhiḥ snātvā
charāchāra-gurūḥ bhagavantaḥ Bhavānīpatim samabhya[r*]ohchya saṁsā-
- 8 rasy=āsāratā[m] dṛishṭvā | Tathā hi | Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipaty-
am=[ā]pāta-mātra-madhurō vishay-ōpabhōgaḥ | prāṇās=trī | 7
- 9 ṇ-āgra-jāla-vindu-samā narāṇām dharmāḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [3||*]
Bhramat-saṁsāra-chakr-āgra-dhār-ādharām=imām śriyām [| *]
- 10 prāpya yē na dadus=tēśhām paśchāttāpaḥ param phalam || [4||*] Iti jagatō
vina[śva]raḥ svarūpam=ākalayy=ādṛiṣṭa-phalam=amgikṛitya chandr-ārkk-ā-
- 11 rṇṇava-kshiti-samakālam yāvat=parayā bha[ktyā] | ⁸ śrī-Madhyadēs-āntahpāti-Śṛiṅga-
pura-athāna-vinirggata-Kātyāyana-gōtra-Kātyāyana-
- 12 Kapila-Viśva(śvā)mitr-ēti-trī-pravara-Mādhyāmdina-śākh-ādhyāyi-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dvir(Dvi)
vēda-Nārāyaṇa-pautra-Dikshita-Dēvasa(śa)rmma-suta-Dvivēda-Āsā(śā)dharāya
- 13 uparikhita-yā(grā)mātshāṇavati-parvva-dam(da)ṇḍa-prāmāṇyēna bhēya⁹ dvichatvā-
risan(rimśan)-mādhyakēna bhū-nivarttana-vimśati-pratyā | ⁹ | Bhū-
- 14 hala-vi[m*]śatiḥ param=atō¹⁰ Mahāmaṇḍalika-śrī-Rājadēvēna chatuḥpa[m*]chāsa
(śa)d-adhika-śat-aikādaśa-samvatsarē Kā[r*]ttika-śudi-parichada-

¹ From the original plates and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *jagad-vij-āṅkur-ākṛitim*.

⁴ Read *-samay-ōddāma-*.

⁵ Read *gatāsamasta-*.

⁶ Read *-ōttarān-*.

⁷ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

⁸ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

⁹ [Probably we have to read *mēyā* *vichātib prattā*.—N. P. C.]

¹⁰ Read *pāraś* | *śat*.

FIRST PLATE.

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14
 16
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ इति श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवादे श्रीकृष्णस्य उवाच ॥
 १ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 २ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ३ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ४ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ५ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ६ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ७ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ८ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ९ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १० अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 ११ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १२ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १३ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १४ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १५ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥
 १६ अथ कुरुक्षेत्रे युद्धे श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ अहो भूयः ॥

HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 15 śyā[rh] sva-bhuktō kasyitam vāddhāpita(?) bhū-hala-daśakati-(bhi)rvvā¹ Mahāmaṇ-
ḍalika-śrī-Rājadēva-vadhū-śrī-Mahādēvyā pū[r]vva-kalpē ta(da)-²
16 tvān(ttā) bhū-hala-chatusṭayam | Tathā asmābhir=śkōnashashṭy-adhika-śat-
i(ai)kādaśaka-samvatsarē Pausha-śudi-
17 pañchadaśyā[rh] samjāta-bhūtaraprana-parvvaṇi kasyitatvaṃ³ (?) bhū-hala-śaṭka
[m*] | Ēvam yathāyatham bhū-hala-vi[m*]śa-⁴

Second Plate.

- 18 tiḥ sa-sīmā-tṛiṇa-[yū]ti-gōchara-paryantā sa-hiraṇya-bhāga-hō(bhō)ga-sōparikara-sarvv-
ādāya-samētā
19 sāvā(mātā)-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhidri(vi)ddhayē śāsanēn=ōdaka-pūrvva-
katayā pradattā [| *] Tē(Ta)n-matvā tan-ni-
20 vāsi-paṭṭakila-janapadair=yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hiraṇy-ādikē(ka)m=ājñā-śra-
vana-vidhēyair=bhu(bhū)tvā sarvvam=amushmē(śhmai) samupa-
21 nētavyam | Śāmānyam ch=aitat=puṇya-phalam vu(bu)ddhvā asmaḍamśajair⁵=any[ai]r-
api bhāvi-bhōktṛibhir=asmat-p[r*]adatta-dha[r*]mm-ādāyō=yam=anumantavyah |⁶
22 pālaniyaś=ścha | Uktam cha | Va(Ba)hubhir=[vva]sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-
ādibhiḥ | yaaya yasya yadā bhū(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m] [| | *]
Yān=iha
23 dattāni purā narēndrair=ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānti-pratimāni
tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta [| | 6 | *] Asma-
24 t-kula-k[r*]amam=udāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyanumōdānyam
Laksh[m*]jyās=taḍid-valaya-vudvuda(budbuda)-chañchalāyā dānam phalam para-
śha(ya)śaḥ-
25 paripālanam cha [| | 7 | *] Sarvvān=ēta(tān)=hā(bhā)vinaḥ pāthivēmādrān=ṇipō nūyō⁷
yāchatō Sa(Rā)mbhadraḥ | śā(sā)māny-ōyam dharmma-sētur=ṇipāpām kālē kālē
pā-
26 lanjyō bhavadbhiḥ | [| 8 | *] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(bu)-vind[u*]-lōlām śriyam=anuchitra
(ntyā) manushya-jīvitam cha ||⁷
27 sakalam=idam=udāh[ṛi]ta sa vudha⁸ na hi purumai(śhaiḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyā iti ||
[9 | *] Samvat 1167
28 Māgha-(ś)udi 12 [| *] Dū⁹ || Ṭhak[k*]ura-śrī-Kōśavaḥ || Maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ ||
cha śrīḥ ||
29 Svahastō-yam mahārāja-śrī-Naravarmmadēvasya ||

TRANSLATION.

Om Hail ! (May there be) prosperity, victory and success. Let that Vyōmakēśa (Śiva), who, for the sake of the creation, holds on his head the crescent of the moon which has a form like the shoot from the seed of the Universe, be victorious (1). May the matted hair of the Enemy of the god of love (i.e., Śiva) which is reddish like the fierce circles of lightning at the time

¹ [I would read sva-bhuktō(ktau) kalpitatvād=dāpita[m*] bhū-hala-daśaka[m*] tīdēvā | Tathā].—N. P. C.]

² [I would read pū[r*]vva-kalp[ṣ]atvat.—N. P. C.]

³ [The reading appears to be °nū(U)dagapra(ya)na-parvvaṇi Kasyi(lpi)atva(tvā)ḥ].—N. P. C.]

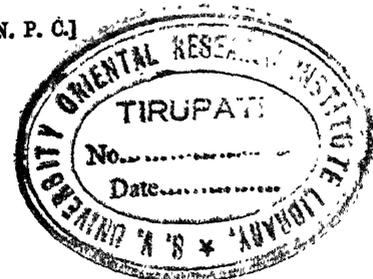
⁴ Daṇḍa unnecessary.

⁵ Read asmaḍ=va mśajair=.

⁶ Read bhūyō bhūyō.

⁷ Only one daṇḍa is required.

⁸ Read vāḥhrītaḥ-cha buddhō.



of the end of the world, grant you prosperity incessantly (2).¹ The *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-dhīrāja-Paramēśvara* the illustrious Naravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious Udayādityadēva, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P.* the illustrious Sindhurājadēva, being in good health, informs the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others, Paṭṭakilas and inhabitants of towns, assembled in the village of Kadambapadraka which is being enjoyed by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka śrī-Rājadēva* (and which is situated) in the *prati-jāgarāṇaka* of Mandāraka of the Upēndrapura-maṇḍala. Let it be known to you that while residing at Dhārā, having bathed and worshipped Bhagavān (*Siva*) the ruler of the world and the lord of Bhavānī and having perceived the worthlessness of the world—as it is said, “This ownership of the earth is (as transient) as clouds moved by the wind, the enjoyment of property is sweet only for the time being, lives (of men) are (as unstable) as drops of water on the points (of blades) of grass, Dharma is the only friend in the journey to the other world (3). Those who, having obtained this fortune which is as unstable as the sharp edge of the moving wheel of the world, do not give it (to the needy or the deserving), for them the only result will be great repentance afterwards (4). So, having ascertained the transient nature of the world and having agreed to the result of fate, with great devotion, twenty *nivartanas* of land, measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas* in length (?) and forty-two in breadth (?) from the above-mentioned village¹ are given by us, to last as long as the sun, the moon, the earth and the sea, to the Brāhmaṇa Dvivēda Āśādhara, son of Dīkshita Dēvaśarman and grandson of Dvivēda Nārāyaṇa, who was an immigrant from Śrīngapura, situated in the Middle-country (*Madhyadēśa*), who belonged to the Kātyāyana-gōtra with the three *pravaras* Kātyāyana, Kapila and Viśvāmitra, (and) who was a student of the Mādhyandina-śākhā. Also² twenty plough measures of land were given by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka*, the illustrious Rājadēva on the 15th day of the bright half of Kārtika, in the year 1154, from land being enjoyed by him and therefore retailed (? *vaddhā-pita*); also ten plough measures given by the illustrious Mahādēvī, the daughter-in-law of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka*, the illustrious Rājadēva. So also four plough measures given in a previous *kalpa*; so also six plough measures given by us on the occasion of the festival of Bhūtaraprana(?) on the 15th day of the bright half of Pausa, in the year 1159. Thus, the twenty plough measures of land, in its regular order, with its boundaries, with rights of grass, *yūti* and pasturage, with rights of mining gold, of shares and easements with additional taxes and with all other income is given for the increase of the merit and fame of our own self and of our father and mother, by means of a (copper)-plate after a previous libation of water. Having regard to this, all shares, easements, taxes, rights of gold mining, etc., hitherto given by the Paṭṭakilas and the townsmen inhabiting the place, are to be given to him (*the donee*). (Here follow the usual formula and five imprecatory verses.) The year 1167, the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha. The Dūtaka (of this grant was) Ṭhakkura śrī-Kēśava. My own sign manual “the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious Naravarmadēva.”

¹ [The passage may be translated as ‘twenty *nivartanas* of land from the abovementioned village out of the forty-two (*nivartanas*) measured by the rod of ninety-six *parvas*,’ etc.—N. P. C.]

² [The meaning of the word *kalpita* as used in the text is not certain. This term also occurs in the grants of Bhōjadēva of V.S. 1078 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 53) and Yaśōvarmadēva of V.S. 1192 (*Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 349). Possibly it has to be taken in the sense of ‘settled’ or ‘fixed’. I would translate ll. 14-17 as follows:—

Additional twenty plough measures of land (*were also granted*). Out of these ten *halas* of land were caused to be given in his own *bhukti* by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* the illustrious Rājadēva onfrom (*his own*) settlement (?), four *halas* of land (*were given*) by the illustrious Mahādēvī, the wife of the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* the illustrious Rājadēva, from her previous settlement (?) and six *halas* of land (*are now given*) by us onon the occasion of the *udagayana-parvan* from (*our*) settlement (?).—N. P. C.]

No. 12.—TWO SINDA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BENACHAMATTI, SAKA 1088 AND SAKA 1109.

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

These two records are engraved on a stone tablet lying in front of the temple of Ísvara at Benachamatti in the Gajēndragāḍ State which is included in the Ron *taluk* of the Dhārwar district. They are edited here for the first time from the estampages secured by me under the orders of the Government Epigraphist for India in the year 1927-28.¹ The first inscription covers an area of 2' 9½" by 2' 3½", the size of each letter being about ½" in height. The area occupied by the second inscription is 2' 3½" by 6½" and the size of each letter is roughly ¼". The latter is the continuation of the former. I am calling them A and B respectively for the sake of convenience. They are in a fairly good state of preservation excepting that some letters of B are lost at the right corner of the lower edge where the stone is broken.

Both the inscriptions are **Kannāḍa** records of the **twelfth century** of the Christian era. In A the long *ī* is distinguished from the short one by an inside coil at the top as in *pāhīna* (l. 1), *Chāṁḍaladēvī* (l. 19), etc.; the *u*-sign at times has a short downward bend by the side of the letter with which it is connected as, for example, in *Chāvunḍa* (l. 10), *sudhā* (l. 11), etc.; the *ai*-sign is represented, in some cases, by a horizontal line at the bottom of the letter concerned with a curve on the left side and, in others, by a cursive upward stroke shooting from the bottom to the right end, as in *Mandara-dhairyaṁ* (l. 18), *sainyaṁ* (l. 26); the letters *m*, *y* and *v* have very often been represented by their special cursive forms as in *baḷiyim* (l. 6), *°y-aḷiyaṁ* (l. 7), and *dēv-āyatanamumam* (l. 37) respectively; the *anusvāra* is written by the side of the letter connected therewith in four places, i.e., in *yenisidam* (l. 19), *kuḷaṁgaliṁ* (l. 29), *dēv-āyatanamumam* (l. 37) and *gāmbhīrya* (l. 42). The **Orthography** is generally free from errors. It may be noted that in A the engraver has filled up the space left at the end of lines 3, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20, 24, 35, 38, 41, 46, 49, 51 and 52 by the addition of a superfluous mark resembling the English letter S. In B the consonant *ḷa* is, in several places, wrongly used for *ḷa*, as in *pāḷa* (ll. 3, 5 and 6), *kaḷeḷaḷoḷu* (l. 5), etc., and the letter *te* in *Nohilana teḷadi* (l. 4) is written like *ḷe*.

Excepting the first verse which is in Sanskrit, A is written in Kannāḍa poetry interspersed with prose in ll. 8, 10, 31, 32, 36-38 and 44-54. B is also composed in Kannāḍa poetry with a prose passage in ll. 10-16.

After the usual invocation to Śambhu (i.e., Śiva), A describes the ocean (ll. 2-3), the Jambūdvīpa and the Mēru mountain (ll. 3-4), the Kuntala country and its past kings (ll. 4-5) and the reigning sovereign Kaḷachurya Bijjaṇa who is stated to have wrested the royal glory from the (Western) Chāḷukyas (ll. 5-7). It then introduces Bijjaṇa's son-in-law Chāvunḍa-nripa of the Sinda family whose pedigree is given in lines 8-29. Further it tells us that, of the seven brothers—namely Ācharasa, Nāka, Siṁga, Dāsa, Dāvaṇa, Chāvunḍa and Ghāva—Chāvunḍa was a powerful warrior and that to Ācharasa was born Bammarasa, a moon to the ocean of the Sinda family. His brother was the renowned Ācharasa (II), son of Siṁha (or Singa). To him were born Perma by queen Mahadēvī and Chāvunḍa (II) by queen Chāṁḍaladēvī. Of Chāvunḍa it is recorded that when the Hoysala king met him with a huge army, the Sinda prince destroyed its general together with other opponents and captured his elephants in large numbers. Again when the Pāṇḍya chieftain Kāmanripa waged a war against Chāvunḍa with a view to conquer him, he met with a crushing defeat and had to flee away for life in the forest. When Chāvunḍa was ruling his territory from his capital at Erambarage (which is compared in lines 28-31 to the celestial Amarāvati, Ayōdhya, Mathurā and Ujjayinī), the **Fifty Families of Telligas** extolled in ll. 32-36 constructed the

¹ Nos. 31 and 32 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection. App. E. A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy, 1927-28.

temple of **Telligēśvara** in the south-east quarter of that town and made certain gifts to it after laving the feet of **Chamdramauli-vratin** of the **Lākuḷa** sect, the *āchārya* of **Siṃhēśvara-maṭha**,¹ on the day specified in ll. 46-47 during the reign of the **Kaḷachurya king Tribhuvanamalla Bijjanādēva** (ll. 44-45). Lines 38-44 give the genealogy of the *Āchārya Chamdramauli-vratin* as follows :—**Vigrahēśvara-vratin**, his disciple **Yogēśvara-yati** and his disciple **Chamdramauli-yati**.

Inscription B introduces, after prayer to the god **Telligēśvara**, mentioned above, **Vira-Bijjala** and **Vira-Vikrama** as sons of **Chāvunḍa** by **Sridēvi** and describes the elder of the two, namely **Vira-Bijjala**, as a great devotee of **Śiva** like **Nambi**² and **Ōhila**³ and a scholar like **Bāṇa** (ll. 1-4). His wife was **Tripurādēvi** (l. 5). His brother **Vikrama** was a munificent donor and an invincible warrior looking majestic as if he was a *Chakravartin* (ll. 6-9). In lines 10-12, the two brothers are mentioned with the usual titles, *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, *Sāhasōttumga*, etc., as ruling over **Kisukāḍu-70**, **Bāgaḍage-70**, **Keḷavaḍi-300**, **Nareyanḅgal-12** and **Kariviḍi-3[0]**. At the request of the Fifty **Telligas** and a certain **Murhaya-Sāhapi** they are stated to have granted some land to the temple of **Telligēśvara** (ll. 13-16) on the date specified in lines 12 and 13.

The details of the date given in A are :—**Śaka 1088**, **Vyaya**, **Pushya amāvāsyā**, **Monday**, **Uttarāyaṇa-saṃkrānti** and **vyatipāta**. They are not quite regular. The **Pushya amāvāsyā** ended on Sunday at 95 and the **Makara (Uttarāyaṇa)-saṃkrānti** had occurred on **Mārgaśīrsha** ba. 30, Saturday (24th December). The date intended probably was **Monday, 23rd January, A.D. 1167** which was a day of **Kumbha-saṃkrānti** in **Uttarāyaṇa**.

The details of the date given in inscription B are :—**Śaka 1109**, the cyclic year **Plavaṅga**, **chaturdaśi**, **Monday**, **Saṃkrānti**. According to **Swamikannu Pillai's Ephemeris**, **chaturdaśi** combined with a **saṃkrānti** did not fall on Monday in any of the months of **Plavaṅga**. But, for **Chaitra** śu. 14 which was a day of **Mēsha-saṃkramaṇa**, the details would be correct except for the week day which was a Tuesday. The nearest equivalent would, therefore, be **24th March, A.D. 1187**.

The two inscriptions under publication are important inasmuch as they furnish in unambiguous phraseology the **genealogy of the Sinda princes of Erambarage from Āchugi I down to Vira-Bijjana and Vira-Vikramāditya, sons of Chāvunḍa II**. Inscription A reveals for the first time that **Perma** and **Chāvunḍa** were the sons of **Ācharasa II** from different mothers, viz., **Mahādēvi** and **Chamdaladēvi** respectively and thus supplements the information contained in the **Ron record**⁴ of A.D. 1180, where they are represented apparently as full brothers. The genealogy given in A is in perfect agreement with the one gathered from the published records⁵ of the family, although an ambiguous verse in the **Paṭṭadakal** inscription⁶ "*ātana tammaṃ Siṃga-māhi-tala-patiy=ātan=āmaḷātāṃ bhuvana-khyātāṃ.....negaḷḍ=Ācharasaṃ*" had led **Fleet**⁷ to introduce another **Siṃgi (II)** and make him the father of **Āchugi (II)**. **Dr. Barnett**

¹ This *maṭha* was, apparently, named after **Siṃha**, a brother of **Āchugi I**.

² **Nambi** probably refers to **Sundaramūrti-Nāyanār** who was known as **Nambi-Ārūrār**. See **Tamil Lexicon** S, P.

³ **Ōhila** was a great devotee of the god **Sōmanātha** in **Saurāshtra**. The story of his guileless devotion is narrated in the 43rd and 44th chapters of the *Basava-Purāṇam* of **Bhīmakavi**.

⁴ Above Vol. XIX, p. 227.

⁵ So far, only eight records of the **Erambarage** branch of the **Sinda** princes are critically edited : *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 224-30; 239-42; 247-49; 253-55; 259-66; 274-75 (re-edited in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 96) and above Vols. XV, p. 109 and XIX, p. 227.

⁶ *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 257.

⁷ *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 573. Subsequently the mistake was rectified by him in a footnote on p. 266 of *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX.

who has written an excellent note on the Sinda chiefs in this journal¹, evidently followed Fleet in this respect; but, while editing the Sūḍi inscription of the Kaḷachurya king Saṅka-madēva, he felt the incongruity of this interpretation and remarked "it seems to confuse Āchugi's brother Siṅgi I with the former's son Siṅghi II."² Since the Ron record edited by the same scholar states clearly that Ācharasa II was the son of Siṅga, a brother of Āchugi I, he has recognised this difference as being only a variant version of the pedigree recorded in the Sūḍi inscription mentioned above. But it may be remarked that all the epigraphs, if understood properly with the aid of A, yield the same genealogy. The verse in praise of Āchugi II in A runs as follows:—

ātan-anujātan-avani-khyātaṁ śrī-Siṁha-jā-
tan-ūddhata-ripu-saṁghāta-hati-niratan-
enisidan-ātata-tējaṁ pratāpadim̄d=Ācharasaṁ (ll. 13-14)

meaning that his (i.e., Bammarasa's) brother was the powerful Ācharasa who was the son of Siṁha. This statement is fully borne out by the relevant portion in the Sūḍi inscription, viz.,³ *vistarisiḍud=alli Siṅgarasaṁ-ātmajan-Āchugimaṅḍalēśvaraṁ* (l. 24), i.e., among them (*alli*) Siṅgarasa's son was Āchugimaṅḍalēśvara. As Ācharasa II is thus described in unmistakable terms to be the son of Siṁha without introducing any prince of the latter name before, excepting Āchugi (I)'s brother Siṅga, there is no other alternative but to suppose that he was the son of this Siṅga and consequently a cousin of Bammarasa I. The expression '*ātana tamman̄*' must, therefore, be taken to mean his brother, i.e., the brother of Āchugi I.

We know from inscriptions at Arasibīḍi⁴ and Kaṭṭēri⁵ that Chāvunḍa had married three queens, namely, Dēmaladēvi, Lakshmadēvi and Siriyādēvi, of whom the last two were the daughters of the Kaḷachurya King Bijjala. He begot on Dēmaladēvi, Āchugi III and Permāḍi III and on Siriyādēvi, Vira-Vijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama, the donors of inscription B. Vira-Vijjaṇa's queen was Tripurādēvi. The portion containing the name of Vikrama's wife is unfortunately broken off.

The Sinda chiefs who played an important part in the mediaeval history of Karṇāṭaka began their political career as feudatories of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi during the last quarter of the 11th century A. D. The first prince of the family was Āchugi I who is described in the Sūḍi and Niḍgundi⁶ inscriptions with the significant epithet "*ādēśmaṅḍalika*," thereby indicating that with him came into being the rule of the Sinda princes of Erambarage. From the fact that he is extolled as *Vikramādityana kaṭṭid-alagu*⁷ (a sharpened sword-edge of Vikramāditya VI) and that his son Bammarasa was, according to an epigraph at Savaḍi,⁸ ruling Kisukāḍu and other provinces in the Chālukya Vikrama year 7 (A. D. 1083), the origin of the family as a ruling power may be placed in or about A. D. 1076, the year of Vikramāditya's accession to the throne. It is therefore not possible that the *Mahāmaṅḍalēśvara* Siṅganna-dēva of a Niḍgundi inscription⁹ who was governing Kisukāḍu-70 in A. D. 1076 under Bhuvanai kamalladēva, could be identical with the Sinda prince Siṅga I as originally suggested by Fleet¹⁰ and still accepted by Dr. Barnett in his note referred to above. There is no evidence to show that Āchugi's brother Siṅga ruled at all whereas it can be definitely inferred from

¹ Above Vol. XIV, pp. 268ff.

² Above Vol. XV, pp. 109.

³ The expression *vistarisiḍudalli* has been taken as one word and translated "In dwelling upon the excellence etc." See *ibid.*, p. 112. But it has to be split up into two words as *vistarisiḍud* and *alli*.

⁴ No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1922-29. ⁵ No. 151 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 205 of the same collection for 1926-27.

⁷ No. 35 of the same collection for 1927-28 and the Sūḍi inscription mentioned above.

⁸ No. 2 of the same collection for 1927-28.

⁹ *Ibid.* No. 202 for 1927-28.

¹⁰ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 574. But he has doubted this identification in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 266.

inscription A that Bammarasa, the son and successor of Āchugi I was succeeded by Āchugi II, the son of Simha to whom there is only a passing reference.¹ Bammarasa had, according to the Paṭṭadakal record, won the favour of the reigning sovereign, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and received from him a position of honour and rank in the State. His territory comprised Kisukāḍu-70 and Narayaṅgal-12.² He appears to have died without issue as, otherwise, the Sinda throne would not have passed to the descendants of his uncle Siṅga. From an inscription at Arasibīdi³ which states that *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara* [Ava]rarasa was administering under Vikramāditya VI, Kisukāḍu-70 and Karivīdi-30 in A.D. 1087, it may be surmised that at the time of Bammarasa's death, Āchugi II was either a minor or not powerful enough to assert the rights of his family. Subsequently, however, he appears to have acquired possession of his hereditary provinces through the favour of Vikramāditya, which, thereafter, continued in his line till the end. Only three dates⁴, *viz.*, 1113-14, 1121-22 and 1125-26 are known for Āchugi II who defeated, for his master Vikramāditya VI, the Pāṇḍya, Hoysaḷa and other rebels. Thus it may be stated that the three chiefs from Āchugi I to Āchugi II were the feudatories of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Vikramāditya VI and took a prominent part in the conquests of their overlord.

After Āchugi II, the two brothers Permāḍi⁵ and Chāvunḍa II held the Sinda territory as subordinates of Perma-Jagadēkamalla and Trailōkyamalla Taila III, respectively. It was during the latter's reign that the Chāḷukya dominions were usurped by Kaḷachurya Bijjaḷa who is described in A as having dragged by force the lady of the Chāḷukya sovereignty. Permāḍi is stated in his inscriptions to have vanquished Kulaśēkhara, besieged and decapitated Chaṭṭa pursued Jayakēsi and seized the royal power of Hoysaḷa Viśṇuvardhana.⁶ The Ron inscription adds that he "captured the Hoysaḷa king's elephants as well as his treasure-waggons." In the present record (A), however, the defeat of the Hoysaḷa king's army and the capture of his elephants are attributed to Chāvunḍa II for whom we have several dates ranging from A. D. 1151⁷ to 1160-70. Besides, he is credited with having put to flight a certain Pāṇḍya chieftain named Kāmadēva. These events must be different from those noticed above⁸. For, it is natural that the Hoysaḷa prince should again have risen in vengeance against the declining power of the Chāḷukyas and tried to assert independence and that the Sindas, as faithful servants of the Chāḷukyas, should have checked his aggression on the battle-field. And Kāmadēva, evidently Kāmadēva of Uchchangi, otherwise known as Vijayapāṇḍyadēva, who succeeded his brother Vira-Pāṇḍya sometime after A.D. 1148⁹ and lived on up to at least A.D. 1189¹⁰, was for a longer period a contemporary of Chāvunḍa II than of his elder brother Permāḍi. It is worth noticing that Chāvunḍa, who had abstained from acknowledging the Kaḷachurya suzerainty in his earlier records dated before A. D. 1163,¹¹

¹ Not a single known inscription has described Simha independently except as the father of Ācharasa II. This would suggest that he never enjoyed any power.

² Savaḍi inscription referred to above.

³ No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak Collection for 1928-29.

⁴ *Ibid* No. 219 for 1926-27, *J. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XI, p. 247 and No. 218 of the B. K. collection for 1926-27.

⁵ An inscription at Kōḍikop bearing an impossible date in Śaka 872 introduces this prince as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. Since we know that his father Āchugi was living in A. D. 1125-26, the last year of Vikramāditya, it may be presumed that he ruled conjointly with his father or his father must have died in that year so that Permāḍi, who succeeded him, could become Vikramāditya's feudal chief.

⁶ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 575.

⁷ No. 37 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1928-29.

⁸ These exploits of Chāvunḍa do not find mention in other records of himself or of his sons. Excepting the defeat of Kāmadēva which is nowhere ascribed to Permāḍi, the rest might as well be supposed to have been achieved by Chāvunḍa in conjunction with his elder brother as the latter is known to have accomplished similar acts.

⁹ *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 151.

¹⁰ No. 147 of the B. K. collection for 1928-29. See also *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 462.

¹¹ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 466.

though it was well established by then, had begun to recognise it by A. D. 1167, as is evident from the preamble to the grant portion of inscription A. It appears that he was holding the reins of government in conjunction with his sons Āchugi and Permādi in A. D. 1163 when the Paṭṭadakal inscription was engraved. It is not known under what circumstances the Sinda chiefdom passed to the sons of Siriyādēvi after the death of Chāvunḍa II.

Chāvunḍa's rule must have ended in A. D. 1169-70, for we find his sons Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama ruling over Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, and Keḷavaḍi-300 in A. D. 1170 as recorded in the Aihole inscription¹ dated in Virōdhin, corresponding to the 94th year of the Chālukya Vikrama era, whereas an epigraph from Hirēmaṇṇūr² bearing the date Śaka 1091 (A. D. 1169) introduces Chāvunḍa as a donor of some gift. Further the Harti inscription³ of Vira-Bijjaṇa dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in his 7th year fixes the date of his accession sometime in Virōdhin. Vira-Bijjaṇa and Vira-Vikrama appear to have ruled **conjointly** as is shown by the preamble to inscription B which states that both the princes were ruling together from their capital at Erambarage. This is corroborated by other inscriptions also.⁴ There are, however, a few epigraphs⁵ which were issued by the two brothers independently of each other. But this does not vitiate the above conclusion inasmuch as joint rulers could make donations separately as well. There are reasons to hold that the **two princes** were **very young** when they were **invested with power**. Two inscriptions at Niḍgundi⁶ with dates in Śaka 1094 (A. D. 1172) and Śaka 1096 (A. D. 1174) style them as *kumāras* and introduce *paṭṭamahādēvi* Siriyādēvi as making some gifts in conjunction with her two children. This seems to indicate that their mother Siriyādēvi was actually governing the Sinda territory as **regent** during their minority.⁷ That they were children then, as said above, is rendered quite probable by a record⁸ of A. D. 1220 in which year Vikramāditya was still holding the Sinda dominions under the Yādava Siṃgaṇadēva, after a rule of not less than fifty years.

It is significant to note that inscription B **does not mention any overlord** but proceeds to describe the two brothers straightaway as if they were independent rulers. After the Kaḷachurya usurpation which lasted for twenty years, the Sindas retransferred their allegiance to the Chālukyas under Sōmśvara IV, who revived his ancestral sovereignty in A. D. 1183. Sometime after this date, the Chālukya territory appears to have again become a prey to the constant attacks of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri on the north and the Hoysalas of Dvārasamudra on the south. During this period of turmoil, the **Sinda princes** must have **declared independence**. This is indicated by the expression "*Chakravarti-padavi-patny=inn=itan=enal=esevan=urvi=khyāta-yasam Vira-Vikramāvanipālam*" in inscription B which means that the powerful Vikrama was then the fit person to bear the title of *Chakravartin*. But this independence did not continue long, for we find from the Amnigere and Gadag inscriptions of Yādava Bhillamadēva, dated respectively in A. D. 1189 and 1191, that the Yādava king held the country south of the Malaprabhā and Kṛishṇā as well as the northern provinces,⁹ thus precluding the possibility of the Sindas remaining free and unassailed. Since Jatugi counts his reign from the latter date, **Bhillama** must have died in that year probably in an encounter with Vira-Ballāḷa. This is proved by the existence of Vira-Ballāḷa's record at Gadag

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI, pp. 274. It was re-edited more correctly in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LX, p. 96.

² No. 4 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.

³ No. 57 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 221 of 1926-27.

⁵ Ron and Harti inscriptions mentioned above.

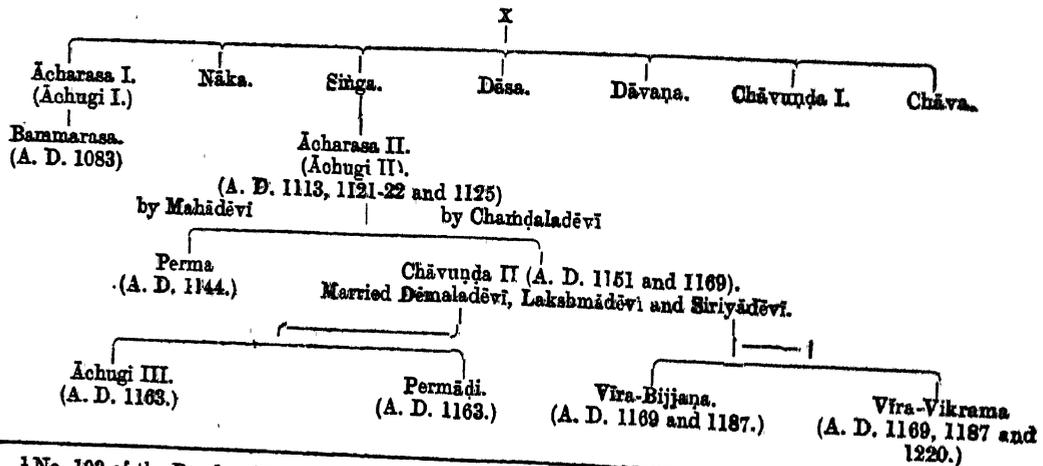
⁶ Nos. 208 and 205 of 1926-27 of the Bombay Karnatak collection.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 85 of 1927-28.

⁸ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

itself dated in A. D. 1192 and by the statements contained in his Anpiger inscription¹ of A. D. 1202 representing Bhillama as having been killed in the fight. The Harihar inscription of his son Narasiṃha II adds to his father's conquests the capture of all the strongholds between Soratūr, Eraṃbarage, Kuṛugōḍ, Gutti, Bellittage, etc.² From this it is evident that Vira-Ballāla had successfully wrested from the Yādava king some portion of the territory which the latter had taken from Sōmēśvara IV, subjugated the Sindas of Eraṃbarage and made them pay homage to his banner. The Yādavas, however, were not keeping quiet all this while. They were biding time to reclaim the lost country. Jaitugi's son Siṃgaṇadēva who carried his conquests far and wide led an expedition against the Hoysalas during the last days of Vira-Ballāla and snatched back from him the portion of land lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā and Malaprabhā and even extended his arms farther south as is proved by his inscription at Baḷagāṃve³ in Mysore, dated in A. D. 1215. This event must have taken place in or about A. D. 1210 for, an epigraph at Dōpi⁴ states that the sixteenth year of Siṃgaṇadēva's entry into that tract corresponded to the cyclic year Vijaya (A. D. 1226). This statement proves that the Yādavas were once again in possession of the territory under contest which must have included Kisukāḍu-70 of the Sindas. That the Sinda chiefs became their subordinates and continued to acknowledge their suzerainty till the end is clear from a stone record at Kaḷakappanaguḍḍa⁵ in which the Sinda Vikramāditya figures as a feudatory of Siṃgaṇadēva in the latter's 21st regnal year falling in Vikrama, i.e., A. D. 1220. Nine years later, we find Mahāpradhāna Vāsudēva-Nāyaka ruling under the orders of Siṃhaṇa, Eraṃbarage "which had caused itself to be called the capital of Kisukāḍu-70"⁶. Presumably the Sinda prince Vikrama had passed away between A. D. 1220 and 1229 and his territory was then annexed to the Yādava kingdom, thus ending the rule of the Sinda chiefs after a glorious career of about 150 years.

From the facts set forth in the foregoing pages, a revised genealogy of the Sinda princes with dates is reconstructed below for the sake of ready reference.



¹ No. 193 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1923-29. Among the descriptive epithets applied to Vira-Ballāla in this record occurs the expression "*Bhillama-bala-jalādhi-badantālam*".

² *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 504.

³ *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 505.

⁴ No. 79 of 1927-28 of the Bombay Karnatak collection. See also *A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 141.

⁵ No. 35 of the Bombay Karnatak collection for 1927-28.

⁶ No. 200 of 1926-27 of the same collection.

The following places and subdivisions are mentioned in the two records :—the celestial Amarāvati, Āyōdhye, Madhure, Ujjayini, Erāmbharāpuram, Kallūru, Kisukāḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Keḷavaḍi-300, Nareyaṅgal-12 and Kariviḍi-30. Of these Kallūru is the modern village of that name near Mushigēri in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. On Kisukāḍu-70 and Kariviḍi-30 see Fleet's exhaustive note in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXX, pp. 259 ff. Bāgaḍage-70 comprised a portion of the modern Bāgalkot taluk in the Bijāpur district with Bāgaḍage, i.e., Bāgalkot as its chief town. Keḷavaḍi-300 derived its name from its chief place Keḷavaḍi which is at present a small village in the Bādāmi taluk of the Bijāpur district. Nareyaṅgal-12 was a small circle of villages with its headquarters at Nareyaṅgal, i.e., the modern Naregal in the Ron taluk of the Dhārwar district. The remaining places are too well known to require any remarks.

TEXT.

A

- 1 Namas=tuṅga-śiraś-chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē | traīḷōkya-nagar-ārāmbha-mūḷa-
stambhāya Śāmbhavō || [1||*] Vṛi || Viluḷhat-pāthina-puchchha- sphurita-
- 2 gurutar - āsphālana - sphāra-kōḷāḷa-niryad-dhairyya-nakra-krama-kashaṇa-nishamṇ - ōru-
nirēbha-bhikriḥ-chaḷa-hast-āghāta-masta-
- 3 prakāṭhina-kamaṭha-bhrānti-nirmukta-mukt-āvīla-vīchi-samchayam kang=esedudu
bahaḷa-dhvāna-raudram samudram || [2||*] Tad-vārdhhi-chāru-pa-(S)
- 4 rikhā-sadvalayitam=enisi nāḍe sogayisuvudu Jambūdvīpa-v=alli chāru-kubhṛid-
varan=ene nāḍe Mēru-giri ramjisugum || [3||*] Ā Kanak-ādi-
- 5 ya tetkāl=Bhū-kāntā-kuntā-ōpamam Kuntālav=ant-ā kāmta-vishaya-rakshakar=
Kaliyugadalli puṭṭidar=Chāḷukyar || [4||*] Ā Chāḷukya-mahi-
- 6 śarimḍe baiyīm durvrittarām geldu dhātri-chakram neṇe bāmpnisal-bhujā-
baḷ-āvāṣṭambhadim Kuntal-ōrvvī-chaṇchach-chatur-āṅganā-kacha-samākarsā(S)-
- 7 graham Bijjapa-śrī-chakrēśvaran=opputirpan=adaṭam vidviṣṭa-viddrāvaṇam ||
[5||*] Tach-chakravartiy=aiyam sach-charitam viśada-kirtti Chāvumḍa-nripam
nichchaṭa-
- 8 gali Kali-kāla-viyach-charan=ene pesarin=esevan-ī vasumatiyoḷ || [6||*]
Ā mahānubhāvan-anvay-āvatārav=ent=emḍaḍe  Āchu-
- 9 gi-bhūmi-pāḷana sah-ōdarar=apratima-pratāpa-bhūp-āchala-vajra-damḍar=one Naka-
nripam nripa-tuṅga Śirgan-ātm-ōchita-vikra-
- 10 mam negaḷda Dāsarasam kali Dāvānam jaya-śrī-chatura-priyam vibhu
Chavunḍarasam guṇi Chāva-bhūbhujam || [7||*] Avāroḷage || Ahit-ōdyad(S)-
- 11 baḷa-jāḷakam kadanadoḷ-māṅantu tāgal=mahā-mahimam sūḷige-gonḍu kōpad-odaviḥ
kōmḍ=ikki vidviṣṭaram mahiyoḷ=tāḷdi sudh-ām-
- 12 śu-nirmmaḷa-yesaḷ-śrī-kāmtiyam saṁtatam mahaniyam kali Chaurḍa-bhūpan=
esevam śrī-Sirḍa-varṇā-ōdbhavam || [8||*] Ka || Avāroḷag=Āchara-samṅ-u
(S)-
- 13 dbhavisidan=adhika-pratāpa-nidhi jaya-lakshmi-pravaṇam Barḥmarasam kirtti-viḷsam
Sirḍa-vārdhhi-varddhana-chaṇḍram || [9||*] Ātan=anujātan=avani-khyātam(S)
- 14 śrī-Sirḍha-jātan=uddhata-ripu-samghāta-hati-niratan=enisidan=ata-tējam pra-
tēpadimḍ-Ācharasam || [10||*] Ant=enisid=Ācha-bhūpana kāmte
- 15 dayā-varṇte bhāgya-varṇte nitāntam śānte naya-varṇte sat-kuḷa-varṇte
Mahādēvty=emba pesarimḍ=esevaḷ || [11||*] Vṛi || Ācha-mahibhujamṅava-
esev=ā

- 16 Mahadēvigay=udgha-vikramam khē-chara-kīrtti sambhavisidam kali Permma-
mahidharām manōjñ-ācharaṇam raṇ-ōddhata-viruddha-nṛipāḷaka-jāla-bā-
- 17 [ikā-lōchana-nirgalaḍ-vimala-lōla-jal-āviḷa-saṅgar-āṅgaṇam || [12||*] Ā Permma-
bhūpan=anujam rūpa-Manōjam manōjña-guṇa-gaṇa-yu-
- 18 ktaṁ vepīta-ripu-nṛipa-hṛiday-āḷpaṁ Chāvumḍa-maṇḍaḷ-ēsaṁ negaḷdam || [13||*]
Mandara-dhairyyam ripu-nṛipa-brīṇḍa-śiraḷ-kamduk-āḷi-kēḷi-ka-
- 19 ḷitam Chāṁdaladēvi-sutan=amaḷ-ēṁd-ūjvaḷa-kīrttiy=enisidam Chāvumḍam || [14||*]
Munis-ābhīḷa-nṛipāḷa-mēgha-paṭaḷa-prōtsāra-jham-
- 20 jhāniḷam vanadhi-prāvṛita-kīrtti sāmḍra-vikirat-kāḷēya-pāp-āndhakāra-nirās-ōjvaḷa
chāṁdra-dīdhiti lasaḍ-dānaṁ budha-brāta(S)-
- 21 dausthya-nag-ōdbhēdana-vajrav-āgal=esevaṁ Chāvumḍa-bhūpāḷakam || [15||*]
Samar-ōdyad-baḷa-Hoysaḷa-kshitipa-sēn-ānikam=ōmḍ-āgi
- 22 vikramadiṁ tāge parākrama-krama-yutaṁ Simḍ-ānvay-āmbhōdhi-chāṁdraman=
ērvvaṭṭi tad-īsanam maledaram koṁḍ=ugra-matta-ē-
- 23 bha-saṅghaman=ādam piḷidam pratāpa-tapanam Chāvumḍa-bhūpāḷakam || [16||*]
Vṛi || Bhirugaḷam śaraṇ-buguvaraṁ bhayad=uṭṭudan=ikki nilu-
- 24 varam vāruvadimḍ=iḷā-taḷake vapparan=āmt=iṛiyalke pēsi sad-vīraran=eyde
koṁḍ=eseva misegaḷim huri-gomḍa gaṁḍa peṁḍāra-
- 25 man=āḷda Simḍa-kuḷa-maṁḍananol paḍiy=appa gaṁḍar=ār || [17||*] Nija-
chāturbbaḷa-garbbadiṁ bhujā-baḷa-prakshōbhadiṁ Pāṁḍyan=āji-jay-ā-
- 26 kāmksheyin=eyde vaṁdu kaḍupimḍam tā[ge] Chāvumḍa-bhūbhujan=ēk.
āṁgaḍe gelda sainyaman=adam kaṁḍ=uṭṭudam biṭṭu nirvvijayam
- 27 Kāma-nṛipāḷan=ōḷidan=avam beṁgotṭu kāḷ-vaṭṭeyim || [18||*] 
- Vaṁḍita{v=I}ṁḍranimḍav=Amarāvati Rāghavanimḍ=Ayōdhye
- 28 Gōvīmḍanin=ujvaḷan-Madhure Guttanin=Ujjayanī-puram Maruṁ-namḍansnimḍe
Hastinapuram neṛe raṁjisuv-ante saṁtataṁ Simḍa-Chāvumḍa-
- 29 bhūbhujanin=oppaman=āḷdud=Erāmbarāpuram || [19||] Dēvakulaṁgaḷim [va
vadhū]kuḷa-harmmya-sataṁgaḷim mahidēva-grihaṁgaḷim Dhana-
- 30 pati-prabha-vaiśya-kadamba-gēhadim pāvanavat-tapō-vana-tapō-dhana-āḷegaḷimḍe
kaṅge-vaṁḍ=i vaṁḍh-āgradoḷ saḷe virājisut-irppu-
- 31 d=Erāmbarāpuram || [20||*]  Alli || Telligar=ayvatt=okkal=sal-lalita-guṇ
āḍhyar=Abhava-pada-yuga-vimal-ōtphulla-sarasi(i)-ja-śaṭ-padar=ullasi-
- 32 ta-ḷit-ābhra-kīrtti-vallabhar=enipar || [21||*] Mattam || Vṛi || Śaraṇ-āyāt-ādri-
rakshā-kshama-saradhigaḷ=uddamḍa-vidviḷṭa-dusṭ-ōtkara-
- 33 kāmtāra-pradāha-prabaḷatara-mah-ōgr-ānaḷar=Śambhu-śumbhach-charaṇ-āmbhōjāta-gumḷat-
su-ruchiratara-rōḷamba-
- 34 reṁḍ=ēṁḍu bhāsvad-dharey=aiyatt=okkalam takkaran=atīsayadiṁ kīrttikurṁ
mechchi nichham || [22||*] Sujana-stutyar=asu(su)-satya-bratar=aparimit-
āchāra-saḍ-dharmma-
- 35 varmmar=ṁ(nṁ)ija-kānt-ānamta-mōḍa-pramudita-vimala-svāṁṭar-ētṁḷya-dēva-dviḷa-pāḍ-
āmbhōja-pūjā-nirataḷ=anute kay-vā(S)-
- 36 radim kūḍe beṁḍhu-brajav=aiyatt=okkalam baṁnipud=avanī-talam mechche
s-āṁṁḍadirāḍaṁ || [23||*] Va || Aṁtu pogaḷe-vadēd=aiyatt=okkalgaḷ-āḷa stha-
- 37 r-āg=iḷ-erāmbarāpurad-īśāna-dig-viḷhāḷadoḷ Telligōśvara-dēvara pratish-
ṭheyam tad-dēv-āyatanamumam māḷisidar=ā sthānad=ā-

- 38 chāryyar=appe **Chāndramaulidēvara** gurukūḥ-ānvayav=em̄t=em̄daḍe || Mañ-
neya-vaḷiyoy=ati-stutan=umnata-yasa(S)-
- 39 n=āśrit-āśrayaṁ kali-kāl-ōtpāṁna-Lakuḷīśan=enipaṁ saṁnūta-mati **Vigra-**
hēśvara-brati-tīlakarṁ || [24]**] Tat-pāda-kamaḷa-sēvā-tatpa-
- 40 ran=anavadya-charitan=Amgaja-kudhar-ō(r)dyat-pavi **Yōgēśvarayati** sat-puṁnyaṁ
Lakuḷ-āgam-āmbuja-mitraṁ || [25]**] Ā munimukhyana
- 41 śiṣhyaṁ bhū-mahitaṁ naiṣṭhik-āgra-gaṇyaṁ vibudha-stōma-sura-bhūjan=
Amgaja-sāmaja-gaja-vairi **Chāndramauli-yatīndraṁ** || (S) [26]**]
- 42 Nija-dān-ōṁnati kalpa-bhūja-tatiyaṁ mūla-brataṁ stutya-Vāyu-jaṇaṁ sat-
yav=anindya-Satyatapanam̄ gāmbhīryav=ambhōdhiyaṁ tri(tri)-jagad-byā-
- 43 pta-yasaṁ śaś-āṁka-ruchiyaṁ kīl-māḍe rārājipaṁ vijit-ōdyat-Kali
Chāndramauli-yatiparṁ vidvaj-jaṇaik-āśrayaṁ || [27]**] 
- 44 Vachana || Svasti [**] Samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaṁ Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha ma-
hārāj-ādhirāja paramēśvara paramabhāṭṭārakaṁ **Rajachuriya-kula-**
- 45 **kamaḷa-mārttarāḍarṁ** kadana-prachandam̄ nām-ādi-samasta-praśasti-sahitaṁ
śrī-mat-Tribhuvanamalla **Bijjapadēvara** vijaya-rājyaṁ=
- 46 tter-ōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarddhamāsam=ā-chāndr-ārka-tāraṁ saluttam-ire [**]
S(ś)aka-varsha 1088-neya Byaya-samavatsarada **Pushpad-amāvāsye** (S)
- 47 **Sōmavārav-uttarāyana-saṁkrānti** **hyatipāṭad-am̄du** śrī-mat-**Telligēś-**
varadēvaragge **Telligar-ayvatt-okkalgaḷ-ēka-śharāgi** Śirāhēśva-
- 48 rada maṭhad=āchāryyar=appe **Chāndramaulidēvara** kēlam̄ karchchi
dhārā-pūrvvakarṁ māḍi **biṭṭ-āyav=em̄t=em̄daḍe** [**] **Dandān-okkalum̄** talad=
- 49 kkalum̄ devasav=ajav=em̄ne gāṇadalli soḷasav=eraḍu dēva-gāṇad=okkalalli
devasav=ajav=em̄ne soḷasav=om̄du **chaitra-pavitraṅga(S)-**
- 50 loḷu gāṇadalli viśav=aidu gāṇam̄ mettuvarelli viśav=aidu maṭhakke
baṁd=abhyāgataralli naḍava manushyar=āhāra-dānake **tiṅgaḷiṅg-okka-**
- 51 lgaḷoḷ jōḷa **koḷagav=om̄du** Kallira **baṭṭeyir** paḍuvāla.....naṁd=iruva
tōṁṭam̄ **maṭtar=om̄du** **Dipāvāliya** parvvadalli(S)-
- 52 y=okkaloḷ=em̄ne mēsav=om̄du maḷigeyoḷag=ainārvvar=Svānigaḷ **biṭṭ-āyaṁ** hoṅge
kottavaralliy=aḍakey=om̄du **koṁḍava(S)-**
- 53 ralliy=aḍakey=om̄du episida dhoregaḷalli **pratyēkav-aḍakey=om̄du** taṁ-
buligarv=vitt-āyaṁ **bhaṁḍig=ele** nūru hē-
- 54 riṅge nūru tale-voreg=aiy(ai)vattu dēvara **mum̄ḍaṅ=am̄gaḍiy=eraḍu** ||

1  Śrī-vidita-Telligēśvaradēvaṁ manam=osedu kuḍuge rājya-śrī-

2 yaṁ [**] bhū-vinuta-**Vira-Bijjaladēvaṅgam̄** **Vira-Vikrama-kahitipāṅgam̄**
[**] Nuta-guṇa-**Chāvuṁḍ-ōrvvi-patigam̄** **Sīridēvigam̄** **kumāra-kkam-**
[ṇuṁ] [**] gatiyūm=e-

3 ne puṭṭidar=b(h)bhūpati-**Bijjala-Vira-Vikrama-āvanipālaru** || [2]**] Avaroḷu
piriyaṁ **Bhāv-ōdbhava-rūpaṁ** **Vira-Bijjaṅ-ōrvvi-nātharṁ** [**] **Śiva pada-**
paṁkaja-shatpadan=akhiḷa-stuta-kī-



lady, the land of Kumtala by resorting to strength of arms, after conquering the refractory (*chiefs*) so as to be highly praised by the whole circle of Earth.

V. 6. The son-in-law of the emperor was the well-behaved prince **Chāvunḍa** of white fame, a tough warrior, renowned on earth as a Gandharva of the Kali age. As regards the genealogy of that high-souled (*hero*):

V. 7. King **Āchugi's** brothers, *viz.*, prince **Nāka**, **Sirṅga**, the chief of kings, the famous **Dāsarasa** endowed with valour befitting his rank, the valiant **Dāvana**, king **Chāvunḍarasa**, a handsome lover of victory and prosperity and the virtuous prince **Chāva** were (*powerful*) like a thunderbolt to mountains, the kings of uncomparable prowess. Among them

V. 8. the brave king **Chauḍa**, born of the **Sinda family**, ever praiseworthy shines on earth with the splendour of fortune and fame unsullied like the nectar-rayed (*moon*), looting and crushing the foes in furious rage when the confederacy of hostile armies met him in fight.

V. 9. Among them, to **Ācharasa** was born **Bammarasa**, a moon to increase the ocean, the Sinda (*lin. age*), brilliant with fame, a repository of great prowess and endeared to victory and wealth.

V. 10. His younger brother was **Ācharasa** of exceeding splendour who, born of the illustrious **Sirṅha** and renowned on earth was, on account of his valour, (*known to be*) ever engaged in killing the hosts of haughty foes.

V. 11. The wife of **Ācha-bhūpa**, thus described, was known by (lit. shone with) the name **Mahādēvī** and was of noble family, prudent, extremely calm in disposition, kind and possessed of good fortune.

V. 12. To king **Ācha** and the beautiful **Mahādēvī** was born the powerful prince **Perma**, famed like a Gandharva, exceedingly brave, pleasing in conduct, who rendered the battlefields impure with pure and rolling tears proceeding from the eyes of the young wives (lit. girls) of the collection of enemy kings who rose in battle.

V. 13. The younger brother of that **Perma-bhūpa** was the renowned chief **Chāvunḍa** a Cupid in form, possessed of a number of excellent qualities and who was a woe to the trembling hearts of the enemy kings.

V. 14. **Chāvunḍa**, son of **Charṅdaladēvī**, courageous like Mount **Mandara** and expert in playing with the rows of balls, the heads of the groups of hostile kings, attained fame glowing like the clear moon.

V. 15. The king **Chāvunḍa** was, when exasperated, a storm to disperse the gathering of clouds, the formidable hostile kings, a brilliant ray of the moon to remove the enveloping and dense darkness, the sins of the Kali age, with fame encompassing the oceans. (*A bestower*) of magnificent gifts he shone like a bolt to tear asunder the mountains, the vanities of groups of scholars.

V. 16. When the army of the **Hoysala** king who had prepared himself for battle met him bravely with a united front, prince **Chāvunḍa**, the moon in the ocean of the **Sinda family** stepping forth valiantly (lit. with valorous steps) rushed through, burning like the sun, killed its general and other opponents and, further, captured groups of fierce and intoxicated elephants.

V. 17. What hero, indeed, would equal the ornament of the **Sinda family** who was the master of valiant marauders that stimulated themselves by twisting their moustaches after destroying completely brave warriors, feeling disgusted to fight and kill those that were timid, those that sought his protection, those that cast away their garment through fear and stood (*helpless*) and those that got down on earth from horse (*back*) ?

V. 18. Puffed up at (*the strength of*) his fourfold army and itching with the might of his arms the **Pāṇḍya** chieftain started immediately and met king **Chāvunḍa** with force to conquer him

(*Chāvunḍa*) conquered (*his*) army single-handed. Seeing it king *Kāma* threw off his garment and losing (*hopes of*) victory fled by the forest track turning his back.

V. 19. Just as *Amarāvati* looked ever beautiful with *Indra* who was bowed to (*by all*), *Ayōdhyā* with the descendant of *Raghu* (*i.e.*, *Rāmachandra*), the lovely *Mathurā* with *Gōvinda*, *Ujjayinī* with *Gutta* and *Hastināpura* with the son of *Mārut* (*i.e.*, *Bhīmasēna*), so also *Erambarāpura* attained much gracefulness with the *Sinda* chief *Chāvunḍa*.

V. 20. *Erambarāpura* shines greatly on the face of this charming earth with temples, numerous palaces containing groups of maidens, houses of gods on earth, *i.e.*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and of the hosts of *Vaiśyas* who resembled *Kubēra* (*in wealth*) and with the hermitages of ascetics in sacred groves of penance.

V. 21. There, **Fifty Families** of *Telligas* (*i.e.*, oilmen), endowed with pleasing virtues and possessing brilliant fame (*bright*) as white clouds, were like bees on the pure and full-blown lotuses, the two feet of *Śiva*.

V. 22. Further, the bright Earth is ever pleased with the deserving **Fifty Families** and praises them high saying "they are like the ocean capable of protecting the mountains, the refugees, like the intensely furious conflagration powerful enough to burn away the forests, the turbulent foes and chief villains, and like the handsome bees humming in the lotuses, the beautiful feet of *Śambhu*."

V. 23. Groups of (*their*) relatives extol with gestures of hands the **Fifty Families** so as to be well appreciated by the whole world saying, "They are worthy of praise by the good, avowedly truthful, armoured with piety and inestimable conduct, gladdened in their pure hearts at the innumerable delights of their wives and are ever busy in the worship of the lotus feet of gods and of *dvijas*".

Lines 36-38. The **Fifty Families**, thus praised, assembled and performed the installation of god *Telligēśvara* in the north-east quarter of *Erambarāpura* and also constructed a temple for the deity. To describe the succession in the family of the preceptor of *Chandramaulidēva*, the *āchārya* of that temple :—

V. 24. There was an ornament of ascetics named *Vigrahēśvara* of much extolled intellect, who was greatly praised in (*his*) respectable family¹, an abode of refugees, and was known as *Lakūśa* born in the *Kālī* age.

V. 25. The meditator on his lotus feet was the righteous *Yōgēśvarayati* of blameless conduct, a bolt lifted up at the mountain, the Cupid, a sun to the lily of *Lākūḷāgama* (*i.e.*, works of the *Lākūḷa* sect).

Vv. 26 and 27. The disciple of that excellent *muni* was the best *yati* called *Chandramauli*, the sole resort of learned men, who has conquered the rising *Kālī*; his generosity surpassed the group of desire-yielding trees, his vow of (*subsisting on*) roots, the praiseworthy son of *Vāyu* (*i.e.*, *Hanūmān*), his truthfulness, the unblamable *Satyatapa*, his serenity, the ocean and his fame pervading the three worlds, the lustre of the moon.

Ll. 44-46. Hail ! When the victorious reign of the illustrious *Tribhuvanaśakti* *Bhijapa-*
dēva, an asylum of the whole world, Lord of Fortune and Earth, possessed of all the laudatory titles like *Mahārājadhīrāja*, *Paśamāśara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, a sun to the lotus of the *Kaśa-*
churiya family, terrible in fight, was advancing in the course of continuously increasing prosperity as long as the sun and the moon last,

¹ *Manneya* may also be taken to mean a particular sub-division of the teacher's lineage.

Ll. 46-48. On Monday, the new-moon day of Pushya, which was the day of Uttarāyana-samkrānti and Vyatipāta in the cyclic year Vyaya corresponding to the Śaka year 1088, the Fifty Families of Telligas met together and granted the following income with the pouring of water to the glorious god Telligēśvara after laving the feet of Chandramati-dēva, the āchārya of Sindhēśvara-maṭha.

Ll. 44-52. Each family in Cantonment and Town (*should*) each day measure out two *solasa* of oil for an oilmill; in the family (*maintaining*) the god's oil mill, oil measuring one *solasa* (*should be received*); five *viśas* on an oil mill for (*the offering of*) *chaitra* and *pavitra*; and five *viśas* from every one of those that press the mill; one *koḷaga* of *juwary* per month from each family for conducting the feeding of people (*i.e.*, guests) that come to the *maṭha*; one *mattar* of garden situated at.....west of the path leading to Kallūru; on the sacred occasion of *Dīpāvālī*, one *māna* of oil from each family (*should be received*).

Ll. 52-54. The income granted by the Five hundred *svāmins* in (*their*) storehouse: for every gold coin, one areca-nut from sellers and one from buyers; one areca-nut from the counting officers each time (*they count*). The income granted by the dealers in betel-leaves: a hundred leaves for one cartload, a hundred for a bullock-load, fifty for a man's load and two shops in front of the temple.

B.

Verse 1. May the glorious and famous god Telligēśvara grant with kindness the prosperity of kingdom to the world-renowned Bijjaladēva and king Vira-Vikrama.

V. 2. There were born to king Chāvuvuḍa of reputed virtues and to Sīriḍēvi (*two*) sons namely, king Bijjala and king Vira-Vikrama as if they were the (*two*) eyes or (*two*) goals of life (*of their parents*).

V. 3. Of them, the elder was prince Bijjala, a Cupid in form, a bee in the lotus feet of Śiva, with fame sung by all and an ocean of polity.

V. 4. King Vira-Bijjapa trusted Śiva like Nambi and was like Ōhila, a devotee who did not observe any religious rites—what more—he was learned like Bāpa.

V. 5. This prince Vira-Bijjala of increasing fame, a shaft in the hearts of his foes and an expert, forsooth, in the sixty-four arts was the husband of Tripurāḍēvi.

V. 6. King Vira-Vikrama looks majestic with fame extolled on earth..... as if he was then the (*proper*) lord (*to bear*) the title of Chakravartin.

V. 7. If (*the name of*) a tiger is taken (*to compare his valour with*) he would mock at it, he would.....host of serpents, oppose in a fitting manner.....and cow down the Death God. O! (god!! Vira-Vikrama is indeed a veritable warrior.

V. 8. Who, indeed, can survive.....(*after witnessing*) the force of the prowess of his arms? Who does not shrink in power? Who does not run away helpless after opposing (*him*) in battle? Who does not tremble or be perturbed in mind and will not.....offer everything of his own? What person is there that does not stretch his hands for the gifts of the renowned Vira-Vikrama?

V. 9. The powerful chief Vira-Vikrama gives (*gifts*) to one that praises him; protects if one seeks his shelter and is a beautiful swan to the lotus plant.....dēvi who equalled Lakshmi.

Lines 10-12. Hail! When the illustrious Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, Sāhasottuṅga, Bhujabala....king.....ladēva and Vira-Vikramadēva, possessed of all the laudatory *virūdas*, were ruling in their capital Īraṃbarage, with the diversion of pleasant conversation, Kisukūḍu-70, Bāgaḍage-70, Keḷavaḍi-300, Nareyarṅgal-12 and Kariviḍi-3[e].

Ll. 12-16. On Monday, the auspicious day of Samkrānti, the fourteenth day.....in the cyclic year Plavarṅga, corresponding to the Śaka year 1109, Bijjaladēva

and **Vira-Vikramadēva** granted at the request of the **Fifty Families** as *sarva-namasya*, with the pouring of water and with immunity from all claims, twelve *mattar* of land field by the pole (*measuring*) twenty-seven (?) spans, on the north of the land of god Jagatēśvara, to god **Telligēśvara** of **Erambarage**, the fortunate town existing from times immemorial (*anādi-paṭṭana*), and at the request of **Mumjaya-Sāhaṇi**, one *mattar* of paddy land to the west.....

No. 13.—DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPPADEVA ; [HARSHA—]
SAMVAT 207.

By

R. R. HALDER, RAJPUTANA MUSEUM, AJMER.

This inscription was found engraved on a large stone lying in a field at the village of **Dabōk**, eight miles to the east of Udaipur in Mewār. It was removed to the Udaipur Museum by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha, and I edit it from the ink-impression, which he so kindly placed at my disposal.¹ Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has noticed it in this journal.²

The record contains fifteen lines of writing covering a space of about 3 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins. The average size of the letters is $\frac{3}{4}$ in. The **characters** belong to the northern class of alphabets, commonly known as *Kuṭīla lipi*. They are almost similar to the Jodhpur Inscription³ of Pratihāra Bāuka. Palæographically, the inscription is important, as the date given in it contains the letter-symbol of 200, which is worth noting. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and, excepting the two imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. In respect of **orthography**, the following points may be noted—consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *Durgādēvyā* (l. 4), *-mārgga* (l. 9), etc.; and before *r*, as in *-puttra* (l. 2), *kshētram* (l. 5), etc.; *s* is written for *ś*, as in *°svarasya* and *sāradya* (l. 4), and for *sh*, as in *°sēdhyō-* (l. 13), *-aṭavīsv-a-* (l. 14), etc.; the *anusvāra* is used for *n* in *asmin-* (l. 1), *-chandrārkkā-* (l. 11), etc., and is redundant in *-vridhyartham* (l. 11), and *haram-* (l. 15); *m* is written for *v* in *-nīmī* (l. 3), etc.; rules of *sandhi* are, as a rule, violated in almost all the lines. The *upadhmanīya* is used in *punar-ādadīta* (l. 14). Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription is of the time of **Śrī-Dhavalappadēva**, who, as shown by the titles *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, appears to have been a paramount chief. The record is dated in the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the Samvat 207. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of some fields and, probably, shops, too, by Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman, a resident of Dhavagartā (the present town of Dhōr in the Jahāzpur district of the Udaipur State) to the temples of the god Mahāmahēśvara and the goddess Durgā called Ghaṭṭavāsini.

As the era to which the year belongs has not been specified, the date cannot be ascertained with certainty. The characters, however, are of a period not earlier than the 8th or 9th century A. D. In consideration of this fact, the date can be referred to the Harsha era, in which several other inscriptions⁴ of Rājputānā are dated. In that case the date would correspond to Monday, the 8th August A.D. 813. The family to which Dhavalappadēva belonged is not mentioned in this inscription. From the Dhanōp inscription⁵ of Chachcha, dated Samvat 1063

¹ The impression is not very clear. Consequently the reading is not free from doubt in several places.

² Above Vol. XII, p. 11.

³ Above Vol. XVIII, pp. 87 ff.

⁴ See *Annual Reports of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for 1916-17 and 1919-20, 4(b) L.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 174

(A.D. 1006), we know that the Rāshtrakūṭas were ruling over Rājputānā in the eleventh century A.D. We also know from the Sirūr inscription¹ of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I that Gōvindarāja III conquered Kērala, Mālava, Gurjara, etc., as far as Chitrakūṭa (Chitōr in Mewār). This would show that the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan held their sway over some parts of Rājputānā in the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Possibly the Rāshtrakūṭas of Dhanōp, which is near Mewār, were related to the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Deccan, and Dhavalappadēva may also have been related to them. His name seems to be of South-Indian² origin.

The epigraph under notice describes Dhanika as the son of Guhila, who then ruled over Dhavagartā (l. 2). The Chātsū inscription³ of Bālāditya mentions a Dhanika as the son of Guhila. One Dhanika figures as a local ruler in the inscription⁴ dated Saṃvat 887 (A.D. 830), recently discovered at Nāsūn in the Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwara, but, there, he is described as the father of Īsānabhaṭa. The Dhanika of the Chātsū inscription was the great-grandson of Īsānabhaṭa. Consequently there must have been two Dhanikas and two Īsānabhaṭas.

The contents of the inscription may be summed up as follows:—

After making an obeisance to the god Śiva and giving the date as the eighth day of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada of the saṃvat 207 (200 in letter-symbol and 7 in figure), the first five lines state that, during the reign of Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Dhavalappadēva, Vaidya Giyaka, son of Nāgadāman of the Kāyastha family and an inhabitant of Dhavagartā, which was being ruled over by Dhanika, a Guhilot, made permanent endowments of some śāradyagraishmika fields (the fields that can be tilled in autumn as well as in summer) to two temples—one of Mahāmahēśvara established by him (Giyaka) and the other of Durgādēvi previously established by Vaidya Yaśōdēva. Lines 4-5 inform us that the above fields were in the share or inheritance of Chachcha (probably one of the sons of the donor). In lines 5-10 are given the boundaries of the fields and of the two shops. Lines 10-11 tell us that the fields were granted for the increase of religious merit and fame of the donor and his parents, as also for the repairs and maintenance of the above temples. In lines 12-13, the allotment of the fields and the share of their produce is made. The fifteenth or the last line tells us that the inscription was engraved by Vṛiddhināga, son of Vaidya Giyaka.

TEXT.⁵

- 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ सं २०० ७ भाद्रपदष्टदि ८ षष्ठीदि (स्मिन्दि) षष्ठी परममहाशक्तमहाराजधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीह (ध) वलपदेवप्रवर्ध (धं)-
- 2 मानराज्ये । गुहिलपुत्राणां श्रीह (ध) निकसोपभु [न्य] मानायां ह (ध) वगर्तायां वास्तव्यवैश्यागीयकनागदामपुत्रनेगम-
- 3 जात्य (स्यः) श्रीमहेश्वरपौरसामान्यदेवदायत्वेन षष्ठीयनीमी (वी) प्रयच्छति पात्नीयस्य कारितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठापितस्य देवाधिदेवमहामहै-

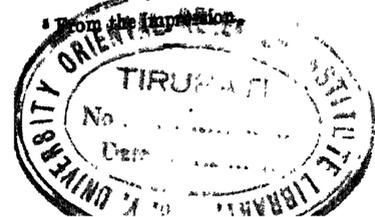
¹ Above Vol. VII, p. 207.

² Names ending in *ppa* generally denote the names of persons of South India; for instance, *appa* (above, VI, 117), *Tallappa* (*ibid.*, III, 271), *Dhōrappa* (*ibid.*, II, 217), *Dhāḍiyappa* (*ibid.*, II, 217), etc. Such instances are rare in northern India. The name Dhavalappa also occurs in a grant of Krishna II (*ibid.*, I, 53), but he must be a different person.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 14.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

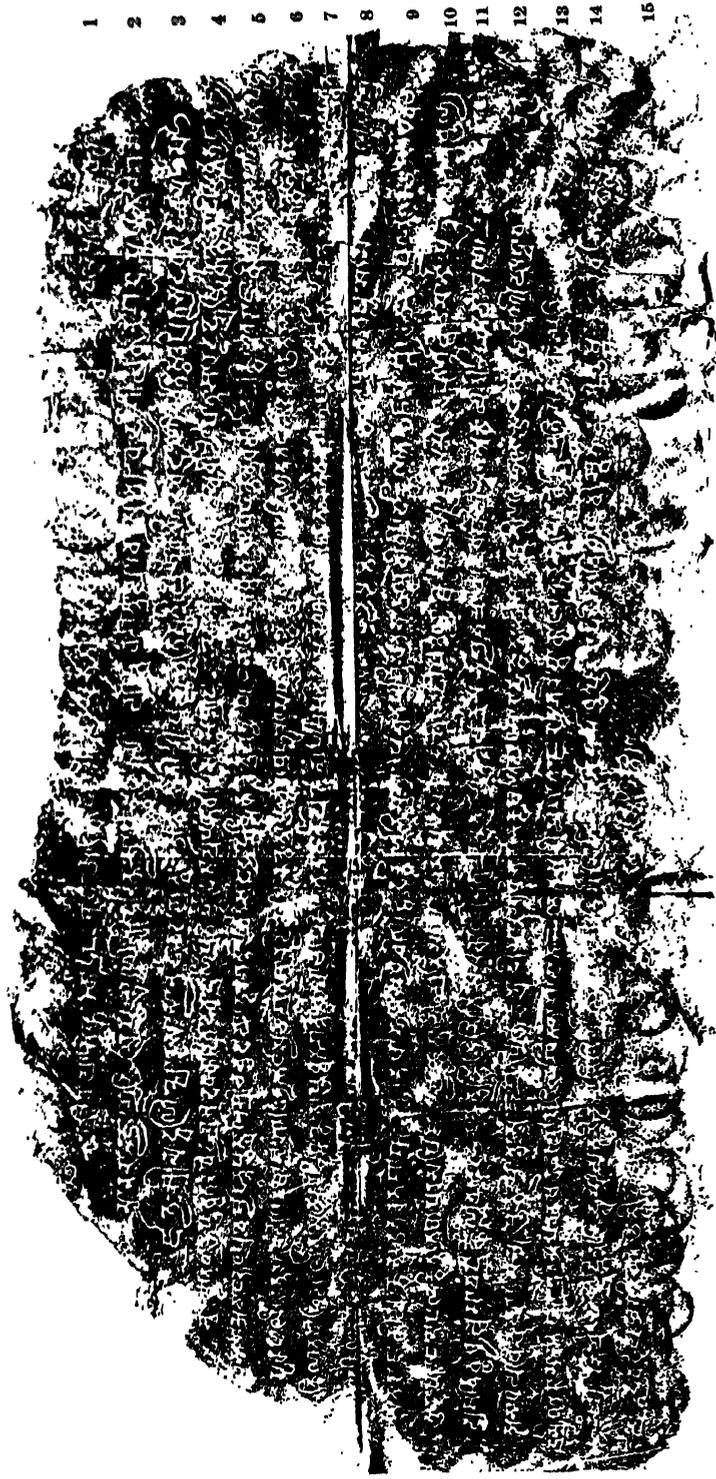
⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXX, p. 22.



- 4 स्व(स्व)रस्य । तथा च पु(पूर्व)तरवैद्यस(शो)देवकारितदेवद्रोणीप्रतिष्ठा-
पिताया घटवासिनीनामश्रीदुर्गादेव्या अर्धाङ्ग(तः) । आत्मीयस्ववीर्योत्पन्नो-
(ना) सारस्यद्रैषिकचेचादी¹पूर्वभुज्य(क्त?)भुज्य-
- 5 माना अचाटभटप्रवेश्या [स्व]पुत्राणां श्रीचञ्चदाया । इ(ध)वगर्तापु(पूर्व)त-
(तः) सा(शा)[र]व्यद्रै(शै)षिकचेचं [1*] यस्याघाटनानि पूर्वतः [सा]-
बटचेचं वकटा च [1*] दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीयचेचं । पश्चिमत(तः)
पङ्कण-
- 6 प्यकपाली । उत्तरत(तो) वर्णा(र्म्) । तथा नागादित्यभटा(ट)स्य चाग्रते
(तः) शारव्यद्रै(शै)षिकचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) ब्रह्मसोमबाउट²कचेचं वकटा
च ॥ दक्षिणत(तः) तटाकोदकं ॥ उत्तरत(तो) भर्मीकभवकचेचं ॥ तथा
इ(ध)वगर्ता
- 7 दक्षिणत(तो) वाहियालीनाम अरहि(इ)ट्टचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) गर्ता वर्णा
(र्म्)च । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय[चे]चं । पश्चिमत(तः) पुष्कर(रि)-
णीघाली ॥ उत्(त्तर)त(तो) वर्णा(र्म्) ॥ तथा कर्कतटाक³ चाग्रत⁴अरहट्ट-
चेचं [1*] पूर्वत(तो)
- 8 गर्ता । दक्षिणत(तो) राजकीय(या) अरहट्टकुला(भ्या) । पश्चिमत(तो)
वकटा । उत्(त्तर)त(तो) राजकीयचेचं । तथा अयारप्रइवकटाकस्य
प्रष्टते(उतः) काश्यपियचेचं । पूर्वत(तो) । विष्णुसोमचेचं । दक्षिणत(तः) पश्चि-
मत(तो) राजकीयचेचं । उत्(त्तर)त(तो) गोम्यचेचं ॥ तथा इदमभ्ये वीथी
हे दाक्षेणाभिमुखा(खे) ॥ पूर्वत(तो) पश्चिमत(तः) [सा]उक्तवीथी । दक्षि-
णत(तो) इदमार्ग(र्ग) । उत्(त्तर)त(तः) प्रणा[ली] ॥ एवं च-
- 10 तुराघाटनोपकर्त्त(तं) । तथापरमपि सा(शा)रव्यचेचादी(दि) यत्किमपि
तत्समस्तं(स्व)म[च] गुग्गुलदीपतीत्या(त्ता)र्थे खण्डस्फुटितसमारा(रो)पणार्थे च
मातस्य(पि)न्नो[रात्मनश्च] मुख्य-
- 11 यशोभिद्वय(द्व)र्थ(र्थ)माचंद्रार्काण्यवयवज्ञानचक्षुत्तिस्थितिसमकाखीमतया पुत्रधौ-
ज्जान्वयक्रमभोष्यतया च देवदायत्वेन अक्षयनीमि(वि)काचारेण प्र[तिष्ठापि]-
ता(ते) ॥
- 12 अनाद्येयविधया ।⁵ मन्म(म)पुत्रपीजाल्लजै(जै) शैषिकचेचादी(दिः) सप्तमविभा-
गेन क(क)ष(ष)णीया(यः) ॥ सा(शा)रव्यचेचादी(दिः) सप्तदशोपकटकेन
क(क)ष(ष)णीया(यः) । हावपि चतु-

¹ Read शारव्यद्रैषिकचेचादि°.⁴ Read चाग्रतोऽरहट्ट°.³ 'उ' is written below the line.² The stroke is redundant.⁵ Read °तटाकस्य.

DABOK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAVALAPRADEVA; [HARSHA-] SAMVAT 207.



SCALE : ONE-SIXTH.

DR. HIRANANDA SASTRI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 13 (द्रं)मी(मी)चको¹ [मासि] दातव्यो(व्यः) ॥ अपरकषकै(कैः) यद्योपरलिखितभागो
दातव्येति² ॥ अ(म)दीयगोक्ष(न)जैरन्यतरैर्वा कालान्तरैस्(ष्व)पि न(न)
के(कै)श्चि(चित्) प्रतिसे(वे)धो [न च] व्य(व्यः) । यानी-
- 14 इ संज्ञा(सा)रमयाक्षरेन्द्रेर्षवा(ना)नि धर्मायतनीकृतानि [1*] निर्मास्यवान्-
प्रतिमानि तानि [को नाम सा]धु × पुनराददीत [1*]³ विंध्याटवीस्(ष्व)-
तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन(नः) [1*] कृष्णसर्प⁴भि-
- 15 जायन्ते देवदायं हर(र)न्ति ये⁵ ॥ उत्कीर्णयं भिषः⁶गीयन्सु(स)नुना इचि-
नागिन प्रस(श)स्तिरिति ॥

No. 14.—FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS,

By RAI BAHADUR HIRALAL.

Impressions of the four inscriptions, edited below, were forwarded to me by Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, who received the plates from the Ruling Chief of Charkhāri State, Bundelkhand, Central India, through the Director General of Archaeology in India. No details as to their provenance were available from the State office records. For the sake of convenience, I am here noticing the inscriptions in their chronological order.

A.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF DEVAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1108.

This charter is incised on a large copper-plate, 18½" by 12¾", with its corners rounded off and weighing 360½ tolas. The plate is surmounted by a copper-hook, 2¼" long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring 2½" in diameter. Just below this is carved the figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi with an elephant on each side pouring water on her head with raised trunk. Under her seat is inscribed the sign-manual Śrīmad-Devavarmadevaḥ sva-hastāḥ in two lines. The figure occupies a space, 4 inches long and 3 inches high, just in the middle of the first 6 lines. Each complete line is on the average 16" long.

The inscription is engraved in Nāgarī characters, their average size being ⅜". The language is Sanskrit. But there are numerous mistakes in spelling, etc., some of which appear to be due to the oversight of the engraver. There is a palpable instance of the latter being influenced by local patois, viz., the Bundelkhandi Hindī in which jē is still used for the Sanskrit yē, of which it is an exact equivalent. In line 21 the engraver had used the correct form but in the next line the more familiar vernacular word asserted itself. The orthographical peculiarities are similar to those which the late Dr. Kielhorn pointed out in editing another copper-plate charter of the same king issued a year before the present one. The latter was issued on the occasion of the anniversary of his mother's death, while the present record was issued on the occasion of a lunar eclipse for the religious benefit of himself and

¹ Probably this word is connected with *dramma*.

² Metre, *Indraajrū*.

³ Metre, *Anushubh*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 206.

⁵ Read अ इति.

⁶ Read सर्वा इति.

⁷ Read सिद्धम्.

his parents. The date of this record is *Saṃvat 1108 Mārgaśira śudi 15, Sōma-dina*.¹ On this day the Chandēlla king Dēvavarmadēva, Lord of Kālīñjara, meditating on the feet of Vijayapāladēva who meditated on the feet of Vidyāharadēva, offered water to the names of his ancestors, worshipped Śūlapāni or Śiva and gave the village Bhūtapallikā, situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the *viśhaya* of Nava-rāshṭra-maṇḍala, to Paṇḍita Kikkana of the Kṛishṇātrēya-gōtra with 3 *pravaras* whose ancestors had emigrated from Kum-bhaṭṭhaṭagrāma. This Brāhmaṇa was ever ready to expound the Vēdas, the Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa, the Purāṇas and Mīmāṃsā and was devoted to *shaṭ-karma* (*shaṭ-karm-ābhīrata*), the prominent mention of which leads me to infer that he practised Yōga,² which is more awe-inspiring than the ordinary six³ duties of a Brāhmaṇa.

The localities mentioned in this record have not yet been identified, excepting Kālīñjara, whence the record was issued, and the Yamunā river on whose bank the village of Bhūta-pallikā was situated. Both of them, *viz.*, the fort of Kālīñjara and the river Yamunā or Jumnā are too well known to require identification. The mention of the latter indicates sufficiently the locality of the village and the district in which it was included. Dēvavarmadēva was the 12th king of the Chandēlla dynasty and, if this record shows anything in regard to his capital and extent of his dominions, it indicates that he lived in the Kālīñjara fort and that his *rāj* extended at least up to the Jumnā in the north. But almost the same conclusion is derivable from his other record referred to before and those of his predecessors, an account of which has been given by the late Dr. V. A. Smith in his exhaustive essay on the history and coinage of the Chandēlla dynasty.⁴ But it may be noted here that in his zeal to show the great antiquity of the Chandēlla dynasty and its kingdom Jējākaśhukti—the designation was later on changed to Jajhanti and taken as given after Jējāka or Jayaśakti, the third king of the line—he has fallen into a blunder, to which enthusiasts, howsoever great, are sometimes liable. In his article he has attempted to prove that *Chih-chi-t'o*, visited and described by Yuan Chwang in 641 or 642 A.D., was no other than Jijhōti. This would mean that the country was named after a king, who was born about 200 years later, as according to him⁵ Jējāka ascended the throne about 860 A.D.

TEXT.

- 1 श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वर-
श्रीविद्याधरदेवः(व)पादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टार-
- 2 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरः(र)श्रीमद्विजयपालदेवः(व)पादानु(नु)ध्यातः(त)पर-
मभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
- 3 परमेस्वरः(र)श्रीकालंजराधिपतिः(ति)श्रीमद्देवकीदेवः(व)पादानां मङ्गो(ङ्ग)-
प्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स-

¹ This date is irregular. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, V. S. 1108, Mārgaśira śu, 15 fell on Wednesday, the 20th November of A.D. 1051, with no lunar eclipse on that date. The date in V, ś, 1109 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th December, A.D. 1052, when there was a lunar eclipse.

² The six *haṭha-yōga* practices are:

*Dhautir-bastī tathā nēti nauṭikī trātakas=tathā |
kapāla-bhātī ch=aitāni shaṭ-karmmāni samācharē ||*

³ See Apte's *Sanskrit Dictionary* under *shaṭ-karma*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 114 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 131. 'The kingdom was known as Jajāhūti (Jajāhōti, Jijhōti),

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

- 4 स्वत्सरसहस्रेके षष्टोत्तरशताधिके अंकतोपि ११०८ मार्गसिर(शीर्ष)सु(शु)दि
१५. सोमदिन(ने) [1*] अच्येह ओ-
- 5 कालिंजरात(त्) इत्यस्मिन्क ले वर्त्तमाने सा(शा)सनदाता नास्त्रामवः(?)
एकाङ्ग[.]* सू(शु)द्रजेव(क इव) निसि(शि)तासिधारादा-
- 6 रितारिदग्गः विस्त्र(ण्ण)रिव सधरधरा(धराधर)कन्दरगुफा(हा)न्तरालयस(शो)ध-
वलितदिम्बध्रुवदन(नः) व(ञ्ज)लिकरैयि(ण्णा)विव क-
- 7 नकगोधरादानविष्या(ख्या)ता(त)कीर्त्ति[.] युधिष्ठिरेव(र इव) सत्यसौ(शौ)चगुरुद्वि-
जदेवशुसू(श्रू)षारतर(तो)नङ्गमिव(इव) रूपसौभाग्ययुक्तं(क्तः) परकुलःङ्गनाव-
(ञ्ज)म्भु[.]*]
- 8 सुनिरिव विदितात्मा काव्याल(लं)कारकन्द(न्दो)लषः(ञ्ज)णगुणगणाधिष्ठान(नः)
युगसमानर्दसित्वंस्व'न्दिजनसंकोर्णस(श)तहार(रः) निन्ना(र्या)सितत-
- 9 स्करादिभयंच(भयञ्च)न्देलान्वयः परममाहेस्व(श्च)रः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेस्व(श्च)रः ओमदेववर्म्भदेव(वो) महासामन्तरा-
- 10 जपुत्रवन्दितः(त)पाद(दः) रंभागर्भोपम(मं) संसारमाकल्य(ल्य) तडित्चञ्चल-
वत्तन्मो' ज्ञात्वा य(ज)लवुद्(बुद्)दोपम(मं) जोवितमिदं श्रुत्वा योवनचांज-
- 11 लितुकमिवा'स्त्ररत्नं(ञ्च) सुचिरमपि वसि(र्षि)त्वा नास्ति कामेषु तृप्ति[स्सु]
चिरमपि सुविचिन्त्य धर्ममे(ए)को हि साखाय(सखा) [1*] आ[यु]र्व्वर्षस(श)तं
वृष्टा(णां)
- 12 परिमित(तं) राष्या [त]दर्शा(र्षि) हृतं तस्यार्षस्य कदाचिदर्हमधिक(कं) वाहिन्य-
(वाहिन्य)वाली(बाल्ये) म(ग)तं [1*] से(शे)र्षं व्याधिजराधियोगमरुतैः सेवादिभि-
र्कीयते ॥*
- 13 जीवे वारितरङ्गचञ्चलवलयैः(तरे) सौख्यं कुतः प्राणिना(नाम्) 1[1१॥*]५ एवं
संसारधर्ममेको(कं) हि असा(शा)स्त्र(श्च)तं ज्ञात्वा दानमतिवके (?)
[स्त्र]भोगावा[म]-
- 14 नवराङ्गमण्डलविषये यमुनातटे भूतपत्निकानामग्रामोय(यं) सोमादृषकाष्टको'पर्यं-
न्तं(न्तः) ओदेववर्म्भेन(वर्म्भेणा) षडः(ष) पौर्ण्यमासोमग्राहे
- 15 कोटितोर्षे ज्ञात्वा पितृतर्पणं [च] ज्ञत्वा ओसू(शु)लपाणिदेवमर्षं(र्षं)यित्वा
यथाविधि च धु(हु)त्वा मातापितृचालन(पितृचालन)श्च पुन्य(स्त्र)यसो(शो)
विहृद्ये[ति](इति) कुम्भटोभट-
- 16 ग्रामविनिर्म्मताय कृष्णाचेयस्व(स्व)मोचाय अत्रिभर्षनानससोवास(श्यावाश्लेति)'सुः-
(चि)प्रवराय वद्भू(बाहु)चसा(शा)स्त्रिने ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणपण्डित-ओजयस्त्रामिपीचाय
पण्डि-

* Read °दक्षिणा' (?)

* Read दोहनं च दद्यात्सकलजलनिन्दुवदं (?)

* Metre, Śāṅkīyā-kīridā.

* See Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 197.

* Read अत्रिभर्षना लक्ष्मी°

* Strokes not required,

* Read °काङ्गमीचर°.

- 17 तः(त)श्रीश्रीमेस्क(ख)रपुत्राय पंडितः(त)श्रीकिष्कनः(नाय) वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराण-
मोमांसाव्या[ख्या]नतत्पराय षड्दर्माभिरताय ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय
- 18 आश्र(शास)नं¹ प्रदत्तं(त्तः) यथा दीयम(मा)नस्य भागभोगकरहिरन्य(ण्य)दण्डा-
दायादिकुवितान्वचितं(कमुचितानुचित)प्रभृतयस्तत्सर्वमस्थोपनेतव्यं ॥ सर्वान्ये-
(ने)तान्म(ग्भा)-
- 19 विनो(नः) पार्थिवेन्द्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयः(यो) याचते रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योर्य-
धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले २ पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[1२॥*] भूमी(मिं) यः प्रति-
गृह्णा(ह्ना)ति ।² यश्च
- 20 भूमिं प्रयच्छा(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्मणी ।² नियतौ स्वर्गगा-
मिनौ [॥३॥*] षष्ठि वर्ष(षष्टिं वर्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
अ(आ)च्छेता(त्ता) चान्म(नुम)न्ता अव(च) तने(तान्ये)-
- 21 व नरक(के) वये(से)त(त्) ।[१४॥*] स्वदत्तां(त्तां) परदत्तां(त्तां) [वा] ।² ये(यो)
हरन्ति(हरत) वसुधरा । स्वा(श्वा)नयोनिश(श)तं गत्वा ।² चाण्डालेष्व-
भिजायते ।[१५॥*] विंध्याटवौष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर-
- 22 वासिनः [1*] मरुसर्पाभिजायते ।² जे(ये) हरन्ति रसुधवा³ ।[१६॥*] वापी-
कु(कू)पसहस्राणि ।² अश्रमेधस(श)तानि च [1*] गवां कीटिप्रदानेन
भूमिहर्ता न
- 23 शुध्यति [॥७॥*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः । अक्षपटलिकयशोभटेन लिखितं ॥

B.—CHARKHARI PLATES OF PARAMARDDIDEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1236.

These are two copper-plates having raised rims ($\frac{3}{8}$ " high) rivetted to them. Each plate weighs 180½ *tolas*, but their sizes differ a little, the first measuring 14½" by 11½" and the second 14½" by 10½". The former contains 18 lines of writing against 14 of the latter. On the first plate there is a figure of *Lakshmi* in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a round hole in the middle of the last line. In the second plate space was left for a hole, but it was never made and hence the plates were not strung together as was originally intended. The size of the letters in the first plate is $\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are smaller and more beautiful than those in the second plate, to cover the whole of which the engraver *Pālhaṇa*, a skilful artisan, as he calls himself, had had to raise the size to $\frac{5}{8}$ ". In the case of the *Mahōbā* plates of *Saṃvat* 1230,⁴ I remarked how *Pālhaṇa* worked up his way from the position of a *pīṭalāhāra* to that of a *viññānin*, and this time, *ie.*, six years later, he raised himself to the position of a *vaiddagdhā-visvakarman*⁵ (l. 32). Despite this, there is hardly any improvement in his engraving. The fact remains that the

¹ Read शासनेन.

² *Danda* not required.

³ Read वसुधरा.

⁴ *Ahova*, Vol. XVI, p. 10.

⁵ [The *Iqchhāwar* plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 208 ff., l. 36) also give this epithet.—Ed.]

letters *va*, *dha*, *cha* and *ra* have been so formed as to cause confusion with one another, for instance, in l. 4 *Paramarddidēvō* has been engraved as *Paramarddidērō*. *Ba* has not been at all distinguished from *va* and the symbol for the medial *u* has been sometimes so broadened as to give the appearance of a *ta*, e.g., *bhūtvā* (l. 17). In the text letters or their parts are, in some cases, omitted in consequence of which the sense is also affected. The *anusvāra* and the *rēpha* have been in many cases omitted through sheer inattention, cf. *śaṭ-tri[m*]śa°* (l. 8) and *Prithivā[r*]mma°* (l. 3). On the whole the record is well written. The language is Sanskrit and the text is similar to the one found in other records of the same king. The composer of the record or rather the adopter of the prescribed form, with necessary changes, was one Śubhānanda Vāstavya, who was probably a relative of Pṛithividhara Vāstavya, the writer of some of the previous records of Paramarddidēva.

This charter was issued from Vilāsapura and records the grant of Sagauḍō village situated in the district of Kirāyīḍa to a number of Brāhmaṇas, whose forefathers had immigrated from Mutāutha-Bhaṭṭāgrahāra, by the P. M. P. Paramamāhēśvara Paramarddidēva, meditating on the feet of the P. M. P. Madanavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Pṛithivīvarmadēva, descended from the heroes Jayasakti and Vijayaśakti of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) lineage. The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the donor and his parents on Monday, the seventh day of the bright fortnight of Chaitra in the Vikrama-Samvat 1236¹ which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 27th March 1178 A.D. The record does not supply any new information worth being mentioned and which is not given in the numerous inscriptions² of this king which have already been found. [It is interesting to observe here that in the gift-village exception was made of the five *halas* of land gifted to Buddha (l. 14) for that would show that a Buddhist monastery was in existence there and was endowed with that land.—Ed.]

Of the localities mentioned in it, Kālāṅjara is too well known to require identification. Kirāyīḍa may be Kirāḍi, 5 miles from Mahōbā. I have not been able to trace Vilāsapura, Sagauḍō and Mutāutha villages.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 [श्री] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्वाह्वाद्यन्विष्टं विश्वेश्वरशिरोद्धतः । चन्द्राचेयनरेन्द्राष्टा
वंशचन्द्र इवोच्चलः ॥ [१॥*] तच्च प्रवर्द्धमा-
- 2 ने विरोधिविजवि(य)भाजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावमास्त्रे परमभङ्गा-
रकमहाराजाधिरा-
- 3 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृष्ठीवन्म(र्षी)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभङ्गरकमहारजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री-
मदनवर्षीदेवपा-
- 4 दानुध्यातपरमभङ्गरकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्री-
मत्परमर्षिदेरो(वी) विजयी ॥ स एष

¹ This must be taken as the current year.

² See above, Vol. I, p. 208, Vol. IV, pp. 157 ff., Vol. XVI, p. 9; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 37, Vol. XXV, 206; *Cunningham's A. S. B.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74, 173, 174, and *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, p. 313.

- 5 दुर्विषहतरप्रतापतापे(पि)तसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवध्(धू)मिर(व) वशु(सु)न्धरात्त्रि-
राकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्भ्रलीकृतमतेः(तिः) । किरायि-
- 6 उविषयःन्तःपातिसगौडोग्रामोपगतान्वा(न्त्रा)ह्वाणानन्या(न्यां)श्च मान्यानधिकृता-
न्कुटुम्बि(म्बि)कायस्थद्रूतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्य-
- 7 न्ताम्सर्वान्स्त्रो(स्त्रो)धयति समान्नापयते(ति) चा[स्तु]वः सन्विदितं यथोपरि-
लिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सखावरजङ्गमः साधजङ्गो भूतभ-
- 8 विच्छदत्त(त्त)माननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशशास्त्राभिर्विवासापुरे
षट्त्रि(ट्रि)शदधिकशतद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे
- 9 सम्बल्लरे चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे श(स)प्तम्यान्तिथावङ्कतोपि स(सं)वत(त्) १२३६
चैत्रशुदि ७ भो(सो)मवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-
- 10 धिवत्कृत्वा देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरु(रुं) भगवन्त(न्तं)
भक्तानोपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा माता-
- 11 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यश्रीविहङ्गये । सुताउथभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्गतेभ्यो वत्सगोत्रेभ्यो
वत्सभाम्^१वच्यवना-
- 12 भ्रवानौब्ध्या(जा)मदग्न्येतिपञ्चप्रवरैभ्योह्(भ्यः^२च्छं)दोगशाखाध्यायि[भ्यो] नानाप्रपोः^१
पौत्रभ्यो नामा(ना)पो^१(पौ)त्रेभ्यो नाना-
- 13 पुत्रेभ्यो नानानामशर्मभ्यो ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्ति-
वाचनपूर्वञ्चन्द्रार्कसम-
- 14 काल(क) पुत्रपीत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि देवश्रीवी(वी)हसत्पञ्चहलानि व(व)ह्निःक(ष्मू)त्
से(श)षभूमिः शासनोक्त्य प्रद-
- 15 ता । मध्ये ॥ ति । दावरपुत्र ति । सोमेकस्य पदद्वयम(म्) । ति ।
वाह्नेपुत्र ति । स्वपटस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । पापेपु-
- 16 त्र ति । रतनस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । सूक्षणपुत्र ति । सीढस्य पदमे-
कम(म्) । इति मत्वा भर्षद्भिराज्ञाश्र(श्र)वणपिवे-
- 17 ये(विधेयै)भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्त्रो(स्त्रो)^२ ससुपर्नतव्य(व्यं)
[।*] तदेननवा(रु) सम(मं)दिरप्राका-
- 18 र(रं) सनिर्गमप्रवेश(शं) ससर्व्वशनेक्षुर्कर्पासकुशु(सु)मस(श)णात्ममधूकादिभूरुह(हं)
सवन्नखनि-

^१ The letter पो is superfluous.

^२ [Plural ought to have been employed.—Fd.]

Second Plate.

- 19 निधानं सलीहलवणवृणप[र्णा]द्याकरं सष्टगवे(वि)हङ्ग[म]जलचरं सकारकपंक-
वणिग(वणिग्)वास्तव्यं¹ स-
- 20 काव्हे(ष्ठे)ष्टिकापाषाणं सगोकुलमपरि(रे)रपिसीमान्त[र्ग]तैव्(व्य)स्तुभिः सहितं
सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुञ्जा(ञ्जा)-
- 21 मामं(नस्य)² के(क)र्षता(तः)³ कष(र्ष)यतो³ दानाधानविक्रयम्वा कुर्वतो³ न
केनाच(नचि)त्काचिद्वा(द् वा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्व(च) च राजरा-
- 22 जपुरुषाठविक⁴चाटादिभिः खंस्वमाभाव्यं परिहृत्तं(व्य)मिदञ्चात्सहानमनाच्छेव्य(द्य)-
मनाहार्यञ्चेति
- 23 भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमित(ति) । उक्तञ्च ॥ शङ्खद्राश(स)नं च्छत्रं
वराश्रवा वरवारणाः । भू-
- 24 मिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गं पुरदरं(न्दर) ॥[२॥*] सौवर्णा यत्र प्राशा-
(सा)दा चा(सा)शार्द्धा(द्वा)रा[*] स्वकामदाः । गन्धर्व्वा-
- 25 पुरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[३॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिष्ठन्ति
यत्र भूमिं प्रयच्छे(च्छ)ति । उभौ तो (तौ)
- 26 पुष्यकर्माणी नियतं स्वर्गगामिनी ॥[४॥*] व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगराह्(दि)भिः । यस्य
- 27 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लं) ॥[५॥*] सर्वानेताभावे(वि)नः
पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते
- 28 रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्मसितुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी[यो] भव-
न्निरिति¹ ॥(°)न्नः ॥ इति ॥[६॥*] स्वहस्ता(स्तो)-
- 29 य(यं) महाराज्योपरमर्दिदेवस्य मतमम ॥ विशदगुणगणो(णो)घोत्रामवास्त-
व्यय(वं)-
- 30 [श्रो] विदितसकलशास्त्रः श्रीशभानन्दनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म-
लेखी स्फुटललितनिवेशि(शै)रक्षरि(रै)स्तामपट्टम(म्) ॥[७॥*] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण
पाञ्चणे-
- 32 न च सि(शि)खिना । उत्कीर्णा वर्षाघटना वैदग्ध्यविस्र(श्च)कर्म्मणा
॥[८॥*] मङ्गलमहाश्रीः ॥

¹ This expression appears to be new. Its exact implication is not understood. [Does it mean, "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants?" *Vastavya* is applied to what is left as a worthless remainder on any spot.—Ed.]

² [Plural should be used.—Ed.]

³ *Ajaviku* I took to be "wild tribes", see above, Vol. XVI, p. 14, n. 1, but it indicates a Government Officer etc., one in charge of the forest and wild tribes. This finds a mention even in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*. See Dr. Shama Sastr's Sanskrit Text, p. 254.



**C.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF VIRAVARMADĒVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1311.**

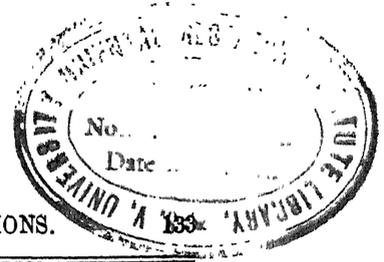
The present charter is the earliest record of the Chandĕlla king Viravarmadĕva yet found. The copper-plate on which it is engraved measures $15\frac{1}{2}$ " by $11\frac{3}{8}$ " and weighs $230\frac{1}{2}$ tolas. It has a raised rim, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height, rivetted with nails all round it. In the middle of the first six lines there is a seated figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi, holding lotus flowers in the two upper, and water pots in the two lower, hands. Over her head is a semi-circular hole apparently meant for a ring, which is wanting. There are 19 lines of writing with well formed letters the size of which is $\frac{1}{2}$ " on an average.

The language is Sanskrit and the orthographical peculiarities are the same as found in other Chandĕlla records published before. The record is not free from spelling and other mistakes, but they are comparatively fewer than in other similar records of the family.

The charter was issued from Vilāsapura by the P. M. P. Viravarmadĕva the devout worshipper of Mahĕśvara, and the Lord of Kālañjara, son of the P. M. P. Trailōkyavarman, son of the P. M. P. Paramarddidĕva, son of the P. M. P. Madanavarmadĕva, descended from Jayasakti and Vijayasakti, the famous heroes belonging to the Chandrātrĕya (Chandĕlla) lineage. It records the grant of Tumuṭumā village in the Dāhī viśhaya to Rāūta Abhi, son of Rāūta Haripāla, son of Rāūta Jagadĕva, son of Rāūta Dĕvashamū of the Kāśyapa-gōtra belonging to the family of Chandrĕśvara, on Āśvina śudi 8, Sōmavāra, Samvat 1311, which regularly corresponds to Monday, the 21st September 1254 A.D. The grantee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in a tussle with Dabhyuhaḍavarman in the battle of Sōndhī, as a recognition whereof this grant appears to have been made in spite of the fact that the purpose has been recorded as one for increasing the religious merit of the grantor Viravarmadĕva and his parents. In the present case the grantee does not appear to have been a Brāhmaṇa, as the omission of his pravaraś indicates. Moreover, the family name Chandrĕśvara and the title Rāūta point to the same conclusion. Apparently Sōndhī is identical with Seondhā fort, now called Kanhārgaḍh, lying on the banks of the Sind river in the Datia State, whence it took its name. It is stated in the State Gazetteer (Luard's, p. 129) that "Seondhā is certainly an old town as the remains of the earlier settlement can be traced close to the present town. It has been suggested as the Sarua fort taken by Mahmud of Gazni in 1018 when in pursuit of Chand Rai". Our record refers to a battle a little more than a hundred years later, apparently between members of the same lineage, viz., the Chandĕllas, if the termination of the opponent's name Dabhyuhaḍavarman would indicate anything to that effect. It must have been a battle of some importance to have been referred to as saṅgrāma or war. That was the time of disturbance as Viravarmadĕva's grandfather Paramarddidĕva had been defeated by Prithvirāja Chāhamāna in 1182 A.D. In fact the late Dr. V. A. Smith remarks that "the history of the Chandĕlla dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of Parmāl (Paramarddidĕva) and the capture of Kālañjara and Mahōbā by the Muhammadan invaders. Trailōkyavarman succeeded his father Parmāl as a local chieftain holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom and in due course was succeeded by Viravarman and Bhōjavarman".

The other villages referred to in this record have not been traced yet.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.



No. 14.]

FOUR CHANDELLA COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS.

TEXT.

- 1 ॥ श्रीं मितिः ॥ जयत्याह्वदयन्विष्णं विश्वेश्वरसिरे(श्रिरो)धृतः ॥¹ चन्द्राति
(ने)यनरन्दानां वंस(श)रुद्र इवोज्वलः ॥[१॥*]
- 2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधविजयभा(भा)जिष्णु(ष्णु)जयस(श)क्तिविजयस(श)[क्त्या]दिवी-
राविर्भावभाञ्ज(स्व)रं
- 3 परमभट्टार[क*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्द्धदेवपादानुध्यात्(त) ¹ परम-
[भ*]ट्टारकम-
- 4 शाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्धिरपादानुध्यात् ¹ परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराज-
- 5 परमेश्वरपरममाहिश्वरश्रीनेलोक्ववर्द्धदेवपादानुध्यात् ¹ परमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहिश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिमहाराजश्री(श्री)मही-
- 7 रवर्द्धदेवो विजयी [१*] स एष दुवि(र्वि)षहतरप्रतापतापितंसकलरिपुकुलः
कुलवधूमिव निराकुलां वसं-
- 8 धरां परिपालयन्निर्विकल्पनिर्विकल्पनीकृतमतिः ॥ ङाहीविषयान्तःप[१*]तिटु-
सुदुमापामोपगता-
- 9 न(न्) वा(त्रा)श्रयानन्यांश्च मान्यान(न्) कुटुंबि(वि)कायस्वदूतवैद्यमेदचाण्डाल-
पय(यं)न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालोकान्शंशो(शो)ध-
- 10 यति समाजा(श्चा)पयति च अस्तु वः स(सं)विदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं
ग्रामः सजल[स्य]ल[ः*] सस्यावरजंगमः
- 11 स्वामीवच्छिन्न(सः) साधुर्द्धी(भृङ्ग(तभ)विष्यतव(ह)र्तमाननिःसे(शे)षादाय-
सहितः प्रतिप्रहृष्टा(चा)टादिप्रवेश(श)शास्त्राभिः श्री-
- 12 विलासपुरे संवत्(त्) १३११ आश्विनशुदि ८ सोमवारे पुष्यतीर्थोदकेन ज्ञात्वा
भास्कारपूजापुर(रः)सरं मातापिचोरा-
- 13 कनः पुष्ययश्रीविष्वक्षी(हृष्ये) ¹ व(चं)द्रेश्वरान्वये क[१*] स्य(श्व)पगोत्राय
राउतदेवषम्पुपौत्राय राउतजगदेवपौत्राय राउतहरि-
- 14 पालपुत्राय सीधीसंप्रामे दभ्युहडवर्द्धयुद्धे कृतवीर्यातिस(श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राउत-
अभिनाम्ने शासनीक(क)त्वा प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
- 15 भवद्विराजा(श्चा)त्रव[क*]विधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्त्रैः समुपनेतव्यं
तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समदिरप्रकारं सनि[र्ग]मप्र-
- 16 वेसं(श) [स*]वाद्या(वाद्या)भ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य वा(वा)धा केनापि न
कार्या । अत्र च । गजराजपुरादिभिः स्वस्वमाभाव्य(व्य) परिहा(ह)-
भयमि-

- 17 दं चास्मत्(द्)दानमनाहार्यं चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयं । उक्तं
च । शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरास्त्रा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदा-
- 18 न[स्त्र] पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ।[१३॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्ना)ति
यच्च(श्च) भूमिं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति ।[*] उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्माणौ नियतौ
स्वर्गगामि-
- 19 नौ । [१३॥*] समवंशेक्षतिक्षीणे कीपि राजा भविष्यति ।[*] तस्य
दासस्य दासोहं मम की[र्त्ति]र्ण(र्त्ति) न लोपयेत्(त्) ॥[४॥*] सुभ(शुभं)
भवतु ॥

D.—CHARKHARI PLATE OF HAMMIRAVARMADEVA : [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT
1346.

This is the first copper-plate charter of the Chandēlla king Hammīravarmadēva, whom I brought to notice, a decade ago, in my *Damoh Dīpaka*, the *Hindī Gazetteer* of the Damoh district in the Central Provinces, from a *satī* record which I found in the village Bamhni of that district.¹ When I visited the Ajayagadh fort, I came upon another *satī* stone record² mentioning his name, which I included in the new account³ of the Ajayagadh fort inscriptions revised since the visit of General Sir Alexander Cunningham as detailed in his *Survey Report*, Vol. XXI. It appears to me that the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces, in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandēllas, is included, derives its name from this Chandēlla king. Of course, this district which borders on the Charkhārī State, took its name from the town of Hamirpur, which is situated on the confluence of the Jumnā and the Betwā, 110 miles north-west of Allahābād.

The record is engraved on a copper-plate 11½" long and 8½" broad, with a raised rim ½" in height running all round the plate and secured on the latter by nails. Its weight is 48 *tolas* only. In the middle of the first four lines of writing there is a figure of the four-armed goddess Lakshmi holding lotuses and water pots. On the top of the figure there is a hole for a ring which was either not put in or has been taken off and lost. The plate shows signs of corroding without serious damage to letters, which are rather small, their average size being ¼". The engraving is badly executed.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, the style being in the prescribed form used by the Chandēllas; but, from what little the writer composed, it is clear that he was no Sanskritist, as he has committed many spelling as well as grammatical mistakes. The insertion of the title *Sāhi* against the names of all the kings mentioned indicates the growing Muhammadan influence, which finally ousted the Chandēllas, apparently during the reign of the grantor of this very charter. Hammīravarmadēva, who styled himself as the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Sāhi Rājā*.

¹ See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

² The record runs as follows:—

- L. 1. संवत्(त्) १३६८ समये यावणसुदि ६ बुधे
L. 2. सती बाखसुभट्टे मेने सा सुभै श्रीमहा-
L. 3. राजश्रीहमीरवर्षदेवराज्ये सुभौ मंग-
L. 4. खं करोति

³ Contributed to *Mādhubī*, a Hindi Journal of Lucknow, see Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2,

āvalī-tray-ōpēta,¹ Lord of Kālañjara, meditating on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Viravarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Trailōkyavarmadēva, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P. Sāhi Mahārāja Paramarddidēva, announced the grant of Kō(or Kī?)kaḍagrāma in the Vēdēsaita-vishaya to two Brāhmanas who were apparently brothers, on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of Bhādrapada and the Pushya-nakshatra in the Vikrama Saṁvat 1346, corresponding to Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A.D.² It will be noticed that in his own case Hammiravarmadēva has left out the grandiloquent title of the Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara, which he duly attached to his elders. This indicates that either he was fully conscious of his reduced position, which induced him to be content with a humbler title, or that he was never recognised as the Mahārāja while his elder brother Bhōjavarmadēva was on the throne. In the Ajayagaḍh fort there is a *satī* record of Saṁvat 1346, which refers to the reign of Bhōjavarman.³ This copper-plate dated in the same year would therefore point to a usurpation of the throne, unless Bhōjavarman died in the same year before the month of Bhādrapada, when the grant under publication was made.

The document was written by Paṁ[ḍita*] Raum(Rāma)pāla.
The localities mentioned in the record are not traceable.

TEXT.

- 1 [ओ] सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याह्ला(ह्ला)दयन्विशं विश्वस्वर(ख)रशिरोधृतः [1*]
चे(चं)द्राचेयनरेद्राणां वंशस्चं(खं)द्र
- 2 इवोच्चल(लः) ।[1१॥*] तर्च(च) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिप्रु(ष्णु)जयश-
क्तविजयस(श)क्त्यादिरी(वी)रावे(वि)-
- 3 भ्राव(भवि)भास्वरः(रे) ।⁴ परमभट्टारे(र)कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(ख)रपर[म]-
माह्वस्वरे(खर)मा(सा)ह्वि-
- 4 महाराज[ओ]मसन(मत्पर)मर्हि[दे]वपादानुध्यात्(त) ।⁴ परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-
धिराज पर-
- 5 मेस्व(ख)रपरममाह्वस्वरे(खर)साह्विर(म)हाराजओमत्तैलीक्यवर्द्धदेवपादानुध्यात् ॥⁴
परम[भ]ट्टारक[म]हारा-
- 6 जाधिराजपरतेस्व(मेख)रपरममाह्वस्वरे(खर)साह्विमहाराजओमदीरवर्द्ध(दे)वपादा-
नुध्यात्(त) ॥⁴ परमभट्टार-
- 7 के(क)साह्विराजाप(ष)लीत्रभी(यी)पेतकाल(लं)जरा[धिप]तिमहाराजओमह(ह)मी-
रवर्द्ध[देवी] विजय(यी) । स एख(ष) क(दु)र्विषह-

¹This is exactly the title used in the Bamhri *satī* record which I misread as परमभट्टारकेषाधिराजावसोचयोपेत.
See above, Vol. XVI, p. 10, f. n. 4.

²In Bhādrapada of V.S. 1346, ba. 12 commenced on Sunday at '98 but the *nakshatra* Pushya ended on that day at '23.

³See *Mādhubī*, Vol. V, pt. 2, number 2.

⁴Punctuation unnecessary.

- 8 तरप्रतापतावि(पि)तग्र(स)कलरि[पु]कुल(लः) कुलधूमिव वसुन्वरां निराकुलां
व(प)रिप.लयन(न)विकलविवेकनि-
- 9 र्श(र्श)श्रीह(ह)तमतिसा(र)स्त्राभिः ॥¹ वेदेदेयविषयान्त(न्तः)पातिः(ति)कोकडग्राम-
गतान्वाङ्गणान्वांस(ग्रामोपगतान्वाङ्गणान्वांस) मानकुटुंबि-
- 10 कायस्थनापितमहरनेदधीवरचांडालप्रजन्तान्(मानकुटुम्बिकायस्थनापितमहरनेदधी-
वरचाण्डालपर्यन्तान्)वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च । व(व)स्तु वः
संविदितं यथा(थो)-
- 11 परलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थल(लः) सस्थाय(व)रजंगमम(जंगमः) ससौरा-
(स्ससोमा)वक्षिन्न(च्छिन्नः) साधऊर्द्धभूतभविष्यवर्त्तमा-
- 12 ना(न)नि(निः)[शेषादायसहितः*] र(प्र)ति[धि]हचाटादिक[प्रवेशः*] लोणागर-
पसणरधभूरुहनिधिनिषेप(लवणाकरपाषाणवनभूरुहनिधिनिषेप)[सहितः*] स-
वाह्लाभ्यन्तर(रः) अपरै[रपि] व[स्तु]भि[ः*] ।
- 13 संवत(त्) १३४६ समये ॥¹ भार(द्र)पदप्र(व)दि १२ रवौ ।¹ पुष्यनक्षत्रे ॥¹
भाह्वा(रहा)जगोत्रा[य] ।¹ ठ¹ ।¹ सुभराजप्रपौत्राय ठ ।¹ वि[द्या]-
- 14 ध]रप्र¹पौत्राय ।¹ ठ¹ ।¹ सठेलपुत्राय ।¹ पं ।¹ श्रीधर ।¹ पं ।¹ श्री
(डभाभ्यां) त्रा(त्रा)ह्लाणाभ्यां को(or को)कडग्रामो . . . तोऽस्मलौ
(स्त्राभिः ?) विजा-
- 15 वड ? वाराह्या० ? वाषालि . . संकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त[इ]ति । इति
मत्वा मन्व(भवद्भि)राज्ञान्प्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भाग-
- 16 भोगादिकं समुपनेतव्यं ॥ वडु(वडु)भिर्वसुधा(धा) भुक्त्वा राजभिस्त्रगरादिभिः
[।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं(मि)त(स्त)-
- 17 स्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ षष्टि(षष्टिं) वर्षमहपा(सहस्रा)णि स्वप्ने(र्गे) वसति
भूमिदः [।*] चाहेता(आच्छेत्ता) वानुमन्ता च तानिव (तान्येव) न-
- 18 रकं व्रजेत् ॥२॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्(त व)सु(सुं)धरां [।*]
म(स) विष्ठावा(यां) क्र(क)मिर्भूत्वा पिढभिस्त्रह मज्जति ॥३॥[।*]
- 19 भूमिं षः(यः) प्रतिगृह्णीयात्(प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु) भूमिं प्रयच्छति [।*]
उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्माणौ नियतौ स्वप्न(र्गे)गामिनौ ॥४॥[।*] पं रौ-
- 20 पाले[न] लिखितमिति ॥

¹ Punctuation unnecessary.

² Abbreviation for Thākura or Thakkura.

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